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THE RENAISSANCE OF URDU POETRY

BY
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INDIA

Origin of Urdu Language. Urdu or Hindustani took its birth in the accident of intercourse between the natives of India and their foreign conquerors. The conquerors, though politically alien, were of Eastern origin. Whether Afghan or Turkoman, they were Asiatics. Majority of them lived and died in India. Social intercourse, business transactions and Governmental work were impossible to carry on without understanding the language of each other. The incorporation of the vigorous and victorious Muslims with the cultured and subjugated Hindus inevitably resulted in an alternation of action and re-action of all the causes included in it; for it may be assumed as an historical truth that no nation or religion can conquer any other without being influenced in several matters by the culture of the conquered nation. If Hindus took up the study of Persian, Muslims were not remiss in the study of Sanskrit and Hindi. The famous Alberuni was probably the first to study Sanskrit. As to Hindi Amir Khusro, Mulla Daul, Khán Khánán Aládar Rahim and Malik Mohammad Jayasi are prominent figures in the history of Hindi literature. The linguistic situation in Northern India on the eve of the Muslim conquest from the North-West passage was something like this. The chief of the secondary Prakrits were the Magadhi

of Bihar, the Ardha-Magadhi of Oudh and Baghelkhand and the Saurseni of the district round Muttra and the plains of the Panjab. Their latest stage was the series of dialects called *Apabhramsa*, which gave birth to sturdy offsprings, the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars or Tertiary Prakrits. About the tenth century from Saurseni Apabhramsa there sprang what we call Western Hindi and Panjabi. I need not follow the course, the growth of Modern Northern Bhashas took, suffice it to say that both the Hindi, *i.e.* Western and Eastern, as well as the Panjabi, took their rise in Saurseni Apabhramsa which belonged to the Panjab Proper and the Province of Agra of the early nineteenth century; of course including Delhi, and crystallising in different languages now known as Brijbháshá, *Lahuri*, Panjabi and so on.

Therefore the languages or dialects used in early epochs of Muslim conquest in transacting state affairs and business matters must have been something like Chinese *patois* and may be called *pidgin Hindustani*. It appears that when Hindus undertook the study and use of Persian, which was, and had been, the court language of India throughout the Muslim supremacy, and Muslims undertook that of Saurseni Bhasha, generally known as Hindi, a workable *via media* was brought about and

Hindustani or Rekhta, as it is known to us, took its origin in that cultural compromise of the two nations, or let me say the nation, as both the classes were only religiously apart while politically one people.

Origin of Urdu Poetry. It is a trite saying that every language begins with poetry. As language, it is an admitted fact, Rekhta or Urdu had its beginning in poetry. The reason is obvious, both Hindi and Persian being rich in poetry, no other product of their union could be anticipated than Rekhta or Urdu poetry. It must be noticed that I have not made any mention of Dakhni mixture in our early Urdu or its poetry, because its appearance in the Rekhta of the time was simply episodic and therefore insignificant. Here I may be excused for a short digression.

Deccani Theory. I feel constrained to say that there are some people who shut their eyes to the solid facts of the history of India while discussing the origin of Urdu poetry. They are either misinformed or pragmatic and unwilling to see where the right material for research lies. Some recent works treating of the subject are disappointingly misleading. One is left in bewilderment as to how it came to pass that in spite of the homes of Amir Khusro and Baba Nanak and Shah Nazeer, Urdu poetry should have gone all the way to Deccan to take its birth and rise and as to why some Deccani words and idioms can be traced in the compositions of almost all Mohammad Shahi poets of Delhi. This important problem would have been easily solved had the history of pre-Mughal India been consulted. History furnishes us with a series of facts which throw a flood of light on this subject.

During the reign of King Mohammad of the Tughlak dynasty, Delhi more than once was, so to speak, transplanted in Deccan. Mohammad Tughlak reigned from 1325 to 1351 A.D. With all his learning in science, philosophy and literature he was a freak of nature. All his accomplishments, various indeed as they were, were marred by a perversion of judgment and a ferocious temperament. He had a fancy for Deogiri in the Deccan, which he christened Daulatabad and desired to make it the capital of India. And unfortunate poor Delhi people were made, on pain of death, to quit their home and

emigrate to Daulatabad. Says Ferishta:—

”حکم فرمود که دهلی را که رشک مصر بود، خراب کرده و خلقی آنجا را از صغیر و کبیر و بزرگ و غیر نوکر و از مونت و مذکر کوچانید به دیوگر آوردند و متوطن سازند.....
تبدیل که به احوال مردم راه یافت تفرقه عظیم در کار ملک پدید آمد.....
و خرد و بزرگ دهلی آمده در دولت آباد ساکن شدند..... دهلی بنوع ویران گشت که آواز هیچ متغی بجز شغال و روباه و جانوران صحرائی بگوش نرسید“

It was during one of these emigrations from Delhi to Daulatabad almost amounting to evacuation of Delhi that Ibn Batuta visited the doomed capital in A.D. 1341. In his account of travels he describes Delhi as a most magnificent city, but although the king was repopling it it was also a desert. “The greatest city in the world,” he writes, “had the fewest inhabitants.”

The forced emigration of the people from Delhi to Daulatabad took place at least twice. It appears that return from Deccan to Delhi was permissive. The wretched condition of the people can be easily imagined. Many of them in successive emigrations decided to settle down in Delhi. Thus says Ferishta on this point:—

”داد که از مردم دهلی هر کس آباد ساکن ست اگر خواهد به دهلی بناید و اگر در دولت آباد خوش کند آنجا باشد - پس اکثر به همراهی پادشاه از دولت آباد به دهلی آمدند و جمع ولایت مرصع را خوش کردند“

Now it can safely be affirmed that these people carried with them the language born on the intercourse of the different races from outside with the natives of the soil. A language flourishes with the people to whom it belongs and at a place wherever they live. Even if Urdu poetry took its rise in Deccan, it was among the people of Delhi who

were forced to settle in Deccan; the credit can never belong to the Deccanis. From the verses written in the earliest epochs we are able to trace both Saurseni, i.e., Punjabi and Deccani words and expressions. Let it be reminded here that Saurseni never became the *lingua-franca* of Deccanis. Its home as already stated was the Punjab proper, Delhi and the neighbouring tracts. By way of illustration I would refer to a sentence spoken by Syed Burhan-ud-Din Abdullah-bin-Mohammad, popularly called Qutub-i-Alam, who was the grandson of Makhdum Jahani Jahangash, and emigrated from Delhi to Gujrat before Baber came to India. That important sentence is fortunately preserved and runs as follows:—

”بیٹے تہا نصیب دوہوں دیچہ“

”Son! your fate lies in both,” i.e., “you shall have both of them.” Now the attribute Dakhni is quite forced upon Wali. In his works we do not come across a remote reference of Deccan. He has, on the other hand, bewailed the separation from Gujrat. Nor does his language help us in surmising that he belonged to Deccan. Like the sentence above quoted Wali's poetry retains the traces of Saurseni or Puraṇi-Prakrit as we find intact in modern Punjabi. Those who have read Wali's *Kashf-e-Mahala* carefully, will bear me out. In it we find such Saurseni words which are not in vogue in the Punjab; as for instance, “Diana” (دیانہ); “Sitna” (سیتنا) to throw down; “Anjhan” (انجھان) and so on. I give here a few lines

دئے بعد از امے گودی میں کہ
دے حیوں چاند کے پھل میں تارا
لے اپنے ساتھ عبداللہ عباس
چلے دانتہیں نکل کر مہویہ پاس
اونیہ ست کے سرکیامیان سوں تیغ
گرچتا اور برسقا جون جلا میغ

The fragments of speech or verse of the poets prior to Wali, that have come down to us lead to the same traces. Here I cannot go into any details which require full and separate treatment. In short,

the following conclusion may be safely drawn that:

- (i) In early Urdu Saurseni was the chief element, and that
- (ii) Urdu poetry took its rise not among the people of Deccan but the people of Upper India.

After this rapid survey of the origin of Urdu poetry let me note the different changes it underwent. The best and easiest way of marking the periods of change and new birth in literature is to find out the outstanding features of a particular period and the legacy which it left for the change to follow, as well as to point out the new forces and circumstances which brought into existence a new school.

Literary Divisions. Literarily the Urdu Poetry can be divided into three schools: (1) The Classically Erotic School, which for brevity's sake I shall call “Classical,” with its varieties ranging from Ghazal proper to love-romances embraced in Masnawi and Wāsohkt, and the intricacies and luxuriousness of style exhibited in Qasida and Marsiya; (2) Natural Poetry—I use this term as it is generally understood in Urdu, while it has no resemblance with the naturalist school of poetry and drama as understood in the West; and (3) Communal Poetry—I shall make some remarks on each of these three schools before I come to the most important period of the Renaissance.

Chronological Periods. Urdu poets for convenience of reference can be divided into four groups:—

1. Mohammadshahi.
2. Shahalami.
3. Bahadurshahi, and
4. Victorian.

Wali, Abrar, Mohammad Shakir Naji, Mazmun, Yakrang, Hatan and others may be assigned to Mohammadshahi period. To Shahalami period belong Meer, Sauda, Dard, Mazhar, Insha, Soz, Jurat, Mir Hassan, etc.; Nasser Momin, Zang, Nasikh, Atash, Naseem, Anees, Dabir, Ghalib, etc., can be assigned to Bahadurshahi period. The Victorian age I calculate from 1858, the time from which India was transferred from the control of the East India Company and was directly taken over by the Crown. This period dawned, therefore, with the famous Royal Proclamation of Queen Victoria and

starts with Shefta and Mirza Naseem and claims Ameer, Jalal, Zahoor, Majrooh, Dagh, Azad and Hall. Along with these I would rather have placed Ghalib who lived in old age in a part of the Victorian period but he really belongs to the Bahadurshahi epoch in which he flourished. His style crystallised and poetry attained maturity before the Mutiny convulsed the country and bearing as he did the spirit of the 'Bahadurshahi epoch' notwithstanding the distinctive marks which distinguished his poetry from that of his contemporaries, his place cannot exactly lie in Victorian age.

After these observations on the chronological division I revert to literary divisions of Urdu Poetry mentioned above.

THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL

The Classical School having its start in Shahalamī period and reaching its climax in the Victorian period in Dagh and Ameer embraces a vast bulk of Urdu poetry and an unlimited number of poets. The Ghazal, though only one of the many forms of poetical composition, prevailed in all the various avenues of the good old school; and, indeed, is the keynote of all classical poetry in the Urdu language. Whatever form or metre adopted the same strain of erotic sentimentalism and imaginary declamations were to be its characteristics.

Realism and sincerity were, in the majority of cases, foreign to them. Like Elizabethan sonneteers when they assumed airs of sincerity they came to belong to the roll of dramatic lyricist and as it were proclaimed "I did best, when I had least truth for my subject."

The age in which our classical poetry took its rise and flourished, was, like the Tudor period in respect of English, "intoxicated with language. It went mad of a mere delight in words." Comparatively speaking, during the Mohammadshahi period Hindi was the prominent feature of Rekhta, which in Shahalamī period began to give place to Persian and Arabic legend and folklore. In respect of subject-matter and form Urdu poetry was enriched with constant and free borrowing from Persian, and as the English historian says of his own language, "like all artists who become possessed of a new medium, they used it to excess." So far as ideas and subject-matter are concerned they drew upon

Hindi very rarely. Let it be remarked that here as elsewhere in referring to our poets, I never mean to draw, nor there does exist, a communal line, or a line of distinction between the Hindu and Muslim poets of Urdu. In fact as far as diction, phraseology, turns of expression and subject-matter of poetical composition are concerned, there existed no dividing line between Hindu poets and Muslim poets of Urdu. Their chief matrix being one designed in Shiraz, Isfahan or Neshapore. Almost every poet of note of the Shahalamī and Bahadurshahi periods was a courtier of the Moghal Court or that of a nobleman, and most of the Victorian poets somehow managed to secure the patronage of Ruling Princes of Feudatory India or lesser chiefs. The position of our poetry in its early epochs was something like that of English poetry in pre-Spenserian time: the super-structure of the former was based upon materials of Persian origin, while that of the latter was based upon that of Italian invention. Meer and Sanda, the greatest masters of poetic art, started indenting on the local markets. The creed of our poets has been, as Shelley puts it, "the pleasure that is in sorrow is sweeter than the pleasure of pleasure itself." In compliance with the well-known saying they always went to the house of mourning in preference to the house of mirth. Although the verdict of the times has gone against it our poetry of Shahalamī period can hold its own before the jury of fair criticism. No doubt the tragic and morose and despondent strain is the reigning factor of the best type of the poetry of that period, it was, all the same, genuine. A poet is the spokesman of the sentiments of the nation. In that period the nation was in mourning over the disruption of the great empire and constant internecine and other wars were devastating the country. That great edifice built up by Akbar and Man Singh, Khan Khana and Tolar Mall was crumbling. Such times cannot produce the poetry of hilarity and exhilaration. Hence we have Meer Taqi and Khwaja Meer Dard as the best exponents of these times.

There is one glowing aspect of our classical poetry throughout its whole range which I regret to note has unfortunately escaped notice of our chroniclers and writers. That glowing and glorious aspect of the classical school comprises in its teaching tolerance, bringing about a judicious mixture of the Hindu

and Muslim cultures which both though very highly refined and advanced at the time had nevertheless certain angularities of religious and social character which were in no time rubbed off by the influence of the poet artist. It was not Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* nor Aurangzeb's *Fatawa* which placed the Muslim side by side with the Hindus but it was our classical poets. The glory of our classical school does not lie in the inimitable verses left by Meer or Sauda, Dard or Ghalib, Nasikh or Atash, Naseem or Hassan, but the real glory and grandeur of our classical poets lies in removing all those social and cultural differences inasmuch as they stood in the way of our secular well-being and good fellow-citizenship. The cultural unity brought the social and religious amenities in its wake. In these days of communal strife of a grim, ghastly nature I may be taken for a Rip Van Winkle if I go on speaking on this fascinating feature of this school, and all that was the beneficial result of that "Hindustani" culture, the direct outcome of the classical school of our Urdu Poetry.

But fanatics and diehards are a bone of the most wholesome and blessed movements in the world. The Bahadurshahi and the early part of the Victorian period and in it the Lucknow section in particular took away the very spirit and vitality of the classical poetry. They by inventing that wordy drill which is poison to all good literature stereotyped our poetry under such strait jacket of convention, watertight artificialities and cast-iron restrictions that sentiment had no pure air to breathe and gave way to sentimentalism.

Thrilling tenderness and deficiency of sentiment and sober emotion of Meer and Dard, and vivacity and pungency of Insha and Sauda were supplanted by glaring absurdities which were in many places shocking to the moral sense. The manly hilarity and verve coupled with lofty flights of poetic imagination of the earlier classicists was substituted by bizarre commonplaces or futile hair-splitting. The Ghazal as it was constituted by the ancients was from the very beginning desultory. The poet moves from one subject to another so waywardly, in one line he is holding an underground conference with the two Karma angels, in the second he is lifted to the seventh heaven of happiness enjoying the felicitous company of the beloved, in the third

he is hanging down his head to his fairy love as if she were a public executioner, in another he and that Immanent Being are one and the same, in a line further on he is seen swearing at the cursed rival who is fortunate enough to obtain a smile from her. Such kind of random versification, no matter what degree of elegance of style and excellence of diction it might possess, cannot be called Poetry. It can find no place in the international durbār of Saraswati. Psychologically speaking constant practice or study of such fantastic vapourings is ruinous to one's mental health. It impairs and in the end kills the capacity for sustained thought and consistent concepts, and dwarfs the mentality of the people who come in contact with it. In fact Ghazal, a jumble and hodge-podge, almost like madrigal, was originally designed for youngsters to begin with. It cannot be, and was not, regarded by sensible poets as the alpha and omega of Persian or Urdu poetry. It was all the more spoilt when it approached the Bahadurshahi period. Cast-iron cannon of style, i.e., the way of putting a hucknosed theme became the only point of skill and craftsmanship that was to be looked at. Even in this particular respect the unit of the Delhi classical school was phrase while that of Lucknow school was word; each word fastidiously chosen and like Miltonic style "commonly with some air of an original and lost meaning about it." In this as in his structure Milton accomplished what the Renaissance had only dreamed; but Lucknow failed to a great extent owing to its leaning towards sentimentalism, while Delhi confined itself to sentiment and so did not lose ground. Lucknow, however, though it could not avoid those incursions of high-sounding words, pertinaciously picked up from Arabic and Persian lexicons, lent that sprightliness, smartness and vigour to the style of the Ghazal which influenced even the Delhi School. Much boast has been made of the mystic or Sufi literature interlarded in the output of our classical school. No doubt there are stray lines sprinkled here and there in a ghazal which are like the proverbial silver line in the dark gloomy firmament. But the same does not lead us to the goal of spiritual satiety and peace of mind, as the next line drags the hearer to the mire of sensuality.

There are two outstanding figures in the later range of our classical epoch which deserve special mention. I mean Shah Nazeer Akbarabadi and Mirza Ghalib. Like all geniuses Nazeer came rather before time. The taste of society was vitiated. It was mad with the love of the grotesque. The magniloquent style, fusty and antiquated diction and on the whole a poetry based on fastidious-artificiality was bound to run tilt against that true and genuine poetry of Nazeer and fail to admire the *naivete* and freshness of his inspired pieces, and subjective charms of his galloping verses. As Bhavabhuti was the dramatist of the people so was Nazeer the poet of the people. He is the only poet of his time who employed his muse to depict nature, in a word he anticipated Azad.

Mirza Ghalib, on the other hand, was like Kalidasa the poet of the select few. Robert Browning furnishes an exact parallel. Both were the bug-bear to their contemporaries. While Zauq and Atash were like Tennyson elaborating and decorating the obvious, Ghalib like Browning was delving into the esoteric and bringing up strange and unfamiliar finds. Perhaps he had a prevision of the destiny of his poetry. Said he

کو کیم را در عدم اوج قبولی بوده است
شہرت شعرم بے گیتی بعد من خواہد شدن

Out of the whole lot of our classical poets Ghalib was the least understood in his time, and is the most appreciated, most frequently quoted and the most commented upon poet in our times. Dagh and Ameer had a nice mode of expression but there was nothing left untouched by their predecessors for them to say. It was all bizarre objectivity that they with their deft hand dressed up in eloquent and elegant style. I quite agree with the American critic that "the thought or feeling a thousand times repeated becomes his at last who utters it best." But what would be said of those whose whole life was devoted to try to effect this appropriation of other people's property and to divorce constructive genius and originality from poetic imaginations. I have refrained from quoting instances for want of time, but on this point I cannot help showing the way adopted to appropriate other people's intellectual products. I wonder what you would say of the six couplets which I quote from six

masters of our classical school: improvement or plagiarism:—

Meer Taqi was the first to serenade.

کچھ تو کہہ وصل کی پھر رات چلی جاتی ہے
دن گزر جائے ہیں اور بات چلی جاتی ہے
Insha came next in his Chaori vein.

کچھ اشارہ جو کیا ہم نے ملاقات کے وقت
ٹال کر کہنے لگے دن ہے ابھی رات کے وقت
Then comes Dagh in his piccadilly fashion.

میں جو بولوں تو بات جاتی ہے
چپ رہوں گے تو رات جاتی ہے

Then comes Ameer appearing like a saint in the robes of the stage clown.

میں نے جو کہا ان سے کہ وہ بات نہ ہوگی
تو ہنس کے یہ کہنے لگے کیا رات نہ ہوگی

Then follows the wily and clever Jalal under the masque of a changed rhyme.

عرض مطلب میں شان جاتی ہے
رات اے مہربان جاتی ہے

Last but not the most punctilious comes Riaz who according to his own confession came in old age to Lucknow for rejuvenation.

جب یہ کہہ کہ حشر میں وہ بات بھی تو ہو
ہنس کر کہا کہ دن ہے کہیں رات بھی تو ہو
I for one fail to see an improvement on or a better uttering than, what was said by the immortal Meer Taqi.

Lord Houghton tells us that the merit of originality was denied to Keats. Chaucer is dubbed a free borrower. All of us admit that Spenser was inspired by Orlando of Ariosto. We also know that Goethe was influenced by Kalidasa and that Milton was inspired by Dante. We find that Coleridge improved upon Lessing's pretty poem 'Die Nannan.' Of immortal Shakespeare it is the finding of all critics that in all his plays he is known to have invented only one single plot, though I am doubtful even about this one solitary exception. Burns is said to be always ready to use up the work of others or take a large hint from it. In 'Jason' William Morris's indebtedness to Chaucer is manifest. In a like manner Zauq was influenced by

Nasikh and Ghalib was inspired by Bedil and Mutanabbi in his early compositions and by Meer in his latter poems, as Nasikh was by Saifi and Meer. Dagh was influenced by Junaid and Jauhar and Ameer by Dagh in his latter days. Such instances can be multiplied from all literatures of the world and none of them set down as instances of the poverty of poetical conception or of plagiaristic execution. This aspect is entirely different from that shown by the instances of appropriation referred to in the lines already quoted. Be it as it may, that is quite different from the borrowings and plagiarisms of our latter-day classical composers. Azad was perfectly right in accusing these worthies of

”اگلے ہوئے نوالے منہ میں بھرانا“

(to revolve disgorged morsels in one's mouth). Although Dagh and Zabeer in Delhi and Jauhar and Ameer in Lucknow were stirring the dry bones of Urdu poetry and putting in all their talents to resist the onslaught of the new movement, it had really run to seed. To cut the long story short, our poetry, such as it was in the Victorian period, i.e., in the third quarter of nineteenth century, had lost all vestiges of life and had become like a lay figure. Such was the sad and wretched plight of the classical school when Azad came upon the scene.

THE NATURALIST SCHOOL

The close of the Sepoy Revolt opened a new epoch in all Indian Vernacular literatures. Lord Macaulay was not an Oriental Scholar or else he would have left us in his historical minute a forecast of the effects of the new system of education that he was advocating, on the literature of India. The Renaissance of poetry and literature in England was different in its causes and environments from those that attended the Renaissance of Urdu literature. The Renaissance in England was the result of the revolt against medievalism, while here in India it was the result of revolt against the decaying classicism. There it was caused by the re-discovery of ancient literatures, here it was brought into existence by the discovery of a new literature. There it was the result of a universal impulse, here it was the result of impulse of one single individual.

Delhi was without Bahadurshah and Lucknow without Wajid Ali, Furrukhabad and Banda were

gone. Rampur the only feeder left, could not keep the main stream from running dry, while it was a far cry from the classical centres to Hyderabad Deccan. There remained no vestige of the old royalty and aristocracy which could set fashion and convention to those things and institutions which were the very life and soul of our literary taste and culture. Side by side with these momentous changes in the social and political environments of society there were for about half a century silently at work arts and sciences of the West, which brought in their wake as Macaulay had foreseen the ideas of Democracy which are offshoot of all constitutionalism. The new system of Public instruction devised on Western lines was opening up new vistas, in fact a new horizon full of hitherto unknown intellectual and political wonders before them, which required a new angle of vision. The new education was setting adrift from their moorings the settled convictions of the people regarding society, art and culture. Thus were we constituted when Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan came out with their programme of reforms. These great reformers did not aim at inaugurating a new religion or society but to purify the mind of their respective co-religionists of all malpractices, evil customs and superstitious that had retarded all their material and spiritual advancement, and to bring them back to the altar of the Vedas and the Quran. Once it was brought home to the people that all their social abuses and religious heresies were due to their getting off the gear of true religious principles they were easily won over towards reforming their ways. It is a sociological truth that once you free a people of the fetters laid on the vital part, other parts will themselves be let loose as a matter of course in rapid succession. The slave mentality created and fostered by the Pir and Purohit received a rude shock and people were unceremoniously awakened to see that a new world was blossoming before their dreamy eyes. People now were able to see things in their right perspective.

How was poor, decrepit classical poetry to survive all these potent and irresistible forces which were steadily and systematically agitating public mind, and resist the great upheaval that was already signalled? It was destined for the late lamented Shamsul Ulama Molvi Mohammad Hussain Azad

to read the signs of the times. The greatest difficulty for Azad was to counteract a general apathy and contemptuous indifference towards Urdu poetry. Perhaps educated people thought that it was good for it to die natural death. Either they were hypnotised by the superior spirit and magic spell of Western sciences and arts which they had newly come across or they were quite disgusted with the poetry of the time and thought it was simply waste of time and energy to bestow even a passing glance on it. Azad was able to read the heart of his countrymen and started with a stout heart to overcome the immeasurable difficulties he came face to face with. He appealed to them not to be misguided by the wrong view of Macaulay that poetry flourished only in dark ages. The first item on his programme, therefore, was to persuade and exhort the public to shake off that apathetic attitude. To gain this object he delivered a series of lectures. If I am not wrong his first lecture was delivered in Lahore in August 1867, some two years before Ghalib's death. This lecture of his is of great historical importance and a rather long quotation from it may be excused. I give here translation of certain passages of the same; the original may be found in his works:—

"The very principles of philosophy and science by which the right-minded people infer the proof of the Almighty and establish His oneness, are perverted to heresy and atheism. Therefore Philosophy and Science cannot be denounced if they are perverted. Similarly by the foul language and pernicious thoughts of poets, poetry cannot be defamed as heterodoxy. Indeed such poetry is not real poetry because real poetry is experience of emotions and sentiments engendered by serious thought and has a special communion with what is called divine. Pure thoughts in course of elevation attain the dignity of Poetry."

With this earnest hope Azad closes this memorable speech:—

"It is to be hoped that defects in poetry will not be omitted when the merits and demerits of other matters will be encouraged if reformed and some day, though not immediately, good fruits will result." According to Azad's lines—"Your bewailings may not attract attention now, some day they will be noticed."

There is another lecture of Azad's fortunately preserved which was delivered in May 1874. He said:—

"My countrymen, you are composed of two classes, one Hindu and the other Mussalmans. You know who are Hindus. Hindus are those whose language contains in essence what today you desire for yourselves. If it is Bhasha, it can claim superiority over all others because it possesses a capacity to describe realities. The preeminence of Sanskrit is beyond all description, because in addition to poetical themes it has moulded in verse, from History and Geography to Medicine, Logic and Jurisprudence, indeed all that it laid its hand on."

The other section is Mussalman whose home of origin is Arabia, where not only men's language but that of ladies and slave girls, when they talked in high emotion attained the dignity of poetry. Is it not a matter of regret that descendants of such ancestors be deprived of the heritage? Is it not a matter of despondency that our language today is devoid of effectuality? Is it not painful to observe that our language in the eyes of others be subjected to taunt owing to its poverty of diction? O soil of India! if thou canst not produce Anuragis and Labced, produce a Kalidas. Ye, India's forests and wilds, if ye cannot produce a Firchasi and a Sadi, produce a Valmiki!"

In summing up his speech Azad said:—

"It is too well-known that for poetry firstly genius and the academic attainments are necessary, after this perfect interest and perpetual practice is required. In the arena of prose I am not an equestrian but only a pedestrian and am prostrate in poetry; but look at my simplicity or foolhardiness that I am ready to run in every arena. This because I might bring out something useful for my country. I have recently composed some Masnavis on different subjects which I am ashamed to call poetry. I present however to you this moment a Masnavi on the description of Night." It was after this lecture that Azad recited one of his specimens of the new type of poetry, it is entitled *Shab-i-Qadr*. Its historical value cannot be exaggerated. Next month came about the first poetical symposium or *Mushaira*. This memorable

Mushaira took place on the 30th June 1874 in the premises of the Anjuman-i-Punjab before a large distinguished gathering. Seven poets in addition to its founder—Azad—took part in the Mushaira. I have given a full account of this historical Mushaira in the 'Inqilab,' a Lahore monthly. After this epoch-making symposium of Azad there used to be held a number of monthly meetings in one of which Shamsul Ulama Khwaja Altaf Hussain, Hali recited his first poem of the new type. One word and I am done with the inauguration of the new school of Urdu poetry.

In the presence of these incontrovertible facts, I wonder what will be said of the audacity of men whose conscious or unconscious perversion of facts and consequent erroneous judgment is insensible. In this connection I am bound to notice the two recent Azamgarh publications, Gul-i-Rana and Sherul Hind. One fails to conceive how Hakim Abdul Hayi and Maulana Abdussalam Nadwi who were nourished with the milk of celebrated Shibli's erudition and research, could have borrowed the ways of the German critics like Weber and Windisch in tracing the origin of things. One is sure to be disappointed with the burlesque narrative given in the said works. Both the learned authors, for reasons best known to themselves, have not hesitated in garbling facts and have one in a rather round-about way and the other directly, tried to show that it was not Azad but Hali or somebody else who laid the foundation of the new Poetry and new style Mushaira of the Anjuman-i-Punjab. Let us see what has Hali himself to say on this. In the introduction to the collection of his poems entitled "Majmun-i-Nazm-i-Hali" writes Hali:—

Rendered in English it will run:—

"In 1874 when the writer of these lines was attached to the Government Book Depot and lived at Lahore, Anjuman-i-Punjab organised a symposium of poets at the suggestion of Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Azad and with the support of Col. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction. This symposium used to meet once a month in the premises of the Anjuman. Its object was to enlarge the scope of Oriental poetry and base it on reality and verities which had hitherto been circumscribed and monopolized by amorosness and exaggeration."

It would be interesting to observe how the lead given by Azad was received by those who were engaged in the important work of social and educational reform. It encouraged Hali to openly express his views regarding the latter-day classical poetry. It did not escape Sir Syed's notice. In his essay on "Flattery" he had one incidental reference to the extravagance and exaggeration indulged in by the poets of the time. Maulana Nazir Ahmad in "Taubat-un-Nusuh" did not forget the Ghazal while making his hero Kaleem the embodiment of the social vices prevailing at the time. Such declamations and tirades, incidental as they were, helped the cause taken up by Azad. It was in the early stages that Hali, Arshad and Adib came out to support the banner raised by Azad. The founder of the Natural School was a Persian and Arabic Scholar. He was a profound master of Persian. Azad had the advantage of sitting at the feet of that great master and craftsman Shaikh Ibrahim Zauq. Azad was born and brought up in Delhi and was managing his father's printing press when Garson De Tassi was writing his famous encyclopaedia of Urdu poets. Hali was as much master of the two oriental languages and had the benefit of the company of Nawab Mustafa Khan Shefta and the discipleship of Mirza Ghalib. Maulvi Saiful Haq Adeeb, a promising disciple of the same master, and Mirza Abdul Ghani Arshad, that of Mirza Sabir, were of the best equipped and gifted poets of the classical school and professionally attached to the Punjab. Both of them likewise worldly men had their finger in two pies. They did not renounce the classical school like Azad and Hali. Molvi Ismail of Meerut, one of the late converts, was mainly devoted to translating suitable portions from School Readers and Text-books in the new natural style. Azad and Hali in particular, and others generally were over-scrupulous in avoiding the extravagances and embellishments of the classical school in a Puritanic manner. The inevitable consequence was that though Azad and Hali wrote some very pungent and strong poems and their writings had point and effect, their Puritanic way did not go down. Azad did create a school of his own and gathered round him a band of devout followers, but all his achievements were of a negative character. They, it must be said to no discredit

to Azad and his followers, made a correct diagnosis of the malady, prescribed the very requisite medicine, but were unable to make it palatable. The few who were touched by the reform gave up the old ways but did nothing effective in the new one. Dagh, Anwar and Zahir in Delhi and Jhal and Anwar in Lucknow were flourishing and the number of their admirers was daily increasing. No doubt certain pieces of Azad and Hali are inspired. Hali's *Munajat-i-Bewa* (Laments of a Widow) and Azad's *Nau Turz-i-Murassa*, have passed into classics. Azad having Shia inclinations was able to lend any amount of fervour and pathos to his poems. Hali being a Ghair Muqallid was more syllogistic and matter of fact in his poems. He looked to the subject-matter and neglected embellishments of style.

Renaissance has not produced anywhere great masters, but it has purified taste, reformed tendencies and sobered the mind. It produced no Erasmus or Scaliger at Oxford and Cambridge. Similarly it did not produce a Meer or Sanda in the Natural school. Azad's innovation had a more vital effect on the future of Urdu literature than the present. He had only one object in view, not to let Urdu poetry die. The process of resuscitation once started took its due course and left the rest to nature. He and his followers were very cautious to feel their way before they made any long strides. Neology or Minting and introducing new words was excluded from their programme. They contented themselves with the old phraseology and idiom and figures of speech. Hyperbole and extravagance and artificial manipulation was not known to them. They did not make their compositions like the Mosaic of their classical predecessors. Some of them, it must be admitted, blundered on the opposite side. Their Puritan simplicity sometimes was reduced to prosaicism which to a great extent adumbrated Hali's communal poetry that followed as a sub-section of the natural poetry. They were not fantastic in their details, nor infructuous in effect. Their main purpose was to convince the country that there was scope and capacity in their language to employ its poetry for other purposes than for lascivious eroticism, artificial subtleties and petty lyricism. This was the signal call and slogan of Azad, which was heartily responded to by the

people who were sick of the morbid classics and were thirsting for something sober and dynamic by their newly acquired taste and culture. In a word, the poetry of the new school was in the stage of adolescence when Azad was called upon to see to the other wing of Urdu literature, i. e., Prose, and Hali was monopolised by the Aligarh movement. The followers being not masters of the art went on publishing feeble and faulty productions, and the witless took the place of the briskness and freshness of diction, purity of sentiment and picturesqueness of the imagery which gave the writings of the master that consummate loveliness which exercised such compelling influence in behalf of the new school that intelligentsia gave no weight to the polemic literature which was pouring in from the refractory classical camp. The *Quth Punch* of Lucknow carried on a long series of hyper-criticism on the poems of Hali for more than a year and spared no cheap witticism in crushing the spirit of the new school. But it is a wonderful phenomenon to observe that the very man who was leading the opposition was at last won over by the advancing forces of the persevering crusaders and became afterwards a tower of strength to the cause they were fighting for. The late lamented Munshi Ahmad Ali, Shanq Qidwai of Lucknow, was the last of the barons of the aristocracy of letters which was evaporating like dew drops before the rising sun. He was one of the shining lights of the classical school and a consummate master of the craft. His conversion to the new dispensation together with that of Jwala Prasad Burg, Suroor Jahanabadi, Chakbast Lucknavi, Nadir Kakorvi, all belonging to Lucknow school and of Burg, Shaida, Mayil, Agha Shair and others from Delhi and the rise of Iqbal, Mir Nairang, Nazir and Mabrum in the Punjab was the last straw on camel's back. The classical camp after these desertions collapsed, and the Kurukshetra came to remain only a matter of a past history.

COMMUNAL POETRY.

If we substitute communal for religious, what is said of the state of English in the Renaissance period that it took the course of utilising poetry for religious purposes as its period was not apart from the period of Reformation, exactly applies to Natural poetry in India. Somehow that great socio-religious reformer

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan struck with the idea that the new natural poetry may be utilised for socio-religious or communal purposes. Khwaja Altaf Hussain Hali took up the suggestion and sat down to write his *Musaddas* which was the cornerstone of his literary fame. It cannot be finally decided whether men create movements or movements men. We may accept Khan Bahadur Sir Shaikh Abdul Qadir's view of Hali's poetry. He thinks that most of the writings of Hali "would have been nowhere had there been no Syed Ahmad." Hali by giving in lucid, running verse an illuminated, soul-stirring account of the rise and fall of Muslims secured remarkable success for the cause that the pioneer of Aligarh reform was fighting for. I endorse every word of the enthusiastic praise bestowed by the learned Shaikh Sahib on Hali for his *Musaddas Madd-o-Jazri-i-Islam* which fills more than two pages of his brochure. Critics and men of very high culture and taste have recorded a note of disapproval of the language and style in which the poem is couched. I would like to explain away all these charges in a word that such slips and defects are found in the production of all masters of the poetic art and Hali is no exception. To me it appears that rather unnecessarily strong language used by Hali against the then modern Ghazal and classical poets in general, both in his introduction and the body of the poem beginning with the line

”وہ شعر اور قصاید کا ناپاک دفتر“

and in the Introduction to his *Diwan* roused the ire of lovers of the old school who did their worst in running down Hali's poetry and his reputation. As to the other controversy that followed the publication of the *Musaddas* and was led by Molvi Mohammad Ismail Narnauli, it does not fall within my province to touch upon.

Almost all that Hali wrote after leaving Lahore was of communal nature, except *Munajat-i-Bewa* in which familiar Hindi was almost wholly drawn on.

Here I would refer to the observations made by the celebrated American critic and poet whose writings form part of standard English literature. I mean James Russell Lowell. These are his views

regarding communal or national poetry. Says he:—

“Both Dryden and Daniel are fine poets, though both of them in their most elaborate works made a shipwreck of their genius on the shoal of bad subject.”

Again in reference with John Barbour's "Brus" he says:—

“It is national in a high and generous way, but I confess I have little faith in that quality of literature which is commonly called nationality, a kind of praise seldom given where there is anything better to be said. Literature that loses its meaning, or the best part of it, when it gets beyond sight of the parish chapel, is not what I understand by literature.”

There is much truth in these observations. One can see that a communal or national poet "lacks that serene impartiality of mind which results from breadth of culture; nay, he seems narrow, insular, almost parochial and reminds us of those saints of Dante who gather brightness by revolving on their own axis." But poetry, all the same, has been employed for practical ends; so did Hali and his followers.

Looking at the poem from the ethical point of view its conception was defective. It had an elegiac cast. It left the reader in gloomy despair instead of optimistic heartening. The supplement added to it afterwards does not quite fall in with the trend of the original poem like Milton's 'Paradise Regained' and Arnold's 'Light of the World' as sequels to 'Paradise Lost' and 'Light of Asia.' But all this we can say now, not when the *Musaddas* was all the rage.

There is a universally respected convention of literary world that living authors are spared such discussion as I have undertaken. And I do not know how to introduce our great philosopher poet Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal in this survey of Urdu Poetry. I, however, believe, it will remain incomplete if I follow the convention to the letter.

Emotional and full-blooded like all our "Ahl-i-Khitta," Sir Mohammad Iqbal combines in him the other two qualities of mind as well—volition and

intellect, to a very high degree. In his early days he belonged more to the natural school than communal. His lyrics and madrigals used to be the outcome of the most cheerful and debonaire heart. The extraordinary freshness and verity of his subject-matter, descriptive vividness of his imagery, conscious artistry of style and cleverly wrought metaphor are his chief merits. He never catered for the popular taste. Natural poetry would have been a metrical version of Natural History had not Saroor, Chakbast and Iqbal enlivened it with their left hand. Iqbal's poetry is superb with fancy and exuberance of oriental mind coupled with penetrative sweetness and mobility of Western culture. It has always point and effect. He is very often inspired and never laborious and dull. Though his later compositions all belong to communal school, you will not, however, detect in them that smack of narrow parochialism which is a characteristic fault of all communal and national poetry. His "Shikwa," for instance, has all the excellences which qualify a classic. Dr. Nicholson puts it correctly that "Iqbal has drunk deep of European literature, his philosophy owes much to Nietzsche and Bergson and his poetry often reminds us of Shelley." "Yet" adds he "he thinks and feels as a Moslem and just for this reason his influence may be great." And indeed his influence is great. But it is a great pity that of late he has taken Persian as the vehicle of his poetry and gone over his own words.

گیسوئے اردو بھی منت پذیر شانه ہے
شمع یہ سونائے دل سوزتے پروانہ

The Romantic School. The Renaissance has not yet reached its culmination. The dust from all corners of the ground was collected, made into clay, was given a form, yet its nostrils were still waiting for that breath of life which may make it a living being. That breath of life came from the West which was conscientiously impatient to repay her old debts to the East. To clear the allegory, that breath of life was the realization of universal love and universal beauty for all and in each object of the world. The study and assimilation of the subjective poetry of Coleridge, Keats and Shelley, poets of the English Romantic Revival, has infused a spirit in the Urdu poetry and literature which surpasses in grace and excellence all the

schools of days gone by; and is bringing into existence a school which is the best and the most beautiful mixture of the learning and culture of the East and the West. The philistinism and parochialism of the naturalist and communal schools is not now the staple food of no-change die-hards, who are by no means *rara avis* in the domain of literary criticism. I am not in favour of those who would like to see all objectivity excluded and discarded from poetry. The artist has an aesthetic sense and knows how much of the different colours to mix up on his pallet. As matter and spirit must be co-existent, in the like manner subjectivity and objectivity must be wedded to each other to produce that subtle, felicitous effect for which cultured consciousness always hankers.

With our poets of classical school as with Rossetti beauty was confined in human form. To the natural school as with William Morris it was apparently objective. To Romanticist it is both within him as well as without. Among the various characteristics of romanticism may be included as Hudson has described "its intense subjectivity and emotionalism, its love of nature and the picturesque." But at bottom it is as Victor Hugo put it "Liberalism in literature."

When you go to a big waterfall unless you are under orders of your physician, you do not go there to inhale ozone but to see a great volume of water falling from a considerable height, bathing the rays of the sun in so many variegated hues and so on—a phenomenon you cannot have at home and therefore you enjoy it. But you shall not be able to enjoy it if you go to a waterfall and make bowl of the palms of your hands, fill your stomach with water and beat a hasty retreat swearing at the Public Works authorities of the Locality for not restricting the fall to a decently moderate volume to save those from drenching who go to it for drinking water. You have seen two sorts of men who go to a waterfall. This division extends itself to whole mankind and thus divides the world into materialists and spiritualists. Really both materialism and spiritualism are interdependent.

Ghalib was very near the truth when he says:—

اصل شہود دو شاعر مشہود ایک ہے
حیران ہوں بہر مشاہدہ ہے کس حساب میں

Like German philosophers he plunged into the abstract when he got bewildered to find out the entity and value of the phenomenon. Verily there is no distinction between substance and phenomenon, reality and appearance, as has been said

Nor Kernel nor husk in nature see
For there twain together be.

'One great truth in the universal life around us is that there is always going on an exquisite harmonising process which fuses power and beauty into a dynamic reality, where both disappear with their individual qualities. Power becomes transformed into beauty and beauty into Power.' Thus the rhythm of the creative dance endures taking strong and weak notes in perfect symphony and illuminating the imagination and action, introspec-

tion and observation. With this trend of thought once obtained, language and style cannot be neglected. The new thought must be clothed in new language. Says Mr. Muir:—

"The new poets have to find their own language, to enrich with new borrowings from other tongues the stock of words suitable for poetry."

Hence the process of Neology, *ie.*, new ways of inflection and minting of words and compounds is the indispensable stage to reach in the course of evolution of Urdu Poetry.

Let me close with what the Spirit said to Faust:—

"The realm of spirit is not closed,
Your eyes are dull, your heart is dead,
Up Scholar, up, and undismayed
Bathe your breast in the morning red."

THE POLITICAL AND FISCAL RELATIONS OF THE INDIAN STATES WITH BRITISH INDIA

BY

PROF. B. G. SAPIRE, M.A.

(1) **Introductory.**—In accordance with the Government of India Act, 1919, a Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission, has been recently appointed to report upon the working of the Reforms and upon the state of political affairs in British India generally. This Commission has been expressly precluded from dealing with the political or fiscal problems of the Indian States. But nothing brings out the intermixing between the affairs of British India and the Indian States better than the simultaneous appointment of the Butler Committee to deal with the political and fiscal issues so far as they affect the Indian States. An attempt has been made in this note to set out those general considerations in the light of which the relations of the Indian States with the Crown and British India must be adjusted to a rapidly changing environment in India—an environment which is the result of the slow approximation of British India to the attainment of Responsible Government and, from a wider view-point, of the awakening of the Indian Continent caused by world factors.

(2) **Role of Indian States.**—To begin with it must

be premised that the policy of maintaining watertight isolation between British India and the Indian States is not supported by the actual course of events in the past, is unsound in theory and is unattainable in practice. Nor is it necessary to go to the extreme alternative of the absorption of the Indian States by British India. It is true that the States vary as much among themselves as to their present extent, population and resources as they do as to their origin, history and political status. This variety itself is the cause of much of the difficulty with which the problem is surrounded. Yet it is permissible to entertain the hope that the Indian States have yet a worthy part to play in the evolution of India. The Indian sentiment of loyalty and chivalry is not so completely vanished, nor are the resources of constructive statecraft in the fashioning of a Federal India in which the Princes and Peoples of India will have their proper role to play, so bankrupt as to postulate the rapid disappearance of the States from the political map of India.

(3) **Public Opinion and Constitution-making.**—There is another point which needs emphasis before

we tackle the subject. Public opinion in British India has made remarkable progress in recent years and the Government of India Act of 1919 and the Simon Commission of 1928 are merely the instruments by which the British Parliament desires to make that opinion effective. The Rulers and subjects of Indian States must appreciate the spirit of the times and realise that *they* and not the Butler Committee are the architects of their future. Constitution-making is no doubt an agreeable pastime to arm-chair politicians and even Committees and Commissions. But such Constitutions are not worth the paper on which they are elaborated if public opinion is not ripe for them. To be abiding they must pass through the crucible of public discussion and approval at the right temperature and pressure, just as chemical elements require a certain temperature and pressure for combination. It is obvious that in the settlement of the problem of Indian States there is a race between enlightenment on the part of Princes and awakening on the part of their subjects and the integrity of the States depends upon concessions anticipating demands.

(4) The Source of the Fundamental Law for India.

—The first question that arises is this: what is the ultimate source for the law of the Indian Constitution? a source that cannot be challenged by the Princes and Peoples of India—including British India. The people of British India cannot be that source for the Rulers as well as the subjects of Indian States will not recognise it. Nor can the Government of India or even the Secretary of State for India or even Parliament be that source, for the Princes and their subjects have, theoretically, nothing to do with them. That source must be the Crown. His Majesty by repeated Proclamations has assured the Princes of the enjoyment of those privileges, etc., which they were entitled to under Treaties and Engagements. The Princes are bound by the silken ties of loyalty to His Majesty and the subjects of Indian States,—according to the theory and tradition of Indian Monarchy,—cannot claim or enjoy any rights inconsistent with the power and position of their rulers. From this point of view the position of the subjects of Indian States is inferior to that of subjects in British India. The extent of the ultimate authority that can be trans-

ferred to the subjects of His Majesty is limited only by the pleasure of His Majesty as expressed through an Act of Parliament. In the case of the subjects of Indian Princes there is the further limitation imposed by the guaranteed rights and privileges of the Rulers which cannot be curtailed in certain respects even by His Majesty and the ultimate relaxation of which can only spring from generosity on the part of the Princes themselves.

It is thus clear that the Crown is the only bond of loyalty and affection that India as a whole is bound to respect. In this connection it should be noted that the Crown is the only bond of union between Great Britain and the Dominions. Writers on the British Commonwealth have dwelt on the inestimable part the Crown plays in holding together the Empire, and is not India an empire within the Empire?

In view of the reciprocal obligations between His Majesty and the Indian Princes an expression of their joint will must be binding upon India as a whole. The fundamental law for India must, therefore, be based upon a Covenant embodying those obligations which the Crown is prepared to recognize as binding *vis-à-vis* the Princes.

The contents of this Covenant must evidently be based upon the Treaties and Engagements and Usages. In course of time there has been a levelling up of certain States and a levelling down of others. This standardization was the result of the omnipotence of the Political Department of the Government of India in its relations with the States. That the more important of the States chafe under an arrangement which assimilates them to the less important ones is an admitted grievance. The law governing the relations with the States is of course to be found in the Treaties and Engagements. Though every effort should be made to carry out the spirit of the Treaties regard must be had to the changed circumstances since the consolidation of British Rule in India. The Treaties and Engagements are interesting as the barometric readings that marked the advent of the storm in which many Ruling Dynasties were uprooted and others severely shaken. You can no more conjure with the Treaties to buttress dynasties than you can conjure with the barometric readings to recall the storm. I do not by any means advocate latitudin-

arianism in the interpretation of solemn agreements but nothing will be gained by erring on the other side. The Covenant will thus embody the working principles evolved out of the Treaties such as guarantee of protection, hereditary succession, non-interference in internal affairs, fiscal concessions where possible and compensation where necessary, etc.

This Covenant should be drawn in consultation with a small Committee of the Indian Princes. The membership should be confined to Treaty-Princes only though the remaining Rulers should have the right of voting for them. The Committee should be a small one, say, of from seven to eleven members. The Viceroy will of course represent the Crown.

This Covenant will be binding upon Parliament. This in no way detracts from the power of Parliament. Parliament in determining the future stages of the transfer of responsibility to the people of *British India* is bound to have regard to this Covenant. No Act of Parliament, much less an Act of the Indian Legislature, can go against the Covenant.

It would be competent for His Majesty and the Princes to revise the Covenant if the course of events in India required such a revision.

Such a Covenant would naturally require a Supreme Judicial Tribunal to decide if an Act or Order of the Indian or Provincial Government is repugnant to the Covenant. The States should have the right of taking to this Tribunal any matter in which they think that their privileges or interests are at stake. The number of Judges would depend upon the volume of business, but, to begin with, it should be three. The Judges should be appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Committee of Princes and should hold office for life. It should be the settled policy of the Tribunal to assess, where possible, the interest affected in terms of money and to award compensation. There should be provision for appeal to His Majesty in His Princes' Council. This latter Council would consist of the States that agreed to the Covenant. But three Princes together with the Crown would form the quorum and its meetings would naturally be held in London. The procedure in the Tribunal will be strictly legal but that in His Majesty's Princes' Council will be also political.

is furnished by their helplessness in fiscal and economic matters. To understand the nature of these grievances we must first of all refer to the economic transition through which India as a whole is passing. The Free Trade policy of Great Britain was responsible for the complete subordination of the economic interests of India as a whole to those of England. Free Trade is opposed to the idea of Nationality. It is like the downpour of rain on a broken country-side. If the rain-water is allowed to flow unchecked it will cut into the land and soon make it useless. But if the streams are embanked the impounded water will irrigate the soil. Tariff-walls are like embankments to the labour and capital resources of a country which turn them into productive channels. The war has brought about a revival of the sentiment of nationality. The European States have surrounded themselves by tariff walls, the policy of each being determined by its size, location, natural resources and the industrial progress of its population.

The Indian Government, though it has been anxious to standardise and honour the *political* relations with the States, did not hesitate to regard India as one unit for the purposes of its economic policy. The whole country was drawn into the vortex of modern Industrialism. This was bound to bring about revolution in the regional distribution of wealth as between the Indian States and British India and between India as a whole and the rest of the world. We are not concerned here with the latter aspect of the problem. But it must be admitted that the Indian States have suffered as a result of this policy. It is a truism that economic forces do not always follow political boundaries. If, for instance, we imagined that the existing States of Europe were abolished and there was substituted in their stead one powerful State, there would certainly result a better exploitation of the natural resources of the Continent, but civilization would suffer.

The economic consequences of the Free Trade policy would have been less harmful if India had been one political entity. In that case fluctuations in regional prosperity would not have so much mattered. Even within a unitary State efforts are made to restore equilibrium between agriculture and industry and between various forms of industry by means of the tariff. Indeed the fiscal history

of each State is the history of its efforts in establishing such an equilibrium. To some extent British India has become a *tabula rasa* and there are no vested interests. Not so in the Indian States. The Ruler of the State is vitally interested in his territory and his population. The prosperity of his neighbours, whether the subjects of a brother-prince or of British India, would be small consolation to him if it be at the expense of his subjects. If the rise of a rival port, the growth of a neighbouring town, the alignment of a projected railway or canal, or the diversion of a watercourse or trade-route were to adversely affect his subjects, he is entitled to adopt such measures as current economic theory would dictate to him. So powerful are modern economic forces, created by improved communications and international competition, that the Indian States would remain little more than geographical expressions if timely action were not taken to regulate those forces.

The Indian States would seem to be in a peculiarly favourable position to take such action. They are under the protection of the Imperial Government, and surrounded by friendly people and territory. They would thus seem to be better off than States of similar extent in Europe. And yet such is not the case. There is a certain amount of inconsistency on the part of Great Britain in championing the cause of small States in Europe to whom she was bound by nothing stronger than a sense of honour, and in her sacrificing the Indian States to her economic policy.—States whose interests she was bound to safeguard by every consideration arising from solemn engagements. It cannot be said that treaties are scraps of paper in India. It is an example of a strange political irony that Indian States, comparable to those in Europe in size and population, should be debarred from enjoying that scope for self-expression and development to ensure which to the tiny States in Europe surrounded by powerful enemies and under the protection of no superior Power a disastrous worldwide war should have been regarded as a small price.

(6) Lessons from the History of Ireland.—

It cannot be argued that the assimilation of the Indian States with British India is too

inevitable to be resisted and too complex to be remedied. To Great Britain, at any rate, the problem ought not to prove insoluble, for in her own history she had protracted experience of political and fiscal unions with her neighbours, viz., Scotland and Ireland. The political Union with Scotland in 1714 proved abiding because fiscally Scotland gained by it; the political Union with Ireland in 1800 proved a festering sore in the side of England because fiscally and industrially Ireland was ruined by the Union. The causes of these different developments have been well explained by Miss Murray in her "History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland." At the time when the Union with Scotland took place and for nearly a whole century after the policy of Protection reigned supreme in England, and Scotch industry and trade were fostered and encouraged by bounties and protective duties and thus Scotland reaped the fullest advantage of the political Union. But when the Irish Union was brought about "the new idea of Free Trade was coming to the front, and by surrendering her separate Parliament Ireland lost all chance of artificially fostering her native industries. Free trade under certain conditions cannot be an advantage. It could not be an advantage to a poor country like Ireland in which industries were in their infancy, and which existed side by side in the closest commercial relations with a rich country where industries had long flourished."

The disastrous consequences were foreseen by Foster, the Speaker of the Irish Parliament, who opposed the Union. The observations which he made in opposing the Union Bill are worthy of quotation even now. In considering the probable effect of the Union upon the material prosperity of Ireland he said "that the Union would lead to a great increase of taxation, and would therefore be fatal to the growing wealth of the country; and he declared that it was useless to say that Parliament would depend upon the articles of the Union it framed to secure the purse and trade of Ireland, for the very doctrine of the omnipotence of Parliament, which would enable it to carry the Union against the evident wishes of the country, would of necessity reduce its articles to waste paper. The United Parliament would have power to alter or abrogate any article of the Union; to abolish bounties, and

to amalgamate debts, to increase taxation, and the minority of a 100 Irish members would be powerless to resist." Though there has been no political union between British India and the Indian States there is close approximation between them in fiscal matters, and the omnipotence of the Government of India has made the solemn treaties and engagements of as little avail to the States as the omnipotence of Parliament made the commercial and fiscal clauses of the Union to Ireland.

The condition of Ireland grew from bad to worse till the great potato famine of the middle of the last century. After the repeal of the Corn Laws the full effect of the Free Trade policy began to tell upon Ireland. Her agriculture declined; her industries declined before the competition of cheap imports; her population declined rapidly by emigration. As Miss Murray says: "In the 18th century Ireland suffered from the protective policy of England; in the 19th century she has suffered from the free trade policy of the United Kingdom. The fiscal situation is the inevitable result of the contrast in economic conditions between herself and Great Britain. In matters of taxation, as well as in other matters, the interests of the greatest number have to be consulted, and in the United Kingdom the greatest number belong to the Urban and manufacturing classes. It would probably be impossible to devise a system of taxation which would be equally beneficial to the inhabitants of Urban and rural districts. . . . A system of taxation which has been devised in the interests of a manufacturing country cannot be suited to the interests of a poor agricultural country, where economic conditions and habits of living are in many ways different. The phenomena which we see in the present financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland must be seen in the fiscal relations of any two countries or districts, one manufacturing and the other agricultural, subject to the same financial system. For example, Prussia is at present confronted with the difficult problem of giving equal benefits in her Customs system to the inhabitants of her manufacturing and agricultural districts, while in Austria-Hungary harmony is only maintained by the method of compromise. Thus Austria allows free importation of Hungarian food-stuffs, and Hungary in return permits Austrian manufactures to be imported duty-

free, while both the manufactures and food-stuffs of other countries are taxed on importation into all parts of the Empire." (Page 333 of Miss Murray.)

The continued depopulation and impoverishment of Ireland gave prominence to the question of the financial burden which the Union had imposed upon that country, and a Select Committee of 1864 and a Royal Commission of 1894-96 inquired into these financial relations. The Royal Commission adopted the method of finding the 'taxable capacity' to measure the burden. It was satisfied that Ireland had been overtaxed and it examined four ways by which relief could be given to Ireland: (1) The general fiscal system of the United Kingdom might be altered so as to press more heavily upon Great Britain and less heavily upon Ireland. (2) A return to the system of abatements and exemptions in favour of Ireland. (3) Payment to Ireland out of public revenue. (4) Grant of freedom to Ireland to manage her local finance. The majority of the Commission was in favour of giving monetary compensation. (Page 400 of Miss Murray.)

This reference to the fiscal history of Ireland raises two pertinent questions: how far the results of measuring the taxable capacity are reliable, and how far, and with what practical object in view, the method is applicable to conditions in India? As for the first question it must be admitted that there are great difficulties in collecting and interpreting the data for national income; secondly, the allowance that has to be made for the subsistence of the population (with due regard to the varying standards of living) is as difficult to fix in theory as it is difficult to calculate in practice; finally, the conception of 'taxable capacity' itself is highly controversial as it involves that of 'ability' to pay. Nevertheless the results of such an enquiry are useful.

The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee has made an attempt (in chapter 14 of its Report) in which the burden of taxation upon certain typical classes has been calculated. This burden is likely to be unequal in different parts of the country if their economic conditions differ. "In a unitary state which possesses more or less uniformity of conditions one fiscal system will produce more or less similar results, but it may lead to a fallacy to neglect the due adjustment of the burden of taxation in regard to the territorial division of a unitary state

such as our own, where heterogeneity rather than uniformity of conditions prevails." (Page 413 of Miss Murray.)

In British India there is the burden of Local, Provincial and Central taxation; in the Indian States there is the burden of Local, State and Central taxation. It is difficult to make comparisons. We may assume (what is roughly true) that the burden of Local and Provincial (or State) taxes is the same in both the cases. But though the Indirect Central taxes press upon the whole population of India the Indian States do not participate (except in a few cases) in the proceeds of those taxes. It should be noted that in India the proportion of Direct to Indirect taxes during the years 1913-14 to 1921-22 has slightly decreased, in marked contrast to the tendency of direct taxes to increase rapidly that is noticeable in the United Kingdom and the Dominions, and the United States of America. (*Vide* table 24 of Findlay Shirras: *The Science of Public Finance*.) The increase of direct taxes affects only the rich; but the indirect taxes press more heavily upon the poor. The Taxation Enquiry Committee have referred, in para 145 of their Report, to the incidence of enhanced Customs duties in India.

Apart from the question of incidence, there is that of the financial loss caused to the Indian States by the growth of Indirect taxes in which they have no share. The whole subject requires detailed and expert enquiry. Sources of revenue that were formerly available to the States have long since been abolished either as measures of fiscal reform or by absorption by the Indian or Provincial Governments. Taxation in the States now falls mostly on land. The limit of Productivity has been overstepped in many States. The Land tax is peculiarly inelastic. If therefore the Princes of India are to take an effective share in the reform of their administration, and in the extension of productive works, the first requisite is an enlargement of their finances. Various ways of giving relief are possible, as in the case of Ireland. The larger States may like to make their own fiscal arrangements. But the smaller States—and these have been the greatest sufferers—would willingly accept any scheme of compensation. For the latter purpose India should be divided into 'zones' in which the population has a uniform standard of living. The incidence of Cen-

tral taxes and also Provincial taxes should be calculated. From the *per capita* incidence should be deducted the 'cost' of administration incurred by the Central and Provincial Governments on account of the subjects of Indian States. The cost of Defence should not be included in this calculation, for the Princes have 'compounded' for all time for their defence by cessions of territory in the past. The basis of the tributes that they pay should also be taken into account. In this way the 'net' *per capita* contribution of the subjects of Indian States to the Central or Provincial exchequer can be found. This net contribution should be refunded to the States in proportion to the quantity and quality of their population. If we assume this contribution to be one rupee per head, the States will get seven crores of rupees from the Government of India or the Provincial Governments.

(7) **Control over fiscal and other matters.**—But the Indian States will not be satisfied with mere compensation only. They are entitled to have a voice in the management of those affairs in which they are as much interested as British India itself. The suggestion made before for the formulation of a Fundamental Covenant, though it will save the Princes from the diminution or loss of their privileges or monetary interests, will not afford opportunities to the Princes for active participation in the direction of common affairs. The devising of a Constitutional arrangement that will secure this object is a difficult problem. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report gives no useful guidance. It says: "The independence of the States in matters of internal administration carries with it the counter-obligation of non-interference in British Indian affairs. If the Princes were to intervene, either informally or formally, in the internal affairs of British India, such action would, we think, be reasonably questioned, unless the representatives of British India were given a corresponding right of influencing the affairs of the States. On either side, we believe, there is no desire to cross the frontier. Rulers and politicians alike recognize that they are best employed in attending to their own progress. The obligation of mutual abstention must be always borne in mind in estimating the future position of the Native States in a changing Indian Empire." (Para 299 of the Report.)

But at present though the States are successfully debared from influencing the affairs of British India, the Indian legislature profoundly affects the interests of the States. Consider the course of recent legislation in such matters as defence, tariffs, exchange, opium, salt, railways, and posts and telegraphs. In every Department the Reformed Indian Legislature, yet in its infancy, has made itself felt. Political power has visibly shifted from the Government of India to the Legislature. This was foreseen by Ilbert and Meston who say: "The purpose of the arrangement was clearly to habituate the Executive, even in discharging their own responsibilities, to rely more and more upon the support of their Legislature, and less and less upon the support of the British Parliament accorded through the Secretary of State. Under the old dispensation, if a Viceroy proposed to introduce a new policy he had to persuade the Secretary of State of the necessity of it and of its wisdom; he had also to get the Secretary of State's consent to the measures for financing it. Under the new dispensation the Secretary of State will be difficult to persuade, unless the scheme has first obtained the blessing of the Indian Legislature. The Viceroy of the future will consequently tend, in increasing measure, to consult Indian opinion first, and to count on its support rather than the academic approval of Whitehall or Westminster." (Page 151 of Ilbert and Meston.)

But the 'Indian' opinion on which the Viceroy of the future is to rely is not that of the Princes. At present there is no channel through which the Princes can influence the policy of subjects in which they are interested. The Political Department of the Indian Government cannot be that channel. The Chamber of Princes as it is now functioning also cannot be that channel. It is confined to mere discussion. The Princes will not be satisfied with that. On the other hand if the Viceroy were previously to deliberate with the Princes and commit himself to a certain course of action before the measure was introduced in the Indian Legislature, and carry the measure by his power of certification (as the Protection to Indian Princes Bill), such an arrangement would amount to the governance of India by the Viceroy in consultation with the Princes, an arrangement inconsistent with the growth of Indian polity, and never contemplated by anybody. Apart from

its obvious drawbacks such an arrangement would make the office of the Viceroy the grave of statesmanship. Even as it is the Viceroy is the representative of the Crown and the Head of the Indian Administration. The impending transfer of responsibility to the Indian Legislature would make larger demands upon the tact and imagination of the Governor-General. He will find it difficult to combine the roles of the constitutional Head of the Indian Administration and the guide, friend and philosopher of the Indian Princes. Either he will antagonise the Legislature by frequent use of his extraordinary powers, or the Princes will become little more than the glorified figureheads of their States and the victims of an economic policy in the shaping of which they had no voice.

All this points to the urgency of a real Federal Constitution for India. The Council of State has perhaps been the least successful part of the Reformed machinery. The experience of Germany would suggest an upper House on the model of the *Bundesrath*. Federalism alone would solve this difficulty. The war has shown that the opposing principles of Self-determination and Federalism must be combined. Self-determination by itself would not suffice in view of the economic, intellectual and moral interdependence of nations. As Prof. Hobson says, "The principle of federalism must qualify the principle of self-determination. This is the harmony of unity and diversity as it shows itself in every field of conduct. Autonomy so far as aims and ends are separate, union so far as they are identical. Federation connotes the political harmony of the opposing principles." (Problems of a New World, pages 231-52.)

The Indian States, to a certain extent, are self-determining communities so far as the Ruling Prince embodies the will of the community. But as he is in the midst of economic forces over which he has at present no control his autonomy is of no avail to him. The doctrine of non-intervention, like that of liberty, becomes useful if it is a positive doctrine. To be let alone to digest one's powerlessness is not a good position to be in. The Princes will cease to be useful if their theoretically unlimited autonomy is not supported by adequate finances. Otherwise their right of Self-determination will

amount to the necessity of self-determination in another sense.

If the Princes get representation in the Upper House (in person or through their Dewans) they will get used to joint discussion. The Federal Legislature will of course work within the framework of the Fundamental Convention. The Supreme Court will give them an assurance of the continuance of their privileges and also redress of any injury that they or their subjects may suffer.

It is not the object of this note to elaborate any Constitution. It wants to call attention to those basic considerations to which political and fiscal relations between British India and the Indian States in the future must have due regard if they were to redound to the honour of the Princes, to the improvement of the subjects of the Princes, and finally, to the progress of the country as a whole to an honourable position in the Commonwealth of the British Empire.

ESSENTIALS OF A SUCCESSFUL LAWYER*

BY

SIR TEE BAHADUR SAPRU, M.A., LL.D., K.C.S.I.

It is often said that the legal profession is a very crowded profession, and that there is no room for newcomers. But let me tell you that this was not said only in the year 1928. This was said also nearly 33 years ago, when I joined the legal profession. I believe it will be the same, when my grandson or great-grandson decides to join the legal profession. Personal experience has, however, convinced me, that there is always room in any profession, howsoever crowded, howsoever full it may be, for a man who means to achieve success and who qualifies himself accordingly for that success.

MADRAS' NOBLE PEDIGREE

You in Madras, certainly do not require any advice on any legal subject or on any matter affecting the legal profession from a man coming from Northern India. I don't think that any class of lawyers in India could boast of a nobler pedigree than you Madras men could. And, mind you, when I say this, it is not as a mere matter of convention that I am paying this tribute to your great legal ancestors, but it is out of the deepest conviction. After having made a somewhat close study of legal subjects during the last 30 years, I have come to the conclusion that no part of India has produced finer intellects in law than Madras has. When I think of the great names of Sir T. Muthu-

swami Aiyar, Sir V. Bashyam Aiyangar, Sir S. Subramania Aiyar, Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar and Mr. P. R. Sundaram Aiyar, I do say and I do feel that they were men of whom any country at any time might be proud, and of whom any legal profession in any part of the world might have generally felt proud. You may take it from me that, so far as the standard of scholarship, learning, analytical faculty and research are concerned, they have already been prescribed by your great legal ancestors. And you do not want any higher standards from any one.

LEGAL RESEARCH

It is perfectly true that, in India, we have still to develop that kind of dry scholarship in law, which we meet in other parts of the world. I believe, the time is not very far, when we shall have in this country lawyers, who will devote themselves and dedicate themselves to the study of Law as a Science, rather than as a means for the acquisition of wealth or power or fame. Those lawyers are not so well known among the general lay-public, but they are well-known, respected and revered even by practising lawyers.

There is a great deal of research work to be done in the Science of Law in this country. We are daily interpreting our ancient system of law—Hindu

*And Address delivered to Law Students at Madras.

and Muhammadan—and trying to adjust those ancient doctrines to modern conditions. I am not speaking here as a social reformer, nor am I giving you any opinion as to how far it is possible for us to stick to those old forms. Although the standards of conduct were prescribed by our ancient sages some 2,000 years ago, I do say that the time has really come, when instead of interpreting them as occasion arises and applying them to particular facts and particular cases, we Hindu lawyers and Indian lawyers generally, ought to apply ourselves in a more scientific manner to the study of those branches of Law, and try to find out for ourselves the circumstances in which those systems grew and were developed. Without appreciating the circumstances and the influences, which were in operation in those days, it is difficult for us to understand the reason why particular propositions were laid at that time. And unless we do appreciate those reasons, it should be difficult even for a social reformer to determine for himself the extent to which he would be safely prepared to depart from those, though, speaking for myself as a social reformer, I would not hesitate very much in departing, in a very large measure, from some of those ancient systems. But that is a different matter. Therefore, I do make an appeal to some of you, if not to all, that you will apply yourself not merely to the practical branches of Law, which will bring you money and power and fame, but also to a scientific study of Law, to enrich Hindu and Muhammadan jurisprudence in this country.

LAW AS A PROFESSION.

Well, perhaps, it is perfectly natural that you should expect me to tell you more of the Law, as a profession than Law as a Science, because I believe, you are more interested in joining the profession than in this dry-as-dust research. However, there must be some of you, who must rise superior to these considerations. So far as the legal profession as such is concerned, there is no royal road to success. If you study the careers of men in England and in India and in other countries, you will find that those men who are accustomed to be looked upon as leaders, fashionable leaders as the term goes in England, as leaders in the profession, they are precisely the men, who had passed through long odds of waiting, patience, disappointment and

disgust, before they had been able to achieve any appreciable measure of success. If each one of us will write an honest account of the trials and of the sufferings through which he had to pass, during the early days of waiting, I think instead of being a warning to you, all that should be a source of great encouragement to you, because notwithstanding those difficulties which many of us had to encounter in those early days, we did succeed in rising superior to those difficulties and in carving out careers for us. And I see absolutely no reason that what we were able in our generation to achieve, you in your younger generation with all the experience that is to your credit, should not be able to do, and in fact, do it better.

ESSENTIALS FOR SUCCESS.

There are, however, half a dozen qualities, which were absolutely necessary for the success of a lawyer. I will not place the intellectual qualities first and foremost. I will rather place the moral quality first and foremost. There is nothing more necessary for the success of a lawyer than character. One distinguished lawyer told me once that the most difficult part of the lawyer was how to make money. It was very easy for him to give advice, it was very easy for him to argue the case, but it was very difficult to make money. I ventured to differ from him. No doubt, it would be absurd on the part of any one of us to claim that we follow the profession of law out of philanthropic notions. We all do follow the profession, as a matter of career, as a matter of necessity. But even within those temptations, there is plenty of room for the display of the highest attributes of character. You daily come into touch with litigants, who are prepared to do anything, only you must ask them to do that. And then there arises your responsibility. It is up to you, therefore, that, while you will work to the best of your ability, according to the best of your lights, for the benefit of your client, you shall directly or indirectly, by suggestion or otherwise, not do anything which is derogatory to your position as a member of the profession, and which is inconsistent with the highest dictates of morality.

BEWARE OF TEMPTATIONS.

Temptations in the conduct of cases are many. Every one of us has known all these temptations,

and has had to face these temptations. But, remember, the lawyer who resorts to underhand practices may pick up some sort of practice, or acquire some local reputation. But the true test of a lawyer's reputation arises from the lengths of time, through which it has prevailed in his part of the world. And a lawyer, who resorts to underhand practice enjoys only a very temporary, short-lived popularity, influence and fame, and ultimately, you find that the man who is lagging behind, but who has more character in him does defeat the brilliant lawyer, who has stolen a march upon the other by adopting some easier methods of success. Therefore, I say, that whatever be the nature of the temptations that may arise in your way, it is up to you, that you should resist those temptations, and that you shall maintain the highest possible standards of professional integrity, in dealing with your clients, in dealing with the Court, and in dealing with your opponents.

EMULATE THE ENGLISH BAR.

I have not the least hesitation, having travelled in many countries, having met people of different nationalities, and having studied things about the legal profession in various countries, in saying that, nowhere has the legal profession achieved and maintained a higher standard than the English Bar in England has done. I have no hesitation in saying that. Now that the new chapter in the history of the legal profession in India is opening,—I believe it is open already here in the Bar Councils Act—I think it is up to you, to show that you are prepared not merely to enjoy the higher standard that has been conferred on you by the Indian Legislature, but to enforce in practice those standards of conduct, which have made the name of the English Bar, an honored name all over the world. Well, an English Barrister in England may be the worst possible of Tories, may be the greatest enemy in the politics of your country, but if you entrust him with your brief, I have not the slightest doubt, in my mind, that he will discharge his duties with integrity, with independence and with fearlessness, which will even astonish you. In dealing with their clients, with their opponents and with the Court, they have shown nothing but the highest possible integrity, and the highest possible amount of independence. It does not mean that there

are not black sheep there. Black sheep there are, and there will be, in every society and in every body of men. But taking the standard as a whole, and judging the English Bar as a whole during the last few centuries, I have not the least doubt that you will come to the conclusion that it is one of the finest bodies of professional men that ever existed in the world.

It is the English Barristers that fought the battles of liberty and freedom in England, and it is the English Judges, who have been the greatest bulwark of popular rights and liberties. And if you study the early history of the War in this country you will find that in the early part of the 19th Century, both in Calcutta and in other Presidency towns, it was the English Barristers in those days that consciously or unconsciously laid the foundation for those notions of liberty and freedom and a sense of the reign of law, which we now prize so much. You read the early reports of the times of Sir Elijah Impey in Calcutta, or of few years later, during that time, you will find that there were men who had come out from England and who took up the cause of their Indian litigants and fought those battles most bravely and most independently in those days. There is a great deal of history imbedded in the Indian Law Report, and Moore's Indian Appeals and in the English Reports relating to India, which I would ask you to discover for yourself. And if you apply yourself seriously, you will find that the standard has already been laid down for you, not only by the English Barristers from the early generation, but also Indian lawyers of great eminence in subsequent generations. Those are the standards, which I will ask you to adopt for yourself in the discharge of your professional duties.

IN TURKEY.

But howsoever much, you may be engrossed in the pursuit of your own profession, in the study of law, in the practical work that you will be called upon to perform in the course of law, there are other claims, on your time which you will have to meet. You will generally find that in every other country, it is the lawyer, who has come forward to represent popular institutions and popular assemblies much more than any other men. Only last

year about this time, I happened to be travelling in Turkey. I went to the Supreme Court there, called on the President of the Bar and the members of the Bar, who were exceedingly nice to me. Notwithstanding the fact that I am a great admirer of that wonderful man, Mustafa Kemal Paşa, I will tell you that a great deal of the success of the movement in Turkey, has been due to the indefatigable work of the lawyers practising there.

FIGHT BRAVELY.

Great times are in store for you. Whether the present generation of public men is drawn from the legal profession or from any other profession, I believe they have played their part, or have very nearly played their part. They must, in the ordinary course of events, make room for you, younger men. It will be up to you to carry on the fight. But whatever be the nature of the fight, howsoever bitter the opposition, you may have to meet, there is one thing that I would ask you always to bear in mind. Let it be a clean fight, let it not be a fight for personal or selfish ends, but let it be a fight for public ends. And when you have got to fight for public ends, remember that your opponent is not always so bad as you are led to believe, or that you are not so good as sometimes you imagine you are. The truth may probably be neither on your side, nor on his; it may be somewhere midway. Therefore, when you enter the political arena, bring in the spirit of fair-play. Not only fight but fight bravely. But if you have got convictions, which are inconvenient to your popularity, then you will be face to face with very difficult problems.

COMMUNALISM.

Politics is a very difficult game and a game of compromise at the best; or at the worst. I should think that there is chance for the redemption of the soul of even a politician. He can, if he likes and dares, maintain a certain standard of public probity and faithfulness to his own convictions, which at moments impose very great strain. The temptations in the way of politicians are by no means small. They are sometimes greater than those in the way of lawyers. Bearing in mind, as I do, that you will,—many of you at any rate,—be both lawyers and politicians, I only hope and pray that in the

struggle that awaits you, you may give a very good and honorable account of yourself. Coming to politics again, you will be face to face with extremely difficult problems in the near future, and there is no greater problem, to my mind, than the problem of the unification of the various communities in India. It is no use disguising the fact—and I say that with apologies to Miss Mayo—that much of the trouble in our country arises because of our hopeless divisions, because of the manner in which we think, because of the terms of communalism in which sometimes the best of us are compelled to think or do voluntarily think. Now, I ask you, my young friends, in all sincerity, to rise superior to these petty and small considerations. When I think of the present position of Indian politics—I am speaking to you absolutely frankly—sometimes I feel that what we of the present generation have failed to achieve, may be achieved by our successors. We are old, confirmed sinners, and give you a warning that you will do better than we had done in regard to these matters. The time has really come, when youngmen, whatever be the creed to which they belong, whatever be the faith they may profess or inherit, should band themselves together into a sort of league and take a solemn vow, that whatever else may deflect their course, communalism shall not.

That is the real thing which has got to be borne in mind. Once you make up your mind that you will begin to think as Indians, and not in terms of one particular community, not as Hindus or Muhammadans, not as Brahmanas or Non-Brahmanas, if you will pardon my referring to local matters, well, I think you will have solved the problem for yourself, and you will see the way out. Unfortunately, it is true more or less of every part of India,—I speak of the North, I will not refer to the South, because you know better, that sometimes and very often we think in those narrow terms, with the consequence that whenever there is anything big going, the first question which is raised in the country is: "What about this community, what about that community?" But poor India recedes in the background. By these, we really make ourselves the laughing stock of all other nations. I will beg of you to go outside the country, and see for yourselves what view is entertained by outsiders of your inter-

nal quarrels and dissensions. I had some experience of it last year, when I was travelling in Eastern Europe. I came back with the conviction, that unless the communal problem is solved, solved freely, frankly and courageously, there is no hope, and there can be no hope, for us in the near future. We have got, therefore, to apply ourselves to that problem.

Speaking for myself, I have not the least hesitation in saying that in these matters, I hold very unorthodox views, and my sympathies are with that class of people, whom we in our vanity describe as

the "depressed" classes, or submerged classes. And one of the reasons, why I have come to Madras is, that I want to get into practical and personal touch with this problem, to have personal sense of the nature of this problem, which has been engaging my attention for years past. But I cannot have a correct notion of that unless I go round the Presidency. I do hope and trust that in regard to this matter, you of the younger generation will set a better example than your leaders have done in the past.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE *VERSUS* DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA

BY

(The Late) LALA LAJPAT RAI, M.L.A.

No self-respecting Indian could be so base as not to desire complete political independence for his country in the same sense in which the other countries of the world are independent. But is there any country in the world which is really and absolutely completely independent? Every country has some limitations on its 'complete independence.' The free countries of the world are only 'independent' in the sense that they are free to determine their policy and practice. No one can treat them as subordinates and no one can impose obligations on them, except such as are accepted by them of their own free will and in their own interest. This independence is all that can be expected and desired in this otherwise interdependent world.

THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS

I maintain that the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth do enjoy this independence to the same extent as Great Britain herself does. The British Empire is a congeries of nations free and not free. But the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is expected, will consist of free and self-governing nations. The British Empire is not a Commonwealth at present. The very word Empire signifies the existence of nations in it that are not

free and self-governing. As a matter of fact also it is so. The vast bulk of population included in the British Empire does not enjoy the rights of free citizenship. In it there are rulers and subjects.

POSITION OF INDIA.

The Government of India which has under it the bulk of the population of the Empire is only a subordinate government. Besides, it has under it a number of Native States which are arbitrarily ruled and with which the Government of India also deals rather arbitrarily. It is, therefore, a travesty of language to call the British Empire, as it at present exists, a Commonwealth of Nations. The Indians who are in favour of adopting complete political independence as their *immediate* goal do not believe in the sincerity of British declarations to confer Dominion Status on India. They believe (a) that these declarations are mere camouflage; (b) that whatever may be the status of other dominions, the British cannot afford to give the same status to India, because in the first place the population of India being so much larger than that of the British Isles plus the Dominions, the former's partnership with the latter will practically mean the subordination of the white peoples of the Commonwealth to its coloured peoples.

which is inconceivable; (c) that although the British people are prepared to make themselves responsible for the defence of the white dominions, they shall not willingly do it in the case of India; (d) that the British people are not likely to concede even dominion status to India without bloodshed. In that case, why not go in for complete independence?; (e) that the genius and culture of India being so different from that of the British and their white dominions, India's development will always be hampered or cramped or overshadowed by that of the other parts of the Commonwealth.

PRACTICAL WISDOM.

This list is by no means exhaustive. No Indian can but sympathise with this point of view. The arguments, however, are not conclusive. If India were free today to make its choice, she shall not be disposed to join the British Commonwealth. But she is not free. She is included in the British Empire. The question before her then resolves itself into one of expediency, not hypocritical expediency but one of practical wisdom. Even Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar says he would accept Dominion Status if it was granted at once. Some others hold that we should work for Dominion Status as a stepping-stone to complete political independence. I do not agree. I am of opinion that we should honestly, whole-heartedly and sincerely work for Dominion Status whether we get it immediately or in the next few years. I say so, because to me, in our present circumstances, that seems to be the path of practical political wisdom. I am at one with my friends of complete political independence school in thinking that the British are not likely to grant us dominion status at once; that they shall not concede us that status unless we have produced a sufficiently strong sanction behind us to *compel* them to do so. I am not even afraid of bloodshed. There is no use in being too much sentimental. My reasons for my opinion are:—

(1) Dominion Status, as at present understood, secures to us full independence and freedom to remain within the Commonwealth as long as it is in our interest to do so.

(2) That the partnership within the Commonwealth does not mean voting by population. That in case any dominion finds that it is voted out by

virtue of mere prejudice or other similar considerations, it is free to dissolve the partnership.

(3) That the first task of the Indian Nationalists will be to take the Indian States with them. No attempt in this direction has the ghost of a chance if you declare complete political independence as your immediate goal. That a combination of the British and the Native States against you will be a formidable obstacle in the way of your political progress.

(4) That the cry of complete political independence leads people away from constructive political and social work and is a disturbing element in the nation-building department of the country.

(5) That it gives the British an excuse for repression and suppression. I recognise that in the case of subject peoples repression and suppression is sometimes more beneficial to political freedom than petty conciliation and superficial concessions. But even then in the present circumstances of India with our economic helplessness staring us in the face at every step, the balance of advantage lies in not giving the British an excuse for excessive repression and suppression.

(6) That any *practical active steps* towards complete political independence cannot be taken except in secrecy and through revolutionary violence. The preachers of non-violence may talk as much as they like, but they will not advance an inch towards it unless they actively grapple with the problem of how and by what means?

(7) That the dream of an Asiatic Federation is a mere fantasy and we cannot build upon it. Under the circumstances may I ask my countrymen not to waste their time and energy over this useless controversy. The present creed of the Congress is sufficiently comprehensive for all purposes and this diversion of attention in favour of the goal of complete political independence consumes so much time and energy which could be used to better advantage, that in my judgment it is neither wise nor expedient to indulge in it. Let us put our hands to the wheel and do practical work instead of wasting time in fruitless controversies and useless wordy polemics.

I am further of opinion that those who declare complete political independence as their *immediate* goal cannot honourably remain members of Councils

or the Assembly. The oath of allegiance is absolutely inconsistent with the position. A Jawaharlal may well talk of complete political independence as his *immediate* goal but a Srinivasa Iyengar cannot.

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM

At the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee Pt. Jawahar Lal made a challenging speech. Amongst other things he said that the Indian leaders did not understand the full implications of Imperialism and did not know what Socialism was. He also stated that if India could throw away England's yoke she need entertain no fears from any quarter. He poohpoohed the apprehensions of those who were afraid of an invasion by Kabul. Before him Mr. Satyamurti had said that England was hated all over the world while India had no enemies.

All these statements are generalizations of a questionable character. We will take them one by one. As regards the Indian leaders (both Congress and Liberal) not understanding the full implications of Imperialism, I think Pt. Jawahar Lal's statement is, to say the least, a presumption. There are leaders and leaders in India. Amongst them are persons who have tasted the sweets of office, as also persons who have realized the fullest meaning of Imperialism by their own personal experience. Both classes know what Imperialism is; both understand fully what its implications and bearings are. There are some who connive at it and if given a chance would themselves be imperialists. They do not hate it as a system of government. Imperialism implies the power of exploiting others—nations and peoples, groups and individuals. It implies the concentration of power in the hands of the ruling group. It also implies the distribution of power amongst several groups in order to facilitate exploitation. There are Indian leaders in *all* parties who are in their heart of hearts imperialists. They talk of democracy with *mental reservation*. If you judge them by their personal conduct you can find them amongst the members and officers of the Independence Leagues too. They curse British Imperialism because it is foreign. Some of them still hanker for a position under that

Imperialism, if they could get it. In the absence of it, they pose as *democrats*, because that pose gives them a position and keeps them before the peoples' eyes. If Pt. Jawahar Lal meant these 'mental reservation wallah' imperialists he was not right in questioning their knowledge of Imperialism and what it implies. He should have proceeded further and questioned their professed hatred of Imperialism. These 'leaders' are to be found all provinces. They are not confined to any one place or group.

As regards the other part of his statement, at best it is a half truth. There are socialists and socialists in India, as elsewhere. There are academic socialists, socialists who make of socialism a thing of convenience; socialists, who are socialists with mental reservations; socialists who do not care to understand what socialism means and implies. Even in Europe and America there are few amongst socialists who are prepared to put into practice what they profess to believe. I claim to have known, to have associated and come into contact with socialists of all kinds. I met them almost daily for five years of my life. I have seen and mixed with some of them in Great Britain. I have heard and read of many on the Continent who started as rabid socialists and ended as imperialists of one kind or the other. There are few, very few, of the Lenin type. Many or most are of the Ramsay MacDonald species. The Lansburys stand between the two.

The fact is that *political life* as distinguished from *political theories* is a great dissolvent factor. Life as lived is quite different from life as studied in books. I do not deny that there are a few good men of the real socialist type in every country, and in every nation. They are the salt of the earth. Their work is very valuable. They do exercise a beneficial influence in humanising politics. They leave a legacy of ideas behind them. They have a halo of purity round them. But in *Real-politik* their influence is almost *nil*. In my life I have known and associated with many anti-Imperialist socialists and organizations. But I know not of one single man or of one single organization which may be said to have completely shaken off the insidious influence of nationalist Imperialism. Of British socialists we have known enough and to spare. So far I know of only one man among

them who was somewhat of a socialist in his life—I mean the late Keir Hardie.

Two years ago when the British socialists declared a general strike I happened to be in France. The day after the strike was called off I was in London and went straight to Lansbury's office. I found him foaming and frothing against the calling off of the strike and predicting an early revolution in Great Britain. There were others too who used the hitherto and the strongest language against the leaders of the Trade Union Congress. Well, India knows that the Lansbury of 1927 who voted for the Simon Commission is a different person. I do not charge either Mr. Ramsay MacDonald or Mr. Lansbury as being insincere men. The responsibility of office has forced them to be what they are. I have little doubt that others also who pose at present as high priests of Socialism in Great Britain will behave just the same when the time comes. German Socialism, French Socialism, Belgian Socialism were all tested during the war and found to be counterfeit coin. Mussolini represents the Italian Socialism. As regards American Socialism there has not been any occasion to test it. Russian Socialism has yet to be tested. It is too early to speak of it.

I would beg of Pt. Jawahar Lal not to build too much on socialistic sympathies for India. I have tested them and found them wanting. European socialism is opposed to Indian nationalism because nationalism is after all a *bourgeois* conception, but they are not opposed to and are doing nothing much to destroy British or German or French or Italian or Belgian nationalism which in their case is only synonymous with Imperialism. Two years ago I had the honour of participating in a World

Congress of Socialists convened by the Amsterdam International to consider racial problems. With the exception of a very few men who did not count for much in their respective communities I found the overwhelming majority opposed to the emigration of coloured people to countries at present possessed by white people. They would not concede equal or even human rights to coloured people. Amongst them were the socialists of Australia, South Africa, Canada, Great Britain and other European countries. Pt. Jawahar Lal's genuine socialists can perhaps be counted on one's fingers. They are those who do not count for any effective international purpose. Their propaganda is valuable as I have said before but their influence is *nil*. May I ask Pt. Jawahar Lal to name a few in India who according to him have a true conception of socialism. I wonder if there are a dozen eminent socialists in the world whose conception of socialism is the same.

Some eminent socialists hold that socialism does not recognise nationalism. A socialist, they say, cannot be a nationalist. Are we to understand that Pt. Jawahar Lal and those who think with him are not nationalists? I am afraid we in India cannot make a fetish of any particular brand of Socialism. Our first task is to secure freedom from foreign yoke. Any emphasis on extreme Socialism is sure to create more divisions than are desirable at this time. I know there are some people who scoff at unity. They do not want unity except at their price. Well, all I can say is that they are mistaken if they think they can get independence complete or incomplete by creating dissensions and divisions and by emphasising non-essentials.

THE PROBLEMS OF RADIATION*

BY

PROF. C. V. RAMAN, D.S.C., F.R.S.

It is the privilege of a physicist to concern himself with what may be regarded as the fundamental entities of the material universe we live in. His theories and experiments are directed towards ob-

taining a clearer understanding of the nature of those entities and of their relationships with each other. His results, if expressed in plain language, should be intelligible not only to those who profess

*Presidential Address at the 16th Session of the Indian Science Congress at Madras.

other branches of science, but to all who take an interest in the varied phenomena of Nature. The work of the physicist has the closest possible bearing on the interpretation of fact observed in other fields of scientific knowledge. No apology is, therefore, needed for my decision to devote this address to an exposition of the nature and significance of a new phenomenon recently discovered in my laboratory at Calcutta, which has a bearing on the fundamental problems of physics and chemistry.

WHAT IS RADIATION?

Every one of us is, or should be, interested in the nature of that phenomenon which we call *light*, and which is a species of the genus *radiation*. Light is emitted by matter under suitable conditions of excitation. We heat an atom or excite it by electric discharge. It becomes luminous and gives off radiation. What is radiation? On this point, the physicists of the nineteenth century had come to the very definite conclusion, based on evidence which it seemed impossible could ever be shaken, that light is a kind of wave motion travelling through space, and of the same physical nature as the electro-magnetic waves discovered by Hertz, and now so familiar to all, as the waves of wireless telegraphy and telephony. Remarkably enough, however, the present century has witnessed a re-opening of the question. I will not pause here to trace in detail the history of the development of what is known today as the quantum theory of radiation. It is associated with the names of three great living physicists, namely, Planck, Einstein, and Niels Bohr. It will suffice for my purpose to indicate the very definite and intelligible form it received in Bohr's well-known Theory of Spectra. According to Bohr, the emission of light from an atom is not a single process but takes place in two distinct stages. The first stage is the energizing of the atom, in other words, its passing over from a normal or non-luminous condition into a new state of higher energy content. The second stage is the return of the atom to a condition of lower energy, accompanied by the emission of light. Bohr found it necessary, in order to interpret the facts of spectroscopy, to assume that the different states of the atom are sharply differentiated from each other in their energy content. The atom, therefore, takes up energy or gives up

energy, as the case may be, in passing from one state to another, in discrete bundles or quanta. Radiation is thus absorbed or emitted by the atom in discrete bundles of energy. It follows naturally that, while travelling through space, light also remains as discrete bundles or quanta of radiation. A distinctly unitary character is thus indicated for radiation.

"COMPTON EFFECT."

Further powerful support for a corpuscular idea of radiation came to hand a few years ago, when Prof. A. H. Compton, now of Chicago University, discovered a remarkable phenomenon which is now known by his name as the Compton Effect, and for which he received the Nobel Prize in Physics a year ago. Briefly, what he found was this: when X-rays fall upon matter and the scattered rays are analysed by an X-ray spectro-scope, the lines in the X-ray spectrum are found to be doubled. Prof. Compton gave a very simple and remarkable explanation of this fact. He regarded the incident X-rays as consisting of corpuscles which moved with the velocity of light, and on hitting an electron in the scattering material, dislodged it and were themselves deviated from their straight path. It is obvious that, in such a process, the deviated corpuscle would lose part of its energy, this being taken up by the recoiling electron. Prof. Compton's explanation of his effect is supported by the fact, that the recoil of the electron is actually observed in experiment. A change in energy of the quantum is equivalent to a change in the frequency of scattered radiation, which, therefore, appears in the X-ray spectrum as a line in a shifted position. Measurements of the change of wave-length and of the velocity of the recoil electron appeared strongly to support Prof. Compton's theory, and the latter has, therefore, gained general acceptance.

TWO DISTINCT THEORIES.

We appear thus to have reached the astonishing position that two distinct theories of light both claim our acceptance. In other words, light consists of waves expanding spherically outwards from a luminous atom into ever-increasing volumes of space, and it also consists of a corpuscle shot off in some one specific direction from the luminous atom

and, therefore, moving along a straight line to infinity. I have often seen it suggested that there might be no real conflict between these two widely different points of view, if we regard the light corpuscle statistically. In other words, if we had a sufficiently large number of atoms giving out corpuscles, the two pictures of radiation may be statistically equivalent. So, indeed, they would be, if a corpuscle emitted from one atom and a corpuscle emitted from another could be regarded as equivalent. But such a conception would be totally repugnant to wave-principles. For, when we consider a luminous gas, the waves emitted by the different atoms in it would not be equivalent, unless all the atoms were at the same place and emitting light-waves in identical phase. It is obviously difficult to accept the latter proposition, and in fact, we may be fairly certain that it is untrue. The particular suggestion here made for securing a statistical equivalence of the wave and quantum theories of radiation seems, therefore, untenable. My own feeling is that it is impossible to accept the wave and quantum theories of radiation as simultaneously true, if Compton's idea of a localised quantum is a correct and universal description of the process of radiation from atoms. In order to explain the familiar facts of optical interference and diffraction, we are compelled to assume that the light emitted by a luminous atom spread out spherically with identical velocity and phase in all directions. Theoretically, it is possible to analyse a spherical wave into a set of plane directed waves passing simultaneously through the centre of the sphere in all directions, *provided they are all in identical phases at the centre*. We may, of course, regard a plane wave as equivalent to a directed quantum in the sense of Compton, but as a single atom can only radiate one quantum at a time, it is impossible to explain interference if we assume the emission to consist generally of directed quanta. In Compton's own experiment, we are dealing with the secondary radiation from an atom illuminated by X-rays of wave-length much shorter than the diameter of the atom. This is a very different problem from that of an atom radiating spontaneously in all directions. In a Paper appearing in the *Indian Journal of Physics*, I have discussed the case of Compton from what I believe to be rather a novel point of view,

and shown that, so far from the Compton Effect being opposed to the classical wave-principles, the latter actually indicate the existence of such an effect, and quantitatively predict its observed characters. On the view developed in my Paper, Compton's experiment is not a disproof of the spreading wave-theory. We do not regard the beam of radiation thrown out in a straight line by a light-house and travelling for miles without appreciable spreading, as a contradiction of wave-principles, but explain it as an effect produced by the lenses and mirrors of the light-house. In analogous way, I utilise the relation between the wave-length of the radiation and the size of the atom, to explain Compton's results. The investigation shows that the classical and quantum theories of radiation are indeed statistically equivalent, but this equivalence is secured by the properties of the atom, and not by filling space with localised quanta. I will go so far as to say that, in my view, it is entirely futile to regard the light quantum as a particle having any specifiable shape, size or position.

EXPERIMENTAL WORK.

This theoretical paper on the Compton Effect was worked out during a holiday at Waltair in October 1927. Apart from any little intellectual satisfaction which this writing may have given me its chief interest is that it prepared the ground for experimental work of the following months which I shall now mention.

Eight years ago, we commenced at Calcutta a series of experimental studies on the scattering of light in transparent media of all kinds. These studies were largely inspired by a desire to understand and explain fully such natural optical phenomena as the light of the sky, the dark blue color of the deep sea, and the delicate opalescence of ice in glaciers. It soon became evident that the laboratory studies intended in the first place to reproduce these natural phenomena on a small scale would carry us some way towards solution of such fundamental problems of physics as the constitution and structure of molecules, their number, arrangement and thermal movements in gaseous, liquid and solid media, and the nature of radiation itself. I will not fatigue you by reciting the numerous experimental and theoretical researches carried out by

us on these subjects. Associated with me during these eight years were a great many young physicists from all parts of India, who received their research training in my laboratory. Amongst them, I would specially mention the names of Dr. K. R. Ramanathan and of Mr. K. S. Krishnan, both by reason of their conspicuous originality in research and in view of the importance of their personal contributions to the development of the subject now under discussion. To them and to my numerous other collaborators from Bengal and Madras, and Northern India, I owe a debt of gratitude.

A NEW PHENOMENON.

At a very early stage in our investigations, we came across a new and entirely unexpected phenomenon. As early as 1923, it was noticed when sunlight filtered through a violet glass passes through certain liquids and solids, e.g., water or ice, the scattered rays emerging from the track of the incident beam through the substance contained certain rays not present in the incident beam. The observations were made with color filters. A green glass was used, which cut off all light if placed between the violet filter and the substance. On transferring the glass to a place between the substance and the observer's eye the track continued to be visible though feebly. This is a clear proof of a real transformation of light from a violet into a green ray. The most careful chemical purification of the substance failed to eliminate the phenomenon. Subsequent investigations showed the same effect in a considerable number of liquids and solids, and we even attempted a spectroscopic investigation of it.

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE.

Though, from time to time, we returned to the study of this new phenomenon and published accounts of it, its real significance as a twin brother to the Compton Effect first became clear to me at the end of 1927 when I was preoccupied with the theory of the subject. I regarded the ejection of the electron in the Compton Effect as essentially a fluctuation of the atom of the same kind as would be induced by heating the atom to a sufficiently high temperature, and the so-called directed quantum of Compton as merely an unsymmetrical emission of

radiation from the atom which occurs at the same time as the fluctuation in its electrical state. The conception of fluctuations is a very familiar one in optical and kinetic theory, and in fact, all our experimental results in the field of light scattering had been interpreted with its aid. There was, therefore, every reason to expect that radiations of altered wave-length corresponding to fluctuations in the state of the scattering molecules should be observed also in the case of ordinary light.

A NEW RADIATION EFFECT.

The idea was energetically taken up, and the experiments showed it to be completely correct. It became clear that we had here a new radiation effect, far more general and universal in its character than the Compton Effect, and of which the latter could be regarded as a special case. The ejection of an electron is a very violent type of fluctuation. There are numerous other comparatively mild types of fluctuation possible in the electrical state of atoms and molecules. Such fluctuations correspond to relatively small changes in the energy-level of the atomic system in the sense of Bohr. If a change of energy-level is produced by the incident radiation and is simultaneous with it, the quantum of radiation emitted under these conditions may be greater or smaller as the case may be than the quantum of incident radiation. We may represent this change as a chemical reversible reaction.

MOLECULE + RADIATION =

MOLECULE + RADIATION

(normal state) (high frequency) (excited state) (low frequency).

If the reaction proceeds in the direction of the upper arrow, we have a diminution in frequency of the radiation, and if in the direction of the lower arrow, we have an increase of frequency. The relative importance of the two types of reaction would obviously be determined by the law of mass-action, that is to say, upon the populations of the normal and excited states of the molecules present in the irradiated substance. In ordinary cases, the presence of excited states is determined by temperature. Other causes of excitation of molecules, if present, must also be taken into account.

Since atomic and molecular systems have many possible energy-levels, as shown by the facts of

spectroscopy, we see in the foregoing chemical equation the possibility of observing a great many new lines in the spectrum of the scattered radiation.

The most convenient way of studying the effect is by using the intense non-chromatic radiation of the mercury arc and to condense its light into the substance, or better, actually to bring the arc into close proximity with the substance as in the well-known work of R. W. Wood on resonance spectra. The spectrum of the scattered radiation is then readily photographed, and it shows a multitude of new lines, bands, and in addition continuous radiation. The relation between the frequencies of the incident and scattered radiations will be readily noticed from the equation written above symbolically. The difference between the incident and scattered quanta is equal to the quantum of absorption or emission, or the case may be of the molecules. The characteristic frequency of the molecule is, therefore, subtracted from or added to the frequency of the incident radiation to give that of the scattered light.

In one sense, this combination of the incident frequency with the frequency of the molecule is an analogue of the classical phenomena of Tartini's Tones, which we are familiar with in acoustical theory, and which are explained in terms of the forced vibrations of a non-harmonic oscillator. This analogy may, no doubt, be used to find the intensity of the modified radiation approximately by applying the correspondence principle to a non-harmonic molecular mode of suitable type. The difference between this classical analogue and the actually observed optical effect is in the extraordinary disproportion between the intensity of the lines corresponding to the differential and summational tones respectively, which is far greater than in the acoustical analogies.

An extremely interesting and fundamental point regarding the new type of secondary radiation is that, in general it is strongly polarised. In this respect, the phenomenon is analogous to the experimentally known polarisation of the Compton type of X-ray scattering. We notice, however, that the different lines corresponding to different molecular frequencies are polarised to very different extents. It may be presumed that this is due to the molecular oscillators involved not possessing spherical symme-

try. Whether this explanation is sufficient or not remains to be tested by computation and comparison with observation.

We may here pause a little to consider more closely the real significance of our phenomenon. Some, no doubt, will claim to see in it a further confirmation of the quantum theory of radiation. My own view, however, is that there is nothing in the effect that in any way contradicts the wave principles, and that, on the other hand, the fact that we can cut up or add to the quantum of energy to any arbitrary extent is unfavourable to the idea of a real, corporeal existence for it. We may, of course, get over this difficulty by assuming that the incident quantum in some way disappears on collision with the molecule, and that a new quantum of a smaller or larger energy arises from the combination. But the observed fact of the strong polarisation of the lines is unfavourable to the latter idea. As already indicated in the foregoing discussions, the concept of localised quanta is irreconcilable with the phenomena of wave-optics, and the necessity for introducing it is even less in the present case than in the Compton type of scattering.

APPLICATIONS OF NEW EFFECT.

I shall now pass on to consider some applications of the new effect. Its potential value perhaps is greatest in the field of chemistry. The method of investigation affords us an extraordinarily easy and convenient process of mapping the infra-red spectra of chemical compounds. The geometry of the chemical molecule and the forces of chemical affinity determine the frequencies of molecular vibrations. In many cases, they lie in the far infra-red, a region of the spectrum which has hitherto been with difficulty accessible to observation. The study of light-scattering enables us, as it were, to photograph the whole infra-red spectrum with the same facility and ease as the visible and ultra-violet spectra. The determination of the fundamental vibration-frequencies of chemical molecule, their relative importance as gauged by the intensities of the lines, and even more, their peculiar polarisation characters, promise to take us deep into the fundamental problems of Chemistry. As an illustration, I will mention a recent paper by Daure in the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy.

Duane investigated the spectra of the chlorides of Carbon, Silicon, Titanium, Arsenic Lead, Antimony and Bismuth by this method. The investigation revealed hitherto unknown spectra in the far infra-red for each of the compounds studied exhibiting remarkable analogies and differences amongst each other in the position, intensity and polarisation of the lines.

In organic chemistry also, the method opens up an illimitable field of research. Numerous lines appear, whose positions in many cases are accurately measurable, and are influenced notably by changes in chemical constitution. A very surprising feature is the extreme sharpness of some of the lines. The frequencies of the vibration of the carbon-carbon bond in benzene can be determined, for example, with extraordinary precision unapproachable by other methods. It is precisely this accuracy of measurement and the rich and varied mass of data obtainable, that indicate for this method a real future.

The study of the influence of changes of temperature and pressure, and of a change of physical state on the intensity, positions and widths of the spectral lines, promises to furnish information of value in the field of molecular physics. Already, in our earliest observations, it was noticed that the spectral lines obtained with ice are sharper and somewhat displaced in position relatively to the broad bands found with liquid water. The sharpness of the lines observed with transparent crystals appears to be a general feature. As an example, I may mention the case of selenite, in which Mr. Krishnan found that the water of crystallisation also gave well-defined lines, instead of the bands observed with water.

Preliminary studies have shown that it is perfectly practicable to photograph the lines in the spectra of vapours. Hence, it will be possible in many cases to investigate the changes in molecular spectra in the passage from vapour to liquid as well as those in the passage from liquid to solid. In the change from vapour to liquid, we have a partial destruction of the freedom of rotation of the molecules. Such observations as we have made, seem to indicate that exchanges of energy between the incident quantum and the molecule can also occur with respect to the rotational states of the molecule. The optical anisotropy of the molecule appears to be involved in the possibility of such induced molecular rotation. Whether the removal of restriction on rotational freedom when the molecule passes from liquid to vapour, results in a fuller development of such rotational spectra remains to be investigated.

At low temperatures, many liquids as is known refuse to crystallise, become highly viscous, and ultimately are transformed into glasses. Glycerine is a typical example of such a liquid. Mr. Venkateswaran has observed in it a remarkable development of a continuous spectrum whose intensity falls with rise of temperature or by dilution with water. The precise origin of this phenomenon and the existence of similar effects at low temperatures in the case of other viscous liquids remain to be studied. The problem of the amorphous solid condition is related to this. Already Pringsheim has noted that fused quartz, unlike the crystalline substance does not show any lines in the scattered spectrum. The explanation of this may be that the lines have become too broad and diffuse to be photographed.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA—III

BY

PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

Many of us are apt to imagine that India is particularly unfortunate in having to face a complicated problem of minorities and many communities. As

a matter of fact many other countries have faced and solved this problem. Russia specially is a country with numerous national minorities with

different languages and cultures, and it is interesting and instructive for us to study the methods of the Bolsheviks in regard to these minorities.

In Czarist Russia there were about 140 different nationalities who did not speak Russian. There were 20 nationalities of one million each; the Turco-Tatars numbered 20 millions; the Ukrainians 25 to 30 millions; the Poles 8 millions and the Jews 7 millions. The non-Russian speaking nationalities were 57 per cent of the total population.

The old policy, under the Czar, was to pitch one nationality against the other. Attempts were made to Russianise aliens by bringing them into the Russian Church. Any person, belonging to these minority groups, who aspired to become a professor had to change his religion and enter the orthodox church. The teaching of minority languages was not encouraged and sometimes was actively repressed. In 1831 under a decree of the Czar all Polish schools were closed; only the religious schools of the Jews and Moslems were permitted to continue. Thus these minority communities became very backward.

Soon after the October Revolution in 1917 the 2nd All-Russia Congress of Soviets made the following declarations:—

- (1) Equality and sovereignty of peoples of Russia.
- (2) Right of self-determination even to separation and formation of an independent state.
- (3) Abolition of all and every kind of national, racial and religious privileges.
- (4) Free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups.

The Russian Union—the U. S. S. R.—is a federation of six constituent republics. Some of these republics are themselves federations and have besides many autonomous areas. Thus each considerable minority inhabiting a particular area has a great deal of autonomy and can develop its own language and culture. It is the policy of the Central Government not only to leave these republics and autonomous areas to work along their own lines but to help them actively to develop their resources and cultures. Schools conducted in the local languages are opened; an attempt is made to carry on public activities, work in Soviets, etc., in the language of the area; and newspapers are published in these languages.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS.

A distinction is made between the political rights and the cultural rights of a minority group. So far as the former are concerned they have the same rights as any other minority community or as the majority. They are not specially protected or given any weightage or separate representation, except in so far as a whole area may be made into an autonomous area. In cultural matters however much more freedom is given to them and their rights are specially protected. The Central Government feels that so long as there are backward communities in the Union the progress of the whole Union will be retarded, and hence the stress on levelling up of these groups.

In 1926-27 the primary schools, specially meant for different national groups, in one of the constituent republics—the R. S. F. S. R. alone (but including northern Caucasus)—amounted to:

For Turkish nationality	....	....	1,197
„ Ugro-Finns	....	....	1,810
„ People with Western culture	....	....	1,272
„ Mongols and Manchurians	....	....	233
„ North Caucasus	....	....	788
„ People of the North	....	....	36

The school books are prepared in the different languages. Indeed primary instruction is given now in 62 different languages in the Union, and books and papers are issued in 52 languages. In August, 1927, the newspapers of the national minorities in the Soviet Union numbered 201 with a total circulation of 9,28,580 copies.

Prior to the revolution many nationalities had no regular written language, e.g., the Mordwa, Calmyks, Oirats, and the South Siberian peoples. The Soviet Government had new scripts prepared for 16 such groups, and it reformed many other scripts and made them simpler and more scientific.

Attempts have been made in the Eastern republics to follow up the building of schools conducted in the native language by introducing this language in the local Soviets and public institutions. This is specially succeeding in Tartaristan. In the village Soviets of Tartaristan the Tartar language

has been adopted at the following rate:—

1922	1923	1924	1925
20	50	80	85

The town Soviets have made similar progress.

During the last two or three years special steps have been taken to prepare teachers for higher education in the non-Russian languages. For this purpose 28 linguistic departments were opened up to last year in the higher schools. These departments will give a regular supply of graduates after a few years.

The Commissariat of Education also sets aside a number of places to train young people in languages, customs of nationalities, etc. The numbers of these, during the last few years were:—

In 1923	---	---	---	991
" 1924	---	---	---	1,034
" 1925	---	---	---	1,777
" 1926	---	---	---	1,283

Of these 236 men were Turco-Tatars.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

Women in some of these Eastern republics are making great progress. In Uzbekistan before the revolution women were mostly purdahashins, seldom literate and in a state of half slavery. Now in this republic of Central Asia there are 276 women's educational institutions with 13,200 students. Of all the students of the national minorities 20 per cent last year were women. They are specially attracted towards educational work and also to medicine.

It is difficult to draw any final conclusions about anything Russian at this stage. But it would certainly appear from the progress made in the last 5 years that the problem of minorities has been largely solved there. This does not mean that complete equality has been established and there are no evils left. Rykoff, the Prime Minister of the Russian Union, stated last year that although much progress had been made much still remained. They had not succeeded in uprooting serfdom, ignorance and superstition. By decree they had established the complete equality of all nationalities in the Union, but in practice this was not fully done. Full equality could only come with the removal of economic and cultural differences. Nor could

women be free till they attained economic freedom also.

Rykoff is certainly right in drawing attention to all that has not been done. But the successes already achieved are great enough and show that properly tackled the problem of minorities can be solved with rapidity and ease. The 150 years of British rule in India compare very badly in this respect with this effort. But may we whisper it, the British do not want the problem to be solved.

THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS SALIENT FEATURES.

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.) was formed in December 1922. Before the formation of the Union there were four separate republics: the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), Ukraine, White Russia and Transcaucasia. They carried on an independent existence but were allied to each other and had mutual agreements on many matters. The decision to form a Union was arrived at separately by the allied republics at their respective Congresses of Soviets. These Congresses also chose delegates to take part in framing a constitution for the Union.

Originally there were four members of the Union but in 1925 two other republics joined it. The Union now consists of the R. S. F. S. R., Ukraine, White Russia, Transcaucasia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Two of these constituent members are themselves Federations. Thus the R. S. F. S. R. consists of nine republics: Crimean, Tartar, Bashkir, Bariat-Mongolian, Keshiz, Karelian, Dagestan, Lakut, and German Volga Republic. The Transcaucasian F. S. S. R. consists of three republics, Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian. Besides these separate republics there are a large number of autonomous regions, there being 12 such in the R. S. F. S. R. alone.

All these republics are supposed to be sovereign except in so far as powers have been assigned to the Union. Among these powers which have been assigned are foreign relations, acceptance of new republics into Union, and certain aspects of trade and taxation. The Union, says article 4 of the constitution, is "a voluntary union of equal peoples" and "each of the Soviet republics retains the right of free secession from the Union . . . the new Unit-

ed State is a worthy crown of the foundations laid in October, 1917, of the peaceful dwelling together and the brotherly collaboration of peoples."

The constitution of the Union can be changed just like any other law. It is thus flexible and easily adaptable to new conditions. It is based on the recognitions of national differences and freedom to develop different cultures. It is entirely opposed to the autocratic unitary state of the old regime which tried to impose its own language and culture on all the various nationalities under its control.

THE ALL-UNION CONGRESS.

The supreme authority is the All-Union Congress. The Union Council is elected on the basis of proportional representation of each constituent republic, and the Council of Nationalities is elected on the basis of 5 members for every republic and one for each autonomous region. Thus in the Council of Nationalities, the R. S. F. S. R., the principal and dominating republic of the Union, has the same number of representatives as any of the smaller republics.

The Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Congress is comparable in some measure to a Parliament, the Congress itself consisting of over 1,100 members and meeting only once in six months. All legislation has to pass both chambers of the Committee. Thus the Council of Nationalities has a determining voice in all important matters. It is therefore claimed that the various autonomous republics have not only full opportunities of developing their own economic and social life and culture, but they take part in a decisive manner in the general government of the Union.

All Soviets and their executives and representatives are elected annually. Only the All-Union Congress is elected every second year.

The All-Union Congress also elects the heads of various departments, the Commissars, and these form the Union Council of Peoples' Commissars which is practically the cabinet of the Union.

THE CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS.

Each constituent republic has its own Soviet Congress, Central Executive Committee and Council of Peoples' Commissars. Certain departments, *e.g.*,

foreign affairs, are reserved for the Union Government; certain others exist both in the Union and in the individual republics, *e.g.*, supreme economic council, labour, finance, etc.; and many exist only in the republics, *e.g.*, agriculture, justice, education, health, social welfare, etc.

In each republic the Soviet system is built up from village and factory upwards by means of indirect and direct elections. Thus the village Soviet elects the Rural District Soviet Congress and its executive committee, and the latter the Provincial Soviet Congress, which in its turn sends representatives to the Republican Congress. In the towns the urban Soviet elects the District as well as directly the Provincial Soviet. The Provincial Soviets elect representatives for the Republican Congress, but town areas have also the right of direct representation in this Congress. Thus the rural areas are represented very indirectly in the All-Russia or other Republican Congress whilst the town areas are represented both directly and indirectly.

In the rural Soviets, both the village and the district, the peasants are in a considerable majority. But gradually the proportion of communists increases in the higher Soviet organs and they are in absolute control of all positions of power. The All-Russian Soviet is entirely dominated by them.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Party although it has apparently no official status in the constitution is really a pillar of the Soviet regime. It is a solid exclusive organisation representing the advanced elements of the working class and with a very definite purpose and programme. It is well organised and the discipline is military in its severity. The conviction of the communist that he represents the interests of the future of humanity can only be compared with the faith and zeal of a religious enthusiast. The party admits intellectuals and peasants to its ranks but only such as understand and appreciate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is not very easy to join the party, and to preserve its purity; there are periodical "cleansings" as they are called, when those who are considered undesirable are excluded. The power of the party

may be judged from the fact that the most powerful individual in the Soviet Union today is Stalin, the General Secretary of the party, although he holds no other high official position.

BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS.

There are a large number of boards and commissions performing various duties, the most important being the Supreme Economic Council with its offshoots. The industrial units such as Labour Unions, etc., are also essential parts of the State Organisation. They are built on industrial lines, not those of craft. Thus all workers in a big industry belong to one Union, whether they are miners, carpenters or mechanics. Then there is the wise ramification of co-operative societies, and organisations of women, youth, pioneers, etc.

The Labour Unions and Factory Committees look after the interests of the workers in the factory but the manager or Board of managers of any industry are appointed by the Supreme Economic Council on behalf of the All-Russian Soviet. In case there is a conflict between the manager and the labour, there is a system of conflict committees, and appeals. The manager may be removed or transferred.

Such in brief are some of the features of the Soviet Constitution. It is admittedly framed to keep all power in the hands of the workers, and to give no quarter to capitalism or to those who want to bring back capitalism. Whether capitalism may not creep back in disguise in some form or other is a difficult question to answer. But in their fight against it the Bolsheviki do not propose to be guided by "bourgeois democracy." In the manifesto of the first Communist International issued under the signatures of Lenin, Trotsky and others in March, 1919, it was stated that "to demand of the proletariat in the final life-and-death struggle with capitalism that it should obey lamblike the precepts of bourgeois democracy would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him."

We have the dictatorship of the proletariat today. But this, we are told, is a period of transition only or period of preparation for the great time to come when class conflicts will entirely cease as there will

be only one class, and the State itself will sink into insignificance. That will be real communism, which in the words of the communist manifesto will "end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom."

NEW MOSCOW.

The streets were full of people, mostly on foot. There were crowds everywhere, overflowing from the pavements to the middle of the streets, but they were orderly crowds obeying the law of the road and passing on ceaselessly without any jams or hold-ups. The police, or rather the militia men as they are called seemed to control the traffic well. Their task was not so difficult as it is in other great cities as the vehicular traffic was not great. There were many electric trains and motor buses, all crowded, and taxis and private cars, but altogether they made a poor show as compared with the vast numbers to be seen in Paris or Berlin or London. Probably the crowds were greater than usual owing to the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Soviet Republic.

The city was beflagged and decorated for these celebrations. There was the red flag everywhere and the sign of the hammer and sickle, the symbol of the rule of the labourer and the peasant. Lenin's picture was often displayed and the figure X representing the ten years of the republic was also frequently seen. At night there were illuminations showing off these decorations and signs, and even the electric bulbs were usually red. The colour red is dear to the Russian—even apart from its revolutionary significance. The Russian word for it means both red and beautiful, and the famous Red Square in Moscow, skirting the Kremlin, with Lenin's Mausoleum on one side of it, was so called even before the revolution.

The first impression of Moscow is almost that of any great city and yet as one proceeds differences are noticed and one arrives at the conclusion that Moscow stands apart from the cities of the West. It is beautiful with its innumerable golden domes and wide squares and broad streets. It is full of churches—some one told us that there used to be 1,600 of them. Some of the bigger ones have been converted into museums

but most of them are still open to the faithful. The Soviet Government does not encourage in any way church-going or religion. Indeed there are organisations which carry on a vigorous anti-religious propaganda and education is wholly secular. But there are no restrictions in the way of people going to churches and large numbers, specially from the country side, still visit them. Right near the Kremlin is an ancient chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary and its reputed holiness attracts people from far. We saw crowds, chiefly women, going in. There is no one to stop them but none who pass that way can fail to see an inscription on an adjoining wall. In large letters, which stand out is given a famous saying of Karl Marx: "Religion is the opium of the people."

No city in the West perhaps offers such a variety of costume and headgear as Moscow. Paris is supposed to be the greatest international centre of Europe. One comes across people from all countries there but they are all in the standard costume of the West, almost the sole exception being Indian women who continue to wear their saris. But in Moscow Asia peeps out from every corner, not tropical Asia but the Asia of the wide steppes and the cold regions of the north and east and centre. It has heavy boots on and every variety of long coat and hat. People have grown accustomed to these varieties and eccentricities of attire and pay little attention to them. Even the saris of my wife and sister, unusual as they were in Moscow, attracted less attention there than in Berlin or Paris.

But the real change one notices in Moscow and which grows on one with every day's stay is in the atmosphere and the very air of the place. The contrasts between extreme luxury and poverty are not visible, nor does one notice the hierarchy of class or caste. Every one, whether he is a porter at the railway station or a waiter in a restaurant, is a "towardish"—commrade—and is addressed as such. Merit or status is not judged by wealth or by the largeness of the salary. We are told that the highest salary paid to the members of the communist party—and all high officials belong to this party—is 225 roubles a month, equivalent to about Rs. 300. The President of the Russian Union gets this salary and probably his clerk gets something not

much less, the only difference being that the President will have some rooms to live in, a motor car for his use and some other facilities. The peasant from the village or the labourer from the factory visiting the President will meet him as if he was one of their own class, only cleverer and more capable, and will address him as "towardish."

Most of the motor cars to be seen were either taxis or cars belonging to the State or to organisations—Soviet trade unions, co-operatives, factories, big firms, etc. Private cars, belonging to individuals, were not in evidence at all.

There were big shops and stores, outwardly resembling the shops of other cities. The big shops were all the property of the State, only the smaller ones belonging to individuals. There were also street hawkers trading in petty articles. Generally the goods displayed in the shops were simple and modest and had no pretensions to fashion or smartness. There were none of the dainties of the Rue de Rivoli or of Bond Street. People in the streets and indeed everywhere were clad regardless of fashion, many without collars or ties. Many of them of course could not afford to buy anything expensive. But apart from the question of expense it was considered a bourgeois failing to waste time and money on clothes.

Some of the big squares had loud speakers which gave the news of the day and concerts and probably political speeches from time to time to convert the waverers and those in doubt. The communist does not miss a chance to give his gospel to the world.

We visited the State Opera House. It is a magnificent building, built in the Tsar's time, with seven golden tiers one over the other. In the days of the Tsar it was the meeting place of wealth and fashion. The audience we saw was very different. The house was full to overflowing with people in their work-a-day attire, sometimes without coats and in their shirt sleeves. There was no attempt at smartness or dressing up for the occasion. There were all homely-looking folk—intellectuals and workers and peasants with a fair sprinkling of children. The performance, which consisted of dancing and singing and ballets, was exceedingly good and was thoroughly appreciated by the audience which insisted on encores. A little boy and girl, not more than ten years of age, danced delightfully.

The principal item, however, was the dance of a star performer of Tsarist days, now a woman of 60 but looking hardly 30. She danced amazingly well. Altogether, from the point of view of beauty and art, it was a show difficult to beat anywhere in the world.

We also visited a cinema show and saw a revolutionary film called "The Last Days of Petrograd." The Russians are famous for the beauty and artistic excellence of their films, but unhappily we in India have no opportunities of seeing them. We have a surfeit of the gorgeous but stupid and inane productions of Hollywood in America. The film we saw showed the contrast between luxury and misery in the days of the Tsar and then the ghastly scenes of the war. The downfall of the Tsar, the Kerensky Government, and the fight for power between the Bolsheviks and Kerensky, ending with Lenin's victory, were shown very effectively. It was a very powerful and stirring film and its propaganda value must be immense.

We visited the museum of the Revolution, housed in a building which was the English club house in olden days—meaning thereby that it was an English type of club and not a club confined to Englishmen. There were many interesting things in the museum but on the whole we were rather disappointed with it. We saw also an art gallery and were specially interested in finding pictures in it from Asiatic Russia—Turkestan, etc.

The magnificent Nobles' Hall of Tsarist days has

now been converted into the Trade Union Hall. The Congress of the Friends of Russia was held in this hall. It is one of the finest halls I have seen.

The Kremlin with its stately buildings and domes was of course visited by us. We did not go inside the Tsar's old palace or any other building except to pay a short visit to Kalinin, the President of the Union. He lived in two or three rooms simply furnished with no evidence of luxury or grandeur.

The revolution has changed many things in Russia but it has not changed the Drosky. This is a primitive conveyance, a kind of four-wheeled rickshaw drawn by a horse. Why any one should use this ancient method of locomotion it was difficult to imagine. There was room for only one person in it, or at most two thin persons, and the speed it went by rarely exceeded 6 miles per hour.

The revolution has also not succeeded so far in putting down begging in the streets. We were often accosted by beggars, sometimes by young women with babes in their arms. The communists told us that this was much less than it used to be but it was difficult to wean the beggars from their age-long habit of begging.

Our stay in Moscow was too short for us to see much. But short as it was, it was enough to make us feel the fascination of this beautiful city. We came away with regret and with the desire to see again its golden domes shining in the sun and its streets and squares full of strange peoples from the East and the West.

THE EAST AND THE WEST: A STUDY

BY

MR. R. G. PRADHAN, M.L.C.

The subject of this article is an extremely fascinating one and it is impossible to exaggerate its importance, from the point of view of the future growth and development of the human race, of the establishment of peaceful relations among all the members of the human family. It is not a new subject; many have thought, written and spoken on it; and, yet, it is of as live interest today, as it

has ever been. Only recently, there have been two interesting contributions to the subject, one by an Indian and the other, by a European. Mr. Yusuf Ali's "India and Europe," and Mr. Marvin's "India and the West" are, each in its own way, thoughtful and suggestive contributions to the solution of this all-absorbing question. The former is much wider in its scope and design; and it is written from the

point of view of an Indian. The latter seeks, to quote Mr. Marvin's own words, "to trace the convergence of British influence to Indian nationalism in the various aspects of political, social and intellectual life, bearing always in mind the wider ideal of the service owed by every nation to the community of mankind. It is not so comprehensive or deep as the former; nevertheless, it, too, explores avenues of co-operation between the West and this country, with a view to the ultimate realization of a permanently satisfactory and co-operative understanding between the two great sections of humanity, the East and the West. The problem is thus occupying some of the best minds both in Europe and Asia.

It is necessary to have, as far as possible, a full and clear idea of the nature and conditions of this gigantic, fundamental problem. The broad fact is that the relations between the East and West are far from friendly, cordial, sympathetic, helpful or satisfactory. They are marked by distrust, suspicion, mutual lack of understanding and appreciation. The West does not understand the East, her civilization, her ideals, her thought, her forms of self-expression, her aspirations. The East, too, does not understand the West, and takes no care to appreciate the merits and the innermost strength of the Western type of civilization. The West dominates the East, politically, economically, to some extent intellectually, and having exercised the domination for a fairly long period, considers it so natural, so inevitable, such a matter of course, so beneficent, that she resents and opposes every attempt on the part of the East to get rid of, or weaken, that domination. She thinks that, most, if not all, Eastern races are a set of congenitally inferior peoples, whom climate, environment, peculiar religions and philosophical development, social structure, cultural content, incapacitate for ever rising to those highest of national greatness and strength, which are attained by the advanced nations of the West. The East, in her heart of hearts, considers Western civilization and greatness as a colossal manifestation of mere brute force, and, as she has an invincible faith that the conquests or triumphs of mere brute force can never be permanent, as they lack a moral and spiritual basis which alone is permanent, she is quite con-

fident that the vanishing of the Western type of civilization with its present all-pervasive dominance is only a question of time. And thus the two great sections of humanity, in spite of their contact and association, view each other with suspicion, dislike, distrust and mutual sense of inferiority. From ancient times, every civilized and great nation has considered itself as *the* great and civilized nation, and all others as 'barbarians.' In spite of the closer association and commingling of races and peoples in modern times, owing to facilities of communication as a result of mechanical inventions, this mentality is still visible among all the nations, both of the East and the West. It is not the peculiar mark of the Nordic races, nor even of the Western races; the Eastern races also possess it in spite of their political subjection and inferiority. The Hindu is so proud of his ancient culture and civilization, his noble philosophy and religion, the essential harmony of his social life and structure, that, in his heart of hearts, he considers the Hindus a superior race, though, at the present moment, in the political, national and international scale, they may not count much. Thus the play of superiority and inferiority goes on, making common understanding and appreciation and the establishment of sound and satisfactory international relation a task of extreme difficulty.

Such are, in broad outline, the mutual attitude and relations of the East and the West. The matter is further complicated by internal jealousies and dissensions. The West is divided against itself; Western unity and harmony are themselves yet to be attained. The mutual jealousies and dissensions of the West are themselves the result of its dominance over the East. This dominance is unevenly distributed, and as dominance is apt to breed a desire for exclusive or preponderant dominance, the European nations themselves are constantly fighting for some or increased share in the dominance of, and control over, the vast Eastern territories and peoples. The attempts to arrive at mutual understanding in this matter have not been crowned with success and will never be. As the relations between Japan and China show, the Eastern peoples, too, are torn by internal dissensions, though most of them are suffering

from a common disability and have to face common problems. Besides, Asia is a vast continent with communications not so easy or quick as in Europe; her unity, therefore, is only in the substratum of thought, ideas and aspirations; its realization in actual international life is far distant; it is not a serious factor at all at the present moment, though we often hear the cry of the Federation of Asiatic peoples. That Federation may come, but it can come only at a distant future, since obviously it cannot come, unless all or most Asiatic nations are themselves free, and having become free, remain in harmony.

Another factor which often complicates the problem is the cry which some interested, misguided or designing people raise with the object of arousing the worst passions of their countrymen or co-religionists. Conscience makes cowards of us all, and as dominance, whatever may be its form or duration, always rests on an unstable equilibrium, a movement for national self-expression and self-realization is misrepresented by such people as a peril to the existence and civilization of their own nation and family of nations. The awakening of the Japanese and the Chinese is a yellow peril; the awakening of the Indians, a brown peril; the awakening of the Turks and other Moslems, a peril of Pan-Islamic fanaticism. What a cry to be raised by those whose dominance the East has been actually experiencing, as a realized peril to her own independent existence. There may or may not be a yellow or brown or Moslem peril; but there is no doubt that the white peril is a fact. If the former peril ever becomes a fact, it will be, not in the movement itself of Eastern peoples to come into their own and realize their national destiny, but in the resistance which the West is offering or may continue to offer, with a view to thwarting it, or preventing its fullest development, simply because her own world-supremacy and world-dominance cannot be otherwise maintained. If, on the other hand, the West realizes and acts on the Christian principle "Do unto others, as you would be done by," there is not the remotest possibility of such a peril ever arising to the West and her cherished civilization.

Such is, in broad outline, the nature of the problem, and the difficulties in the way of its solu-

tion. Nevertheless, the problem must be manfully faced by the best minds and the noblest spirits, both of the East and the West. The fundamental fact that has got to be realized is that amity and harmony of relations between the East and the West, are a vital necessity to the peace and progress of the world, and that such amity and harmony cannot be established or maintained on the basis of *status quo*. There must be, in the first place, a change of heart, a change in the angle of vision, a will to bring about and establish proper and harmonious relations between the peoples of the East and of the West. Though it is impossible to write on a clean slate, the past must not be so raked up and trotted out as to constitute a barrier to the present and the future. It should be the special privilege of the thinkers and writers of every country, both in the East and the West, to create such a will, to strengthen it, to diffuse it among the people, to make it a living force, so as to influence political policy and diplomacy. For centuries past, since the days of Machiavelli, politics has been divorced from ethics with disastrous results. We must retrace one step, act up to the wisdom of the ancient sages like Plato, bridge the existing gulf between politics and ethics, and make the law of righteousness, the law, not only of individual or personal life, but of national and international life also. Political policy and diplomacy must be based, not on the doctrine of might, not on the desire to maintain and perpetuate supremacy, to get and keep for one's own nation as much of the rich treasures of the world as possible, but on a uniform and living recognition of the principle of justice of the right, aye, the duty of every people and every country to attain its fullest development and to work in a spirit of co-operation with all other peoples and countries, in realizing the common ideals and purposes of humanity.

The War has resulted in the formation of the League of Nations. It is a good institution so far as it goes; and its work and development will be watched with the keenest interest. But its possibilities of good are limited inasmuch as, it does not recognise, at least adequately, the rights of Eastern peoples, particularly of India and other dependent countries, to realize their nationhood and their claims to self-government. India is a

member of the League of Nations, but practically in every important matter, she has to play the part of a mere appanage of Great Britain. India's demand for self-government and the Philippine and Korean demands for national independence are considered as domestic matters, and consequently, the weight of the League is cast not in the scale of those demands but in the scale of the *status quo*. The League, whatever other good work it may be able to achieve, is not likely to help in the solution of the Indian, or the Philippine or the Korean problem, and thus become a real instrument for bringing about better relations between the East and the West. On the contrary, if its influence is exercised in the direction of perpetuating and strengthening the position of dominance exercised over each of these and other countries by the Great Powers the problem of the harmony between the East and the West will never be solved by peaceful means, with the least amount of friction and resistance. This is the reason why the Eastern peoples have little faith in the League of Nations.

Statesmen and rulers can never be trusted to bring about, of their own accord, without external pressure of thought and public opinion, political harmony between the East and the West. Most of them lack idealism or a high moral objective; and, moreover, among most European statesmen and politicians, there is a deep-rooted tendency, not yet eradicated, to make a distinction between the East and the West, to apply one moral law to the one and another moral (or immoral) law to the other. National self-interest decides whether a moral law is to be applied at all, and if so, in what manner, and to what extent it should be applied. Individual statesmen, on individual occasions rise to heights of idealism and then the cause of humanity and progress is promoted for the time being. But for want of continuous pressure, such cases are rare. During the great war, high levels of idealism were reached, and it looked as though there was soon going to be a new heaven and a new earth. Hopes of oppressed peoples all over the world were aroused, and the triumph of the cause of universal liberation and consequent readjustment of relations between the East and the West on a satisfactory and harmonious basis seemed imminent. But even during the war, the wells of idealism were poisoned by secret

arrangements as regards the spoils of war; and now, after a decade of *post-bellum* experience, one feels that the high-sounding sentiments of ministers and statesmen were a mere camouflage, mockery and hypocrisy. Statesmanship thus proves a broken reed as an instrument of better understanding and harmony between one people and another of the same group, much less between the peoples of the West and of the East. A vast popular force of idealism must be created and what is more, regulated and kept up at a uniformly high level, and thus it became necessary to have a growing fraternity of international personalities who would come together, work together, and whose special mission and task it would be to make all nations and peoples understand aright, appreciate sympathetically, love one another, as members of the same human family, remove all barriers to harmony, unity and solidarity arising from subjection, inequality, subordination, injustice. Such a fraternity must work mainly among the people, among those who possess the vote, and create such a force of popular opinion as will bend statesmanship and authority to its own will. Men like Ravindra Nath Tagore, Romain Rolland are the salt of the earth; their number and discipleship must grow from more to more.

There is also need for a closer and better mutual understanding on the part of the East and the West, of their civilizations and cultures. Such understanding at present suffers from ignorance and still more from prejudice. The East has prejudices against Western civilization, the West has prejudices against the Eastern civilization. The East passes a superficial judgment upon Western civilization as materialistic; the West passes an equally superficial judgment upon Eastern civilization as dreamy, static, unprogressive, obscurantist, in fact, as a lower type and form of civilization. We pride on our vaunted spiritualism and think that the Western civilization is grossly materialistic, that its crash one day is inevitable. We thus, as it were, divide the two civilizations into two watertight compartments. Fortunately, it does not represent the truth, and actual practice is not what one would be led to infer from this clean-cut conceptual division. There is a good deal of true spiritualism in the West, and the East is not so absolutely untainted by materialism as she is repre-

sented. Further, it must be borne in mind that Christianity is an eastern religion, and though it is true that when a people adopts a foreign religion there is a tendency to impress its own character upon that religion, at all events in its practical application, the very fact that the Western peoples could and did adopt the Christian religion as their own, with its essentially spiritual character, shows that the occidental soul is not averse from spirituality, as it is supposed. In fact, if the matter is probed deeply, it will be found that there are various points of kinship between the Eastern and the Western mentality, that is, the soul of the East and the soul of the West are not different, that at bottom they are the same, and that the apparent differences are due to differences in environment and historical development. A mutual understanding of the civilizations and cultures, therefore, is not and cannot be difficult, provided only earnest efforts are made. It is gratifying to find, indeed, that in spite of current prejudices, misunderstandings, there is a growing understanding and appreciation of the thought-systems and cultures of the East. It would be very interesting and instructive to trace the silent influence which Eastern thought has been exercising upon the Western mind. And however much we Easterners may fail in appraising Western civilization aright, the influence which Western literature, science, and political thought have had upon the Oriental mind in every Oriental country has been deep; and, there can be no doubt, it will be abiding. On the other hand, not only is the silent action of Eastern thought upon the European mind increasingly visible in the religious and metaphysical sphere, but even the political thought of the Ancient East, as it is being brought to light more and more by the labours of Orientalists, is likely to have influence on the future development of Western Political thought and institutions. The East and the West are thus, in spite of obstacles, prejudices and misunderstanding, drawing nearer and nearer to each other; and a permanent good understanding between the two is not at all difficult, if only steady and earnest efforts are made in the direction.

In truth, the greatest difficulty in the way of such understanding arises from political relations. When those relations are placed on a satisfactory basis, the rest will be quite easy. The East is now throbbing with a new life; she is seeking her fullest self-expression in every sphere, including the political; she naturally resents the dominance which the West has imposed upon her, and the exploitation to which she has been subjected. This creates a conflict between the East and the West; and this conflict is at the root of the whole matter. Passions are aroused; vindications are sought in false theories of natural racial supremacy, trusteeship, peril to civilizations and so forth. The crux of the problem, therefore, is to remove this conflict in the political sphere. Can it not be done peacefully on the basis of honest reasoned agreement, of compromise, mutual give and take, or must we go on for ever agitating and fighting? A long period of political and economic dominance naturally creates vested interests which must receive due consideration. But such consideration will not fail to be given, if there is the readiness to recognise the essential strength and merits of the Eastern movements for national self-expression and self-realization. The political factor is the greatest obstacle to clear and sympathetic vision, and when that is eliminated, there is not the slightest doubt, that in the long run, the East and the West will understand each other better; there will be an abiding wholesome mutual action and reaction; the East will assimilate all that is good in the civilisation of the West, and, in the fulness of time, a harmony of ideals and a synthesis of cultures will be evolved which will make all of us—whether of the East or of the West—realise that we are brothers in spirit and comrades in fulfilling God's will and purpose on earth. The vital elements of every civilization will then all be safe, and a true League of Nations based on the universal reign of justice, freedom, self-government and harmony will have been established, comprehending the peoples of both the East and the West, and working in true co-operative spirit for making the whole Human Family, irrespective of country, colour or creed, better, nobler and happier.

DOMINION STATUS *VERSUS* ISOLATED INDEPENDENCE

BY

MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAI.

India cannot be always kept or continue in her present political and economic dependence. This is universally admitted. But how long will it take her to attain her legitimate position in her own national politics and among the free nations of the world, is really the practical question; and on this question opinion is divided not only as between India and her present political overlords, but even between Indian politicians themselves.

It may be said with absolute justice and truth and, therefore, without any legitimate offence, that the British people, being interested in the indefinite prolongation of India's dependent position in the Empire, desire to slacken her pace to *Swaraj* as much as it is possible. That, however, is not statesmanship. The evidence of real statesmanship is the vision of far distant future and the possibility of good and evil that that vision must reveal. Having realised this, the statesman applies himself to so shape and direct present public policy that it may reasonably be expected to minimise to the lowest point the possibilities of future evil and increase to the highest measure the possibilities of future good. If British statesmanship and Indian statesmanship also can visualise the unrevealed future and see all the possibilities of good and evil that it holds in it, both cannot avoid in some agreed policy and programme that will offer reasonable guarantee for the protection of the legitimate interests of both India and the Empire.

PROBLEM OF RE-CONSTRUCTION

Great Britain has acquired very large stakes in India's political and economic system. Indian statesmen must frankly recognise these. It would be worse than useless to rake up the origin and the methods of these interests. Legal and political rights are oftener than not found to have accrued through ages and generations from some original wrong. The right of conquest is palpably so; so also is the right to large estates and immensely realised wealth of individuals in society, who have inherited these

estates and all this wealth from their forbears. If we raise the question of origins of these and try to ignore or abrogate them, both society and civilization would at once go to pieces. We admit with the International Group Clarite that "our social system is wrong"—the social system of the entire modern world, in Europe no less than in Asia. But it cannot be cured by violent upsetting of even this admittedly wrong social order. The social organism is as complex as the human organism; and as a diseased human organism cannot be brought back to health except by careful and skilful re-adjustment of all the organs of the body, so that in the process of recovery particular organs or tissues may not be strengthened or developed at the cost of other organs or tissues, even such is the case of the social organism. All cure is really effected by the re-establishment of the equilibrium of the vital forces and organs of the body. The disturbances and break-up of these originated and developed the disease. Our social system is wrong, because through the inertia and ignorance of the many and the natural desire for domination and acquisition of their betters, the social equilibrium has been broken. The function of the reformer and the statesman is not to further break up this equilibrium in their impatience for removing the wrong, but to skilfully re-adjust the different organs of the social body, so that gradually in the process of the re-adjustment ancient evils shall be removed giving place to new life and health.

If this be, as I believe it is, a correct view of social and political reform and re-construction, then in the application of it to our present political and economic problems, we cannot ignore the very large political and economic interests that the history of the last two hundred years has helped the British people to acquire in this country. We have not a clean slate to write upon. We have to accept conditions as they are, even while fighting tooth and nail to alter them. Politically, the British are here, our overlords. The machinery of administration in India

is in their hands. And any attempt, on an organised large scale, to wrest this machinery by force from their hands will mean a continental revolt and an almost root and branch revolution not only in politics but also in society. In the first place, we must recognise that under existing conditions, humanly speaking, it is impossible to organise a continental political revolt in India at the present moment. India is really not a country but a continent. We are not, honestly speaking, *one people*, but a conglomeration of many peoples. It is no use denying these obvious actualities. The unity of the new Indian nation evolving before our eyes will never be homogeneous but only a federal unity. The building up of an Indian federation will need both time and laborious preparatory disciplines, intellectual and social.

MASS REVOLT IMPOSSIBLE

Centuries of deprivation from responsibilities concerning the fundamental affairs of our own administration has inevitably developed a narrow view of life and intensely self-regarding motive of our activities. Good government is not only no substitute for self-government, but morally it is a fatal evil. The inevitable result of good government is that it creates a universal spirit of confidence in the people governed in their rulers, and thereby make them uncritical and indifferent to the common interests, indirectly leading them to confine their outlook to and concentrate all their efforts upon the pursuit of individual interests to the neglect of the social interests. This fatal moral injury has been inflicted upon the people of India by that very ideal of good government which means efficient administration, which the British have generally tried to realise among us during the last hundred and fifty years. And the very peace of Britain, the security to personal property procured by the British administration, guarantee an unfettered scope of the exercise of personal liberties within the limits of intimate personal or social relations, unaffected by and unaffected political relations, which the people at large have enjoyed for the last two or three generations,—all these have bred a mentality in them which is not at all favourable to any strong and effective organisation for risky political work. Unless this mentality is revolu-

tionised, it would be impossible to organise any manner of mass revolt in India upon such a scale as is likely to help to break up the present administration. Therefore whatever impatient idealists and blind enthusiasts might think or say, there is absolutely no human chance of getting up a continental revolt, much less one that is likely to be justified by success.

Any attempt, therefore, to break up the existing political order by force can only end in disaster. It can never re-establish the disturbed socio-political equilibrium in the country. Indeed even should such a revolt, or revolution succeed, it will not bring us nearer to that ideal of Swaraj, meaning in the familiar words of Lincoln—"government of the people, for the people and by the people." A successful revolt can only replace the present British overlordship by some sort of a military dictatorship, and as no dictator can stand by himself, but must be supported even in the exercise of his despotic authority by a body of military organisations and subordinate dictators, a successful revolt must inevitably mean the substitution of the present British bureaucracy by an indigenous bureaucracy holding themselves no more responsible to the people for their acts and policies than the existing British bureaucrats. Or, the attempt to replace the present British authority in the country by physical force may even result in a fresh spell of foreign political domination which is more likely to be Asiatic than European. And Swaraj in that case will mean neither Hindu-Raj, such as Hindu communalists may possibly dream of, nor the Raj of the composite Indian people, which is the dream of the Indian democrat but a Muslim Raj with a foreign Mohammedan potentate at its head, who will be able to strengthen and entrench his position by exploiting the forces of Muslim communalism in the country.

Lajpat Rai seemed clearly to have visualised this prognosis of the new conflict in Indian nationalist camp over the Nehru report on the one side, and the ideal of isolated independence on the other. This is why he publicly took up the challenge of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and the League of Independence and tried to explain the truth and significance of the ideal of self-governing Dominion status, which was substantially the same as complete national sovereignty. Only in self-governing Dominion

status national sovereignty, though full and complete in itself, is organised with other sovereign States to form a confederacy of free States wherein the freedom of each will be enlarged through the freedom of all. Lajpat Rai's voice has been silenced by the cruel hand of death. Will those

who have been so loudly mourning his loss echo the voice of his far-seeing statesmanship, accept his last word as his last will and testament to his people, and use it as a sacred trust, thereby carrying on his unfinished work and try to save a situation that is becoming critical and fateful?

MR. G. K. CHESTERTON: A STUDY

BY

MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

"Artists appear at rare intervals; but there is one simple test of practice of their arrival. The moment they begin to handle their material, the world discovers what an extraordinarily rich and plastic thing it is. It does not matter very much what subject they choose; it matters not at all how often that subject has been treated. The last Madonna may be as good as the first, and there is always a fleet of fighting *Téméraires* to be towed to their birth."—*The late Mr. H. W. Massingham.**

I

No one, we venture to think, should write upon an author with whom, for one reason or another, he does not happen to find himself in sympathy. Destructive criticism is the easiest thing on earth and anybody can perpetrate it. Indeed, it is quite possible, on this hypothesis, to write a damaging estimate even of Shakespeare that shall show him to be no better than an amateur in literature. This, however, is not to say that criticism should flow in one uninterrupted stream of applause; it would be to err at the opposite extreme. No author,—not even the greatest that ever was,—is immaculate. Homer himself is said to nod. Taking the example of Shakespeare again, an excellent article could be written proving what a bad craftsman he was. There never, perhaps, was a more careless writer. Everyone remembers the famous retort of Ben Jonson when somebody was praising Shakespeare for not blotting out a single line of his manuscript: "Would to God he had blotted out a thousand!" The art of writing is full of perils, and whose essays to

practise it must first cultivate a thick epidermis. To write is, *ipso facto*, to court detraction. All this, however, does not invalidate our argument. Some sympathy is demanded of him who sets out to appraise the works of an author. Moreover, if one examines critical writings closely, one will find that the best criticisms have invariably been laudatory. That is why Pater, as Mr. Robert Lynd has noted, called his book of criticisms, *Appreciations*. That is why, to take our own author, Mr. Chesterton's *Dickens* is the best book that has yet been written about that great novelist.

II

Now this preface, long as it is, is really necessary to an article on Mr. Chesterton. No one, in fact, stands more in need of sympathy. Men have not been wanting to cry him down. It is, as it happens, not at all difficult to do so: on the contrary, nothing is easier. All the same, we have our doubts whether even the most confirmed of his detractors has not enjoyed him thoroughly in private. The odds are that he has. There is an old saying that all claret would be port, if it could. And we have our suspicion that, criticise him as they might, his enemies would, nevertheless, like to possess a fraction of his gifts, if they could. We have remarked that even the most confirmed of his detractors must have enjoyed him thoroughly in private. Indeed, there is no living author whose manner of writing is more delightful. Mr. Chesterton, on anything,—even on the Middle Ages, his most

* H.W.M. (A selection from the writings of H. W. Massingham), p. 191.

constant bugbear,—is a treat to the intellect. Mr. J. C. Squire has confessed that, reservation being made for the *matter* under discussion, he enjoys reading his Chesterton on any subject. It is, we feel, a necessary reservation. Even his most enthusiastic admirer cannot, we are inclined to think, swallow him whole. Mr. Chesterton is a bold spirit and holds strong views on many subjects. It would, in the nature of things, be surprising if he found supporters by the hundred; such a man must, perforce, plough a lonely furrow. No two persons, however, can be expected to agree on all topics under the sun: so it is not a point against him that many people cannot see eye-to-eye with him on some question or another.

III

We have stressed, in passing, the *manner* of Mr. Chesterton's writing. It is unique: it is in a class by itself. To call it brilliant is to state the bare truth. But it is, on occasion, even more than brilliant: it is inspired. Then there is no one to equal him: as Cowley said of Pindar, he forms "a vast species alone." The basis of his style is, of course, the simple sentence; as, indeed, with some notable exceptions, the basis of all good style is and must be. But upon that simple sentence he weaves patterns all his own. Phrases seem to drop from nowhere. Words take on unusual meanings. No doubt, the meanings were all there before; only, we never thought of them until Mr. Chesterton came along and showed them to us. Mr. Chesterton, in short, is a magician with words: with his Prospero's wand, he can summon them, as it were, out of the vasty deep. It has been said that poets are born, not made. It seems to us that poets are not alone in that distinction. We may, with equal truth, say that *prose-writers* are born, not made. Good prose can, of course, be cultivated. By taking thought, one can, in a manner of speaking, add many cubits to the stature of one's writing. But when all is said, the most laboriously cultivated prose can at once be distinguished from prose that is written as if by inspiration. There are writers who are to the manner born; and Mr. Chesterton is foremost among them.

Side by side with his style goes his wit. It is irresistible; and it is exhibited at the least expected places. Like the gentleman mentioned by Boswell who told Dr. Johnson: "You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson. I have tried too in my time to be a philosopher; but I don't know how, cheerfulness was always breaking in," Mr. Chesterton might say that he had tried, too, in his time to be serious, but he didn't know how, wit was always breaking in. It may, indeed, be that he cannot help it. It may be that sometimes he tries to be deliberately witty. However it may be, there can be no doubt about its quality. It is very genuine: it rings true. Once in his element he almost riots in it; and then every sentence of his is sparkling. Often his opinions are belittled because of their admixture with his wit. But wit, we submit, is not so common that it should be regarded with a kind of disdain whenever it is met with. Wit, on the other hand, is justified of her children; and wit is next to wisdom. This is the trouble with Mr. Chesterton: his wisdom is often masked as wit; and, for many people, it is lost in the wit. But that, surely, is the fault of his readers, not of himself. Wisdom, we are convinced, is all the better for a little wit. At any rate, speaking for ourselves, we prefer lively wisdom to that which is merely dismal. But Mr. Chesterton himself seems to be wholly innocent of when he is overdoing his wit: it comes to him so naturally that he never appears to take a thought about it. This is what Mr. H. W. Nevinsion means when he writes of him:—

"Indeed, that man of genius (G. K. C.) has often reminded me of a village pump which, on festal occasions, may run wine, and ordinarily runs first-rate water but never knows when it is running wine of the best or water of the best or liquid mud or nothing at all, but always wears the same alluring look of promise."*

IV

Mr. Chesterton is many things: poet, essayist, critic, novelist, dramatist, controversialist, and a sort of sociological writer as well. But he is chiefly known as essayist and critic.

* *More Chances, More Changes.* By H. W. Nevinsion. P. 217.

As a story-teller, he has at least one creation to his credit; viz., Father Brown. Father Brown is a detective. He cannot, indeed, be compared to Sherlock Holmes; but he is famous in his own quiet, unobtrusive way. His chief weapon is not cleverness or cunning, as is the case with most detectives,—real or fictional. His chief weapon is simplicity. In fact, this is Mr. Chesterton's master-motive in all his stories: it runs like a refrain through all of them. His hero is invariably a simpleton. Take his *Napoleon of Notting Hill*; take his latest novel, *The Return of Don Quixote*. Everywhere is this idea, that your simple man, by virtue of his simplicity, gets the better, in the long run, of the subtlest persons that may be arraigned against him. It follows that his stories are written with a purpose: they are intended to point a moral. His religion, his love of the Middle Ages, his scorn of all that is connoted by the word "modern"—all these are evident in the least little bit that he has ever written. His novels do not conform to any convention. They are, in short, very peculiar; and the only thing that we can say is that they are purely Chestertonian. To him, the story is not the main point; the main point is the lesson that can be deduced from it. In other words, it is a mere vehicle for his philosophy. Throughout, this is the case: with him the sermon is always more important than the text.

But, as we have mentioned, he is chiefly known as essayist and critic.

V

Mr. Chesterton has written many books of essays; one of the earliest and best being *The Defendant*. Here, perhaps, more than elsewhere, he comes nearest to being a great essayist. But we venture to think that the essay is not his characteristic medium of expression. Not that we do not admire his essays; far from it. All that we mean is that he does not seem to have taken them seriously. He has a true essayist's vein. But oftener than not, he becomes a controversialist, starts all kinds of intellectual hares, and forgets the main function of the essayist. He is, for one thing, too intent on proving his case, whatever it may happen to be; and this vitiates one's essay. A medium of sincerity is demanded of the essayist; as, we hope, it is demanded of everybody. But Mr. Chesterton is all sincerity;

he is almost too fiercely sincere to be a good essayist. With him, as we have remarked, the essay tends to become controversial. We fancy that Mr. Chesterton loves controversy for its own sake; and we suspect that he sometimes invents imaginary opponents just to produce the correct atmosphere of division and dissension. He has, in other words, as everyone has who pretends to some individuality and is not merely content to form a part of the universal flux of things,—he has, we say, his *parti pris*; only, he has far, far too much of it. Mr. Chesterton, however, is an expert in the art of controversy, and there are not many who can even approach him in his particular line. Like his predecessor, Dr. Johnson, if his pistol misses fire, he beats his opponent with its butt-end. But all this is a far cry from the essay. As we have said, he is not a typical essayist. For instance, he cannot be compared to Mr. Robert Lynd, "Where O'Flaherty sits is the head of the table," and where Mr. Robert Lynd is, is the master-essayist.

Mr. Chesterton's essays are a regular feast of paradox. He is never content "to burn a candle in the pale shrine of platitudes." Mr. Shaw and Mr. Chesterton are the two greatest masters of paradox among living writers; and it is hard to say which is the greater. Mr. Chesterton, however, does not like the word "paradox." He says in his book, *Orthodoxy*:—

"I know nothing so contemptible as a mere paradox; a mere ingenious defence of the indefensible. If it were true (as has been said) that Mr. Bernard Shaw lived upon paradox, then he ought to be a mere common millionaire; for a man of his mental activity could invent a sophistry every six hours. It is as easy as lying; because it is lying. The truth is, of course, that Mr. Shaw is cruelly hampered by the fact that he cannot tell any lie unless he thinks it is the truth. I find myself under the same intolerable bondage. I never in my life said anything merely because I thought it funny; though, of course, I have had ordinary human vain-glory, and may have thought it funny because I had said it. It is one thing to describe an interview with a gorgon or a griffin, a creature who does not exist. It is an-

other thing to discover that the rhinoceros does exist and then take pleasure in the fact that he looks as if he didn't. One searches for truth, but it may be that one pursues instinctively the more extraordinary truths.*

We do not gainsay all this; but it is nonetheless true that Mr. Chesterton is a writer of paradox. He may not himself be aware of it: like M. Jourdain, who talked prose all his life without knowing it, Mr. Chesterton may have, in his time, produced paradoxes unconsciously. But it is an undisputed fact that he has produced them; and that is what matters. To be a writer of paradox, one must have a keen intelligence; and one must have that rare thing—a capacity for original thinking. A paradox is not, as some suppose, merely an inverted platitude. If that were all, we could all be masters of it: in fact, we could produce paradoxes almost mechanically. Further, a paradox must convince—at least for the time being. Without this power of convincing, it ceases to be a paradox. We hold also that paradox is often necessary to good writing: it is what gives an edge to it. But here again Mr. Chesterton overdoes it. He uses paradoxes as other men use platitudes. As the late Mr. C. Lewis Hind justly remarked: "Somebody should always be standing by his side when he is writing essays, saying, 'Gilbert, be dull for a bit. Paradox should be a soufflé, not a joint.'"[†]

But when Mr. Chesterton is in his stride, every sentence becomes scintillating; it is as if one has had an electric shock. One is not given time to think: one is carried along by the vehement breeze of the writer's opinions and, for the moment at least, one finds oneself in agreement with them; because agreement is so much easier than disagreement. It asks less of one; and it is so much safer. Mr. Chesterton, indeed, revels in paradoxes to such an extent that it is a positive relief to turn to the most worn-out platitudes—just for a contrast. After all, the virtue of a paradox is that it is rare, while a platitude is only too, too common. But if the paradox, by some curious chance, becomes as cheap as

the platitude, where, then, is the merit of the paradox? That is what Mr. Chesterton often forgets. One must be economical of one's best weapons. But Mr. Chesterton lavishes his with the abandon of a monarch.

Our whole point is that Mr. Chesterton is not, typically, a writer of essays. For this we have his own authority. On the occasion of the Lamb-dinner (in commemoration of Charles Lamb's Centenary) he delivered himself of the following statement: "I write articles: and a profound schism divides those who write essays and those who write articles. The essayist inhabits eternity, but the writer of articles is very emphatically under the government of time." But there is one peculiarity. When he tries an essay proper, he often fails. But when he is writing something else, when, that is, he is on a different track altogether, he becomes, unconsciously, the writer of any number of beautiful essays. Essays fall from his pen unawares: almost, to use the poet's words, "in strains of unpremeditated art." For some of Mr. Chesterton's best essays, one must go, not to his avowed volumes of essays, but to his critical and other writings, such as his *Dickens*, his *Browning*, and his *Orthodoxy*. There, one will find the master-critic as well as the master-essayist. We have, before, hinted that Mr. Chesterton possesses a true essayist's vein. It is in these books that he justifies himself.

VI

Mr. Chesterton's *Dickens* and *Browning* are unrivalled in their own departments. Browning is justly considered to be one of the most difficult of English poets; and many would-be readers are discouraged at the very outset. For all such Mr. Chesterton's *Browning* ("English Men of Letters" Series) provides the best introduction. If, after reading it, they do not want to proceed to the poet direct, if, in a word, they do not begin to love him on the spot, then we can only say that they have not the stuff in them.

And thus we come to the critic Mr. Chesterton. We have no hesitation in saying that he is one of

* *Orthodoxy*. By G. K. Chesterton. John Lane. Pp. 15-16.

† *Authors and I*. By C. Lewis Hind. Lane. 1920. P. 60.

the most discerning of critics, past or present. He goes to the heart of his subject; he seizes the vital point about an author or an epoch. This is because he has rare imagination. He can, so to speak, put himself in the place of his author: which is, after all, what your true critic should do: and which, unfortunately, most critics do not or cannot. Criticism is an art like another. It is not merely a sort of scientific analysis. In these days, even literature is tending to become rigidly scientific. Now, we have no objection to this being so. But when what we get is all science and no literature, then, indeed, it is high time we drew the line. The evil of the so-called scientific criticism is that it is invariably dull. It becomes more or less a kind of tabulation of results; with credits in one column and debits in another. Criticism, to be real, must be artistic—as much so as the imaginative literature to which it happens, at the moment, to apply itself. A distinction is usually drawn between what is called "creation" and criticism. If one is a poet or a dramatist or a novelist, then one is a "creative artist." If one has merely written essays or books on the particular poem or drama or novel, then one is only a critic—and as such must needs occupy a second place. But we are of opinion that a first-rate critic is not inferior to a creative artist of the same rank. As Professor Oliver Elton says, in connection with Hazlitt:—

"Taste is not merely a passive and receptive thing—the feminine of genius—something which creative art simply impregnates. No, the critic reacts on the art he enjoys—reacts masculinely; ardently, even wilfully—if he is Hazlitt; and so produces—if he be Hazlitt—another book of art, of which the book he reviews is the subject-matter. He is inspired by it as one poet is inspired by another. This distinguishes him from the mere scholar and expositor, who does useful work of an inferior order; and it disposes of the old sneer against the sterility of critics."*
(*Our italics.*)

Of course, first-rate critics are rare; rarer than first-rate creative artists. But that is no reason we

should fail to recognise them when they present themselves before us. A critic of the type of Mr. Chesterton is, even in his criticisms, a creative artist—nothing less: "he produces another book of art, of which the book he reviews is the subject-matter."

In order to understand this, it is only necessary to read a volume of Mr. Chesterton's criticisms and a volume of the ordinary run of criticisms. These latter are in relation to the former "as moonlight unto sunlight, or as water unto wine." Mr. Chesterton uses, in Rossetti's phrase, as much "fundamental brain-work" in his criticisms as any poet or novelist uses in his poems or novels. His critical books are pieces of perfect art: his *Victorian Age in English Literature*, his *Dickens*, his *Browning*, his *Bernard Shaw*. He has the root of the matter in him. He is as full of originality as an egg is full of meat, and some of his apologies for, explanations of, his authors are simply beautiful. Take this as a more or less random example. He is speaking of the alleged obscurity of Browning:—

"There is, however, another very practical objection to the ordinary theory that Browning's obscurity was a part of the intoxication of fame and intellectual consideration He was not unintelligible because he was proud, but unintelligible because he was humble. He was not unintelligible because his thoughts were vague, but because to him they were obvious. A man who is intellectually vain does not make himself incomprehensible, because he is so enormously impressed with the difference between his readers' intelligence and his own that he talks down to them with elaborate repetition and lucidity. What poet was ever vainer than Byron? What poet was ever so magnificently lucid? But a young man of genius who has genuine humility in his heart does not elaborately explain his discoveries, because he does not think that they are discoveries. He thinks that the whole street is humming with his ideas, and that the postman and the tailor are poets like himself. Browning's impenetrable poetry was the natural expression of this beautiful optimism.

* *A Survey of English Literature* (1780-1880), Vol. II. By Oliver Elton. Arnold: 1912. Pp. 372-373.

Sordello was the most glorious compliment that has ever been paid to the average man."

Or take this on Thackeray's so-called cynicism:—

"The occasions are indeed very numerous in which Thackeray finds this knack of half-suggestion very convenient. How delicately he suggests the peculiar character of Helen Pendennis; a saint without a sense of honour. With how quiet a shade, as of the coming on of twilight, does he convey the fact that Colonel Newcome's character was, after all, slightly spoiled in prosperity; suggests it less by any change in the old face with the gray moustaches than by a certain change in the faces of Clive or Laura or Ethel as they look at it. In this connexion, it is specifically unjust to call Thackeray a cynic. He falls away into philosophising not because his satire is merciless but because it is merciful; he wishes to soften the fall of his characters with a sense and suggestion of the weakness of all flesh. He often employs an universal cynicism because it is kinder than a personal sarcasm. He says that all men are liars, rather than say directly that Pendennis was lying. He says easily that all is vanity, so as not to say that Ethel Newcome was vain."† (*Our Italics*.)

One of Mr. Chesterton's strongest points is his gift for generalisation. This is not such an easy thing as it looks. He can take the most unprepossessing facts and, as it were, distil of them precious generalisations. Side by side with this tendency goes his abhorrence for facts and figures. You will not find one superfluous fact or figure in any of his books. To him these are merely so many dry bones; consequently, he has no use for them. It follows that you must not look to Mr. Chesterton for thoroughness. This is not to say that he fails to master his subject. All that we mean is that he cares so much for the *vital* things, for the *central* situations, that he does not mind if he omits a few unimportant matters. Many persons have found fault with Mr. Chesterton for this

eschewing of detail. We rather think that it is to his credit. Now-a-days we have ever so many books following, as it were, in the mire of the most worthless detail. It is, therefore, refreshing, when we are afforded the chance (alas! all too rare), to turn to critics like Mr. Chesterton and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.

VII

We have not yet mentioned Mr. Chesterton's masterpiece, *Orthodoxy*. It contains the quintessence of Mr. Chesterton. Our author is a deeply religious man. In these days of irreligion, he stands out as the champion of orthodoxy and religion. Latterly, he has turned a Roman Catholic. We have purposely avoided any description of *Orthodoxy*. If space permitted us we could give here copious extracts from the book—especially from his first half. The book, however, is its own justification. Stevenson says somewhere of one of Hazlitt's essays that it is so good that a tax should be levied on all those who have not read it. We should like to say the same thing of Mr. Chesterton's *Orthodoxy*.

VIII

We have referred, in passing, to Mr. Chesterton's love for the Middle Ages. In fact, he is infatuated with them, as some one, it has been said, was infatuated with the word "Mesopotamia." As is only to be expected, he has come in for a good deal of harsh criticism for this. Nor should he complain. He must be aware that he has overdone the thing. But, at the same time, it does not follow that he has nothing to say for himself. These times do not suit him: they are far too "advanced." He ought to have been born in his beloved Middle Ages: as it is, however, he is "misplaced in Illyria," as Charles Lamb would have said. He chooses to live in the past, as some of us choose to live in the present, and some more redoubtable spirits, in the future. It is all a question of temperament: Mr. Chesterton's leanings are conservative, that is all. And though we may lament it, we have no right to quarrel with him for it.

Mr. Arnold Bennett has somewhere recorded his conviction that Mr. Chesterton's cannot be a first-

* *Browning*. By G. K. Chesterton. Macmillan. Pp. 37-38.

† *Thackeray*. Edited by G. K. Chesterton. Masters of Literature Series. Bell. 1909, P. xxiv.

rate intelligence, because, forsooth, his mind always harps back to the Middle Ages, because, in fine, he does not keep himself abreast of the times. Now, we have a very great admiration for Mr. Arnold Bennett. But, none-the-less, it is our painful duty to point out to him that, for once at least, he is grievously wrong. Mr. Chesterton, as it happens, possesses a first-rate intelligence. Nay, we go further and say that he possesses genius. But, like the rest of us, he has his weaknesses. One of these is his unbounded fondness for the Middle Ages: just as one of Mr. Arnold Bennett's foibles is his almost unlimited fascination for Grand Babylon Hotels and million-dollar yachts, and, in short, all superfine things. Mr. Bennett—at least in his books—is a rank materialist: it is not astonishing that he cannot understand the finer spirit, the rarer essence, of Mr. Chesterton.

IX

We have remarked that Mr. Chesterton is a genius. One test of genius is that it can do with the utmost ease things in themselves the most difficult. Genius is *not*, as we have been repeatedly told, the capacity for taking infinite pains. On the contrary, it is just the opposite. We have nothing but admiration for all those who *have* the capacity for taking infinite pains: the labourer is worthy of his hire. Unfortunately, however, they may be many things, but they are not geniuses. Anybody can take pains: the rarer thing is to achieve your result with the minimum of trouble. To do this is to be gifted with genius; and Mr. Chesterton satisfies this test. He has not, in the production of his books, to undergo the preliminary pangs that are, alas, only too common with the rank and file of writers. He comes with a mind that is fully adequate to his subject: in a word, he is terribly at

ease in Zion. Consequently he can do the most difficult things with the greatest ease. And it is curious that successful as he is in the most arduous tasks, he often fails in the more trivial ones. It is almost as if his mind cannot stoop down to the ordinary things. What Dr. Johnson said of Milton may, with equal truth, be applied to Mr. Chesterton. Miss Hannah More, it is related, expressed a wonder that the poet who had written *Paradise Lost* should write such poor *Sonnets*. Dr. Johnson replied: "Milton, Madam, was a genius that could cut a Colossus from a rock, but could not carve heads upon cherrystones." In like manner, Mr. Chesterton, we may say, can do the rare things better than he can the trivial ones.

X

It is manifest, from the foregoing, that we think very highly of Mr. Chesterton. Nor do we see how it is possible to think otherwise. Here is a man dowered by Nature with some of her highest gifts; and in himself he is lovable. Indeed, it seems to us, you cannot dislike him if you "try with both hands," as Humpty Dumpty would say. Anyway, he is one of our favourites; and nothing can make us revise our opinion of him. As Andrew Lang says:—

"It cannot be helped. Each of us has his author who is a favourite, a friend, an idol, whose immaculate perfection he maintains against all comers. For example, things are urged against Scott; I receive them in the attitude of the deaf adder of St. Augustine, who stops one ear with his tail and presses the other against the dust. The same with Molière: M. Scherer utters complaints against Molière! He would not convince me, even if I were convinced."

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RAM MOHAN ROY AND EMANCIPATION OF INDIA

BY

PROF. RUCHI RAM SAHNI

The year 1913 forms a memorable landmark in modern Indian history. With it opens a new chapter in the social and intellectual relations between India and her British rulers. For a long time after the East India Company had been firmly established as the supreme political power over the greater part of the country, little or nothing had been done by the Government for the education of the people. Indeed, a widespread fear existed in the mind of the authorities both in England and in this country, that the introduction of the popular education here might be attended with danger to their rule. Only twenty years earlier an innocent proposal to send out schoolmasters to India encountered so much opposition from the Court of Proprietors that it had to be withdrawn. In the course of a long debate, one of the Directors said that they had "just lost America by their folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges and that it would not do for them to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India." He added that "if the natives required anything in the way of education, they must come to England for it." Doubts were also frequently expressed that, even if the new education did not make the Indian youth disloyal, the product of the English schools would not give way before an Englishman as the people had so long been accustomed to do.

Things had since rapidly changed. Parliament was assured by many competent European witnesses that, far from being a source of danger, the interest of their dominion in India demanded that they should no longer stand in the way of wider diffusion of literacy in the country. Accordingly, in the Charter Act of 1818, a clause was inserted which made it obligatory for the Company to devote "a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year" to the promotion and encouragement of education "among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." So great was the suspicion still lurking in the minds of the British administrators, that during the first

decade after the passing of the Act only about half of this paltry sum was spent for educational purposes. In the following ten years, the expenditure on education for the whole country was not much larger, it averaged barely Rs. 70,000 a year. Bengal, of course, appropriated the lion's share of it. However, inconsiderable as the sanctioned provision was, its importance must not be measured by the actual financial assistance offered by the State. The ice was at last broken and this was rightly regarded to be a no small achievement.

Luckily for India just at this moment, a most remarkable man appeared on the scene. The man was Ram Mohan Roy. Like all epoch-making men, he was far in advance of his times. He was at once the prophet of his age and the maker of modern India. Freedom of thought and belief was a passion with him. He became a close student of comparative religion, as also of European constitutional history. It goes without saying that the great movement towards intellectual and political emancipation which is associated with the names of giants like Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, and Rousseau, and which was in full swing in his youthful days, made a powerful appeal to his expansive mind. He must have been at least equally influenced by another remarkable group of political thinkers who were his contemporaries. Across the Channel, on the English soil there was a galaxy of large-hearted statesmen whose vision was not dimmed by narrow patriotism, or limited by the boundaries of their own country. Burke, the passionate friend of the poor and the oppressed, Fox, the "man of the people" and the liberator of the slaves, Sheridan and others—all had laboured long and disinterestedly in the cause of India, and could not but have deeply impressed the Indian reformer. If it is true that the great minds of a country are a measure, both in depth and breadth, of the character and capacities of its people then no fitter man than Ram Mohan Roy could have lived at this time to receive and as-

simulate the strange new ideas and sentiments, which were in the air, so to say, towards the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Himself a great Sanskrit and Arabic scholar, he was yet not unmindful of the quickening influence which intellectual contact with the West could exercise on the minds of his countrymen.

In 1814, at the age of forty, Ram Mohan Roy settled down at Calcutta which he made the centre of all his many-sided activities. Here he soon attracted round himself some of the most enlightened and public-spirited men. Three years later, in co-operation with David Hare and a few wealthy Hindu leaders of Calcutta, foremost among whom was (Prince) Dwarka Nath Tagore, he established the *Vidyalyaya*, or Hindu College, the first College in India where instruction was given through the medium of the English language. It is difficult to form a just conception of the wave of intellectual and moral awakening which, starting from Calcutta immediately after the foundation of the Hindu College, soon swept over the whole of Bengal. Within a few years scores of English schools sprang up in various parts of the province. In the Danish settlement at Serampur, a Christian Missionary College was established in 1818 which under the devoted guidance of Carey, Marshman and Ward developed into a sort of University in 1828. At the Hindu College itself, the dynamic influence and magnetic, youthful enthusiasm of one of its gifted Professors, Derozio created no small stir, not only in the ranks of the students but also among the *élite* of the Calcutta society. We have already mentioned David Hare, the friend and co-worker of Ram Mohan Roy, who, though an illiterate man himself and a watchmaker by profession, threw himself heart and soul into the work of promoting English education in Calcutta in a manner, and with an enthusiasm which would have done credit to any educationist. William Adam, who came out to India about this time with the avowed object of converting Ram Mohan Roy to the Christian faith also made the education of the people a chief part of his life work. A little later Dr. Alex-Duff and Capt. David Richardson, a poet and writer of some note, took up their mantle and became great teachers, loving their pupils and being loved a hundredfold by them in return. Richardson

became Principal of the Hindu College in 1836. Upto the early fifties, sons of the better class of Hindus joined the Hindu College, but in 1853 an incident, which need not be mentioned here, led to the foundation of the Metropolitan College by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Kristo Das Pal, Shambhu Chandra Mookerji, Keshab Chandra Sen and, later, Ravindra Nath Tagore were all students of the new College.

It is but fair to acknowledge that with all their devotion and enthusiasm, the educationists would not have been able to achieve much had not their efforts been strongly supported by a number of eminent statesmen and administrators, like Lord Moira, Monstuart Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Lord Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck. They were all convinced that the enlightenment of the people of India would lead to quicker elimination of foreign domination, but they realised that on the whole, the balance of advantage lay on the side of gradual diffusion of knowledge and not in keeping the whole population steeped in ignorance. In a memorable speech in the House of Commons (1831), Lord Macaulay said: "It would be better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us than ill governed and subject to us. That would be poor wisdom which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they might be our slaves."

As was to be expected, the introduction of English education gave rise to a long controversy which at times, became, even bitter and acrimonious. A small but influential conservative group, consisting mostly of Mohammadan scholars and divines, vehemently defended the claims of Oriental Learning. But, in spite of the fact that the usual cry of religion in danger was raised again and again, the Anglicists had a comparatively easy victory over their opponents. It is interesting to note that mixed motives played an important part in bringing about the defeat of the conservative party. The Anglicists consisted of three different groups, each of which had its own reasons for supporting the claims of English education. The Indian reform party, with Ram Mohan Roy at its head, favoured English education, because it brought Western science, literature and liberal political ideas and institutions into India. The

Christian missionaries advocated it because it was expected, as they thought, to facilitate the evangelisation of the people. In certain letters which he wrote home after his arrival in India, an acute observer like Macaulay expressed the opinion that, as a result of English education, India would lose its old faith within thirty years. Similarly, the British statesmen and administrators stood by it, because it was calculated to consolidate their rule and make it more acceptable to the people, besides providing them with an army of cheap workers without whose willing and intelligent co-operation, the work of administering a huge country like India could not be carried on. As we know, even Akbar understood that by making Persian the official language in India, he was doing more towards making his rule safe and stable than if all his nobles had married Rajput princesses. It should be added that it was political expediency which dictated to the Government the policy that, at least in the beginning, education should be confined to the higher classes, and that it should be allowed gradually to filter down to the masses. Unfortunately this policy has been continued ever since with disastrous results to the progress and development of the country. Even the Montford Reforms have not appreciably improved the literacy of the masses.

But we are digressing. The issue raised by the controversy to which we have just referred was finally set at rest in favour of Western culture and science by the famous Minute of Macaulay followed by the Resolution of Lord William Bentinck's Government (March 1835). The Mohamadans were greatly excited at the decision. Numerous signed memorials were sent to the Government against the new policy of encouraging English education at the expense, as they felt, of oriental learning and scholarship. Sinister motives were attributed to the authorities. The evident object of Government was, they said, the "conversion of the natives to their own faith." With a view to remove the apprehensions created in the minds of the orientalists, Lord Auckland issued another resolution (November 1839) assuring the people that the Government entertained no such intentions.

The resolution of Lord Bentinck also excited a good deal of opposition from an unexpected quarter and for a different reason. The resolution authoritatively laid

down the principle of religious neutrality in Government educational institutions. The British statesmen fore-saw that the stream of progressive ideas on political, social and moral questions flowing into the country with the introduction of Western education and culture could not but profoundly influence the national mind. To add to these disturbing elements another in the form of the direct teaching of the Bible and the doctrines of Christianity was, therefore, neither expedient nor proper. Indeed, some alarm had already been created by the conversion to Christianity of a few youths of the best families and the open avowal of lack of faith in their own religion by a host of others. Some petitions against the teaching of the Bible in Bengal and other parts of India had already reached Government. The opposition in this case was led by Christian missionaries who wielded an influence quite out of proportion to their numerical strength, as much for their learning and character as for their deep interest in the educational activities of Bengal. However, saner counsels prevailed in the end. Many of the more thoughtful among the Christian missionaries themselves advised patience in the interest of the spread of their religion as also on grounds of political expediency. They pointed out that a too passionate advocacy of methods of evangelisation might cost them the Indian Empire, and with it their only chance of converting the people of India would also disappear for ever.

Some idea of the progress of English education during this period may be formed from the fact that a return presented to the House of Lords in May 1852 gives a total of less than 10,000 scholars under instruction in the new type of schools and colleges, of which 37 were to be found in Bengal, 7 in what are at present known as the United Provinces, 14 in Bombay and only 1 in Madras. A year later, J. C. Marshman, the historian, stated in his evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee (July 1853), that there were in existence as many as 31 State schools and colleges with 4,241 scholars in attendance, 22 institutions teaching about 6,000 students managed and maintained by Christian Missionary Societies, and a few other educational establishments where at least 500 scholars were receiving instruction. In the opinion of the witness the scope of instruction, specially in institutions maintained

by Government, was the same as is comprised within the compass of liberal education in England. The coping-stone to the new educational edifice was supplied by the famous Despatch of Charles Wood (1854). The story goes that the Despatch was drafted by no less a person than John Stuart Mill. But whoever wrote it, so far as popular education is concerned, it remained a dead letter for well-nigh thirty years—thanks mainly to the suspicion and financial and political embarrassments created by the Mutiny.

Side by side with those educational activities, other powerful liberalising forces were also at work, the chief being the movement of spiritual awakening and social justice associated with the name of the Brahmo Samaj. The contact of two such radically divergent cultures as the Western civilization with its ideals of active philanthropy and social freedom combined with its marvellous achievements in the domain of science and industry, and the old India civilization with its dreamy quietude and rigid social and religious conventions seemed at first to spell disaster in Indian society. As Ananda Coomarswamy has put it, in India "the virtue of every man lay in the observance of traditional morality—the creation of the race—unquestioningly accepted; the map of life was clearly charted."

The exact opposite of this is the case with modern European civilization. In the West "the society exists alone for the sake of the individual," the community in which "the maximum of intellectual, moral and physical freedom is best secured to the individual" being regarded as "nearest to civilization." Between these opposing forces, India was now placed in a most perilous position. Ananda Coomarswamy compares her to one who has had no lot or part in the development of the infinite moral and spiritual resources of his race and who, therefore, lacks the "inspiration" that had led to the creation of his rich inheritance, or even the consciousness to understand its real worth and value. In these circumstances, as indeed was to be expected, a moral chaos was the result. The "educated" Indian did not quite know whither to turn his footsteps. No wonder that some of the best men, who came under the spell of the West in the early part of the last century, sometimes did things in the name of the new culture which one shudders to think of today. At such a critical times, Ram Mohan Roy delivered

his message of the Brahmo Samaj showing the people a middle path (August 1828). It reconciled the claims of the spiritual treasures of the Aryan race with those of the freedom of conscience and thought and the new democratic spirit of the West. It was the first Protestant movement which, while building the national structure on the sure and stable foundations of the past, did not refuse to make use of such material from the younger civilization of the West as were adaptable to the genius of the people and at the same time supplied the growing needs of the human race. As such it partook of the dual character of being at once national and international. The last note in it was at first keenly resented by those who believed in a narrow form of nationalism, but who could not envisage the deeper needs and interests of humanity. Ravindranath Tagore, one of the best representatives of the new liberal faith, has recently given fine expression to this sentiment. He says: "I am afraid that my tune may not agree with the tune of my countrymen. Nationalism is a geographical evil genius and the whole world today is trembling under the oppression of this evil genius. We are building the Temple of God on universal knowledge. And if we raise any wall of obstruction here in the name of country, we shall necessarily put obstacles in the way of God."

It was in the social sphere that the message of the Brahmo Samaj specially agitated and alarmed the Hindu society. Ram Mohan Roy's advocacy of the legal and social rights of women, the abolition of polygamy and caste system, the remarriage of widows and the suppression of the cruel practice of the *Sattee*—such a radical programme of reform as this could not but scandalise and rouse the orthodox Hindus from their slumber. The most strenuous opposition was offered to these reforms, particularly to the abolition of the *Sattee*. After more than ten years of persistent agitation Ram Mohan had the satisfaction to see the practice stopped by law (1829). His opponents sent an influentially signed petition to Parliament only to be rejected while he was himself present in the gallery of the House of Commons (1833). With the other items in his programme of Social Reform he was less successful. Indeed, some of the evil customs and usages which he attacked still present unsolved problems; the devoted labours

of a succession of eminent patriots and reformers have failed to break down the barriers of popular passion and prejudice behind which they are entrenched. But we cannot forget that it was Ram Mohan who first raised the standard of moral revolt against abuses of centuries which others have since been privileged to carry forward.

Nor was this all. The great reformer's contribution to the political advancement of his country was equally substantial and lasting. As has been often pointed out, his exhaustive evidence before the Select Parliamentary Committee foreshadows most of the constitutional changes for which the Indian National Congress has been pleading ever since its foundation. His passionate defence of the liberty of the Press is well known. As far back as May 1818 Warren Hastings, writing, in his private journal, speaks of "a time not very remote," when England "will on sound principles of policy wish to relinquish the domination" of India, so that she might "walk alone," grateful enough for all the benefits she received from England, and anxious "to maintain with probity towards her benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should find her a solid interest." Consistently with the spirit

of this generous soliloquy, some of the severer press restrictions existing at this time were relaxed by him. These concessions, however, did not prevent a future Governor-General to order the arrest and deportation to England of one Mr. Buckingham, Editor of the *Calcutta Journal* and, subsequently, of his assistant Mr. Standford Arnot, for the simple fault of criticising some administrative measures. Not content with these arbitrary proceedings, a drastic Press Ordinance was also passed by the Governor-General's Council imposing a severe form of censorship upon the entire Press in India and prohibiting the publication of any periodical without a licence (March 1923). Ram Mohan Roy considered the Ordinance as most dangerous to the progress of the country. He got up a memorial for its repeal. With the assistance of two lawyers, whose services he engaged for the purpose, he strenuously opposed the assent of the Supreme Court being accorded to it. Defeated in this attempt to prevent the Ordinance becoming law, he got up a public petition against the new legislation to the King of England.

(To be continued.)

PRINCIPLES OF RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICES

BY

W. H. BAKER

Chairman, Public Services Commission

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS, THE BEST TEST

I highly appreciate the honour which has been done me in inviting me to address the Convocation of the Patna University, but I do not nourish the delusion that the invitation is due to any merits I possess. Neither my learning nor my eloquence would entitle me to claim a hearing from the gathering I see before me, but I represent the Public Service Commission and the significance of the Public Service Commission to the Universities of

India, and I would add of the Universities of India to the Public Service Commission is undeniable. Whatever may be the merits or defects of that body, I can say with perfect confidence that it stands for one ideal, namely, to get the best men it can for the public services in India, irrespective of every other consideration; and I can only express my profound conviction that unless that ideal is relentlessly followed in the face of all opposition, every influence

and every obstacle all those schemes which have been and are being constantly devised for the prosperity, good government and advancement of India, to whatever subject they relate and from whatever quarter they proceed are bound to come to naught. The first essential of good government is an intelligent, impartial and high-minded Civil Service.

In England we have been so long accustomed to a Civil Service, which for integrity and zeal is unsurpassed in the world that we have almost forgotten our troubles of a century ago when the Civil Service was a nest of nepotism, corruption and incompetence. We cured all that and we cured it in the only way in which it could be cured by setting up a body of Civil Service Commissioners corresponding in some aspects very closely to the Public Service Commission in India. Those Commissioners are in practice independent of the Government and the all-powerful remedy for the evils which they encountered was to make competitive examination the main avenue to public employment. That system has given us the Home Civil Service at home and the Indian Civil Service in India and if there is any method of getting a better service than these two great services, I should be glad to hear of it.

We in England have had time to forget the evils of jobbery and private patronage from which the examination system delivered us; and some of those who are conscious of the evils of the present and have forgotten the evils of the past now decry the examination system and advocate a system of appointment by selection. I have seen the system of selection at its best and I confess that when I came out to India I had some leanings in that direction myself; but every day I have spent in India and every atom of experience I have acquired of the conditions of this country have convinced me more and more that the system of competitive examination is for this country both the fairest and the most effective way of staffing the public services. In saying this I must make it clear that I am expressing no opinion on the question of communal representation. That is a matter quite outside the ken of the Public Service Commission, a matter in which they merely follow directions they receive and as a practical matter no difficulty attaches to

competitive examination within a particular community.

Some I have met in India, and I am afraid far too many go very much further and positively prefer the appointment of uneducated men to the public service and seem to regard education as a virus, which, when introduced into the body, swells the head but atrophies and enervates virility, energy and self-reliance. In this they are unfortunate enough to disagree with Solomon who said—

"Give instruction to a wise man and he will be yet wiser; teach a just man and he will increase in learning, and through wisdom is an house builded and by understanding it is established and by knowledge shall his chamber be filled with all precious and pleasant riches. A wise man is strong; yea, a man of knowledge increases strength."

I am on the side of Solomon. For nearly every function in life, even the most undistinguished, I prefer an educated to an uneducated man; and if the heresy to which I have referred were well founded it would involve a negation of everything for which the University of Patna and the Universities of India stand. The vast sums which have been lavished out of the scanty resources of Government and the smaller sums which have been lavished out of the vast resources of individuals, would indeed have been ill-spent if the Universities of India were unsuccessful in producing the best candidates for the public services. To those too who maintain that in the choice of public servants no importance should be attached to academic brilliance but to some lower standard of academic attainment, requiring great perseverance, hard work and self-denial I will only say that no crueler wrong could be done to the youth of India than to encourage them to come in their thousands to Indian Universities and then dispute their entry to the public services.

I stand therefore before you as an unabashed advocate of the system of competitive examination for the purpose of manning the public service of this country. I am under no illusions about competitive examinations and can be under no illusions, possessing as I do an inside knowledge of them. In this world we can only aim at the best; we cannot hope to attain perfection and, in spite of all its defects, I am of opinion that for India as it is, the system of

competitive examinations is the best, and any other system is, as a general rule, not only not the best or even the second best but definitely bad.

THE PRESENT-DAY INDIAN GRADUATE.

In India as elsewhere there are many people who are content to repeat what their fathers have told them and without regard to changing conditions, to reiterate at the conclusion of their service the words of wisdom they heard from their seniors dating almost back to the Mutiny in the days when they themselves were juniors. Those who are seldom brought into contact with the young graduate of the present day often repeat to me the old and perhaps one true legend that the Indian graduate is a creature with an infinite voracity for learning text books by heart without understanding their contents. There may be graduates of that kind even now. I do not think I have ever met one, but I may say that when I do I shall take the greatest pains to see that he is not successful in any examination organised by the Public Service Commission. I see every year many graduates from every part of India in the official capacity of an examiner and sometimes I am privileged to see them in an unofficial capacity. In an official capacity I am not always very happy. I have to ask many hundred questions and I am painfully conscious that the examinees must think my questions very foolish. I have to judge them, but I know that they are judging me and I can only hope that they extend the same clemency to me as I invariably extend to them.

In a non-official capacity there are few things I enjoy so much as a free interchange of talk with a group of Indian students. It is on this experience, which is in its way unique, since I know of no one outside the Public Service Commission who has constant opportunities of seeing the students of all the Universities of India, that I base my judgment. To many the Indian student is an abstraction and you find out all about him by reading quinquennial reports. He is a fertile theme for notes and in private conversation the problem of his future is too often solved by an anecdote faithfully passed down from generation to generation. To me he is a reality and having studied that reality to the best of my ability during the short time I have been here, I say that I have no fears or trepidations as to the

future of the public services in India so far as that future is dependent on the material which emerges from Indian Universities at the point at which it emerges. The best of them are to my mind as satisfactory a body of young men, active, intelligent and virile as you may wish to see and there are enough of them to man the public services which are my chief concern. I will therefore not speak of the worst.

But the question still remains what is to be done with the Philistines who deery your accomplishments and dispute your powers and who are all for the strong, silent, very stupid and uneducated man. Samson had a short way with him. He slew a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass. That remedy is not open to you for two reasons entirely outside the Indian Penal Code. The first is that there are too many Philistines and the second is that you have not got the right kind of jawbone.

THE MISSION OF THE GRADUATE.

You must proceed in quite a different way and so order your life and future conduct as to demonstrate to the mean intelligences to which I have referred that their criticism is entirely baseless. It is of course a truism that though many Universities are excellent and Patna is of course among them, there is only one perfect University and that is situated at Oxford and any one who has been lucky enough to be educated in that city is prone to judge all other Universities by the standard of that peerless place. In the light of that comparison a doubt sometimes occurs to me whether the students of Indian Universities are sufficiently conscious of their high calling, of the great privileges which entail corresponding responsibilities and of the magnitude of the tasks which will confront them in after-life, tasks which cannot be performed without adequate preparation. Today the University has conferred on some of you, its students, the honour of its degree. Tomorrow it will rest with you to do honour to the University. The graduates of Patna University represent a few thousand educated men among thirty-four million less educated or uneducated throughout the province. You are the leaven which must leaven the whole lump. In the years to come much of the happiness and prosperity

of the province will depend on you. You will hold the position of authority, with you will rest the decision whether the province will progress or fall back in the race. Your task is to be envied. Your work is beginning and no one can look at any province in India without realising that there is much work to be done. Villages require sanitation, housing, cleanliness and beauty. Ignorance has to be dissipated, agriculture enriched with expert knowledge. The hatred of race for race and of religion must be abated. Industry and commerce must be encouraged as a living found for the ever-increasing millions of India. Those who think that all that is work for Government and Government alone, are much mistaken. The best work has always been done by individuals, independent of Government and without the well-organised support of well-educated men, vigilant, eager and helpful Government can do but little. The chief source of the strength of public life in England has been the existence of a large body of men independent of Government who are willing to undertake arduous public duties and perform them laboriously and conscientiously without hope or expectation of reward.

Are you well equipped for the task, which is before you? You have had three or four years at the University and in those years you had had more leisure than you are likely to enjoy again in your working life. You have been at a University, a place which should be dedicated to eager inquiry, constant speculation, free discussion and ripening studies. Have you availed yourselves of your opportunities? Have you pondered deeply on the difficult problems of Indian life; have you thought constantly how those problems are to be solved? Have you taken pains to winnow truth from falsehood and, by slow and painful processes of thought, arrived at your own conclusions which, whether they be right or wrong, are for you the only valuable conclusions? Have you in your walks abroad been quick to note what is amiss and to consider the remedy? Have you been careful to observe the toil and the difficulties of the peasant in the fields and the devices he employs to keep us all alive, and do you offer your thanks to him and dedicate your services to him as the sole bulwark between yourselves and starvation.

If so, you will go into the world as worthy sons of the University whose work will do it honour.

Or, have you put all this on one side and been content to be guided by cheap catchwords, *pro and con*, to be deluded by shibboleths which you repeat without understanding? Have you treated the golden years you have spent at the University as merely an avenue to a job in the Government service having attained which you can rest contented reaping increment and promotion as they come in their due season, doing that minimum of work which averts censure and avoiding as far as possible the toil and the strife which make life worth living? If this is your intention you may have a happy and prosperous life, but you will do your University no honour and your province no good. It is of those that the poet writes —

The earth's high places who attain to fill

By most indomitably sitting still,

(and again he wrote their epitaph)

Find in the golden mean their proper bliss

And doing nothing never did amiss

But lapt in mean's good graces live and die.

By all regretted, nobody knows why. This is not the way in which India has attained such greatness, such peace and such order as she enjoys at present. The English may have many faults, but at least they cannot be charged with apathy, carelessness or failure in a sense of duty. Some sixty years ago Sir George Trevelyan said of the Englishman in India "The public spirit among the servants of Government at home is faint compared with the fire of zeal which glows in every vein of an Indian official." I have been a servant of Government at home and I know the zeal of those servants. If that zeal is but faint in comparison with that of an Indian official, I can only say that the zeal of an Indian official must be as a consuming flame. The public services of India are being rapidly Indianised and I realise without complaint that many changes must come and things must be fashioned in a different mould. I have only one thing to ask and that is that in a country where zeal receives little encouragement the Indian official may be consumed with the same fiery zeal for the good of his province and the good of India as consumed the English official of old.

THE IDEAL UNIVERSITY.

I have visited most of the universities of India and that which I am about to say has no special reference to Patna, but I have sometimes felt a doubt whether it is fully realised what a university should be, what opportunities it should offer and what is its mission in the scheme of a national life. It is not a place to which a student should resort merely to spend laborious days, plodding his way to a degree which is valued merely for itself and not for what it connotes. Such a man takes away from the University a degree indeed, but little which is of value either to himself or India. A University should be the great civilising agency of the area which it serves and its students should be in the forefront, the natural leaders of the province in all its higher aspirations, the betterment of the condition of the people, the improvement of political life, the removal of social evils. If they do not undertake this task who will? Now a University should manufacture a product which is perfectly adapted for these purposes and that is the ordinary well-educated man, and in the long run a University will be judged by the type of ordinary well-educated man it produces.

By such a man I do not mean a man who accumulates first classes and medals and leaves the University well trained in the subject but with a mind which is a blank on all subjects outside his special course of study. First classes have a value and their achievement indicates that their holder has passed through a mental discipline which should be useful to him throughout life; but few of us can spend our lives in the subjects we studied at the University and a man who leaves that University knowing one subject and one subject only, enters the battle of life with the most serious disadvantage like a bird with one broken wing. The mental discipline remains in after life and is valuable, but the actual knowledge which is acquired is in respect of many subjects, valueless and soon forgotten. It has often happened to me to ask a student of physics, for instance, the most ordinary questions of everyday life, such a thing as every schoolboy ought to know as Macaulay would put it. He will profess his ignorance and say to me with surprise not unmixed with resentment, "You forget, Sir,

I am a student of physics," as though a student of physics could claim by right to be abysmally ignorant of everything else. This attitude is not exceptional, it is common. I attribute it partly to excessive absorption in learning things the wrong way. I am under the impression that students attend far too many lectures and take far too much trouble to find out what the lecturer thinks and far too little to think for themselves. English literature, if properly pursued, is the most humanistic of studies but unless it is studied in an individualist mood, it becomes unutterably stale as a means of education. I often ask students what they think of this or that author and I hardly ever get an answer. They are eager to tell me what Matthew Arnold or Thomas Carlyle or Bernard Shaw or their teacher thinks of an author but what they themselves think they do not know. If you read an author without forming an opinion of him your reading is worthless. To search for truth is the first essential of true learning. If you hate Shakespeare as many great and good men have done in the past, it is much better to say so than to repeat the stale encomiums of some textbook writer in whom you don't believe. I have only met one Indian student who confessed that he hated English literature and he was not telling the truth. I asked him why he hated it and I soon discovered that he had a very passionate appreciation for its beauties. The reason for his outburst was that he had given up English literature because it was so hard to get an honors degree in it and had taken up another subject which he cordially detested. He and all other Indian students should ponder that passage from the Taming of the Shrew:

No profit grows where is no pleasure taken. In brief, sir, study what you most affect.

Every student on entering the University should consider what study he most affects and pursue that. Every such student should be careful not to inquire in what subjects it is easiest to get a degree. If this rule were observed I should not see so many obvious misfits as I have seen at some examinations, students taking up physics whose aptitude is for history, students taking up law whose passion is for botany, poets devoting themselves to the study of economics. Study those subjects in which you take pleasure. If there is no subject in which you take pleasure, the University is no place for you. The University

should be a delightful place of study and a place of delightful study.

EXHORTATION TO STUDENTS.

The next thing I should urge students to remember is that the University is the training ground in which they should learn to become useful citizens of the world and that what they learn in the classroom represents half and less than half of what they should learn at the University. For this purpose nothing is more important than the utilisation of leisure and again I quote Solomon who said: "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure." I have never been able to get a satisfactory answer to the question how students spend their leisure and the man who fritters away his leisure is one who fritters away his money. During his leisure a student should immensely widen his range of interests and extend his general knowledge, regarding nothing which had occupied or is occupying the thoughts or engrossing the activities of men on this planet as outside the scope of his intelligence. He should read widely and constantly and it is better that he should read the lightest of literature than that he should not read at all. It is only a mind stored with a wide and various knowledge and an understanding enriched by constant observation which is fit to meet all the emergencies of life. The problem of employment of the educated in India is serious and a mere numerical calculation will show that there cannot be places in Government service for a tithe of the students who aspire to them. Nor is it desirable

that it should be so. Nothing can be worse for a country than that a majority of its educated class should be men, incapable of making a career in other walks of life. The Public Service Commission are like men casting their nets into the sea and catching good fish for the public service, but it is a condition of the success of their labour that there should be as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it. They do not want to cast their nets into a village pond leaving nothing but mud and minnows behind. The great residue must fructify the life of India outside the public service. To do so requires great powers of observation, enterprise and courage; it is necessary to strike out new lines and embark on great adventures and those countries which have had most men endowed with these qualities are the countries which have been the foremost pioneers of civilisation. A country cannot progress if its young men are all playing for safety, looking for well assured, if small salaries, followed by exiguous pensions, leading a sheltered life in the performance of small tasks and avoiding laborious days, hard work and adventure. There is much to be done which no Government can do; almost everything that the individual can do and it is the social mission of the University to produce men equal to the task, men to bear rule in the kingdoms, men renowned for their power of giving counsel by their understanding and declaring prophecies, leader of the people by their counsel and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instruction.

[Convocation Address at the Patna University.]

INDIA THROUGH THE AGES: THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

BY

DR. JADU NATH SIRCAR, C. I. E.

From the legends of the Vaisali Council we see how the moral canker had begun to eat into the vitals of Buddhism. The founder of the faith had preached it over a small tract of land from the Nepal Terai to Gaya and from Allahabad to Patna. It had been honoured by kings and merchants, but along with Hinduism and not to the

exclusion of the latter faith. It had, therefore, gained no preponderance, even in this narrow tract of land either in the number of its followers or in the wealth of its Church.

But, in time the monasteries began to grow rapidly in accumulated wealth from gifts. Only three hundred years after Buddha's death, we find startling exam-

ples of the costly donations to his Church in the stories of Asoka's dotage :

Yuan Chwang narrates it thus :

" King Asoka having fallen sick, desired to offer all his possessions (to the Buddhist monks), so as to crown his religious merit. The Minister who was carrying on the government was unwilling to comply with his wish. Some time after this, as he was eating part of an *amalaka* fruit, he playfully put the half of it for an offering.

" Then the king commanded an attendant officer to come and addressed him thus : ' Take this half fruit and offer it to the priests in the Kukkataram monastery and speak thus to the venerable ones : All that I have is gone and lost, only this half fruit remains as my little possession.' " (Beal, ii. 95; Watters, ii. 99.) Here the king built a great stupa named the *Amalaka*. The story is also repeated by Aswa-ghosha.

ORIGIN OF SECTS.

Wealth gave leisure to the Church, and the monkish brain devoted its well-endowed leisure to the weaving of minute subtleties of doctrine and the elaboration of ritual under which the founder's simple faith and code of practical ethics were completely buried. A very complex philosophy and cosmogony of their own was evolved by the Buddhist theologians in their monastic repose. They created a new and vast religious literature like the Vaishnav 'goewamis' of Bengal in the 16th and 17th centuries. But as no two philosophers are ever found to agree, these metaphysical subtleties led to quarrels, and the Church broke up into a multitude of sub-sects, each under a leader and each proclaiming war against the other followers of the same faith. We learn that soon after Buddha's 'nirvan' and even before Asoka made it a world-religion, the followers of Buddhism had become divided into four great sects. Their internal dissensions went on increasing with the spread of the faith. Before the first century of the Christian era the number of recognised sub-divisions had increased to eighteen, besides probably many hundred smaller personal groups. As Yuan Chwang, in the 7th century, mournfully noted, " The different (Buddhist) schools are constantly at variance ; and their contending utterances rise like angry

waves of the sea. . . . The different sects have their separate masters . . . There are eighteen schools, each claiming preeminence." [Beal, i. 80.] For some time before this Chinese pilgrim's visit the various schools had been grouped under two main divisions, the 'Mahayan' and 'Hinayan'; but it did not improve matters. These two sects hated each other more bitterly than either of them did the Hindus.

In Ceylon, the jealousy and antipathy between the rival monasteries, the Mahavihar and Abhayagiri, led to constant dissension and occasional persecution such as the destruction of the Mahavihar in the reign of King Mahasena (C. 300 A. D.).

Thus, the unity of the Buddhist Church was broken, and at the same time moral decay resulted from the increased wealth, indolence and luxury of the monks. The lavish benefactions of Asoka and Kanishka and the position of supreme respect in the State given by them to the Buddhist monks, were, in reality, a curse rather than a blessing to the faith.

During the so-called Buddhist period, Hinduism was neither dead nor silent. It may have lost the royal patronage under certain kings, it may have produced no great scholar or saint for a generation or two. But only half a century after Asoka's death when his dynasty was overthrown, Hinduism raised its head and soon recovered its ascendancy. This was effected not by its persecuting or penalising the Buddhists, but by producing greater scholars, better authors, nobler saints and finer artists, and above all by practising greater active piety of philanthropy,—in respect of which Buddhism had lost the superiority it had held in its founder's lifetime or in Asoka's reign.

The intellectual decline of the Buddhist priests in Asoka's own capital is well illustrated by a story narrated by Yuan Chwang in connection with the stupa of sounding the *ghanta*. He writes :—

" At first there were about a hundred *Sangharamas* in this city ; the priests were grave and learned, and of high moral character. The scholars among the heretics (i.e., Hindus) were silent and dumb. But afterwards when that generation of priests had died out, their successors were not equal to those gone before. Then the teachers of the heretics, during the interval, gave themselves

up to earnest study with a view to mastery. Whereupon they summoned their partisans to assemble together within the priests' precincts and then they addressed them, saying with a loud voice: 'Strike loudly the *ghanta* and summon all the learned men (i.e., Buddhist monks). If we are wrong let them overthrow us.'

Then they addressed the king and asked him to decide between the weak and the strong.... And now the heretical masters were men of high talent and marked learning; the (Buddhist) priests, although numerous, were weak in their verbal discussion. The heretics said, 'We have got the victory. From this time forth let no *saṅgharāma* dare to sound the *ghanta* to call together a congregation.' The king confirmed this result of the discussion..... For twelve years the *ghanta* was not sounded. [Beal, ii. 96-97; Watters, ii. 100.]

HINDU REVIVAL.

The wise leaders of the Hindu revival, while they beat the Buddhists by avoiding arid philosophical subtleties and the jarring of sect with sect and by showing greater love and care for the suffering lower classes,—also cut the ground from under the feet of Buddhism, by stealing several of its practices which appeal to the human heart and imagination. Thus, image-worship and the car-procession were most probably borrowed by the Hindus from Buddhism. In the fourth century, Fa Hien noticed in the Buddhist monasteries of Khotan a car-procession exactly like our own. [Beal, i. xxvi.]

By the beginning of the seventh century A.D., this policy of Hinduism had already so far crippled Buddhism that Yuan Chwang noticed Hindu temples outnumbering Buddhist monasteries in an increasing proportion as he proceeded from the Punjab to Bengal, i.e., through the very province of Buddha's missionary labours.

What did the leaders of Indian Buddhism do in the face of this growing strength of their foes? They did not abate their internal quarrels one jot. They produced no outstanding scholar or saint for work in India. Even Harsha's reign was the last flicker of a dying lamp as regards the hopes of Buddhism.

The Pala kings of Bengal who rose to power a century after Harsha and held sway for three hun-

dred years, were, no doubt, Buddhists; but they equally patronised Hindu scholars and holy men. Their ministers and courtiers included Hindus no less than Buddhists, and the Sanskrit books and exquisite statuary produced under them were on Hindu subjects as much as Buddhist. Hindus and Buddhists alike studied the grammar of Panini and cultivated Sanskrit logic in this period, as the mediæval Sanskrit literature recovered from Nepal and Tibet richly shows.

The Buddhists reaped the benefit of their great universities at Nalanda and Vikramasila. We know of no Hindu University in the North; but many rich Hindu householders and kings maintained Sanskrit pandits who fed and taught the personal groups of pupils in their homes, as was the practice in India down to our own days.

THE MAHAYAN SCHOOL.

The Mahayan school had during the first seven centuries of the Christian era produced a vast mass of literature, both religious and secular, but in Sanskrit. It is very little known in India, because the best workers on the subject have been Frenchmen and Germans.

The Mahayan school is of very great interest as forming a bridge, or rather a half-way house, between the old Buddhism and modern Hinduism. The doctrine of the Mahayan was intensely human and practical. Its monks did not all bury themselves in the seclusion of their cells, each seeking to attain his personal salvation by becoming a passionless *arhat*.

They revived the active philanthropy which Buddha had preached in every Jataka parable. It was essentially a religion of the service of man, though it produced great scholars, too. At the same time it was a very popular religion, because it made an irresistible appeal to the emotions by its gorgeous ritual, its preaching the cult of bhakti or devotion to a personal saviour (Bodhisattva), its programme of active humanitarianism, as distinct from lonely contemplation and self-notification.

What was the essence of Mahayan Buddhism? In the curious evolution and transformation of his religion in the course of many centuries, Buddha the living preacher had long ago ceased to be regarded as a human being. He had become a god, or rather the king of the gods, too high above us to be

approached by mortals directly. He was now a dread shadow or supreme name only, hidden within the halo of his power and sanctity and not a deity to be visualised or addressed by mankind. Therefore, we sinners must send our petition to him through his courtiers and constant servitors. These were Bodhisattvas or men who, by the practice of piety, self-control and sacrifice for the good of others, in successive births through millions of years, had been gradually rising higher and higher in the scale of being, and who would after millions of years more reach the finality of development as perfect Buddhas. In short, they were Buddhas in the making, and therefore could best act as intercessors between sinning men and the great Buddha. Hence in Mahayan, the worship of Bodhisattvas practically superseded that of Buddha himself, and the votive statues of the former almost drove those of the latter out of the field, as archaeological excavations in the chief Mahayan sites show.

Mahayan was an intensely living and active faith. It came forth into the world, visiting the homes of the people, instead of seeking cloistered seclusion, sanctimonious aloofness from others and intellectual pride as was generally the case with Hinayan. Therefore, Hinayan was in 'comparison' with it unprogressive, coldly intellectual, inert and rather monotonous through lack of variety and influence over human conduct.

By this I do not mean to assert that Mahayan lacked ascetics and theological writers of its own. I mean, the meditative side of Mahayan was not everything; the millions of laymen were reached by its practical side or philanthropy.

When the new Hinduism asserted itself after the reorganisation of the social grades in the 7th and 8th centuries of Christ, the monastic and contemplative elements of Mahayan Buddhism were borrowed by the Shaivas, and the devotional and humanitarian elements by the Vaishnavas. In consequence, Buddhism disappeared from India by being swallowed up and completely absorbed by the new Hinduism. There is hardly any difference traceable between Shiva the Yogi of Hindu mythology and the Dhyani Buddha of later Mahayan. The ear-procession of the three idols, the gorgeous worship in temples, the cult of bhakti or personal love for God as man, the active service of the poor (in whom Narayan incur-

nates Himself) and the preaching friars of the new and revived Vaishnavism of the 8th century were the weapons taken from the Buddhists which conquered the decaying Buddhism because of the superior energy and fervour of neo-Hinduism.

The decaying or abandoned monasteries of the Buddhists were taken possession of by the Shaiva monks and raised their heads again as Hindu mathas. E.g., the Bodhi Gaya temple itself, which Yuan Chwang had found overgrown with jungles and almost deserted in 634, was appropriated by Shaiva monks of the Giri section. The Vaishnav Bairagis replaced the philanthropic Mahayan Sramans. The neighbouring people hardly felt the change, it was so slight; the thing was the same, only the name of the god was different and a new set of men, clad in the same long yellow robes, were performing the same worship!

And even the name of the god was not really changed in the transformed Hinduism of the time, because Buddha was finally given a place in the Hindu pantheon as the eighth incarnation of Vishnu:

Nindasi yajna-bidher ahaṁ śhrutijātam
Sādāya-hridāya darśita pashu-ghātam,
Keshava dhṛita Buddha-śhureera!

The Shiva linga at Sarnath, a short distance from the Asoka stupa, is known as Shiva Sangheshwar, i.e., the 'Lord of the Sangha' or the third member of the Buddhist Trinity.

THE TRANSITION TO HINDUISM.

In the last stage of Mahayan the transition from Buddhism to Hinduism was rendered imperceptible by the agency of Tantrikism.

In going out of North India to convert millions of primitive Mongolians in Tibet, Central Asia and China, neither the pure ethics of Buddhism as taught by the founder nor the subtle philosophy woven by the rich and leisured monks in the Gangetic valley, was found to be of practical use. Success could be attained in mass conversions of such magnitude only by stooping down to the intellect and familiar practices of the converts.

Compare the policy of Robertode Nobili in Southern India.

The Buddhist preachers in these new lands made a compromise and adopted the animism or spirit-

worship which was the prevailing religion of the Mongolians, and merely superimposed the Buddhist pantheon on it, i.e., they gilded spirit-worship with a thin coating of Buddhistic doctrines and gave Buddhistic doctrines and gave Buddhistic names to the locally adored spirits. This Tantrik worship gradually developed an iconography, a philosophy and a literature of its own in Tibet and East Bengal.

The aim of Tantra was to acquire control over the spirits by the practice of austerities and elaborate mystic rites and then to use this supernatural power for the gratification of the senses, the transmutation of the baser metals into gold and the production of potent medicines by magic.

The gods and goddesses of Tantrik Buddhism became the deities of the Shaiva form of Hinduism. Thus the Buddhist Tara was identified as the Shakti or female energy of Shiva and adored as a Hindu goddess. The dreaded Kālī and other maha-vidyās are further examples of this borrowing of cults.

Tantrikism was the most widely prevalent and popular religion of North and East Bengal from the 8th to the 12th century and even later. Whether this Tantrik population should be called Buddhist or Hindu was a quarrel over words only. The people did not feel any change when they described themselves as Hindus instead of Buddhists in an imaginary census return of the time.

In Central and Western Bengal Tantrikism was practised, but not as the predominant religion. Buddhism in other forms lingered there as late as the sixteenth century. The researches of Dr. Haraprasad Shastri have recovered this lost page of our religious history and established the facts on unassailable evidence.

With the moral decline of their monks and the failure of the Church in India to produce great scholars and saints, the latter-day Buddhist congregation in India were left as sheep without a shepherd. Their actual religion lost its populace, with traditions and practices and continued as a mere faith of the populace, with traditions and practices that were blindly followed, and this latest Buddhism in Bengal and Bihar took its place by the side of the worship of the village godlings under ignorant quacks as priests. The Buddhistic ritual probably continued to be followed, but in ignorance of the philosophy underlying it. Thus, Buddhism in its

last stage in India ceased to be a living growing faith because it could not have an expanding and perpetually modernised literature and a fresh stream of teachers in every generation.

The upper classes of society, especially in the towns, went over to Hinduism very early, and the faith of Buddha lingered in the villages and out-of-the-way places. (Compare the state of paganism in the Roman Empire after Constantine the Great.) A class of Brahmins in North Bihar are still called *Babhan*—which is the Prakrit form of *Brahmana*—and they are considered as socially lower than the other sections of the Brahmins, though there is not the least suggestion of their being a mixed caste or defiled by any social pollution of forbidden food. This strange fact can be best explained by the theory that they represent the descendants of those Buddhists who were very late in abjuring Buddhism for Hinduism and giving up Prakrit for Sanskrit so that their brethren who had changed their faith some centuries earlier refused to admit them to social equality.

CONVERSION OF THE LATER INDIAN BUDDHISTS

The conversion of the later Indian Buddhist to Hinduism was effected by some giant intellects among the neo-Hindu scholars. Shankaracharya, (circa 800 A. D.), by his invincible logical power and scriptural knowledge, defeated all the Buddhist theologians that he met from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. Ramanuja (c. 1100) did the same in a more limited sphere. Four centuries later (1511 A. D.) Chaitanya in his pilgrimage through Southern India extinguished the last remnants of Buddhism there. As his biographer writes:—“At Vriddha-chudam a very learned Buddhist professor held forth on the nine doctrines of his Church before the Master... who argued with him in order to lower his pride. The very Buddhist philosophy of nine tenets, though rich in logical reasoning, was torn to pieces by the Master's argumentation... The great philosophers were all vanquished; the audience tittered; the Buddhist felt shame and alarm... The professor rose up and began to chant Hari! Hari! He did reverence to the Master, saluting him as Krishna.” [Sarkar's tr. of Chaitanya-Charitamrita, p. 76.]

Unlike Shankara and Ramanuja, Chaitanya was intensely emotional and while on the one hand he

defeated the Buddhist champions of his day in learned disputation, he, on the other hand, swept the masses into his fold by the striking appeal of his lovable personality, his saintly character, and his own example of *bhakti*. The priests of the older faith had been already dethroned from the hearts of their congregation which lay vacant and ready to receive a new true Master.

In Bengal, Buddhism continued in the form of Dharma worship. That this village god Dharma is only the second member of the Buddhist Trinity will become evident from the character of the *pūja* and the attributes of the god Dharma as given in the surviving literature of this cult, namely, the *Dharma Mangal*, the *Shunya Puran*, etc. The Dharma of this worship is not a Brahmanic god; his image is an earthen mound set up at the end of the village, and his priests belong to the lower castes. [H. P. Shastri's *Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal*, 1898, P. A. S. S., 1891, p. 135.] A significant light is thrown upon the subject by the tradition recorded in a mediæval Bengali poem named *Niranjaner Ushna* (and also in *Kalina Jatala*) to the effect that Dharma, oppressed by the Hindus, took the guise of a bearded man with a cap, etc., i. e., of the Turks who invaded Upper India under the house of Ghor about 1200 A.D. There can, therefore, be no doubt of the Dharma-pūja being a survival of Buddhism. Dr. H. P. Shastri has also adduced reasons for holding that the *Sahajiya* and *Nyala* sects of Bengal, who are commonly classed as Vaishnavas, are essentially later decadent Buddhists.

The death-blow to Buddhism in the famous cities of North India and along the main highway of the Gangetic valley was given by the Muslim conquest of the 13th century. The monastery of Bihar, in the Patna district, was sacked and its monks

slaughtered by these invaders under the mistake that they were soldiers, as will be seen from the following Persian narrative of a contemporary :

"Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar organized an attack upon the fortified city of Bihar... They captured the fortress and acquired great booty. The greater number of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmins and the whole of those Brahmins had their heads shaven [these were really shamanas]; and they were all slain.... There were a great number of books there... On becoming acquainted [with the contents of these books], it was found that the whole of the fortress and city was college and in the Hindi tongue they call a college a *vihara*." [Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, tr. by Raverty, p. 520.]

Before the ceaseless eastward tide of Muslim raiders the surviving monks of North India fled to Nepal with their books, and there their sacred literature was collected in the 19th century by Brian Hodgson (the physician of the British residency) and sent to Paris where they formed the source of new and most fruitful Buddhistic studies under Barnouf and his pupils.

But in obscure and out-of-the-way places in Bengal, some families continued to follow Buddhism as late as 1436 A. D. in which year a manuscript of the *Bodhi-charavata* was copied in the Bengali alphabet, in a village of the Bardwan district by a scribe named Amitava, who is described as *sud-baudha-karana-kayastha-thakkura*. But by the end of the 16th century, the new energy breathed into Bengali Vaishnavism by Chaitanya and his apostles and into Assamese Vaishnavism by Shunkaradeva and his school swept over the whole country and completed the absorption of the last remnants of the Buddhists into the fold of Hinduism in the land of Buddha's birth.

LAJPATRAI: A STUDY AND APPRECIATION

There can be no doubt that by the death of Lajpat Rai India has lost one of her ablest sons, reformer, politician, journalist, author and traveller. Fearless and outspoken advocacy of the cause on which he had set his heart—and he had fostered many a movement affecting large sections of the population—was the essential trait of his character. Even those who disagreed with him were ready to concede, he was sincere in all that he said and did. His was a giant intellect that could stand comparison with any other Indians; he could conceive schemes of great magnitude, but could at the same time pay attention to little details, hence his success as a great organiser. He had a stern exterior, but his heart was full of kindness and sympathy for the poor and down-trodden. He was one of the early reformers who began a war on rigid social customs that sanctioned class and caste oppression. His oratorical talents were much above the average and he had the knack of swaying his audience. Although he confessed when he was first elected to the Legislative Assembly that he had no experience as a legislator, his speeches on the floor of the Legislature had the imprint of a talented debater; his retorts to the Treasury Benches were particularly powerful. Gifted with powers of clear thinking, he was master of style, as well in English as in Hindustani and Punjabi and he wielded it to great purpose both as author and journalist.

Many were not able to see eye to eye with him in his political views—and he did change them on more than one occasion—but no one will deny that he was an ardent lover of his motherland. Soon after his return from America he expressed himself in favour of the Reforms and said: "I will advise the country to use every opportunity, given by the Act in the right spirit." But he kept aloof from the Councils and the Assembly until a few years' experience and thought taught him the advantages of using the Councils for the benefit of his countrymen. Thus he stood for the Assembly and was returned, although opposed by a Congressman. His recent activities, however, were regarded by some as partaking of a communal

colour, although he kept on explaining that the only method of cementing Hindu Muslim unity was to make the Hindu strong. This doubtless alienated the sympathies of the Moslems. For all that he retained their esteem and regard also.

Lajpat Rai was born in 1865 in a little town in the Ludhiana District of the Punjab. He belonged to a respectable though poor family of Vaisyas of the Agarwala sect. His father, Lala Radha Kishen, a remarkable person for the times he was born in, was originally a teacher in the Government school. In 1877, he came under the influence of the teachings of the well-known Swami Dayanand, which ultimately influenced the life of his son, Lajpat Rai. Lala Radha Kishen was also known as a staunch Congressman. Lajpat Rai's mother was an equally remarkable woman. Her influence upon her son was even greater. The habits of thrift and stern simplicity for which the Lala was well-known, he inherited from his mother.

Himself a teacher and fond of education, Lala Radha Kishen endeavoured to give an excellent secular education to his son. He apparently took a keen personal interest in his son's education. The lad eventually entered the Government College at Lahore and was there for two years the holder of University Scholarship. In 1883, he passed the First Examination in Law of the Punjab University and two years later, in 1885, took the degree of the Licentiate in Law in the same University, standing second in a list of thirty candidates. Thus qualified, he settled down to practice at the little town of Hissar, at the rather early age of twenty.

THE DAYANAND MOVEMENT.

The condition of the Punjab about this time was one of the most remarkable in the modern history of that Province. Since its annexation, on the 29th March, 1849, by Lord Dalhousie, there had not been a movement that had set the masses thinking about themselves, their religion and their country in such an intense way as the Arya Samaj. The movement inaugurated by Swami Dayanand touched almost all classes of the community—the cultured, the literate, and the ignorant—one way

or the other. It was a movement for the conservation of the national energies in every department of life by checking the advance of notions in the sphere of religion engendered by an alien system of secular education and the influence of the Christian missions. During the ten years that elapsed from the first visit of Swami Dayanand the movement had gained strength, both in its adherents and in the impression it created on the popular minds by its disregard of petty prejudices in favour of a general nationalistic movement. As might be expected its progress was checked by counter movements headed by distinguished men. But these were met by Lajpat Rai and Lala Hansraj, the ex-Principal of the D. A. V. College and the late Pandit Guru Dutt Vidyarthi, who was cut off at the early age of 25 after infusing a great deal of fresh spirit into the movement.

THE ANGLO-VEDIC COLLEGE.

The new movement thus gathered momentum and strength, from day to day, and on the 1st of June, 1886, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College was founded mainly through the exertions of these three young men at Lahore. This College, which teaches up to the M.A. Degree Examination and has long since been affiliated to the Punjab University, is one of the first in the land of the five rivers both in point of its numerical strength and in its teaching. Thirty years ago it aimed at a complete system of national education which has since come to the forefront of popular educational ideals.

When the College was established, Lajpat Rai was yet practising at Hissar. Lajpat Rai, with his energy, ability and gift of speech, built up in that small town a large practice and before long, in 1892 shifted to Lahore, "the nerve centre of the Punjab."

ENTRANCE INTO POLITICAL LIFE.

Lajpat Rai first made his debut into political life in 1888 by a series of open letters addressed to the late Sir Syed Ahmed, in which he vigorously criticised the political views the Syed then held and contrasted them with those he had preached previous to his being knighted. He subscribed himself in these letters as "the son of an old follower of yours," which shows the profound influence the

former political views of Sir Syed had both on Lajpat Rai and his father. The old gentleman himself had just then written a scathing pamphlet on the "Aligarh Policy." Lajpat Rai translated it in 1888, at the time of the Fourth Congress, held at Allahabad in that year, in which he took part. These letters show the enormous impression the great Moslem politician had made on Lajpat Rai by his earlier writings and political views, and he referred to in a notable speech he made from the Congress platform.

To the great impression that these writings made on the young man just from College, must be added the lessons that he derived from a close study of the lives of the Italian patriots of last century. His lives (in Hindustani) of Mazzini and Garibaldi are to this day popularly read in the Punjab. His life of Shivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Empire, is also well-known. Likewise, his biographies of Sri Krishna, and Dayananda Sarasvati, his own religious Guru, are yet commonly used as suitable text-books for boys in the Northern Provinces of India. The effect of the more or less critical studies of these great patriots made on his highly emotional frame of mind was to turn him an intensely earnest man. His earnestness was of that rare kind that transforms itself almost instantaneously into active work. He became eminently practical. His sagacity, his acute earnestness and enthusiasm for work combined to push him to the forefront during the next few years of his lifetime.

EVIDENCE BEFORE FAMINE COMMISSION, 1901.

Lajpat Rai, when invited by Government to give evidence before the Famine Commission in 1901, brought such an array of facts to light as made Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues altogether modify the Government policy, which was as it stood before, "a standing menace to Hinduism." The Commission recognised the great importance of the question and recommended that the "policy of Government in regard to orphans should be formulated in Provincial Codes, beyond risk of misconception by its officers and by the public." The Famine Commission recommended that:—

"The State should be, in times of famine, the temporary guardian of children whom it

finds deserted and should not, in our opinion, divest itself of the care of them until a reasonable time has elapsed after the close of the famine, during which efforts should be made to discover the natural protectors of the children or, failing these, respectable persons of the same religion who are willing to adopt them."

On this Lajpat Rai commented:—

"According to this recommendation it is the duty of the State henceforth to discover respectable persons of the same religion who may be willing to adopt children whose natural protectors have either died or cannot be found out. Failing such respectable persons, the deserted children are not to be made over to persons or institutions of different religions 'until all efforts to find persons and institutions of their own religion willing to take charge of them have failed.'"

The hasty removal of the children to places distant from their homes is proposed to be stopped or checked by the rule:—

"That no unclaimed child be removed from the district in which it is found until a period of three months has elapsed after the close of relief operations in the district."

To these Lajpat Rai would add the following:—

During the pendency of a famine all orphans or deserted children whether found by Government or other private charitable agencies be brought to Government orphanages, and be not allowed to be detained or admitted into private orphanages except after the requirements of para 234 had been complied with. Closely connected with this, was the relief work that he started in aid of the Indian victims of the Kangra Earthquake in April 1905. He formed a committee in that connection on behalf of the Lahore Arya Samaj and as its Secretary collected funds, visited the parts worst afflicted and personally supervised the administration of the relief, which was most timely as Government aid had been found to be fital and capricious.

FAMINE RELIEF WORK.

One of Lalaji's greatest and most noteworthy achievements has been the organisation of Orphan Relief Movement in times of famine. As is generally known the relief work conducted by the Government often did more harm than good to the people. Children became permanently separated from their parents and wives from their husbands. Most of them were removed to distant places by Missions in charge of famine orphanages so that permanent estrangement between these classes became the rule. During the last Rajputana famine alone over 70,000 children were thus lost to Hinduism. Lalaji was determined to save the Hindu population. He formed a large number of Relief Committees which succeeded in succouring a very large number of orphans in the Central Provinces, Rajputana and Eastern Bengal. He was associated as Secretary with the most successful Hindu organisations of the kind in India and he had to bear the brunt of the work—calling public attention to the sufferings of the helpless boys and girls, collecting funds for them, enlisting suitable volunteers to work out the scheme and despatching them to the field and in successfully doing all the thousand and one things that cannot be detailed, but will have to be done before the object aimed at is attained.

And not only did he save numerous Hindu orphans but in his evidence before the Famine Commission of 1901 he vigorously pleaded that the Government policy should be modified so that deserted children might be restored to their natural protectors, or failing this to respectable persons of the same religion.

KANGRA EARTHQUAKE.

And when the memorable Kangra Earthquake of April 1905 did immense harm to the population, Lalaji started relief work in aid of Indian victims. He formed a committee in that connection on behalf of the Lahore Arya Samaj and as its Secretary collected funds, visited the parts worst afflicted and personally supervised the administration of the relief which was most timely as Government aid had been found to be capricious.

HIS MISSION TO ENGLAND.

The end of the year found Lajpat Rai in an utterly broken condition, his health wrecked by continuous overwork. At this time the scheme of sending a couple of Indian delegates to England to enlighten the masses there of Indian subjection to the British bureaucracy here had been broached and settled. Lajpat Rai and Gokhale were nominated as the fittest Indian representatives to do justice to such a mission in England. This, while it gave India fit agents to represent her many woes to the British democracy, enabled the Lala to recoup his lost health. In England, he addressed large audiences at different places and by the great impression he produced upon the Labour, Democratic and Socialist parties he considerably strengthened the position of India there. He then travelled over portions of Europe and somewhat more extensively in America, studying, in the latter continent, the great educational institutions, with which it is dotted over. His interest in education took him there. From America, Lajpat Rai went back to England and there in conjunction with Mr. Gokhale, did a great deal of political missionary work.

THE DEPORTATION.

The speech which he delivered on the Repressive Measures in Bengal at the Benares Congress made a great stir in the country and the insatiable Anglo-Indian ire was roused against him. And then came his deportation. At this time the Punjab was in a state of unrest and the authorities lost their heads. In this connection it will be well to recall the Lala's own words in the "Punjabee" newspaper: "Some people think that the situation in the Punjab has become very serious. In my opinion however the panic has been artificially created by the Secret Police and the Government has simply played into the hands of its own agents. Discontent, no doubt, there is and a great deal of it. But this discontent has been brought about by the Anglo-Indians themselves and by the Colonisation Act, the Land Alienation Amendment Bill, the abnormal increase of land revenue in the Rawalpindi district, the appalling mortality from plague which has made the people sullen and labour scarce

and raised the wages abnormally; the letters and articles, etc., that appeared in the 'Civil and Military Gazette' and the prosecution of the 'Punjabee'." Lalaji proposed that the Government should adopt a conciliatory attitude, "Remove the discontent that is at the bottom of it and soothe the angered and outraged feelings of the people." But the Government committed a fatal mistake and further outraged the feelings of the people by deporting the Lala under that Lawless Law, Regulation III of 1818. This action of theirs will ever remain a blot on their shield. The whole country rose like one man to protest against this utterly reprehensible measure. And the agitation which Lala and his compatriots had carried on against the Chenab Colony Bill was ultimately crowned with success when the Viceroy Lord Minto disallowed it; the Lion of the Punjab had been deported, but his people won a great moral victory.

HIS DEPORTATION.

In one of his speeches Lajpat Rai referred to "the best traditions of the British" in India and implored the Government not to trample the same under foot and leave the people to infer that the British people of modern times have cast to the winds the principles on which their forefathers reared the fabric of this mighty Empire of theirs in the East. Nothing was more common during the year 1907 than the belief on the part of Anglo-Indians as expressed in their newspapers, that Lajpat Rai was a revolutionary of the worst sort and that he was at the head of a large force which he might at any stage let loose over the land. The late Sir D. Ibbetson himself was one who believed this view of the Lala and through him Mr. (now Lord) Morley described Lajpat Rai in very similar terms. How erroneous a view this is will be evident from his speeches though Lord Morley characterised some of them as "intolerable rhodomontade."

The Government of the Punjab, headed by the late Sir D. Ibbetson succumbed to their malevolent influences and then came the well-known "coup d'état," the "deportation" of Lajpat Rai in 1907. The dramatic manner in which he was spirited away from his home and his country, will be long remembered in the history of the British connection with

this country and will ever be reckoned as a blot on its shield.

In justification of the impolitic, unlawful and unconstitutional measure—despite protestation to the contrary—Lord Morley said that the agitation in the Punjab had died away, and as if to take away the fang from the counter argument he expected, he declared that the agitation against the Punjab Government was not agrarian in character. The veriest tyro in Indian politics could not be deceived by such protestations. What about the disallowing of the Colonisation Bill which immediately followed the deportation? If the discontent was not agrarian, why was it disallowed so soon after that illegal act? It cannot be denied that the discontent originated in agrarian causes at first and then other causes combined to inflame popular feeling against the Government that was rightly or wrongly held to be responsible for it. This is what Lajpat Rai himself said a couple of hours before his arrest and deportation, and every act that the Government has done since that fatal day has borne out every word that he then wrote.

AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

Lajpat Rai was not a mere political reformer. He was as much a social reformer; in fact, his practical work had been more in the social than in the political domain. His bitterest complaints were against those hypocrites who preach one thing and practise another. It would be no difficult task to quote from his speeches and writings, passage after passage directed against them. His test of a Social Reformer is active, practical work. No man, he says in effect, has any right to call himself a reformer (whether social or political) if he is not prepared to sacrifice something in proof of his convictions. No-body can be a public man without showing some self-sacrifice for the cause he espouses.

LAJPAT THE MAN.

Lajpat Rai was essentially a man of action—neither a Radical nor a Conservative. He was not for violent changes either in the political or in the social fabric of society. He was on the side of order and progress. It is an open secret now that he averted the rupture that was imminent during the Calcutta Congress of 1906. Even his worst

Anglo-Indian enemies commended his conduct in regard to his open disavowal of the Nationalist demands on his behalf for the Congress Presidential Chair. That is not the sort of man that would wish to bodily transplant exotics unsuitable for the Indian climate. "I do not say," he said on a memorable occasion, "that our conditions allow of our exactly copying or imitating them (English methods of constitutional agitation), but surely we have a right to adopt that spirit, understand that spirit and follow it." The very same opinion he maintained in social matters as well. He believed in hard work. His human impulse always stood by him and that is one reason of his success in life. But he hit hard when the opportunity called for it and therein perhaps he made more enemies in the Government ranks. He hated sham, hypocrisy and insincerity of all sorts and his words pierced through the hearts of those who favour such baseness. He was not a pessimist but a robust optimist. He believed in the destiny of his nation.

AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER.

Lajpat Rai held a high place amongst platform speakers in India. He is described by a competent authority as "being far and away the most effective Urdu speaker in the Punjab, if not all India. The burning words pour forth from his lips like a lava flood. His voice is like the peal of a clarion and he puts his whole soul into his appeal. His writings are couched in a plain and simple but vigorous style. He can detect the fallacy in an argument and tatter it to pieces. His sincerity is so great and his earnestness so serious, that often he is led to use words that almost pulverise the enemy against whom they are directed."

"THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

Of his works in English *Arya Samaj* is an interpretation of India's religious cults for the benefit of the English-knowing public, his experiences of American life are by no means less valuable to his own countrymen as an interpretation of the Western polity to Indian readers. "The United States of America" is the result of his close and personal study of the conditions of the great American Republic during his visits to that country. In 1905,

Mr. Lajpat Rai made his first visit to America where he could not stay more than three weeks. In his second tour (1914-18) he travelled almost all over the country and the results of his investigations are embodied in his book. The Punjabi leader is none of those who skip over unknown lands in search of excitement or amusement. Enjoying his tour quite like any other traveller, Lajpat Rai yet brought to bear upon the diverse problems of that great country an intelligent and searching mind. His friendship with Mr. Sidney Webb not only supplied him with notes of introduction to the right persons but inspired him with a Fabian appetite for statistics, which must prove immensely useful to those who are not satisfied with mere sentimental and eloquent verbiage. Nor does Lajpat Rai offer a soul-less compass for measuring the achievements of American in the domain of social, economic and educational advancement. For, the volume is essentially from the standpoint of an intelligent Hindu interested in the varieties of American life.

PROPAGANDA WORK IN AMERICA.

In fact Mr. Lajpat Rai was furiously active in carrying on a propaganda in America on behalf of India. An observant critic of men and things, he studied the institutions of the West with a view to adapt them to the conditions of India and he has voiced the surging aspirations of India in his innumerable articles and pamphlets published in the United States. Over a million statements in the form of letters and pamphlets on Indian affairs, we are told, have been published and circulated in America under the immediate direction of the Lala. His 'Young India' is widely circulated there and he kept an organisation called the 'India Bureau' for the dissemination of correct information regarding India and the Indian people. Thus Mr. Rai was busy promoting the interests of India in the West.

But these activities could not quench the surging emotions of the patriot yearning for home and direct service in the motherland. The struggles of the country, the cry of the suffering from famine and poverty and the tale of the Punjab tragedy reached his ears and it must have been a great wrench for him to find himself helpless away from the scene. How his heart pined for his home will be evident

from the following touching paragraph in "Young India." In its issue for August 1919 he wrote:—

"I am exceedingly sorry that the Secretary of State's order prevents my going to India and England just when I wanted most to be there. India is in the grip of a terrible famine and the conditions there are very distressing. For the last 25 years of my life I have been taking active part in the work of famine relief and it pains me considerably to feel at this juncture that I should be unable to do anything for my people. Events are developing rapidly in India and every Indian who feels for his country and is desirous of taking part in its life must feel that his place is there in the midst of his countrymen and not 12,000 miles away from home in a position of comparative safety, comfort and ease. Personally I am not sorry for having been in the United States during the war, but now I am overwhelmed with a sense of guilt at not being in India, to play my part in the great struggle which my countrymen are carrying on against such great odds. Even the fact that it is through no fault of mine that I cannot go to India just now affords me little consolation. It is a good work to create a world opinion in favour of Home Rule for India but the real field of work is India. Not even the world's moral support can help us decisively. India's freedom must be wrought by Indians themselves and in India. Even if one has to suffer for his opinions he must suffer in India. This war was fought to free the world. Its immediate effect is the tightening of the chains of those who were in bonds before and who were induced to fight for world of democracy. Will the governing classes learn nothing from history?"

At last the Government relented and he was allowed to return to India. Prior to his departure from America the Lala was entertained at a dinner in New York on November 28, 1919. Eloquent tributes were paid to the distinguished guest who made an impressive speech, full of gratitude to the great American people. He explained his attitude to the British Government in clear and unmistakable terms. He said:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I am now in the afternoon of life, but even when my body was pulsating with the wine of youth I was never carried away by mere theories, slogans and dreams. I am fully

conscious of the might of Great Britain. I am equally conscious of our present helplessness to withstand that might. I recognize the facts as they are. I do not like war. I loathe bloodshed. Personally I have nothing but respect and appreciation for British character. I have my friends among them. Speaking for myself I shall be contented if my country shall be given a position of democratic equality within the British Commonwealth, enjoying the same rights and privileges, no less and no more, which are at the present moment being enjoyed by Canada and South Africa."

BACK TO INDIA.

When on February 20, 1920, he arrived in Bombay, he was received with ovation by all parties and communities. In fact, wherever he went, he was the recipient of a generous meed of tribute to his talents and his services. In Bombay, he gave an eloquent message to the young men of India exhorting them to tread the paths of virtue and obedience and self-discipline, to promote Hindu-Muslim Unity and to have faith in their capacity to rise to their full height. Presiding over a great meeting in Lahore when the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri spoke on the Reforms, the Lala modestly said that his opinions on current political questions could only be tentative and as yet by no means definite or final. He however told a representative of the "Tribune":—

"I will advise the country, to use every opportunity given by the Reform Act in the right spirit." As I wrote in the *Nation* sometime back "in my judgment Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have done the greatest possible service to the Empire by their scheme and lifted the Indian Nationalists from the lowest depths of despondency and despair into an atmosphere of hope and confidence. We should do nothing to embarrass the Government, but we shall show no weakness in resisting all attempts to take away what has been given and in demanding what has not been given."

On the declaration of rights, he said:—

"To be frank, I do not attach very great importance to a mere 'declaration of rights,' without the power to ensure that the Government does not infringe those rights. A 'declaration of

rights' must necessarily imply the right of the people to choose their own Government. Without the latter, the former is a mere skeleton without soul."

ON NON-CO-OPERATION.

Lajpat Rai had thus more or less an open mind regarding the reforms and was well disposed to co-operate with the Government in working them successfully. But he must have been rudely shocked by the horrible revelations of the Punjab tragedy. The whole country was indeed burning with indignation at the thought of the massacre of Jallianwallah Bagh. It was expected that the Hunter Committee would do some justice in the end. Like the rest of India the Lala was disappointed. How to co-operate with the very officers who perpetrated the Punjab tragedy, asked the Lala. Mr. Gandhi was to inaugurate the non-co-operation movement on the failure of the Turkish treaty to vindicate the claims of the Khilafat. The Lala thought that till justice was meted out in the Punjab affair, he would stand firm and organise a non-co-operation movement. It was enough that the wrongs of the Punjab were not righted. So in June 1920 he wrote in his paper "Bande Mataram" an important article giving reasons for his decision not to stand for the Reformed Councils in the Punjab. They were:—

- (1) The decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Hunter Committee Report implies that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was right, and except that a few officers here and there exceeded the bounds of propriety individually, there was nothing wrong with it. This means that the grievances of the educated community of the Punjab against Sir Michael O'Dwyer were baseless and meaningless. In my opinion this decision negatives the possibility of the participation in the new scheme by the educated community of the Punjab with any appreciable enthusiasm or hope. Sir Michael looked upon the educated community of the Punjab with contempt. He cast his eye of favour only on those 'raises' and zamindars who, to please him, thought of the educated men of the Punjab as so many 'noisy frogs.' The rules framed by

the Punjab Reforms Commissioner under the Act with the sanction of the L.G. breathe the same spirit, which simply means that though Sir Edward MacLagan has, on account of his courteous nature, somewhat changed the outward appearance of Government policy, on principle the same old policy still continues without any change.

- (2) Those officers who in the Martial Law regime took a prominent part in disgracing and dishonoring the educated community of the Punjab, are still adorning their thrones. Col. O'Brien who perpetrated unspeakable horrors on the pleaders of Gujranwala, Major Bosworth Smith who with his stick raised the veil of Indian ladies and addressed them in the most contemptuous of tones, are still occupying their offices. Mr. Thompson, the Chief Secretary, is about to come. Similarly other officers who were the right-hand men of Sir Michael O'Dwyer have either come to occupy their old offices or are about to do so. These officers will be the official members of the Punjab Council. I have no personal enmity against them, nor have I suffered any personal wrong at their hands. But any Indian member going into the Council will be in duty bound to meet these officers. He will have to deal with them every day and it would be improper for him to keep himself studiously aloof from them; because the very object of going into the Council is to serve one's country and countrymen thereby and to co-operate as far as possible and work harmoniously with Government officials and to oppose them whenever necessary. But the wounds inflicted by Martial Law on the Punjab are so fresh that I am myself unfit for the task. My heart is utterly broken. I do not want to go to the Council with this 'wounded heart.' Although I have personally sustained no wrong at their hands, my self-respect does not permit me to cultivate friendship with those who harshly cased my brethren, who contemptuously laughed at and tainted them and who otherwise disgraced them in many ways.

These new Councils can only prove beneficial to us when and if the Indian and official members

work in amity and concord and together solve problems of state by mutual consultation. Yet in the present circumstances of the Punjab there is no prospect of the fruition of this hope. If the 'Civil and Military Gazette' correctly represents the views of Punjab officials (European), then I have no hesitation in saying that the time has not come for Indians and Europeans to work together for the good of the country. I heartily desire that the time should soon come, but to say that the time has come is to shut our eyes to facts. Up till now they are the rulers and we are the ruled. The Punjab Publicity Committee which is a confidant of the Government also says the same thing. As long as that relation continues it is very difficult for us to work together. They suspect us and we suspect them. In my view therefore I cannot be useful to my country from inside the Council and it is better therefore that I should not go into it.

It is unfortunate that such a movement should be launched at a time when we are on the threshold of a great constitutional experiment. It is yet too early to predict what the end of this agitation will be. The Punjab tyrants may yet be brought to book and some satisfactory solution may be found for the Khilafat question, obviating the painful necessity for a counter movement of passive resistance by the people. It may be that non-co-operation will fizzle out and come to nothing for lack of popular support. Whatever the result, everybody will agree that the Lala always acted with the best motive; and success or failure in a particular issue will not affect his reputation for sincerity in public work.

FEVERISH ACTIVITIES

His last years were full of feverish activities. In the Sixth Punjab Provincial Conference held at Jullundar in April 1920 Lalaji made a stirring appeal calling upon the Punjab public to contribute liberally to the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund. On 1st August Lokmanya Tilak breathed his last and Lalaji delivered a solemn and moving funeral oration; on the 23rd he issued an appeal to the Moderates to join the Calcutta Congress.

PRESIDENT OF CALCUTTA CONGRESS

On the 4th September a special session of the Indian National Congress was held at Calcutta with

the Lalaji as President, the main object being to consider the adoption of the Mahatma's Non-Co-operation Programme. In his address Lalaji thoroughly exposed Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy in the Punjab and bitterly denounced the Martial Law regime in that Province. On the 7th January, 1922, he was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment, but on the 30th he was released as the Government came to the conclusion that the meeting in which he was arrested was not a public meeting. Lalaji was a prominent Swarajist and a leader of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was one of the best speakers in the Legislative Assembly and very ably edited the weekly newspaper "People"; he founded the Tilak School of Politics in Lahore and the Servants of the People Society.

AN ADVOCATE OF SIMON BOYCOTT.

The Lion of the Punjab was a staunch fighter for his country even to the last day of his life. He

rigorously conducted the boycott of the Simon Commission and every Indian shall remember the unfortunate incident which occurred in the Lahore Railway Station.

The Lala's beloved Servants of the People Society has, within a very short period, made a remarkable progress in various humanitarian activities. It owns a public library which is one of the best in Lahore, the nucleus of which was Lalaji's personal library made over to the Society along with his residential house and land attached to it in 1920. Recently the Lala donated one lakh of rupees for founding Women's Hospital in memory of his mother.

The Lala is dead, but his work lives and his people will worship his sacred memory through all eternity. It only remains for us to express our heartfelt sympathy for his family in their bereavement.

THE INDIAN PRINCES' CASE

BY

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY Aiyer, K.C.S.I.

The procedure followed by the Butler Committee in their inquiry into the matters referred to them must cause some surprise. The terms of reference to the Committee require them to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States with special reference to the rights and obligations arising from treaties, engagements and other causes, and also to inquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States and to make recommendations for the more satisfactory adjustment of these relations. It is obvious that the inquiry is not merely confined to specific grievances regarding the interference of the British Government in the internal affairs of the States, but also embraces the investigation of the constitutional relations between the Indian States and British India and the questions arising out of these relations. Every opportunity has been afforded to the Indian Princes to set forth and support their contentions. But no similar opportunity has been vouchsafed to the Indian public to present their views on the important issues involved in the inquiry. It has been announced in the

papers that the Committee will complete their labours and present their report at the end of the year. The Committee may not perhaps be liable to blame for proceeding to an *ex-parte* determination of the matters referred to them without hearing the other side. Various inferences may be drawn from their attitude. One is that they may hold that, as a matter of constitutional law, the view-point of the people of British India is properly and sufficiently represented by the Government of British India. Without impugning the correctness of this position and without in any way questioning the sincerity and the desire of the Government of India to champion the interests of British India, one would be justified in urging the claims of the people to a hearing for the purpose of supplementing the case as presented by the Government and putting forward their views and arguments on subjects vitally affecting the interests of the country. Another inference, which may perhaps be fairly drawn, is that the Butler Committee have no intention of going into the constitutional issues raised by the terms of reference, or have made up their minds

against the contentions of the Princes. Yet another possible inference is that the Committee intend to give their findings only upon the specific grievances of the Princes with regard to the interference of the Government of India in matters of internal administration, or with regard to their personal rights and dignities, and propose to postpone the consideration of the constitutional and other issues until the conclusion of the inquiry by the Statutory Commission and the publication of their recommendations.

The Princes have spared no pains and grudged no expenditure in the preparation of their case. They first engaged the services of Sir Leslie Scott and they wanted to fortify themselves with the opinions of other eminent counsel also. The opinion furnished to them by Sir Leslie Scott and two other counsel was perhaps felt to be not quite as satisfactory as the Princes would have liked, and they therefore secured the services of two more counsel and the joint opinion of the five counsel is probably the latest exposition of their case in its legal and constitutional aspects. The opinions furnished by the three counsel and by the five counsel have recently been published in the papers and both are documents of great interest and importance not merely to the public, but also to constitutional lawyers. A critical examination of the opinions furnished by equally eminent counsel is called for in the interests of the public, more especially in view of the fact that they have had no opportunity of meeting the case put forward for the Princes. These opinions have done much to clarify the contentions of the Princes, and we now know what exactly are their legal positions and what are the points at issue between them and ourselves. It is desirable to summarise briefly the points upon which the views of the Princes' counsel agree with those of constitutionalists in British India. The Princes' counsel do not support the extreme contention of some of the Indian Princes that their relations with the British Government are governed by the rules of International law.

A UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP.

It is conceded by the learned counsel that the relationship between the British Government and the United States is something unique, and that it is not

easy to find any real parallel to it in other parts of the world. The rights and obligations flowing from a protectorate have not been properly worked out by international lawyers, for the reason that public international law concerns itself only with the relations between States enjoying full or external sovereignty. In his article in *The Law Quarterly Review* it was admitted by Sir Leslie Scott that the relations between the British Government and the Indian States could not be governed either by International Law or by Municipal law. When Sir Leslie Scott and his four colleagues lay down that the relationship between the States and the Crown must be determined in accordance with legal principles what they mean is not that we should apply the principles of international or of positive municipal law but what they call well-recognised legal principles, or what Sir Leslie Scott termed the first principles of law. No exception can be taken to this position, though it might perhaps be more correct, and tend to avoid misunderstanding, if they were described as juristic principles. The absence of any precedents of any body of rules recognised as possessing a binding authority does not imply that the relations are to be governed by the mere arbitrary decision of the protecting power. Cases of this sort must necessarily be determined by those considerations or principles of juristic reasoning based upon analogies, which have helped to build up legal systems. In the application of these principles, however, care must be taken not to lose sight of the differences between the conditions to which the rules of private law and of public international law have respectively to be applied. The counsels are therefore right in stating that the analogy of international law as applied to the relations of wholly independent States is not a safe guide to follow without qualifications. They are also right in stating that it is misleading to press too far the analogies of the Law of Contract between private individuals. The questions arising between States and the British Government have to be decided by much broader considerations than those applicable to the contractual relationship of private individuals.

COROLLARIES OF PARAMOUNTCY.

We find that the learned counsels accept the ruling in the Manipur case that the acts of the

Raja amounted to disloyalty and rebellion to the British Government and could not be treated as a hostile act of an independent Power, and they hold that the action of the British Government was quite justified.

It is conceded by the learned counsel that the right to station troops in the territories of the States for the purpose of defence against invasion or rebellion is a corollary of paramountcy. The right of the British Government to interfere in the case of gross misgovernment is also conceded.

It is also conceded that there is no legal obligation upon the Crown to provide machinery for independent adjudication of disputes between the States and the Government of India. The refusal of the Crown to consider, through the Imperial Government or otherwise, a matter in issue between the States and the Secretary of State or the Government of India is not a breach of any treaty obligation or in any way improper, having regard to the sovereignty of the States. The States have no right to claim that their affairs shall be considered by somebody other than the appointed delegate of the Crown, though they may have a right to make representations about the manner in which the delegate may have discharged his duties. How the King-Emperor should treat a petition by a Ruler is an internal matter to be decided by the Crown acting through its appropriate advisers and Ministers. Acting as he would on the advice of the Prime Minister, the King would refer such a petition to the Secretary of State for India. Whether the Crown should seek the advice of the Judicial Committee, or act on the advice of the appropriate Ministers in the ordinary way, is entirely a question for the Crown. A refusal by the Crown to reconsider the decision of the Government of India would not be a breach of obligation. One valuable part of the opinion of the counsel is that in which they discuss the five channels, as Sir William Lee-Warner calls them, through which the obligations of the States are derived. The statement of Sir William Lee-Warner himself is derived probably from the argument employed by the Political Secretariat of the Government of India in support of the claims of the Government of India to intervention. The learned counsel have done well in clearing up the cobwebs of

sophistry which have been spun by the Political Department of the Government of India and too readily adopted by text-writers. With a great deal of the criticism levelled against the reasoning of Sir William Lee-Warner we must agree. The learned counsel have subjected these five sources of obligation to a severe but just criticism. On the other hand, the opinions of the counsel are themselves open to question in certain important respects.

DOCTRINE OF USAGE.

The paramountcy of the British power does not rest merely upon the fact that by placing themselves under the protection of the Crown the States have voluntarily transferred the attributes of external sovereignty, but also upon the fact that by the irresistible logic of events the British Government have acquired a position of overwhelming predominance in the country and have in the language of Lord Reading's Government, become responsible for the preservation of peace and good order throughout India. In the joint opinion of the three counsel it was at first stated that rights which may not be expressly provided for by treaty may flow from the relationship of Paramountcy, and that the right of intervention in case of misgovernment has probably now obtained the sanction of usage. It was perhaps because the Princes felt dissatisfied with this position, as well as some other not very guarded statements in the opinion of the three counsel, that they sought a further opinion from five counsel, including the original three. In the joint opinion of the five counsel they are at pains to explain that there is no inconsistency between the earlier and the later opinion and that usage could be a source of obligation only as giving rise to the implication of an agreement between the parties. We must express our agreement with the later opinion of the five counsel that usage cannot operate as a source of obligation except as evidence of an implied agreement. But the usage must be either a course of dealing between the parties themselves or a course of dealing between other parties, under conditions like those which create agricultural or mercantile usages. There is no analogy whatever between the conditions under which usages of this description have grown and

the conditions under which rights of intervention in the internal affairs of the States are claimed. The right of intervention in case of misrule must therefore be supported upon other grounds than that of usage. The fact that the British Government may have intervened on account of misrule in States A, B, and C, cannot possibly support an inference of a usage or an agreement binding the other States to recognise the right of intervention. Even a course of dealing between the Government of India and a State cannot give rise, in the absence of a treaty, to an obligation to make an extradition of criminals. The jurisdiction referred to in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act as arising from usage and other sources is a jurisdiction to do certain things and to exercise certain powers, and not to demand performance of certain obligations.

It is not possible to accept the view of the learned counsel that sufferance cannot be a ground of jurisdiction except under circumstances which would justify the inference of an agreement. But, as admitted by the learned counsel themselves, the word 'sufferance' excludes the idea of agreement. As a matter of international law, prescription is a well-recognised source of rights and obligations. It is a ground of title not merely to full ownership or sovereignty, but also to rights of a narrower character. The validity of a claim of prescription does not, in modern law, rest upon any implication or inference of an agreement, but upon the continued assertion of a claim and the omission to protest against or resist it.

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATION.

We now come to the point which is of greater interest to British India than anything else in the ground covered by the opinion of the counsel. It relates to the nature of the constitutional relation between the British Government and the Government of India on the one hand and the Indian States on the other. It is asserted that the relationship is between the State on the one hand and the British Crown on the other, and that the rights and obligations of the British Crown are of such a nature that they cannot be assigned to, or performed by, persons who are not under its control. The statement in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that there is a con-

nection between the States and the British Crown can hardly be regarded as an authoritative pronouncement or disposal of the matter. The question whether the treaties were entered into with the British Crown as representing the sovereignty of India, or as representing the sovereignty of the United Kingdom, or in any other part of the Empire, has been discussed by me at length in my book on Indian Constitutional Problems; and I have shown that the only reasonable conclusion which can be drawn from all the circumstances of the case is that the treaties were entered into by the British Crown as representing the sovereignty of India. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the treaties were entered into with the Crown, not as representing the sovereignty of India but in its Imperial capacity, let us proceed to deal with the contention that the rights and obligations of the Crown are of such a nature that they cannot be assigned to, or performed by, persons who are not under its control. It is contended that the treaties were in the nature of contracts made in reliance on the personal capacity and characteristics of one of the parties. It is true that a personal contract cannot be enforced by or against the representatives of the person on whose personal skill or qualifications reliance was placed by the other contracting party. But it is obvious that such personal considerations were not the foundation of the treaties by the States. They were not entered into with the then holders of the British Crown in reliance upon their personal qualifications. It is obvious that the treaties were intended to bind the successors of both the parties to the contract. The foundation of the argument against the assignability of treaty-rights completely fails.

But the real question is, whether it would be at all a case of assignment by a party to a contract of his rights and obligations to a stranger or is a case of representation or devolution. British India was a part of the Empire at the time of the treaties and continues to be so to this moment. She has been the one person most interested in the observance and enforcement of the treaties of the Indian Princes, and it would be absurd to treat the devolution of rights and powers of the Government of British India as analogous to the assignment of a contract

to a third party. If any analogy is to be sought from the domain of private law, it is that of a contract entered into with the head of a joint family or the manager of a partnership. If the properties of a joint family are divided between the members and the benefit of any contract falls to the share of any particular member, it would be a case of representation or succession rather than assignment by act of parties. If it is to be spoken of as an assignment, it would be an assignment by operation of law. As a matter of international law the identity of a State is not affected by any changes in its constitution or by any internal revolution. The development of British India into a Self-Governing Dominion under the British Crown cannot possibly affect its rights under treaties entered into with other powers. The responsible Government of British India would be a representative of the British Crown and not an assignee. In the same way a change in the form or system of Government cannot affect or prejudice the rights of the Indian Princes under the treaties. They would be entitled to call upon the Government of British India to carry out their obligations quite as much after the constitutional changes as before. It is conceded by the Princes' counsel that it is not open to the States to dictate to the Crown the particular methods by which the Crown should carry out its obligations. At the most they could only make a representation substantiated by evidence as to the manner in which the delegate may discharge his duties or as to the need for any safeguards for the protection of their admitted rights and interest.

As admitted by the Princes' counsel, analogies drawn from the Law of Contract between private parties must not be pressed too far and considerations of policy have to enter into the decision of these questions. In the joint opinion of the three counsel reliance is placed upon the following passage from Hall's *International Law*: "Neither party to a contract can make its binding effect dependent on his will upon conditions other than those contemplated at the moment when the contract was

entered into, and on the other hand, a contract ceases to be binding so soon as anything which formed an implied condition of its obligatory force at the time of the conclusion is essentially altered." The test to be applied according to this passage is whether at the time of the treaties it was an implied condition of their obligatory force that there should be no constitutional changes introduced into the Government of India. There is no warrant for an affirmative answer.

ASPIRATIONS OF BRITISH INDIA.

The Indian Princes have repeatedly disclaimed any intention of standing in the way of the constitutional progress of India. But this disclaimer is hardly reconcilable with the case put forward on their behalf by their English counsel. It is contended that though the British Government necessarily employ agents to carry out their obligations, they must perform those obligations by the employment of persons under their own control, and cannot delegate the performance to others. It is therefore urged that the conduct of the foreign or political relations of the Government of India with the Indian Princes and the maintenance of their internal and external security is an obligation which cannot possibly be devolved upon a responsible Government of British India. The Government of British India cannot become fully responsible, unless it is empowered to deal with its foreign and political relations as well as internal administration. The suggestion that the Government of British India should confine itself to matters of internal administration and that all matters arising out of their relations with the Indian States should be dealt with by a different authority whether in India or in England is totally incompatible with the status of a Self-Governing Dominion which India seeks to obtain. The position taken up by the Indian Princes is not merely inconsistent with the aspirations of British India, but it also reduces the Government of India from its present position and deprives it of the powers which it is now actually exercising.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER

I. CRITICAL ESSAY-REVIEWS

A CONQUEROR AND ICONOCLAST*

BY

PANDIT MANOHAR LAL ZUTSHI, M.A., I.E.S.

Prof. Habib's short but interesting study of the great Ghaznavide conqueror is a welcome addition to Indian historical literature. He writes as a genuine student of history, not in the spirit of a partisan, and in these days of communal strife when the very air we breathe appears to have been poisoned with the bitterness of factional feuds, it is a pleasure to come across a Muslim writer who has the courage, the tolerance and the historical sense not only to see the Hindu side of the picture but to do justice to Mahmud's Hindu opponents and their faith. He uses the English language with skill and his style is easy and pleasing. And what to my mind is a great merit, particularly in a writer on Indian history, Prof. Habib not merely states facts but tries to find out their meaning, their lesson and their warning. He depicts Mahmud as he really was, not a missionary of Islam, not even a fanatic but a sheer conqueror, who used his religion to further his worldly designs, and who conquered but could not consolidate. And he narrates with insight and sympathy the causes of Hindu weakness—political disintegration, want of unity, cohesion and organization, and that utter lack of the sense of nationhood which had converted India into a mosaic of principalities and led to their downfall before the onslaughts of Ghazni and Ghor.

"All that excites a nation to heroic deed" says the author, "was there—the preservation of an ancient and ever-living civilization, the sacred temple and the no less sacred hearth. Yet the patriotic spirit of the people was paralysed by suspicions created by years of each other's intentions and their followers shared their doubts. Anandpal was important enough to take precedence but not strong enough to command; and the Indian army was directed by no single commander on the field of battle. But discipline

reigned supreme in the camp of the warrior-statesman of Ghazni. His troops more racially heterogeneous than the citizen-mob opposed to them, had been welded into one by years of continuous campaigning and unlike their Rajput opponents, they knew their master and were not liable to panic." Bearing upon the same point he writes: "The Sultan's great advantage over his Indian opponents," says he at another place, "was the unitary organization of his state. The resources of Ghazni were at the disposal of a single mind; the strength of Hindustan was divided among a multitude of factional Rajs, sub-Rajs, local chiefs and village headmen, between whom anything like sensible co-operation was impossible. The feudal organization of the Rajputs, with its divided allegiance, clannish spirit and love of local independence left them helpless before an enemy to whom feudalism and clannish feeling was alike unknown. The Ghaznavides knew and obeyed their master, the Rajputs had no master to obey. The power of the Rai of Lahore was defied by the Rajs subordinate to him, who refused to be relegated to the position of mere governors; and instead of meeting the enemy as the loyal generals of the chief whom his position and pre-eminence alike seemed to mark off for a national hero, they preferred to be defeated by the Ghaznavide one by one. An internal revolution which would place the defensive power of the country in the hands of a central power, was absolutely necessary if the newly-arisen enemy was to be resisted with success. But the hand of the reformer was numbed by the time-honoured customs of ages; and the tribal feuds of the Rajputs, their complicated system of military tenure and local rights, prevented them from mustering in full force on the field of battle. The result was defeat, disgrace, disaster. Temple after

* *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*—By MOHAMMAD HABIB (Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh).

temple was plundered; the centres of Indian civilization were ruined; and neither the wisdom of the Brahman, nor the heroism of the Rajput, nor the pious adoration of silent millions could prevent their idols of gold and silver from being melted into Ghaznavide coin. The Indians did not lack fighting spirit, and they had a country and a religion fully worthy of their devotion. The carnage round the Somnath temple, the courage with which the garrison of many an unknown fort died to the last man before the unwavering Ghaznavide ranks, showed what better leadership might have achieved—proved, if proof were needed, that even in the hour of deepest gloom the Indians had not forgotten how to die. But their social and political customs paralysed them; for with us, unfortunately, custom is not an accident, but the essence of faith." The above description is alas! but too true, as every student of Indian history will testify. I will only add the baneful effects of the caste system, which not only disorganized Hindu polity but left the defence of the country to the members of one particular caste instead of rallying the whole people to the defence of their land and their faith. And the consequences of it he who runs may read even today in the disruption of our national strength and the paralysis of the people's will.

About Mahmud's ruthlessness as a conqueror and his disservice to Islam Prof. Habib's opinion is fair and frank. He says: "The success was duly celebrated. The Caliph summoned a special *darbar* to receive Mahmud's message of victory. Accounts of the expedition were read out from the pulpits and pious Musalmans fondly imagined that 'what companions of the Blessed Prophet had done in Arabia, Persia, Syria and Iraq, Mahmud has achieved in Hindustan.' Nothing could be further from the truth. He had rolled in immense riches but had only disgusted the Indians with his faith. The plundered people were not likely to think well of Islam when it came to them in the shape of the Ghaznavide conqueror and left behind it an everlasting story of plundered temples, desolated cities and trampled crops. As a faith Islam had been morally disgraced, not elevated, by the Ghaznavide's achievement." "No honest historian should seek to

hide, and no Musalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. Contemporary as well as later historians do not attempt to veil the nefarious acts but relate them with pride. It is easy to twist one's conscience; and we know only too well how easy it is to find a religious justification for what people wish to do from worldly motives. Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader; no principle known to the *shariat* justified the uncalled-for attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the shameless destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed. And yet Islam, though it was not an *inspiring motive*, could be utilized as a *posteriori justification* of what had been done. It was not difficult to mistake the spoliation of non-Muslim populations for a service to Islam, and persons to whom the argument was addressed found it too much in consonance with the promptings of their own passions to examine it critically. So the precepts of the Quran were misinterpreted or ignored and the tolerant policy of that second Caliph was cast aside, in order that Mahmud and his myrmidons might be able to plunder Hindu temples with a clear and untroubled conscience." Now a writer, who has insight to get at the inner meaning of facts and has also the courage to state the truth frankly and fearlessly as Prof. Habib has stated it, deserves well of historical scholarship, of his country and of his generation.

"MOTHER INDIA": AN AMERICAN WOMAN'S LIBEL*

I

BY

MR. A. M. POOLEY.

MISS KATHARINE MAYO's book, *Mother India*, is a book of abuse about abuses. It is one of the best advertised books of the year, not only by paid advertisement, but by free advertisement. It is well written, untruthful and where truthful, severely partial. To take the exception and call it the rule is not truth. *Mother India* is crammed full of half-truths

**Mother India*—By Katharine Mayo (Jonathan Cape, London), 1927.

and exaggeration, and it is not to be wondered at that it has aroused a storm in India, and a much larger storm than the tea-cup variety that Indian political circles are famous for.

HALF TRUTHS AND EXAGGERATIONS.

There is a good deal that needs explanation about this book. To begin with: Who is this American, Miss Katharine Mayo, and what pull did she have that the India Office provided her with credentials and placed the whole organisation of the Government of India at her disposal? Secondly, why is this book being distributed broadcast although it has been condemned by Indians and many Europeans living in India, as a "malicious and filthy libel on India."

One of the most important daily papers in India is *The Statesman* of Calcutta. Mr. Ratcliffe, for five years its editor, declares the book "profoundly untrue—a libel upon a unique civilisation and upon a people of extraordinary virtue, patience, and spiritual quality." Similarly the most important Anglo-Indian weekly in India is *Capital*, which describes the book as "intellectually dishonest, devoid of literary merit, untrue, and bordering on stark pornography." *Capital* is the organ of the wealthy British capitalists of Calcutta, and cannot be charged with Indophilism.

WHAT'S BEHIND IT?

There, is, I firmly believe, a close connection between this book and the Royal Commission which has been appointed to work in India in connection with the promised revision of the Chelmsford-Montagu Constitution. This book, written by an American woman tourist, if she was a tourist, is deliberate and unscrupulous propaganda against the Indian claims to extended self-government. It has been published at the psychological moment, and to ensure adequate publicity, it is being freely circulated by various anti-Indian agencies.

When in the Legislative Assembly attention was drawn to the indignation which the book was creating, and the universal resentment the free distribution was causing, the Indian Government representative replied that "the facts are so obvious that it is not necessary to draw the British Government's attention to them." The whole business is a scandal.

The method of the writer has been to scavenge India to collect all the unpleasantest facts she can, and publish them as the general and accepted condition of affairs.

The first chapter, cryptically called "The Bus to Mandalay," is devoted to the question of child-marriage, the sex problem of India. This is undoubtedly one of the great problems which can and will be solved only by education, and careful, gradual, wise legislation, gradually raising the age of consent, both in and out of marriage. The case can be stated equably yet forcefully. Miss Mayo's method is a wild denunciation, backed up by nauseating, ghoulish details, obtained from the woman's hospitals. That being insufficient in her view, she utters two absolutely libellous statements: first that girls in India have to be married at puberty, because the men of the family cannot be trusted; secondly, because the girls cannot be trusted, I cannot imagine any two statements more untrue and more likely to create trouble. This tourist asserts that in Bengal child marriage is most customary. Those who have lived there will know that the curse has been abolished from a great part of Bengal, and the movement is spreading outward through India from that province.

HATRED AGAINST THE BRITISH.

I do not suppose for a minute that in casting her shoe over India Miss Mayo means any good to Britain. She actually blames Britain for "protecting the Hindus against the virile races from the north, who would otherwise have wiped them out." In this book I seem to discern two motives, one of which is envy, hatred, and malice against the British, because with a total man-power of 67,432—Miss Mayo's own figures—they have made such a much better job of handling India and its 315,000,000 people than Uncle Sam with his 18,616 man-power has made of handling the 10,000,000 Philippines. And the complications of India are infinitely greater. The second motive is American uplift, from which the Lord deliver India and the world generally. It is noticeable all through the book, even in the chapter headed "Slave Mentality," which deals with women's position.

I notice in one of the publisher's "puffs" of this book, the remark that "praise it or hate it, this book

justifies its writing. It passes the old, difficult test: *J'ai un lièvre de bon foi.* That I should say is the last that could be said of it. It is full of untruth. The "Untouchables," for example, are dealt with in two chapters, but nothing beyond the name is said of the great reform movement to outlaw untouchability. The authoress does not know that the Brahmo Samaj was the answer of the Brahmins to the Christianisation of the untouchables.

Any spinster woman from New York can go to India, tour the country, note all those things which are done differently behind the back of the Goddess of Liberty and write a book abusing them. It is difficult to realise that India is a country of 315,000,000 people, at least 300,000,000 of whom are on the breadline; that all the 315,000,000 live in habits and by traditions created many centuries before "God's own country" was thought of; and many of these traditions have descended for a couple of thousand years and more. In dealing with such a country, patience, truth, honesty, and intelligence are requisite, in all of which Miss Mayo appears to be lacking.

YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

All who have lived in India know the horrors of child marriage, the hardships of the caste system, the low personal habits of the people, the cruelty to animals, the indolence, cowardice, and corruption. But compare India today with the India of a century ago; compare Calcutta today with the Calcutta of Hickey, and steady marked improvement has been made, by the co-operation of the British and the people. That is the way we shall continue, slow and surely and it is to be sincerely hoped that the Commission, in spite of the effusive support of Lord Birkenhead, will not be influenced by a book which Rabindranath Tagore describes as a hideous lie. Rather let them read Lord Ronaldsday or Arnold Lupton, who by life in India know the good as well as the bad, can discriminate justly and write truthfully.

II

By MARGARET E. COUSINS, B. Mus.

Mother India is a book written by an American journalist named Miss Mayo, who spent about six months touring in India in order to ascertain conditions in India and report on them to the world.

The first half of the book is devoted to describing in detail and with many statistics the social evils which afflict India, such as child-marriage, child-widowhood, and child-motherhood. It also discloses the ravages made in the health of India by the abuse of sex, and the over-emphasis of sex-consciousness.

This criticism might have been helpful to India if it had been properly directed and shown, in its true proportion, but instead, the woes of a minority of women are exploited in defence of the retention by Great Britain of her present dominion over India. Because women and animals and outcasts suffer in India, self-government should not be given to India—such is the slanderous effect this book consciously conveys to any reader ignorant of the true conditions of Indian life. The deplorable conditions alluded to are found prevalent only in the high castes, especially in the Brahmin caste, but Miss Mayo never tells in her book that the Brahmins number only about 5 per cent. It is such an omission as this which turns true illustrations into utterly false generalisations.

The book gives an entirely false impression of a gentle, lovable, peaceful, religious, sober, simple, refined, though illiterate, people. There are social evils in India, and there is no excuse for their continuance, though one understands how they arose in the past. But India's sins are no greater than those of other different sins of other countries, and no one makes the evils a reason for taking away self-government from the people of Japan, China, America, or England. Miss Mayo went to India only to see disease and wrong-doing, and, of course, she found them! She did not look for the good, and where she could not avoid it, as in the State of Mysore, which she could not find anything to criticise, she dismisses it in a page and a half out of her 376. It is an added woe to the proportion of women and men, who suffer through evils which are the result largely of a time of transition, that they should be used to create a libel on their country. I appeal to any non-Indian readers not to believe her book, for every statistic she uses is only half a truth and must be judged in proportion to other statistics which she has omitted and which would show that India is no better and no worse than other countries, and that it is working hard, like other countries, to get rid of its defects.

Other books that would correct her picture are *The Web of Indian Life*, by Sister Nivedita, *The Hindu View of Life*, by Professor Radhakrishnan, *India a Nation*, by Dr. A. Besant, and *The Awakening of Asian Womanhood*, by the present writer. Any of these will include the evils which Miss Mayo uses to defame the whole of Indian civilisation, while they show accurately the health and happiness which are also predominantly characteristics of this great primarily agricultural race of 229 million people, living in villages in which child-motherhood is the exception. As in all countries, the evils are in the big towns, and in India, trade and industry are comparatively inconsiderable.

THE GREATEST WORK IN ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY*

I

Lord Stanfordin addressed some time back the following letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford: "The King has received through Mr. Mershead, his Majesty's librarian, the final copy of the *Oxford English Dictionary* which has been so beautifully and specially bound for the King's acceptance. In expressing to the University his Majesty's warm thanks, the King desires to offer his most sincere congratulations to all those responsible for the production of what he feels sure will rank in the world of philology as a unique monument to British learning and enterprise. At the same time his Majesty realizes how much is due to those distinguished contributors to the Dictionary who did not live to see the completion of their labours." It was in the fitness of things that this letter should have been sent, for the *Oxford English Dictionary*—the publication of which began in 1884, and was completed in April last year—was in 1897 dedicated to Her Majesty Queen VICTORIA. It is now by His Majesty's gracious permission, presented on its completion to King GEORGE the Fifth.

II

The superiority of the *Oxford Dictionary* to all other English lexicons in accuracy and completeness is everywhere admitted. The *Oxford Dictionary* is the supreme authority, and without a rival. It is perhaps less generally appreciated that what

makes the dictionary unique is its historical method; it is a dictionary not of our English, but of all English: the English of Chaucer, of the Bible, and of Shakespeare is unfolded in it with the same wealth of illustration as is devoted to the most modern authors. When considered in this light, the fact that the first part of the dictionary was published in 1884 is seen to be relatively unimportant: 44 years is a small period in the life of a language. It is, however, obviously desirable that aeroplanes and appendicitis should receive due recognition. A supplement is accordingly in preparation, the main object of which will be to include words which were born too late for inclusion. Copies of the supplement will be offered free to all holders of the complete dictionary.

The material of the dictionary we owe, in the main, to the unremunerated labours of the members of the Philological Society and its army of volunteer readers. The cost of the conversion of this (and much more) material into the dictionary itself, and the cost of manufacture, has been borne by the Oxford University Press. The outlay has been put at £300,000. To this statement there is one exception. The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths in 1905 contributed £5,000 towards the cost of the sixth volume, and the conclusion of the work was suitably celebrated on 6th June, 1928, at a dinner given by the Prime Warden and Wardens of the Goldsmith's Company.

III. THE MAKING OF THE DICTIONARY.

After seventy years it is now possible to announce that the *Oxford English Dictionary* is complete from A to Z. This announcement is made at an interval of seventy years from the date of the inception of the work: it was on the 7th of January, 1858, that the Philological Society, after occupying itself for some months with a more modest scheme, rose to the ideal set forth by Dean Trench, and bravely resolved to make "a completely new English dictionary."

The history of the dictionary has been told in outline more than once, and has yet to be written in full. It is not the intention here to anticipate a full account, but merely to chronicle a few of the more interesting details and entertaining aspects of a work which has demanded the labours of two generations to bring it to completion.

* The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1884—1928).

There was no suspicion at the outset that the undertaking was to be so vast. By the original resolution the task of preparing the new dictionary was entrusted to two committees, and Messrs. Coleridge and Furnivall were empowered to negotiate for its publication. Coleridge was subsequently, in November 1859, appointed editor. To contain the materials on which the *Dictionary* would be based, Coleridge had a set of pigeon-holes made (which is still in existence), capable of holding about 60,000 slips at most. As many as this were ultimately required for even one of the minor letters of the alphabet. With Coleridge's death in April 1861 the task of continuing the *Dictionary* fell upon Furnivall, who saw clearly that the first thing necessary was to continue the collecting of material. While he was pressing on with this, and enlisting the services of volunteer sub-editors, the *Dictionary* practically disappeared from the activities of the Philological Society; between 24th April, 1862 and 6th November, 1868, it is never mentioned in the reports of the regular meetings. On the latter date the Hon. Secretary made a statement as to the progress of the Society's proposed new English Dictionary, together with a calculation . . . showing that about one-third of the work had been sub-edited.

After some more years of obscurity, the *Dictionary* again emerged in the President's annual address, delivered by A. J. Ellis on 15th May, 1874, in these words: "One of our works, for which great collections have already been made, remains, and may for some time remain, merely one of the things we have tried to do—of course, I allude to our projected *Dictionary*. Several things, indeed, make me inclined to think that a Society is less fitted to compile a *Dictionary* than to get the materials collected." In what follows, Ellis indicates that in his opinion the man who was clearly marked out by his scholarship to edit the work was Henry Sweet.

After a little more than two years from the above date had passed, Dr. J. A. H. Murray became interested in the collections which had been made by the Society, and began to work on them with a zeal and knowledge which soon made the *Dictionary* a reality, instead of an unfulfilled ideal. The prominent dates in his period are 26th April, 1878, when he had his first interview with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, and 1st March, 1879, when negotiations were

completed by the signing of an agreement between the Delegates and the Philological Society for the publication of the *Dictionary*. The *Dictionary* then contemplated was one of only half the size of that which has actually been produced, although provision was also made for a larger work of "not fewer than ten volumes, each containing not less than 1,000 pages"—a pretty close estimate of the *Dictionary* as it now stands.

The reports made to the Society during the years from 1880 to 1884 contain much interesting information, and give some idea of the immense task involved in organizing the further necessary collection of material, and in preparing, at the same time, the articles for the opening section of the *Dictionary*. Unsparing hard work on Dr. Murray's part, willing aid from contributors in the country and elsewhere, triumphed over all difficulties, and on 19th May, 1882, he was able to announce: "The great fact . . . is, that the *Dictionary* is now at last really launched, and that some forty pages are in type, of which forty-eight columns have reached me in proof." From that date steady progress was made until the publication of the first part on 1st February, 1884. Even at this stage the prospective magnitude of the work had not become obvious. In his presidential address of 16th May, 1884, Dr. Murray suggested that with half-a-dozen good assistants "it might be possible . . . to produce two parts in the year, and thus finish the whole in 11 years from next March." This calculation did not allow for the constant accession of fresh material and the higher standard of completeness which the progress of the work itself steadily imposed.

It is a striking tribute to the breadth of view and largeness of purpose which characterized the first shapers of the *Dictionary* that each in his turn planned it on lines which admitted of such expansion, and made it capable of being that storehouse of English which it has now become. To the form which the practical genius of Murray finally gave it, the later years brought no essential changes; the last volume differs from the first in little but the greater wealth of illustration which time has rendered possible. Although the active participation of the Philological Society in the dictionary came to an end when the real preparation for the press began, it has never ceased to take a lively interest

in the progress of the work. Year after year each editor has gone up to give a report on the section under his immediate charge, and these 'dictionary evenings' have always held a prominent place among the meetings of the Society. So long as Dr. Furnivall survived, the link with the beginnings of the work remained unbroken, and it was easy to forget that it had been so long on the way. The Society has good reason to be proud of its enterprise, and its share in the achievement is too great to be forgotten: in its origins it is 'the Society's Dictionary,' though in its final form it may be inevitable that it should bear the name of Oxford. At the meeting of the Philological Society held on 13th January, 1928, Mr. Onions presented the following statement:—

"On 7th January, 1858, at a meeting of the Philological Society, it was resolved that, instead of the proposed supplement to Standard English Dictionaries, 'a New English Dictionary of the English Language be prepared under the authority of the Philological Society.' On 5th January, 1928—seventy years have almost to the day—I returned for 'press' the concluding sheets of the dictionary. The publication of the completed work will fall in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of its first association with the name of James A. H. Murray as editor under the auspices of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press."

IV. THE VOLUNTARY WORKERS.

If those who use the dictionary consider that they owe any debt of gratitude to the editors and their staffs for their labours, they are equally indebted to the large number of men and women who gave up their time to collecting the material which made the work possible. Many of their names, and the extent of their contributions, are recorded in the reports on the dictionary, and in the preface to its first volume, but even these remarkable lists can convey but a slight idea of what was actually done. In many cases the number of slips written out and sent in represents the equivalent of months and even years of steady work, for which no remuneration was ever received or expected. Only those who have handled these slips year by year can appreciate the unselfish and unremitting toil. Fortunately by the greater number of these voluntary readers were

as careful as they were diligent—some exceptionally so.

This widespread willingness to take part in the work of collecting was manifest from the very outset. Even in 1857, when the Philological Society had thought only of collecting 'unregistered words,' Dean Trench was able to announce that 'seventy-six volunteers have already come forward claiming their share in the task.' When the larger scheme was adopted, the numbers rapidly increased; by 1880 it has risen to 750, and in 1881 it was upwards of 800. This probably represents pretty fairly the number of substantial contributors, but does not include the many more who have sent in stray items of interest or importance, or have responded to inquiries addressed to them by the editors. Such generous help has not been confined to the British Islands. The plans of the Philological Society were not long in becoming known in the United States, and called forth offers of assistance which are mentioned by Coleridge in his letter to Dean Trench. American help became of real importance in the new period of collecting inaugurated by Dr. Murray, whose warm appreciation of its value is expressed in his presidential address of 1880.

No less important services have been rendered by the volunteer sub-editors, first enlisted by Furnivall, by whom the millions of slips were reduced to a form in which the various staffs could readily handle them without loss of time. It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this work, carried on steadily by some for many years, as may be seen from the details given in the preface to each letter. It is remarkable that while this sub-editing involved the constant transmission of parcels of material all over the country, only one portion of it was ever lost. When a survey of the material was made in May, 1879, it was discovered that PA was missing. It was subsequently traced to Ireland, where all but a poor fragment had been used for lighting fires. Another loss, not connected with sub-editing, was the mysterious disappearance of the corrected proofs of the preposition IN—a loss which required much time and raking of brains to make good. Equally unexplained was the finding, in a distant part of Oxford, of a packet of copy dropped on its way to the Press, and happily restored by an intelligent policeman.

V. THE EDITORS AND THEIR STAFF.

From first to last, the *Dictionary* as a whole, or some portion of it, has passed through the hands of six editors, of whom, however, the two first must rather be considered as precursors:

HERBERT COLERIDGE (1830-61) was a member, along with Trench and Furnivall, of the original Literary and Historical Committee elected on 7th January, 1858, and was appointed editor in November 1859. His letter to Trench, dated 30th May, 1860, and printed in the second edition of Trench's Paper 'On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries,' gives a succinct and interesting account of 'the progress and prospects of the Society's New English Dictionary.' It was under his direction that rules were issued for the guidance of the volunteers who read, or undertook to read, some hundreds of volumes; he also assisted in the work by preparing and publishing a glossarial index to the printed literature of the thirteenth century. He had further prepared lists of words from A to D, and had put into type specimen pages containing articles on some early words before his death on 23rd April, 1861.

FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL (1825-1910), who had already done much reading for the dictionary, immediately took the place of his colleague, and on 23rd May, 1861, "made a statement as to the present condition of the collections for the Society's Dictionary and the course he proposed to pursue with regard to the scheme." In addition to carrying on the collection of materials, he aimed at the preparation of 'a Concise Dictionary' as a preliminary to the main work, and originated the idea of distributing the material among volunteer sub-editors. On these lines he continued the work up to the time of the new developments by which the editorship finally passed into the hands of Dr. Murray. In the meantime he had begun to add immensely to the available Middle English material by the foundation of the Early English Text Society in 1864 and the Chaucer Society in 1868. For the rest of his life he was indefatigable in providing dictionary material from the publications of these societies, as well as innumerable other sources, including his daily morning and evening newspaper. Through his early organization of the collecting and sub-editing, and his lifelong contributions, the work of Furnivall pervades every page of

dictionary, and has helped in a great degree to make it what it is. He was fortunate in living long enough to see assured the completion of the work to which he had given so much of his busy life.

The editors actually responsible for the various sections of the work as it appeared are four in number:—

1. JAMES AUGUSTUS HENRY MURRAY (1837-1915) sent his first batch of copy to the printer on 19th April, 1882, and until his death on 26th July, 1915, the supply of copy continued without intermission. Not only did he at the beginning lay down the lines upon which the work has been continued and completed, but, when it became clear that the editorial task must be shared, his capacity for unremitting labour enabled him to take more than an equal part, with the result that one-half of the whole work was produced under his personal editorship; this embraces A-D, H-K, O, P, and T. Before his appointment to the Dictionary he had made his mark by the publication of a pioneer study in philology in *The Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873), which brought him a Scottish doctorate, and by an article on the English language contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1878), as well as by the editions of Scottish texts (1871-5). The all-absorbing task of editing now restricted his output in such independent directions; but this was compensated by increasing recognition at home and abroad of his achievement in lexicography, and, when he died, he was a Fellow of the British Academy, had received honorary degrees from nine universities (including Oxford and Cambridge) and was foreign corresponding member of eight learned societies. In his later years, it became his fixed wish that he might live to finish the dictionary on his eightieth birthday in 1917. Though he has not survived to see the last pages in print, "more than that of any other man his name will be associated with the long and efficient working of the great engine of research by which the Dictionary has been produced."

2. HENRY BRADLEY (1845-1923) became connected with the dictionary as the result of a review which he wrote of the first part on its publication in 1884, from which it was evident that his philological knowledge was of an unusually wide and accurate nature. First giving help, while still at work in

London, with the letter B, he next undertook the independent editing of E, and removed to Oxford in 1896. From that time onwards, with only two brief intervals, he worked continuously at the dictionary right down to the end of his days, besides contributing many articles and reviews to learned periodicals and other works, and writing a very successful book called the *Making of English*. He is one of those who have helped to place the study of English place-names on a sound philological basis. The portions of the dictionary prepared under his editorship are the letters E, F, G, L, M, S-h, St, and W as far as the word *Weigh*. He was elected Fellow of the British Academy in 1907, received the honorary degree of D. Litt. of Oxford in 1914, and was elected Fellow of Magdalen in 1916. In *Some Account of the Oxford University Press* (second edition, 1926, an anonymous work) Bradley is described as "by common consent the greatest of living English philologists." This phrase was submitted to him and approved, though not without hesitation. The compiler of the *Account* was anxious to describe him as "one of the greatest scholars of his own or any age"; but this was vetoed.

3. WILLIAM ALEXANDER CRAIGIE (1867—) was invited to join the staff of the dictionary in the summer of 1897, and began work in July of that year, first assisting in the preparation of G, I, and K. His independent editing began in 1901 with the letter Q, and was continued with N, R, Si-Sq, U, V, and portions of W. In addition to his work on the dictionary, the editing of texts, and the writing of books and articles on a variety of subjects, Dr. Craigie held the appointments of Taylorian Lecturer in the Scandinavian Languages from 1905 to 1916, and of Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon from 1916 to 1925, resigning in that year to take up a professorship of English in the University of Chicago, where his work will still be mainly in the field of lexicography. In the *Account* quoted above, Dr. Craigie is described as "bringing to the work of the Dictionary a rare combination of qualifications." Those words were Henry Bradley's.

4. CHARLES TALBOT ORSONS (1873—) joined the staff of the dictionary on the invitation of Dr. Murray in September 1895. After completing some ten years of service with Dr. Murray and

Dr. Bradley, he was engaged for several years in specially preparing portions of the letters M, N, R, and S (including *Set*), which cover in all some 350 pages; at the beginning of 1914 he began as independent editor with Su-Sz, and followed with X, Y, Z, and Wh-Working. In 1911 he produced the *Oxford Shakespeare Glossary*, and in 1915-16 carried through the final editing of *Shakespeare's England*; these two tasks together withdrew him from the dictionary for a space of two years. In 1920 he was appointed Lecturer in English at Oxford, and in 1927 Reader in English Philology. He was elected to a Fellowship at Magdalen in October 1923. Of his well-known book on English Syntax (1904), Sir James Murray wrote: "In my opinion no more important contribution to English Grammar has been made in recent years."

The co-operation of efficient staffs had from the beginning of the actual editing been of vital importance for the progress of the *Dictionary*, and the editors have been fortunate from the very first in finding good assistants. Some of these had been connected with the work for many years—two for more than forty years—and in their respective spheres have done inestimable service towards the attainment of that fullness and accuracy at which it has aimed. It has commonly been a matter of surprise to foreign scholars who have visited the *Dictionary* workshop to discover that few of these assistants have had a special training in philological studies, but experience has shown that such training is not so important for much of the work as other qualities, more particularly a sense of method, wide, general knowledge, and an interest in some special department of the manifold details which have constantly to be attended to. When the work was at its height, during the ten years or so before the war, each editor was working with from four to six or seven assistants. From first to last the number of those who helped in this capacity is little short of fifty. Of these, ten remained to the end.

(To be concluded)

THE CASE-LAW METHOD OF LEGAL STUDY*

In this the concluding article of the series on some of the points of interest dealt with in Mr. Justice

* *The Advocate*. By Sir Cecil Walsh (Ram Narain Lal & Co., Katra, Allahabad), 1928.

Walsh's book, we shall briefly refer to the subject of what is called case-law method of legal study. The subject is dealt with by Mr. Justice Walsh but incidentally as it did not perhaps appertain in his opinion to the scope of his treatise which is to expound not so much the "training" of the Advocate as his "aims and aspirations." And yet the Advocate's aims and aspirations cannot be achieved unless his training has been what it should be. Now, as a knowledge of case-law is almost essential to success at the Bar, no aspirant to a successful career as an Advocate can afford to neglect it according to the latest developments of the methods of its practical study. These methods have been brought to an almost scientific precision and perfection in the law schools of America and we cannot, therefore, do better than set out briefly a few observations on the American system and its rise, growth and its present position.

In 1870 appeared Mr. Christopher C. Langdell's *Selected Cases on Contracts*, a work which introduced the case system of instruction in American Law Schools and wrought a revolution in the method of teaching and study law. His system is thus outlined in the preface of that work: "Law, considered as a science, consists of certain principles or doctrines. To have such a mastery of these as to be able to apply them with constant facility and certainty to the ever-tangled skein of human affairs is what constitutes a true lawyer; and hence to acquire that mastery should be the business of every earnest student of law. Each of these doctrines has arrived at its present state by slow degrees. This growth is to be traced in the main through a series of cases; and much the shortest and best, if not the only, way of mastering the doctrine effectually, is by studying the cases in which it is embodied." Not that Mr. Langdell's method was either wholly unknown or entirely unutilised by English writers of text-books, for (to go no further) Smith's *Leading Cases*—a careful perusal of which is rightly insisted upon by Mr. Justice Walsh—is an apt instance in point of the conception of the system of teaching and expounding law by means of a study of case-law. Nevertheless Smith's famous book was meant for the practising lawyer and not the student, while the advantage of the American system—since it was inaugurated in 1870 by Mr. Langdell—has been that

it has entered principally for the student and thus qualified him to be a successful Advocate. It is for this reason that the American system, which we briefly describe below, deserves careful attention.

From the day of Justinian to the present, much has been written of the Science of Jurisprudence and of methods of teaching. Yet the last word on the subject is still to be said, and when that last word is said we shall have ceased to have a living and developing law. In the administration of Anglo-American law, whether statutory or customary in origin, the most influential part has been, and will continue to be, played by court decisions. The decisions, because of the great increase in population and the increasing complexity and volume of social relations, have become as numerous as the leaves on the tree. The problem sought to be solved in these court decisions is in part the same as those of earlier days. We find the jurists of ancient Rome and the schoolmen of the Middle Ages considering and disputing about many of the questions with which our courts are actively concerned today. But, on the other hand, many of our problems are entirely new,—as our predecessors did not find it necessary to determine the principles that should govern the application of electricity or the navigation of the air—and to many of the old problems we must apply the additional knowledge gained in more recent experience. The tremendous changes in social and economic life have wrought a revolution in the methods of legal instruction as well as great changes in the content and administration of the law. They are placing upon our law schools and colleges the responsibility of creating new types of legal scholars and investigators, of developing more intensively the study of Jurisprudence as a Science, and of raising the funds necessary for this development. In an address to a well-known American institution Senator Elihu Root, while referring to the changes in the teaching of law is reported to have said:

"The young men in our great law schools today are being introduced, not merely to the bread and butter machinery of law, but are being started on the pathway of the Science of Jurisprudence. And this is fortunate, for there has been a great change in the conditions of the law and its relation to the world. In Professor Dwight's day it appeared

simple and finished; but now that we have new relations between masses of organized capital and organized labour, and the vast extension of international commerce, we have passed beyond the ordinary slow growth of custom on which the old English and American law was based; and some one must be busy building up a new Science of Jurisprudence. The legislatures have been proceeding with great velocity, but without system; they have been hitting heads when they saw them; and there have been so many decisions that I don't know what is to become of the old principle of *stare decisis*. A new Science of Jurisprudence must be created."

In the earlier history of the common law, when recorded precedents were far less numerous than they are today, and when learned glosses and commentaries were few, it was more nearly possible for an industrious lawyer to know them all. Just as Dr. Samuel Johnson ventured to write a dictionary of the English language out of his own head, so did Sir William Blackstone and James Kent attempt to state the entire common law of England and America respectively. He would be a bold and an ill-advised man who would attempt to do either today. In their day it was possible to regard the opinion of a judge in a litigated case as the last word upon the subject of his decision. So, also, the opinions of the few learned commentators, like Coke and Blackstone and Kent, were regarded with much greater veneration than are the opinions of their modern successors. The modern judges and writers are often compared much to their disadvantage with these venerable masters of the past. But this is far from being wholly due to the superior learning and ability of the ancients; it is due in part to the greater simplicity of their problem, and in part to their lack of competitors on the top rounds of the ladder. So long as the opinions of judges and commentators were regarded so highly by their more ignorant contemporaries and successors, the teaching of the law was bound to be a dogmatic process. The law was the word of the master, merely to be learned and understood by the student, seldom if ever to be criticized. The tremendous multiplication of decisions and text-books brought about a very different situation and new methods of instruction. When two judges lay down different rules for the same set of facts, we cannot venerate them both in the same

degree. Likewise, competition between commentators forbids us to swallow the dogmas of either without thorough mastication. We have been driven to make a comparative study of decisions thus leading directly to the case-system; and in order to obtain a test of accuracy and a basis for selection, we have been compelled to study the sources, the purposes, and the practical working of the rules of law as laid down. This is creating what Senator Root described as "a New Science of Jurisprudence."

The American law schools have been deeply affected by the influences above mentioned. The earlier dogmatic method of instruction has been replaced by the case-system,—a comparative study of cases. This is the system of which Professor Redlich of Vienna, in his report to the Carnegie Foundation, writes as follows:—"Law is conceived as the expression of social order in judicial form, which begins its separate existence all over again in every single case. Teacher and pupil approach it in the same way, the learner discovering it, under guidance of the teacher, as a new and original joint creation." This system of instruction is now far too well established to require any defence, and it is too well understood generally to require any explanation. It is not so generally understood or admitted, however, that there are other fields of legal development and investigation that must be entered by the law schools. We have long since ceased to limit our teaching by the covers of formal treatises; we must now become fully aware that there are other sources than the court decisions. We must indeed make a historical and critical study of our decisions to determine what are the principles upon which our courts have acted and are now acting; but in addition we must try to reduce those principles into a logical and harmonious system. To do this, we must, among other things, make a comparative study of other systems, and criticize our own in the light of this greater knowledge; we must determine the causes of dissatisfaction existing under our system, and discover means of eliminating them; we must determine the relative positions of our judiciary and our legislatures as law-makers and must improve the machinery of law-making.

Professor Redlich, in his report to the Carnegie Foundation, states the problems in America as follows: "Herewith, I believe, however, that the

two great problems are revealed whose solution devolves upon American jurisprudence,—the creation of a scientific system of the common law, and a reform of the current law in the direction of that movement which is becoming more and more pronounced among the people of the United States in favour of a simplification, a greater efficiency and improvement, of substantive law as well as of civil and criminal procedure. Such a reform will, of course, not be produced by statutory decree alone. In my opinion this goal can be reached only through long and fruitful labour on the part of all elements of American legal life, the judges, the attorneys, the University law school, and the legal scholars of the country."

In the solution of these problems the American law schools have a very large part to play. We cannot make a wise selection among those policies that may be proposed for the improvement of law, unless we gain much greater knowledge than we have at present. This knowledge must be gained in part by experience, but in part also by study. The American law schools now have practically all legal education in their hands. To them the people must look for a supply of trained lawyers and judges with the capacity to make intelligent use of their experience. It is largely to their faculties that we must look for men competent to draft and create a "scientific system of the common law." For this and for a reform of our current law, substantive and procedural, and mere personal experience of our bench and bar, indispensable though it may be, is not sufficient. We must have specialists, whose duty it is to devote their whole time to an acquisition and exposition of the experience and legal systems of other peoples and other periods. Final results will be attained only after long mutual collaboration and free universal criticism. The work of the scholar must be tested by the practical experience of the lawyer and the judge; and both must be brought into harmony with the prevailing folkways and customs and morals of the present, and with the desires and sentiments of the great majority, for whom law exists and without whose approval law is impossible. The American law schools must supply theoretical specialists as are necessary for the bench and the bar, and the practical statesmen. Without them the

results must be merely provincial and temporary, and will continue to be unsystematized, inconsistent, inharmonious, and piece-meal, just as they have been in the past. It is a condition, and not a theory, that now confronts all lawyers in legal administration, and it confronts them because in the past they have trusted too much to mere practical experience and have failed to develop a scientific theory.

Stare decisis was once a strong and well-constructed line of defence against the forces of disorder and inconsistency. Now, in the midst of the ever-increasing hosts of conflicting decisions, it often serves only as a shattered trench in which to bury the dead doctrine it was built to defend. The army of social unrest and dissatisfaction is in motion against all legal systems. Capital, labour, politicians, social reformers, women, alike agree upon this, and join in the attack: Legal Science, like Richard II. of old must with wise discretion ride out to meet this rebellious host and disarm them all by saying, "I will be your leader." To develop such legal science and leadership will be expensive. Faculties must be increased, constructive thinkers must be recognized and gathered together for scientific team work. Surely it is the function of even the Indian Universities, where the plant and the atmosphere for such labour already exist, to undertake this service for our society. The continental universities have long done it. Oxford and Cambridge are doing it. Will the Indian Universities, with faint heart and myopic vision, fail to grasp their opportunity? Haggling over the expense is penny wise and pound foolish. Justice is worth the price. Even the uneducated public is becoming aware that in the absence of system, harmony, unity, certainty, simplicity, and promptness of procedure, justice is difficult and expensive, or even at times wholly lacking. It has been said, perhaps truly, of the British that they trust in the ability of their government to muddle through somehow. We, too, are prone to drowse contentedly in a like belief. But there comes a time in national and social development when muddling fails to work, and when only a scientific organizer can save us from damage or destruction. The Indian Universities must supply these scientific organizers, or fail miserably to serve the purpose of their creation.

II. BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case. 4 vols. (Henry Holt & Co., New York, U. S. A.), 1928.

The well-known American publishing firm of Henry Holt & Co. are entitled to have their enterprise appreciated in making available to the public a faithful transcript of the record of the trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—the two Italians who were electrocuted in 1927—in the courts of Massachusetts and the subsequent proceedings. The four volumes of the record of this historic trial extend to over four thousand pages, and give in chronological order the history of the case and the proceedings at the trial, which promises to be the subject of controversy for yet a long time to come. Only recently that well-known American weekly, the *Outlook*, published affidavits purporting to show that Sacco and Vanzetti were not guilty of the hold-up of the cashiers in the motor-car at Bridgewater on December 24th, 1919, which was followed by the murder of the cashier at South Braintree, for which they were sentenced to death. Vanzetti's alleged guilt in Bridgewater crime according to the *Outlook* established presumption of guilt in South Braintree crime, both cases being tried by Judge Thayer. The *Outlook* by laborious investigations in the underworld claims to have established the identity of the Bridgewater robbers, exculpating Sacco and Vanzetti. It has published the affidavits of persons who admit that they planned and committed the crime. The *New York World* expresses the universal opinion on what has all the appearance of being a judicial murder, when it says in an article appropriately headed "The Ghost of Banquo": "The evidence set forth establishes the overwhelming presumption, that Vanzetti had nothing to do with the Bridgewater case, the implications of which are terrible, for if Vanzetti was not guilty in Bridgewater case, then the theory on which he was tried in South Braintree case lapses and reasons for refusal of clemency in time, when the peoples of civilised world were protesting against the execution, seem to be utterly inadequate. This celebrated case rises from the grave and will haunt all connected

with it. The commonwealth of Massachusetts now faces the reckoning. It can no more ignore these findings than it can ignore the Day of Judgment." Such being the nature of the controversy about this trial, it was obviously desirable that a faithful record of it should be printed and rendered accessible to the public. This has now been done through the enterprise of the publishers and the book deserves a cordial welcome. The volumes are well printed and strongly bound.

Celebrated Trials. By George Borrow. 2 vols. (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London), 1928.

We extend a hearty welcome to the newly revised text of Borrow's *Celebrated Trials*, edited in two handsome volumes by Mr. E. H. Bierstadt. George Borrow started his literary career in London by compiling and editing this collection of criminal trials. For generations the work has been out of print, and obtainable only by the collector at rather exorbitant price. To his vivid sense of literary values, Borrow brought an instinctive sense of drama and a fine appreciation of human quantities. He used, whenever possible, the text of the testimony which included exact dialogue between Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Edward Coke, the Solicitor-General who hurried him to the scaffold; the precise evidence that convicted the beautiful Countess of Somerset of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower. Jack Sheppard and his betrayer, Jonathan Wild, re-enact their curious careers; the Reverend Mister Hackman not only tells of the commission of murder, but the intricate course of the psychology that led him to the horrid deed; Abraham Thornton, accused of the rape and murder of pretty Mary Ashford, and John Thurtell, hanged for the murder of Mr. Weare (Thurtell had taught George Borrow to box half-a-dozen years before), march through the pages, with many more. Originally issued in six volumes in 1825, containing records of over four hundred trials, the book fully deserved republication even after more than a century. In the volumes before us, the editor has reprinted thirty-three trials, which he rightly regards as "the cream of Borrow's

material." In its present form the book will appeal not only to students of Criminology but to the lay readers as well.

Income Tax in Relation to Account. By F. R. Merchant. Third Edition. (D. B. Taraporewala & Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay). 1928.

The third—thoroughly revised, considerably enlarged and fully overhauled—edition of Mr. Merchant's book will be found very useful by business men, manufacturers, lawyers, tradesmen, professional men, landlords, employees and others, as affording in a concise and clear manner a general idea of the important points requiring their attention before paying Income-tax, Supertax, and Excess Profits Duty. A study of the book will enable them to record the particulars of such taxes more clearly in their books to fill up the legal annual returns more accurately, to see that they get full benefit of the rights and reliefs to which they are legally entitled, to make claims for the refund of tax in the right direction, and in short, to satisfy themselves that they are not over-assessed. The book may also prove of great use to accountant students, intending to practise as professional accountants and auditors. The opportunity has been taken to bring the work thoroughly up-to-date. Several illustrations to the complicated sections of the Act have also been added, and the text brought completely up-to-date and abreast of the latest changes. We commend it to all interested in the subject. It is more a new book than a new edition.

Women under English Law. By Maud I. Crofts. Second Edition. (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., Publishers, Bell yard, Temple Bar, London, E.C.1). 1928.

We noticed in terms of appreciation the first edition of Miss Crofts's *Women Under English Law*. It is a work of vital interest and information to present-day men and women. Recent important changes in the law relating to women necessitated a new edition of this work, which contains a general outline of the position of women under English Law, set out in a form that is clear, practical and specially adapted to the needs of those who have had no legal training.

The subject is dealt with in five main divisions as follows:—

- I. Women as Citizens;
- II. Women as Wives;

III. Women as Workers;

IV. Women as Workers;

V. Offences and Actions relating especially to Women.

Among the many important aspects of the subject where the author's knowledge will be of the greatest value may be mentioned:—Parliament, Local Government, Justices of the Peace, Jury Service, Marriage, Separation, Divorce, Rights, Liabilities, Bankruptcy, Income Tax, Evidence, Parents, Illegitimacy, Industrial Workers, Insurance, Compensation, Widows, Orphans, Criminal Law, and Sexual Offences. The scope of the book is thus comprehensive and being fully up-to-date, it will be found highly useful by all students of the subject and also by social reformers.

The Law of Income Tax in India. By V. S. Sundaram. Second Edition. (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta). 1928.

Lyon's Medical Jurisprudence for India. Eighth edition by Lt.-Col. E. A. Waddell (Thacker Spink & Co., Esplanade, Calcutta). 1928.

The new editions enumerated above are of works which may now justly be regarded as standard treatises on the subjects they deal with. In noticing the first edition of Mr. Sundaram's *Law of Income Tax in India*, the *Hindustan Review* declared it to be "a notable and valuable acquisition to Anglo-Indian legal literature which will occupy the position of a standard treatise." The second edition, even more so than the first, sustains the high reputation of this monumental commentary on and compendium of the law dealing with the administration of the Income-Tax in this country. . . . *Lyon's Medical Jurisprudence for India* has long been a classic on the subject it deals with. Its eighth edition by Lt.-Col. Waddell is fully overhauled besides containing special chapters by Lt.-Col. Owens, and over one hundred photographic illustrations. These materially enhance the value of this standard work.

More Famous Trials.—By the Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead P.C., D.C.L., LL.D. Illustrated. (Hutchinsons and Co., London). 1928.

Lord Birkenhead's *Famous Trials of History* issued year before last, is said to have gone through nine editions and in all likelihood, its sequel will

be as widely popular, for the present collection is quite as interesting as its predecessor. The choice of the twenty trials described in the new volume and the order of arrangement may seem to some open to objection but, as the author says in his Preface, the problems of psychology and pathology are unaffected by the passage of the centuries, and as we feel, the constantly-occurring contrasts between ancient and modern trials, bring home to us the bitter irony of circumstance. There is, no doubt, force in this argument. And so the modern instances chosen by Lord Birkenhead introduce us to Charles Pease, Bywaters and Mr. Thompson, Mrs. Maybrick, Seddon and Landra, while Francis Bacon, Charles I. the Duke of Monmouth, Marie Antoinette and William Cobbett are some of the historical figures whose causes and characters are reviewed by the author in his *More Famous Trials*.

Cases on the Law of Torts. By C. S. Kenny, LL.D. Fifth edition. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London), 1928.

Dr. Kenny's Standard work—*A Selection of Cases Illustrative of English Law of Torts*, to give it its full designation—appeared originally in 1904 and it has now gone through five editions. It has been improved by the author in each edition and the one under review has been brought abreast of the latest judicial decisions of the higher English Courts. The book contains about two hundred decisions on the Law of Torts, carefully annotated and elucidated by the editor. Though the longer cases have been abridged, yet nothing essential has been omitted and everything of interest both in the statement of facts and the exposition of law is judiciously set forth. As such the collection is of very great value to the student who is entering upon the study of the law of Torts. The arrangement is admirable and the book is fully adapted to the requirements of students of the subject.

RECENT GUIDES AND TOURIST LITERATURE

Motoring in Italy. By R. R. Gordon-Barrett. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, London, W.C.), 1928.

In his *Motoring in Italy*, Mr. R. R. Gordon-Barrett has followed up successfully his earlier volume on

Continental travel in motor called *Motoring in France*. In the later volume, under notice, he refers the reader for practical information to his previous work in France and mainly confines himself in it to record his impressions on his several journeys to and through Italy, which were written from day to day and are, therefore, both fresh and accurate. The book gives an excellent idea of what a motor-tourist may expect to find on the road in the Italy of today, and is an invaluable guide to the various details of Italian travel by car—season, districts, itineraries, and various other equally important matters. The book is divided into three parts: the first deals with the charm and the physical aspects of Italy, the motoring conditions and routes from outside; the second describes the various inland routes in detail—though it is emphasised that it is not attempted "to cover the whole of Italy," "but rather... those districts that are most likely to appeal to the average... visitor"; and the third and concluding part is a compendious account being an alphabetical list of the most interesting places in Italy with notes on their characteristic features, buildings and scenes and sights worth visiting, by referring to which one can at once obtain information on the interest of the various places in one's itinerary. A short historical glossary, numerous excellent illustrations, maps and plans enhance materially the value and the utility of the letter-press; and the book as a whole forms a comprehensive and indispensable handy companion—dealing as it does with all the necessary details of travel in Italy—which no motor-tourist in that country can afford to neglect.

Introducing Paris. By E. V. Lucas. (Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, London, W. C.), 1928.

Mr. E. V. Lucas is truly versatile in his literary activities, being known to us as an essayist, novelist, critic, traveller, poet, anthologist, compiler and editor. We are concerned here with his activities in the realm of tourist literature. Having written a series of big books on London, Paris, Venice, Florence, Rome and Holland, he has lately turned his hands to smaller works, two of which called *Introducing London* and *Introducing Paris* appeared in the last two years. These are meant for the hurried tourists who are out to do the biggest cities

like London and Paris in the course of a few days—perhaps not more than a week. For such a class of globe-trotters, there cannot be a safer and more experienced guide than Mr. Lucas, who not only knows every inch of the ground he is showing over, but is also steeped to his very eyes in the historical lore of each city to which he acts as a cicerone. Good as his *Introducing London* was, *Introducing Paris* is even better. Practical information, a short historical sketch, vivid descriptions of the noteworthy and historical buildings of Paris—not excluding the statues and the cemeteries—as also a graphic account of the surrounding country into which enjoyable excursions can be made, constitute the contents of this compact, handy and exceedingly well-illustrated guide, which within the small compass of about 150 pages offers fairly detailed information about all that is notable and worth seeing in the gayest city in the world. Touching upon as it does upon the glamour of the Paris of today, the book is naturally an essay in incitement.

The Cities of Australia. By Kathleen Usher. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2). 1928.

The well-known firm of Messrs. Dent has embarked upon yet another series called "The Outward Bound Library," edited by Mr. Ashley Gibson. It is a series of illustrated handbooks for the information and entertainment of travellers and emigrants and their friends at home, which aims at presenting a vivid, accurate and absolutely up-to-date view of the life under post-war conditions in all parts of the British Empire. Every author is a writer of established reputation (in many cases a woman writer) who has lately made his or her home in the country depicted; and the same requirement has been made of each artist. The books therefore may be taken not as transient "impressions," but as the fruit of intimate and thoroughly up-to-date knowledge on the part of each writer. Of the first six volumes issued, by far the most interesting is Miss Usher's *Cities of Australia*. It not only deals vividly with the federal capital of Canberra, but also with each of the provincial capitals—Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Hobart and Launceston. Besides there are highly informative chapters on the social life, education, music, art, the press, the stage, means of transport and industries in the

Australian Commonwealth. Neatly got-up in handy size and plentifully illustrated, the book is an ideal companion to the tourist in Australia.

At Ajanta. By K. H. Vakil, B. A., LL. B. (D. B. Taraporewala & Sons & Co., 190 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay). 1928.

Mr. Kanniyalal Vakil—the author of *At Ajanta*—has already made his mark as a writer on Indian Art who may justly claim to be heard. Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon—a well-known authority on the subject—in the course of the Foreword he contributes to the book under consideration rightly describes Mr. Vakil as "one of the foremost of that energetic group of constructive art critics who in India are studying Art to new purposes," and his book "a judicious summing up of the case for the celebrated Ajanta caves." Though *At Ajanta* is ostensibly a guide book—and an exceedingly good one at that—it is really an excellent little treatise on the art displayed in the famous Ajanta paintings. Alike for the practical information it gives and the noteworthy and well-illustrated disquisition it offers, it is a notable book on ancient Indian painting as found in the Ajanta caves, no visitor to which can do without Mr. Vakil's guidance in *At Ajanta*.

Macdonald's Tourist's Guide to Scotland. By A. W. Stewart. (William Macdonald & Co., Ltd., Directory Press, London Road, Edinburgh, Scotland). 1928.

Muirhead's Short Guide to London. Second Edition. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C. 2). 1928.

How To Be Happy In Paris. By John Chancellor. Third Edition. (J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., 11 Quay Street, Bristol, England). 1928.

The Seven Cities of Delhi. By Sir Gordon Hearn. Second Edition. (Thacker Spink & Co., Esplanade, Calcutta). 1928.

The above four books are all carefully revised editions of old and popular favourites. Messrs. Macdonald's *Tourist's Guide to Scotland*—which has just reappeared in a judiciously overhauled text with plenty of maps, plans and excellent illustrations—is one of the best guides to "Caledonia stern and wild." We have noticed its earlier editions in

terms of appreciation and strongly commend it once again for its comprehensiveness and up-to-date-ness. . . . Mr. Muirhead's "Blue Guides"—as they are called—though inaugurated after the great war, have already established themselves in popular estimation as the best British series of guides for travellers and their popularity is conclusively evidenced by their new editions being called for frequently. The *Short Guide to London*—first issued in 1924—has just passed into a second edition. There is no better short guide to the metropolis of the British Empire. In the last issue of the *Hindustan Review* was noticed appreciatively and at length Messrs. Arrowsmith's "How To Be Happy" series. One of the volumes in it—Mr. Chancellor's *How To Be Happy In Paris*—has already passed into a third edition, which it fully deserved, it being perhaps the most informative handbook to the French capital. . . . Lastly we welcome the second and carefully overhauled edition of Sir Gordon Hearn's *The Seven Cities of Delhi*, some twenty years after its first appearance, during which period there have been phenomenal changes in that city. Sir Gordon's book is thus both opportune and well up-to-date.

So You're Going to Rome. By Clara E. Laughlin (Methuen & Co., Ltd., Essex Street, London W. C. 2.), 1928.

Since the publication of Miss Laughlin's "So You're Going to Italy!" travel conditions in that country have improved tremendously, and it is attracting tourists in increasing numbers. Miss Laughlin's new book on Rome contains certain chapters originally published in her work on Italy, but they have been thoroughly revised as the result of the many phenomenal changes which she discovered during a recent visit. In addition to the entertaining chapters on Rome, the book contains much fascinating information concerning Naples and its vicinity, Sicily, and the hill towns between Rome and Florence. There is also an ample appendix giving addresses of hotels, pensions and shops, with a summary of their characteristics. This volume thus covers not only Rome, but the most interesting part of South Italy and it is a notable addition to Miss Laughlin's "So You're Going" series—which we appreciatively noticed and characterized at some length

in the last issue of the *Hindustan Review*.

RECENT BOOKS OF REFERENCE

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1927-1928. (The Canadian Review Company, Ltd., Toronto, Canada), 1928.

The *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* was founded by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins in the beginning of this century, and has been edited by him since, the volume under notice being the twenty-seventh annual publication in the series. It successfully does for Canada what the famous *Annual Register*—which was found in the eighteenth century—does for Great Britain and the other European countries by recording in detail the public events of each year. As such it is a very valuable contribution to current Canadian history. Covering as it does over 800 pages, the *Canadian Review* is a mine of useful and up-to-date information regarding the political, financial, educational and the industrial conditions of Canada. Mr. Hopkins is ably assisted in his work by an influential editorial committee, whose personnel is a guarantee for the accuracy and the impartiality of the narratives chronicled in the volume. The work is fully illustrated and equipped with all the necessary appliances for ready reference. In the present edition the Banking and Finance section has appreciably increased, due to the unusually large number of financing operations of corporations during the period under review. We wish we had a similar annual publication dealing with India, but that is a consummation not likely to be realized in the near future.

The Daily Mail Year-Book, 1929. Edited by David Williamson. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London E. C.), 1928.

Of the many political year-books that one is familiar with, that associated in name with the *Daily Mail* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet one of the most comprehensive. Unlike several other annuals of its class and kind—which are only revised and brought up-to-date—*The Daily Mail Year-Book* is completely rewritten for each succeeding edition. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of the current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. No other year-book so fully realises that people matter even more than things, and so it gives brief

but interesting biographies of over one thousand famous persons. In fact, the little red book is the essence of a library, and a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day and a most informative work of reference. The edition under notice is fully abreast of the latest events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shilling—and general utility as a meritorious work, which covers within a small compass a very large range of statistical and other useful data. The edition for the current year is the twenty-ninth and we congratulate this highly useful annual on its having passed its silver jubilee four years back.

The Madras States Directory, 1928. (The Pearl Press, Cochin). 1928.

The Madras States Directory, 1928, is a pictorial reference book of statistical, historical and commercial information regarding the five Madras States of Cochin, Travancore, Pudukottai, Sandom and Banganapalle. In these days when the future of the Indian States is engaging considerable attention, the usefulness of a publication of the kind giving fairly exhaustive information regarding the Madras States, some of which are in the forefront in point of their high level of culture and progressive administration, can hardly be exaggerated. The *Directory* reflects great credit on the publishers that they have been able to compile such a comprehensive work devoting a separate section to each State. Over a dozen views from Cochin and Travancore are embodied besides photographic reproductions of the Ruling Princes of the States. There is a "Who's Who" section for the Cochin State wherein about 200 biographical sketches of prominent men and women are given interspersed with fine half-tone reproductions, and it is proposed to have sections for each State in the next edition. There is an interesting article on the Cochin harbour which contains a succinct account of the progress of the scheme from its very inception. Much valuable information is given relating to trade and commerce. The get-up and the illustrations leave nothing to be desired and the publication deserves the patronage of the public in the States. *The Madras States Directory* is a notable Indian enterprise and deserves encouragement.

The Best Books of Our Time. By A. D. Dickinson (Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, U.S.A.). 1928.

Mr. A. D. Dickinson is librarian of the University of Pennsylvania and the author of an excellent hand-book called *One Thousand Best Books*. He is, therefore, well qualified for the task he has undertaken in his *The Best Books of Our Time*—which is an authoritative guide to the best permanent writing of the twentieth century. Here is a consensus of expert opinion on the books of the twentieth century. No book has been included unless it has found at least four sponsors among those well able to choose the best. Each of the books listed is briefly described. Here is a treasure-trove for all book-lovers, and a permanent work of reference for those whose work is with books. The titles included have been chosen by no single person, but according to a consensus of expert opinion. What books to read—what books to buy—this is the information which *The Best Books of Our Time* gives to the general reader. Of course, to booksellers and librarians everywhere, no less to the lovers of good literature, this book is indispensable.

The Norway Year-Book, 1924. Edited by S. C. Hammer, M. A. (Sverre Mortensen Bokhandel, Christiania, Norway). 1924.

The Swedish Year-Book, 1928. Second Edition. (Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri—A. B. Also Chief of the Press Bureau, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Stockholm, Sweden). 1928.

The two new year-books to the principal Scandinavian countries—Norway and Sweden—are highly creditable performances. They are both published in English and printed in Norway and Sweden respectively. That dealing with Norway is compiled by the Christiania correspondent of the *Times*, while that with Sweden is the result of collaboration on the part of public authorities of that country. They are, to our knowledge, the only works of their class in English relating to these two Scandinavian countries. A similar work was recently issued and noticed by us appreciatively about Denmark. Each of them is well-planned, well-compiled and well-edited. Mr. Hammer's book dealing with Norway is the more ambitious of the

two, as it aspires to fulfil the purposes of an annual cyclopaedia. But the Swedish book, though not so comprehensive, is quite adequate in its scope. Both deal with geography, history, administration, finance, education, literature, trade, industries, shipping and various other important subjects of interest relating to Norway and Sweden respectively. Both are thoroughly up-to-date and accurate in their statements. While intended primarily for publicists and businessmen, the works are so planned as to subserve the objects of readers interested in the history, culture, and the economic, social and political development and progress of Scandinavia. By reason of their intrinsic merits, both these highly meritorious works of reference deserve a large circulation throughout the English-knowing world. The *Swedish Year-Book* has just appeared in a thoroughly revised edition and is now fully up-to-date and quite abreast of the latest changes—events and incidents—in that country and deserves appreciation and large circulation. We shall be happy to find the *Norway Year-Book* also go through a second edition.

International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics for 1927-28. (The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome), 1928.

The *Year-Book* issued by the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, is an authoritative publication, in that it is compiled in collaboration with the agricultural and statistical departments of the various countries, in which detailed data on the subject are made available. The comprehensiveness of the volume can well be realised, when it is stated that it is arrayed with figures for various countries covering the apportionment of areas and production, trade and prices of the chief agricultural products, livestock, fertilisers and other chemical products useful in Agriculture. The current *Year-Book* is an improvement on its predecessor—enriched as it is with several new tables—and the Institute deserves praise for the publication of an annual which is not only authoritative but also of immense value to the agriculturist, the journalist and the statesman. Now that considerable attention is being paid in India to the development of the agricultural resources of the country and a Royal Commission has just submitted its Report

on the problem in all its bearings, the *International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics* ought to find a wide circulation amongst those interested in the expansion, development and improvement of Indian agriculture. Our only friendly criticism, on this highly useful and appreciably meritorious work of statistical reference, is that considering it is a bulky volume of large size, it ought to be furnished with cloth binding and not merely paper covers.

Hand-Book of Technical, Industrial, Professional and Commercial Institutions in India. (Commercial Book Company, Brandroth Road, Lahore), 1928.

This Hand-Book gives detailed information as regards period, fees, admissions, scholarships, future prospects of different courses in Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture, Industries and Commerce in different provinces all over India. It will be useful for students who have finished their school career and are on the threshold of college career. We commend the *Hand-Book* to students to go through it to make well the choice of their professions. It is desirable that the useful portion in this book should be published in College magazines, so that students can make use of it in taking their course and in choosing the proper institutions. The compiler—Dr. Mehr Chand Mehta—deserves acknowledgment for the good work he has done in putting together these useful compilations in five parts of his "Select-Your Career" series to guide aspirants to useful careers.

Encyclopædia of Psychology edited by E. S. Prather and S. H. Mc Kean (Sr) (Psychology Foundation, S. A. Brussels, Belgium), 1928.

The *Encyclopædia of Psychology* edited by E. S. Prather and S. H. Mc Kean (Sr) and dealing with what is called Applied Psychology is intended for "the plain man and his pressing needs." It is a work which represents the latest ideas, theories and views of distinguished psychologists in Europe and America, each of whom is a specialist on the subject he deals with. It is not modelled upon the average dictionary or encyclopædia in alphabetical order, but consists of a series of articles by experts who write with a fulness of knowledge and impart sound information in simple and practical manner. The selection of the various subjects is carefully planned throughout and the topics dealt with include

all the latest in the domain of Applied Psychology. The treatment is on the lines of lessons which is thus calculated to help the student to realize his own limitations and difficulties that stand in the way of his success, as also his good and strong points which properly availed of will ensure success. As an exposition of the problems of Practical Psychology, the *Encyclopaedia* is highly meritorious, both as a work for study and reference, as it furnishes an accurate and graphic delineation of human characteristics.

Statistical Abstract for British India. Sixth issue for 1926-27. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Hastings Street, Calcutta). 1928.

For years past the Government of India used to issue (revised from time to time) a series of five volumes called *Statistics of British India*. The India Office in London also used to publish every year—based on the Government of India's publication mentioned above—a work of reference in one volume called *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India*. The last number issued of the latter—which was in 1922—was the fifty-fifth. The two publications were amalgamated in 1923 and replaced by the work called the *Statistical Abstract for British India*. It appeared in 1923 in India, the London publication being permanently suspended. The new series is practically a reproduction (in one large but compact volume) of the contents of the five separate parts of the *Statistics of British India*, and is, so far, an improvement on the old series for purposes of reference and carrying about. But it comprises statistics and statistics alone—one prodigious mass of figures grouped under various headings. As you open the book columns after columns of figures stare you in the face, with no saving grace or redeeming feature about them of any analytical statements bringing out their significance, such as you find so helpful in the *South African Year-Book* or the *Canada Year-Book*. Nevertheless the *Statistical Abstract for British India* is an indispensable reference book for the worker in Indian problems, though its value would be appreciably enhanced if it were modelled upon the official year-book issued by the Government of South Africa or of Canada. The sixth issue for 1928 which has just appeared, is completely revised and

judiciously overhauled, and it should find a place on the bookshelf of every publicist and businessman.

The Personal Library. By H. Greaves. (Grafton & Co., Coptic House, London, W.C.1.). 1928.

Mr. Haslehurst Greaves' book called *The Personal Library* is intended to assist those who desire to form a small private library for their own use, and the text of this excellent little book is how to make and use it. The treatment of the subject is excellent, and the scope of the book is fairly comprehensive. Reasons for reading, the making of a library, auction sales, book collecting, library cataloguing, periodicals and magazines, using a personal library, the care of books, the choice of books and book selection, are all discussed with much critical acumen and the book is likely to be highly useful to that large class of readers who desire to possess a small library of choice literature.

RECENT WORKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Through the Apennines and the Lands of the Abruzzi.—By Estella Canziani. (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge). 1928.

Mrs. Estella Canziani's *Through the Apennines and the Lands of Abruzzi* will make a splendid gift-book as it is a gorgeous book with many illustrations in colour and also in black and white by the author. It is a series of word-pictures descriptive of peasant life and customs in an unfrequented part of Italy, out of the beaten track, where old-fashioned traditions and beliefs die hard. The book is a description, with twenty-four coloured paintings and many black and white drawings, of the country, life, customs, folk-lore, festivals and dresses of the peasants in the little-known Italian provinces of the Abruzzi, in the Central Apennines. Few travellers go to the Abruzzi, for they are wild in every sense of the word. Foreigners are almost unknown to the natives, especially in the mountains, but the author, who was anxious to learn all about the people and to point them in their picturesque setting, aroused great interest and received everywhere a hearty welcome. She has improved the occasion and the result is a notable book of travel. The illustrations are exceptionally beautiful and should appeal to

everybody, not least of all to those interested in the folk-lore of a people almost untouched by modern civilization. Miss Canziani has made a capital book. She has sketched in water-colours and in black-and-white scenes, types of people, and even ornaments and household goods. She succeeded in making friends with the people and learning their mode of life, customs, superstitions and folk-lore, and she has recorded many of their crude poems and folk-tales, and, in fact, told us all we could want to know of the people and their ways. Miss Canziani's water-colours are very charming, and her method enables her to be a faithful portrayer of detail. The twenty-four coloured plates are admirable reproductions and make a most delightful accompaniment to a unique travel book, which would make an ideal new year's present.

Turkey Today.—By Grace Ellison. (Hutchinson Co., Ltd., 34-36 Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4). 1928.

To her four previous works on Turkey—*An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, *An Englishwoman in Angora*, *Abdul Hamid's Daughter*, and *Scenes from Turkish Life*—Miss Grace Ellison has now added a fifth, equally interesting and instructive—called *Turkey Today*. Miss Ellison, who is a recognised authority on Turkey and a sincere friend of the Turks, has paid five prolonged visits to Turkish homes and has been in the closest touch with all the kaleidoscopic changes that have taken place in that country since the days of Abdul Hamid, till now. Amongst many other important and interesting details, she describes the period of transition of the Turkish women, veiled and voiceless (at any rate in public) from the now abolished harem to the status of a modern Europeanized era in her own home, and even outside her home. Miss Ellison's book is a study of one of the greatest chapters in the history of today, written in the author's own vivid style, and of interest to all who want to know the truth about the awakening of Turkey. Her book, however, is by no means confined to Turkish women. On the contrary, she deals with the Turkish renaissance as a whole. Beginning with a sketch of Mustafa Kamal Pasha, the creator of new Turkey, she portrays vividly his personality and achievements and the inspiration for his task. She next describes

Angora, the capital of new Turkey, and the society there. The next four chapters are devoted to a graphic exposition of the great renaissance, the modernization of the country including the prohibited fez and the imported hat, as also the many reforms brought about in the matter of the modernist influence in religion, national education, moral discipline, nationalization of public health, introduction of gymnastics, mobilization of women and the new emphasis in art and literature. On all these and several other subjects Miss Ellison writes instructively and her book is a highly useful addition to the literature in English dealing with post-war Turkey.

Travels in French Indo-China. By Harry Hervey. (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 15 Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2). 1928.

The Asiatic Dominions of France—called French Indo-China—have lately interested a number of explorers and, during the last few years, we have noticed appreciatively many books on the subject. Mr. Harry Hervey's *Travels in French Indo-China* is the latest addition to the literature in English on that country and it is one of the most notable. It is a vivid sketch of a subject of great importance to students of the history of civilization. In the second century A.D. there flourished in Indo-China an opulent and highly developed civilization, that of the Khmers. It vanished—suddenly, completely, mysteriously. All that remained of it were the ruins of two once magnificent cities, lost in the devouring jungle-like Omar's Nashipur in the sand, smothered and silent in a green relentless sea. Mr. Harry Hervey's book is the record of his author's quest and discovery of Wat-Phu, the second of the two ruined cities, about which till now practically nothing has been known. Angkor, the capital, flamboyant and beautiful, was discovered by a Portuguese traveller in the fifteenth century, and in its fantastic halls priests still endlessly chant. But Wat-Phu was deeper buried, and forsaken utterly; hence the especial value of the book under notice. Mr. Hervey writes with colour and power, and in his pages long quiet voices are heard once more, closed eyes open, still limbs twitch and whirl in barbaric dance, a forgotten people stirs and wakes to life again before the reader's eyes. This is due to the author's graphic

narrative which holds the reader's attention. But apart from it, the book is well illustrated and recognition is due to the excellence of the photographic reproductions which enhance the value and utility of the latter part. Altogether, Mr. Hervey's *Travels in French Indo-China* is a highly meritorious work deserving of warm acknowledgment and appreciation.

The Modern Malay. By L. Richmond Wheeler. (George Allen, and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London). 1928.

The late Dr. Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* is certainly a classic on the subject it deals with, but it is now largely obsolete, while of recent books dealing with modern conditions in the country, the only one which can be said to be a general survey of the subject is Winstedt's *Malaya*, published in 1923. Mr. Richmond Wheeler's comprehensive work on the Malay people—called *The Modern Malay*—is therefore very welcome. This book is a very complete survey of the Malay peninsula, its physical aspects, its history, laws, governments, and present-day problems; while a large part of the book is devoted to a study of the Malay itself. Mr. Wheeler, who has travelled far and wide, has spent seven years in Malay, and the thorough research which has gone to the making of the book is backed up with personal experience and careful observation, with the result that the information, so well brought together in the book, is as readable as it is sound. An excellent bibliography and a carefully-compiled chronology add materially to the usefulness of the book which is a capital general survey of Malaya—the land and its people.

Persian Days. By Copley Amory Jr. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, London, W. C.). 1928.

Mr. Copley Amory Jr. is an American, who in *Persian Days* offers an account of a four weeks' trip in central and southern Persia. In this book about Persia, the land of romance and glamour, the author vividly and delightfully indicates in an informal manner conditions of residence and travel, and conveys the picturesque and impelling fascination of a land well off the track of popular travel. The author was the American Charge d'Affaires at Teheran, and several years' residence in the country

has contributed to the value of his observations. The illustrations, which are of remarkable quality, have all been carefully chosen and represent a wide range of subjects. Though the work of a hurried tourist, *Persian Days* is a work which is both informative and interesting and should appeal to students of modern Persia.

Windows of Asia.—By A. D. Richardson. (The Rumford Press, Concord, New Hampshire, U. S. A.). 1928.

Mr. Richardson's *Windows of Asia* is a description of a tour by an American, embellished by many capital illustrations from photographs taken by the author himself, and is well worth reading for its freshness, raciness and homeliness. Ceylon and India come within his survey and his point of view is decidedly interesting. So is the author's rather colloquial style, of which the description of a "Eurasian chauffeur" as "a good chap" may be given as a sample. The sketches were intended for the family circle and not for the public, but the latter have stood to gain by the publication of the book.

RECENT BOOKS ON JOURNALISM

A Primer on Journalism. By V. Balasubramanyam. (The Indian Literary Syndicate, Srirangam). 1928.

Journalism in India. By (the late) Pat Lovett. (The Banna Publishing Company, Calcutta). 1928.

Journalism. By Wickham Steed. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London). 1928.

The Press. By Sir Alfred Robbins. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London). 1928.

The first two books enumerated above deal with the conditions of journalism in India and the last two with those in Britain. Mr. V. Balasubramanyam's primer on Indian Journalism is a slight sketch of a great subject and the chief thing about it is that it is the first work on the subject and thus suffers from the inevitable disadvantages of a pioneer. Nevertheless it has many merits. The author has long been connected with the Indo-English press in Southern India—the home, so to say, of Indo-English journalism in this country—and has thus acquired a large experience of the conditions of the

press and of press-work in the southern provinces. This has enabled him to put together a useful introductory text-book for the behoof of the aspirant to the editorial chair. His original matter will be serviceable to young Indian journalists, while the collection of instructive selections he has brought together from authoritative sources will appeal even to experienced Indian pressmen. If a second edition of the book be called for, the author would do well to revise carefully and overhaul judiciously his text and, with the co-operation of experienced Indian journalists, make his book more comprehensive and systematic.

The late Mr. Pat Lovett's *Journalism in India* is not a systematic treatise on the subject the title would indicate. The book contains the author's lectures on "Journalism in India" which he delivered at the Calcutta University and "An Outsider's Odyssey" which was printed for private circulation only. Though the former is intended to be a historical survey of the development of journalism in India (which, according to the author dates from the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885) it is full of autobiographical interest. It also throws light upon the state of journalism in the eighties and the nineties of the last century, when the Anglo-Indian papers practically enjoyed a monopoly. "An Outsider's Odyssey" is full of personal reminiscences of his life in Bombay and incidentally is of historical interest also. The two parts now brought together are thus complementary as while the sketch of Indian journalism in the two lectures is more or less autobiographical, the avowedly autobiographical portion (now made public) throws sidelights on the history of modern journalism in this country; and the two portions thus usefully supplement each other. Though the sketches are rather slight, they offer us many interesting anecdotes and racy tit-bits about Bombay and Calcutta journalism and present a picture of the humble beginnings and rapid progress of Indian and Anglo-Indian journalism which for suggestiveness can hardly be excelled by formal histories. There is thus in the book a deal that a beginner may learn from the glimpses he is offered by the author into the training of a journalist. Mr. Pat Lovett was a brilliant writer of English, though he was an Irishman. For forty-five long years he maintained a high position

amongst the European journalists in this country and he was intimately in touch with Indian public affairs. His rise from the ranks in the great profession to which he had betaken himself and his career and views, as set forth in this book, should serve as an object-lesson to aspiring Indian journalists and should also interest all persons connected with the press in India—both Anglo-Indian and Indo-Anglian.

Like the two Indian books noticed above, the two English books also deal, one with the history of the British press and the other with the present conditions and problems. Mr. Wickham Steed is an ex-editor of the *Times* and the present editor of the *Review of Reviews*, while Sir Alfred Robbins is a well-known figure in the newspaper world of Britain. Mr. Steed is primarily concerned with the ethical and intellectual aspects of the British press rather than purely commercial; while Sir Alfred has devoted himself to the task of presenting a vivid historical sketch of the rise and progress of the press in Britain. The latter winds up his highly interesting sketch as follows:—"The time cannot, indeed, be foreseen when there will be a Britain without newspapers. It is not so assured that there will not be a Britain without a free press. . . . The power of the press, in its true sense, rests on character and not on circulation, and the influence is often lessened by the greater area over which it is spread. Yet in admirable enterprise and technical excellences the British newspaper never stood higher than today." Though the position in India is in many ways different from that in Britain, nevertheless there is for obvious reasons much in common between the conditions relating to press in both the countries, and the Indian reader of Sir Alfred Robbin's booklet—for Messrs. Benn's Sixpenny Library, which we have already very appreciatively reviewed, consists of booklets—will carry away a great stock of highly useful information on many aspects of newspaper work, which he or she would find invaluable.

Mr. Steed's pamphlet called *Journalism*—it is one of Messrs. Benn's new series entitled "Affirmations"—is devoted, as stated above, mainly to the ethical considerations and intellectual activities pertaining to the profession of journalism, though the author frankly concedes that the commercial aspect cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, Mr. Steed sticks

throughout to his main point that "the Journalist's craft... is essentially a public trust," and he expounds it as follows:—"It is based on an implied contract with the public that news shall be true to the best of the knowledge and belief of those who offer it for sale and that their comment upon it shall be sincere according to their lights. The same kind of trust is implied in the relationship between doctors and their patient." This is obviously setting up a very high standard but there can be no doubt that it is correct and is the only criterion which should be fixed in so honourable a profession as Journalism. It is to this high idea towards which the Indian press has been tending for now many years. As one of the foremost Indian journals—*The Hindu* of Madras—has lately put it, though in enterprise and technical perfection, the Indian press is still somewhat behind, it is making rapid strides forward. Its circulation, too, is relatively small, but that is an advantage rather than otherwise, as Sir Alfred shows; and this advantage is reinforced by the fact that Indian journalists, as a body, regard their calling in the light of a mission. Intelligent co-operation between them and the owners is found possible on a much larger scale than in England, because "trustification" has made no great advance here and the wholesome tradition of individual ownership still largely endures. "The power of the press" is, thus, a more real thing in India than in England today. Hence, it is all the more necessary for Indian journalists to realise the pitfalls and the difficulties in the way as well as the joys and the rewards that await them. Agreeing with the writer in our esteemed Madras contemporary, we have much pleasure in commending to pressmen in this country both these expositions of the two aspects of the British press, written by those who by their knowledge, experience and positions in the British newspaper world are pre-eminently qualified for the tasks entrusted to them. The two volumes deal with journalism in its various aspects interestingly and instructively and they should appeal to all members of the fourth estate in India.

RECENT BOOKS ON THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

How Britain is Governed. By Kate Rosenberg, B. A. (The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1.) 1927.

How We Are Governed. By Sir John Marriott (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1928.

The English Constitution. By Walter Bagehot. With an Introduction by the Earl of Balfour. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1928.

Empire Government. By Manfred Nathan (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London), 1928.

The Irish Free State. By Dennis Gwynn (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London), 1928.

The first two books on our list are excellent manuals for students—accurate, sound, lucid, though concise. Miss Rosenberg is, we believe, *Private Secretary* to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Her little book—*How Britain is Governed*—is a useful and instructive short sketch of a great subject. In the course of a preface contributed by him, the late Lord Haldane commended the book as follows:—"Miss Rosenberg writes with much knowledge of the past as well as of the present and, obviously, as the result of much study." The result is a work which will prove highly beneficial to the student. More comprehensive in its scope is Sir John Marriott's *How we are Governed*—as it briefly deals with the crown colonies and India also. In this book the author of *English Political Institutions* and *The Mechanism of the Modern State* offers the student of the subject a short but luminous introduction to the mysteries of the British Constitution. The exposition is masterly and the treatment betrays the hand of a distinguished teacher, a ripe scholar and an experienced man of affairs. Each volume has appended to the text a useful, select bibliography. The two books usefully supplement each other and should be carefully studied by our students.

Walter Bagehot's *English Constitution* is a well-known classic on the subject it deals with. Published first in 1867, a second edition of it appeared, with an Introduction, in 1872—which being in the nature rather of an epilogue than a prologue is rightly placed in the edition under review at the end of the book. Since 1872 the book has been reprinted several times and now appears embellished with a highly edifying Introduction from the pen of that veteran statesman,

the Earl of Balfour, in "The World's Classics" series. It deserves a wide circulation in its present form, in spite of the fact that since its first appearance sixty-one years back, the British Constitution has undergone profound changes in almost all its component units—the Crown, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Executive, the Judiciary, and last but not least, the electorate. But the chief merit of the present reprint is the valuable Introduction contributed by Lord Balfour, and for the behoof of our educated fellow-countrymen now busy in constitution-making, we may transcribe from it the following notable passage:—"Constitutions are easily copied; temperaments are not and if... the borrowed constitution and the native temperament fail to correspond, the misfit may have serious results... Our whole political machinery pre-supposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can safely afford to bicker; and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict." There is more in the extract than meets the eye and the whole Introduction, written by Lord Balfour merits careful attention, for it is full of wisdom and betrays profound political prescience. The book thus contains infinite riches in a small compass.

Mr. Manfred Nathan's *Empire Government* is an outline of the system of administration in the British Commonwealth of Nations, in a purely static aspect. It is thus much more comprehensive in its scope than any of the three books noticed above. The author (who is an Advocate of the Supreme Court of South Africa) has thus undertaken a rather ambitious work in proposing to review the governments of the British Commonwealth and India in a single handy volume of about 250 pages. On the whole, he has acquitted himself well in the task he has undertaken. Mr. Nathan's analysis of the results of the Imperial Conferences in judging of the relations between Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions is sound, particularly in the section concerned with the Report on Inter-Imperial Relation issued by the special committee of the Imperial Conference of 1920. Mr. Nathan seems to trip up in holding to the view that India has reached the stage of Dominion Status internationally, though he agrees

that it is not yet self-governing. That were a consummation devoutly to be wished for, but we fear it cannot be held to be constitutionally sound that India possesses Dominion Status internationally. It is clear, however, from a perusal of the author's exposition of the Indian constitution, that his knowledge is limited to the reading of a few books and Acts. He holds, for example, the opinion, unsupported by evidence, that the Ministers are "in effect responsible to the Legislative Council in regard to transferred subjects of legislation, for if the executive has not the approval of that body in regard to them the Government cannot be carried on." This clearly overlooks the reserve powers of the Governor for carrying on the administration. Many other instances have satisfied us that Mr. Nathan has little knowledge of the practical working of the Diarchical constitution. But that is by no means surprising in a writer in South Africa dealing with the conditions of modern India. Apart from the Indian sections, the information brought together about the Dominion Commonwealths is accurate and satisfactory and the book, as a whole, merits careful consideration by students of the subject it deals with.

Mr. Dennis Gwynn's *The Irish Free State* is not only an able exposition of the constitution of what is wrongly called Southern Ireland, but is also an excellent record of the achievements in various spheres of public activities of the new commonwealth. It is divided into three parts headed Dominion Status, Founding a New State and The Work of Reconstruction. The first part is devoted to an exposition of the subjects coming under the category of Dominion Status—the constitution, the oath of allegiance, the powers and duties of the Governor-General, Irish appeals to the King's Privy Council, external relations, the Imperial Conference and the Amendment of the Constitution. The second part deals with the restoration of order, the establishment of the new judiciary and the police, the organization of an Irish army, the work of the new Irish Parliament, the treatment of minorities, tariff and customs and the balancing of the budget. The third part is concerned with the problems relating to unemployment, agriculture, fisheries, industry, public credit, currency, trade, education, local government, poor law, and means of transport and communication. It would thus be

seen that the scope of Mr. Gwynn's book is comprehensive and it deals, fairly exhaustively, with almost every important aspect of Irish economics and politics. A perusal of this carefully prepared book, bristling with facts and figures, has satisfied us that the new Irish Commonwealth has made a most remarkable progress in almost all spheres of all public activities, due mainly as the result of her having got Dominion Status with a right to shape her own destiny. And India is likely to make similar progress once she gains Dominion Status. Indian publicists and political leaders would, therefore, do well to familiarize themselves with the record, of the Irish renaissance and its achievements as expounded in Mr. Gwynn's valuable work.

RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN POLITICS

India in Bondage. By J. T. Sunderland (R. Charterjee, 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta). 1928.

Dr. Jabez Sunderland is a veteran American publicist, who has twice visited India as special Commissioner and lecturer and is the author of two instructive books, called *India, America and World Brotherhood* and *Causes of Famine in India*. In his latest work designated *India in Bondage*, he has undertaken a more ambitious task, that of establishing before the world India's right to freedom. It is a powerful plea supported by unimpeachable data, infallible cogency and unchallengeable facts and figures. Though technically a compilation—being mainly a systematized collection of materials culled from absolutely reliable sources—there is enough in the author's treatment to stamp his work as an original contribution of permanent value to the cause of Indian progress. The result is that this fairly bulky book contains materials, arguments and conclusions that will come as a revelation to all concerned in India's fight for freedom. It may safely be said that no such outspoken and enthusiastic work has been so far written by so impartial a foreign enquirer, who though now about ninety years old, has expressed himself in this book in language of youthful vigour, on the facts relating to the political and economic enslavement of India—facts which he has unearthed by hard work lasting over years and years. The book, therefore, deserves wide appreciation and extensive circulation in this

country, in particular, and also in others where interest is taken in India's march to her political goal. It is a work which should be carefully studied and highly cherished.

India: The New Phase. By Sir Stanley Reel and P. R. Cadell. (Philip Allan and Co., Ltd., Quality Court, Great Russell Street, London W. C. 1). 1928.

In preparing their new series called "The Westminster Library," the publishers are keeping before themselves as their principal aim the provision of a series of practical handbooks, which will be of interest to the public in general, and of especial value to students of politics and economics, and to all who are engaged in work of an educative nature. *India: the New Phase* is the latest addition to the series. Every volume in it is undertaken by one who has made a special study of the subject with which it deals, and who is pre-eminently qualified by position, experience, and research to write about it. The books are concise in their form and fairly comprehensive in their scope; lucid, readable, and untechnical in their language; and they have attained a high standard of literary merit. Sir Stanley Reel is the well-known ex-editor of the *Times of India*, and from his position is in close contact with the official and non-official classes, as well as with Indian public opinion. With the assistance of Mr. Cadell, late of the Indian Civil Service, he gives a concise and vivid account of the India of today. His book is a useful introduction to the study of the social, political and economic problems of the Indian Empire. The sections of the book which deal with the working of the Reforms are of especial interest. We do not agree with all that the authors say and differ from them on some important problems. But it must be admitted that their work is, on the whole, uncontroversial, and as such it may be read with pleasure and profit even by the Indian politicians and publicists, who will find it informing.

A Few Suggestions on the Problem of the Indian Constitution. By Dr. Beni Prasad. (The Indian Press, Allahabad). 1928.

Dr. Beni Prasad is a well-known writer on Indian history and is a Reader in Civics and Politics in the Allahabad University. He has not the publicist's or the politician's experience of the

working of our constitution, but he possesses the theoretical knowledge of the Science of Politics which fully qualifies him to offer his *Few Suggestions on the Problem of the Indian Constitution*. The book merits careful consideration by reason of the specialized knowledge which the author has brought to bear on the problem he has undertaken to tackle. The writer discusses, among others, the following topics in their relation to the future constitution of India and their various ramifications:—

Its purpose and scope; the method of framing it so as to allay the apprehensions of minorities and secure the harmonious play of social forces; the fundamental rights of individuals and groups; the duties to be laid by the Constitution on the executive and the legislature; the necessity of a federation for India; the division of powers into exclusively federal, exclusively provincial and concurrent; the necessity of admitting Indian States into the Federation; specific arrangements for the purpose; the plan of a federal second chamber; its relations with the Lower House; proportional representation, separate electorates; the number, functions, powers and privileges of the House; functional representation, economic councils, economic general staff, relations of the Governor-General with Ministers; election of the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers by the Legislature; standing committees; advisory councils for departments and bureaux; the Provincial Constitution, Legislature and Executive; District advisory councils; the powers and functions of local boards and village panchayats; their relations with the Provincial Government; the function of the Judiciary in interpreting and adjusting constitutions and statutes; judicial organisation; trial by jury; martial law; the recruitment for various Federal, Provincial, Municipal and Rural Boards Services; the method of amending the Constitution; special method of amending the guarantee clauses of the constitution; function of parties in government. The scope of the book is thus quite comprehensive. The whole discussion is conducted in the light of the principles of political science and the political experience of various countries in Europe and America as well as Japan. The writer enunciates a number of conclusions which have not yet been placed before the country. The book will prove extremely useful not only to all interested in the

future Government of India but also to all students of constitutional history and political science. It deserves careful study and appreciation.

India in the Crucible. By C. S. Ranga Iyer, M. L. A. (Selwyn and Blount, Ltd., Paternoster House, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

Mr. Ranga Iyer having—so to say—tasted blood in his earlier work, published in 1927, called *Father India*, has put together another work dealing with current Indian affairs, named *India in the Crucible*. It is even more of a compilation than his previous work. It is claimed (in the publishers' statement) that the book is "a striking survey of the India of yesterday, today, tomorrow and also the day after tomorrow." This is rather high-pitched and reads like a veritable puff, which the book does not stand in need of, it being, on the whole, informative. The author writes with moderation. His book is interesting and comprehensive. But he is insistent that there is only one solution for the Indian problem. It is, he says, "a bold application of the colonial experience to that vast and mysterious country in the faith which moves mountains, that human nature is everywhere the same, and not in that lack of faith which makes mountains out of molehills." We agree with this view of the matter. After a useful analysis of the policy and results of the Minto-Morley and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the author tries to anticipate the possibilities arising from the findings of the Simon Commission. But it is difficult to follow him in his anticipation. To read this book will enable one to become acquainted with the greatest problem confronting British statesmanship and we commend it to our readers as a useful repertory of current Indian politics.

The Indian Moslems. By "An Indian Mahomedan." (Arlenne Publishers, 1 & 2 Windsor House, Victoria Street, London, S. W.) 1928.

The publishers' note says, "that the writer of this work is an Indian Nawab holding a responsible official position," "whose former work on British India met with a very favourable reception in the press." We know our friend the Nawab who is also the panegyrist of Lord Reading, and who holding "a responsible official position"—in the Hyderabad State as every one knows—claims to write wholly irresponsibly when dealing with his

Hindu fellow-countrymen, which is the real reason for issuing the book anonymously. To pick out examples at random: "Mr. Gnanthi's sincerity was soon shown to be hollow" (p. 45), "It will not be difficult for Indian Moslems to set a shining example to those Hindus who have clung tenaciously to the heathenish practices of their remote ancestors" (p. 46), "one of the most notorious ringleaders, Lajpat Rai, brought himself within the reach of the law and was deported" (p. 73). The book abounds in such precious gems, and there is little in the book that is edifying but much that is unjustly condemnatory and abusive of the Hindus. It represents a type of books which had better remain unwritten.

LATEST ANTHOLOGIES AND SELECTIONS

Great English Plays. Edited by H. F. Rubinstein. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London), 1928.

Eighteenth Century Plays. Selected by John Hampden. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Mr. H. F. Rubinstein's collection called *Great English Plays* is an exceedingly well-chosen anthology presenting a panorama of English drama—excluding Shakespeare—from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, in a sequence of 26 complete plays, brought together in a handy and compact volume of 1,152 pages of small but very clear print. The omission of Shakespeare is advisedly made for reasons that are obvious. For the rest, the selection is a thoroughly representative one ranging as it does from the Mysteries to Sheridan and including also three nineteenth century dramas. For the general reader this anthology of English dramatic literature would be found invaluable and no lover of literary drama can afford to neglect it. . . . Mr. John Hampden's *Eighteenth Century Plays* carries on the dramatic record in Messrs. Dent's world-famous Everyman's Library, following up *The Restoration Plays* edited by the late Sir Edmund Gosse. The plays it contains are Gay's *Beggars' Opera*, Lillo's *George Barnwell*, Rowe's *Jane Shore*, Colman and Garrick's *Clandestine Marriage*, Addison's *Cato*, Fielding's *Tragedy of Tragedies* and Cumberland's *The West Indian*. It is frankly conceded by the editor that there are

but two prominent dramatists of this period—Goldsmith and Sheridan. But this comprehensive collection will be highly useful to students of 18th century dramatic literature.

Selections from Ruskin. Edited by A. C. Benson. (The Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London), 1928.

Ruskin As a Literary Critic: Selections. Edited by A. H. R. Ball. (The Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London), 1928.

Ruskin was a most voluminous writer, though one of the most literary. It is only the specialist in Ruskin who can be expected to go through the whole of his writings ranging on a vast number of subjects, some of which are wholly remote from each other. For the general reader Ruskin can, therefore, be read best and most conveniently in well-chosen selections and fortunately there is no lack of them. But the two best are those issued by the Cambridge University Press, which are enumerated above. Mr. Benson's object is to illustrate Ruskin's personality and literary style rather than his critical methods or economic principles or social theories. In other words, Mr. Benson's effort is to display Ruskin as a literary artist at his best. On the contrary, Mr. Ball's aim is to bring together in continuous and readable form the thoughts of Ruskin on literature and aesthetics, in which the editor rightly thinks there is much of permanent value. The selection thus includes representative and valuable essays. The two anthologies, therefore, usefully supplement each other and both should be carefully studied by the student of Ruskin—one for his thoughts and the other for literary beauty. The life of Ruskin is fully treated in Mr. Benson's book.

"**The English Literature Library.**" Vol. 3, *Rogues and Vagabonds*, Vol. 4, *The Comedy of Life*, Edited by R. Brimley Johnson. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., London), 1928.

We have already noticed in terms of appreciation the first two volumes of Mr. Brimley Johnson's "English Literature Library," which is to be completed in six volumes. For the many people who are interested in English literature, either for its own sake or for educational purposes, it is practically impossible to undertake the mass of reading involved,

If the original works have to be studied in full. On the other hand, a first-hand knowledge is essential to a proper appreciation of the best work. "The English Literature Library" has been devised with the idea of giving in a small compass representative selections from English literature which will be interesting and entertaining to the general reader while giving the student a bird's-eye view of particular phases of English letters. The third volume, which deals chronologically with the English novel, contains extracts from John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Moll Flanders and *Colonel Jack*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and *Tale of a Tub*, and some examples of the work of Aphra Behn, Dr. Francis Godwin and Henry Nevill. The fourth volume, which deals chronologically with the English novel, contains extracts from Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, etc., Smollett's *Roderick Random*, *Humphrey Clinker*, etc., and some examples of the work of Laurence Sterne and Oliver Goldsmith. These selections from original sources will be of great utility to students of English literature.

Great Poems of the English Language. Compiled by W. A. Briggs. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. A. 2). 1928.

Mr. W. A. Briggs's *Great Poems of the English Language* is an excellent anthology of verse from Chaucer to the modern poets. This comprehensive collection of British, Irish and American poetry has been designed to fill an existing gap between the huge expensive compilations of verse and the cheaper anthologies which are incomplete. The selection has been very carefully made, and contains a large number of modern copyright poems. An interesting feature is the inclusion of numerous passages from longer poems, each excerpt being in itself an entity. The index is exceptionally full. There is in existence no fuller collection of verse at such a moderate price, and it should attract many admirers.

The Ecstasies of Thomas De Quincey. Chosen by Thomas Burke (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2). 1928.

Under the title of *The Ecstasies of Thomas De Quincey* Mr. Thomas Burke has gathered those writings of "The English opium-eater" for which he employed his "mode of impassioned prose." The selection presents him in what the editor calls his "imperial-purple" mood, and it is intended as an introduction to De Quincey, in the hope that under the spell of this mood the reader may be drawn to the richer, if more sober, treasures to be found in the fourteen volumes of collected writings, edited by the late Dr. David Masson. In the Preface the editor sketches the life and the London wanderings of De Quincey, and attempts to trace the influence of London and of laudanum upon the man and the work, and in the appendix he throws new light upon that master-piece of narrative, the *Postscript* to the essay *On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts*. Altogether the selection is made with great skill and judgment and the *Ecstasies* will fully serve the editor's object of furnishing an introduction to De Quincey's writings.

The Political Wisdom of Edmund Burke. Edited and arranged by Kanita Prasad Kulsreshth, (Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta). 1928.

Mr. Kanita Prasad Kulsreshth (yakil, Aligarh) has rendered a useful service to students of Burke by issuing his *Political Wisdom*, in which he has collected and classified under headings in thirteen chapters some of the most important writings in which Burke's political knowledge and experience are embodied. The subjects treated are social structure, reformation, revolution, British character, international politics, church and state, rights of men, constitution, party politics, liberty, the economics of a state, election, law and lawyers, the people, and general principles. Dr. Rushbrook Williams has contributed an Introductory essay, which follows a prefatory essay by the compiler. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Mr. Edwin Montagu, 'as a slight token of my countrymen's admiration and appreciation of his service to India.' There is a helpful index at the end, while short biographical notes are given in one appendix and English translation of passages in foreign languages in a second. The volume which is neatly got-up (having been printed by the famous Indian Press of Allahabad) should make a wide appeal in India alike to the students of politics

and of literature, as it is a digest of Burke's political wisdom enshrined in his own magnificent language.

RECENT BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

The Making of A State: Memories and Observations. By Dr. Thomas Masaryk—(George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London). 1928.

The recent celebrations of the first ten years' existence of the Czechoslovakian republic lends a befitting opportuneness to the work of its President, which is an authoritative record of the efforts by which Czechoslovakia won her freedom and a discerning historical interpretation of the processes through which that country redeemed itself from Hapsburg servitude. As Mr. Wickham Steed late Editor of the *Times*—writes in the instructive Introduction which he has contributed commending the President's book: "The book, is, in reality, a detailed account of the movement for Czechoslovak independence, and of Masaryk's work as leader of the movement. It is full of interesting historical facts and philosophical reflections; and if not dramatic in the ordinary sense of the word, is a monumental contribution to public knowledge of the world war, its cause, and its consequences, and of the essentials of democratic freedom. Years hence, when people are able to see the war in perspective, I am inclined to believe that Masaryk will stand out as one of the greatest, if not the greatest figure in it. His book—written under great disadvantages while he was engaged in actually building up his new State—is a book to be read and pondered, not to be glanced through in a search for sensations. I think it will hold one of the highest places in the literature upon the war." This is a very just estimate of Dr. Masaryk's work as a liberator of his country and also of his book, which describes the process through which the Czechoslovakians came to nationhood and at the same time gives historical interpretation of the war itself. Masaryk analyzes communism and Bolshevism as he sees them today from his central European vantage point. *The Making of A State* is very much alive, from cover to cover. Not content with a survey of what has gone before, the author deals with problems that are taxing the

constructive statesmanship of today. Of course his writings are most important from the standpoint of historical scholarship, as a contribution to our knowledge of the downfall of the House of Hapsburg as one phase of the transformation of Europe. Mr. Steed, who has arranged the work and written the Introduction, is himself a recognized authority on history, and his commendation will go a long way in interesting a large circle of readers in the work under notice. Dr. Masaryk's *The Making of A State* is a work that neither the student of modern history nor the man of affairs can afford to ignore, as its appeal is both historical and personal.

After Thirty Years. By Viscount Gladstone. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London). 1928.

Viscount Gladstone has written in his *After Thirty Years* not a regular biography of his father, but a refutation of the many criticisms—political and personal—which have been offered during recent years both on Gladstone's policy and his private life. We entertain serious doubts whether Viscount Gladstone was well advised in undertaking this task—the role of an apologist in the nature of things. So far as his father's policy as a statesman is concerned, no one is likely to put up a better defence of it than did John Morley in his memorable and monumental *Life of Gladstone*. As regards the private life of Gladstone, not all the foul slanders published in recent years have made the least impression on his innumerable admirers all over the world. In view of these facts we are of opinion that the kind of book which Viscount Gladstone has written was scarcely called for. To say this, however, is not to detract from its many merits. The impressions of great statesmen like Gladstone, recorded by his very worthy son, are bound to be interesting reading. But it is to be doubted if the author's effort will succeed in persuading all his readers to take an equally favourable view of his father's public and political activities, about which there are bound to be differences for yet a long time to come. Not so fortunately about his private and domestic life. As the foreman of the jury in the defamation case tried in 1927 said in delivering to the Judge the Jury's verdict that it

was their "unanimous opinion" that "the evidence placed before them had completely vindicated the high moral character of the late Mr. Gladstone."

Prime Ministers of the Nineteenth Century. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London), 1928.

In the *Prime Ministers of the Nineteenth Century* Dr. Hearnshaw has edited a series of eight lectures delivered in King's College, London, during the spring term of 1926. The lectures were delivered by as many lecturers and were presided over by eight distinguished men. The lectures as now printed contain the portraits of the eight Prime Ministers. While each lecturer has his own way of treating his subject, there runs a uniformity of method in all which is calculated to assist the reader in following the careers of the statesmen the record of whose lives and political activities is brought under review. To us in India the two sketches that will appeal most are those of Disraeli and Gladstone. Dr. Hearnshaw evidently a crusted Tory—exalts Disraeli over Gladstone. Mr. Ramsay Muir—a typical Liberal—is fair to both. But all the lectures are highly interesting and the book as a whole possesses great usefulness both as a contribution to biographical and political literature.

Edmund Burke.—By Bertram Newman. (George Bell & Sons, Ltd., Portugal Street, London, W.C. 2), 1928.

Mr. Bertram Newman, author of *Life of Cardinal Newman* has attempted in his *Edmund Burke* a new short biography of the great orator. "Burke," says Mr. Newman, "stands out from an age singularly fruitful in great personalities. He did not impress himself on his generation in the masterful manner of Johnson. Nor do we feel, when in his presence, that we are dominated as we are by Chatham, or charmed as we are by Fox. . . . None the less we feel that in Burke we have to do with a man who was great every way—great in his loves and his hates, in his ideals, his purposes, and his energy." This is a just estimate of the man. In this study the author has tried to present, not a coldly critical estimate, but a faithful picture of

Burke the man, as he lived, spoke, and wrote in his own day. Reviewing Mr. Newman's previous book on Cardinal Newman, a London journal hailed him as "a new critic of the first rank, whose readers will look confidently for more from him of the same high level of workmanship and insight." This prediction is amply fulfilled in his *Edmund Burke*, which is both interesting and instructive. It will abundantly repay perusal, and it not only gives concisely the salient facts of Burke's life, but also the substance of his most important utterances in his own words.

Hyndman: Prophet of Socialism. By J. F. Gould. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.), 1928.

Mr. F. J. Gould's *Hyndman: Prophet of Socialism* is a vivid story, including dramatic personal episodes, of the opening of the modern British Socialist Movement by Hyndman in 1881; of its extraordinary development, mainly under the influence of his forty years' campaigning and writing; and of his relations with Marx and other leading internationalists. But apart from these, the book should make a special appeal to Indians since Hyndman was deeply interested in the welfare of this country and wrote more than one valuable work on Indian politics and economics. The index under the heading "India," shows numerous references to this country and the book should, therefore, appeal to all educated Indians.

Stanley Baldwin. By A. G. Whyte. (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London), 1928.

Mr. A. G. Whyte's is not a critical biography of the British Prime Minister's but more or less a panegyric. But his book has one great merit. It does not misrepresent Mr. Baldwin as a man of genius or even of exceptional talents. India which owes to him the Simon Commission need have no hesitation in accepting this view of Baldwinian capacity. Speaking seriously, it is a mistake to write biographies of men in active political life.

THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

The Poems of Nizami.—Described by Mr. Laurence Binyon (The Studies, Ltd., 44 Leicester

Square, London, W. C. 2) is a superb work of Art. The rare and illuminated manuscript which is the subject of this volume is one of the supreme treasures of the British Museum. It contains a set of full-page paintings dazzling in their splendour of colour and beauty of design. It is a manuscript of the *Five Poems of Nizami*, one of the most celebrated of Persian poets, who flourished in the twelfth century A.D., written at Idhriz by an eminent scribe, Shah Mahmud Nishapuri, for Shah Tahmasp, who employed the finest painters at his court to illustrate it. It was begun in 1539 and finished in 1543, at the time when Persian painting had reached its full maturity. The margins of every page are filled with decorations (animals and hunters among trees) painted in two kinds of gold. The text pages are lavishly adorned with beautiful ornaments and in this gorgeous setting are the master-pieces of painting of whose complex harmonies of form and colour words can give only the merest suggestion, and the book must be seen to be appreciated. With confidence that it will be eagerly welcomed by collectors, by designers and, indeed, by a very wide art-loving public, the publishers have undertaken the important and responsible task of preparing the present volume. It contains sixteen reproductions in facsimile colours of the paintings and the most beautiful of the decorations which make the manuscript famous. These reproductions are the exact size of the originals and bring out the full value of each exquisite detail. The cost of reproduction and printing is enormous in view of the large scale and of the gold printing necessary to secure the effect of the original; but it is felt that the work is a public service, for the manuscript itself will never be handled again so well as has been done by Mr. Laurence Binyon who gives an account of the poems and of the paintings which illustrate them, as also the general characteristics of Persian painting and the artists employed on the manuscript. Though priced at thirty shillings it is one of the cheapest books of Art, for it is a thing of beauty and joy for ever.

Messrs. Chapman and Hall, Ltd. (London) have embarked upon a new publishing enterprise of great interest to students of Oriental Literature.

The series—which is under the editorship of Sir Denison Ross—is designated “The Treasure House of Eastern Story.” It is to include translations in whole or part of such oriental classics as the *Hitopadesa*, the *Jataka*, Rumi’s *Masnawi*, Saadi’s *Gulistan* and *Bustan* and several others. Of these the first two issued—which will be popular in India—are the *Hitopadesa* and selections from Saadi’s two above-mentioned books. The *Hitopadesa* is the famous Sanskrit collection of Indian fables and stories, compiled by Narayana for the purpose of teaching the principles of government and the rules of practical wisdom by means of apologues. Johnson’s translation, revised, and to a large extent rewritten, with an introduction, by Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of Oriental Books and MSS. in the British Museum has been reprinted. Stories from the *Bustan* and the *Gulistan* of the famous Persian poet Saadi, with an introduction by Mr. Levy, Reader in Persian in the University of Cambridge, has also been issued in the series. These two books, the former in mixed prose and verse, the latter entirely in verse, are the most popular works in the Persian language; they contain delightful stories full of oriental wit and wisdom. The new series has thus begun well and when completed it will form a valuable collection of English translations of oriental classics. It deserves appreciation and circulation in circles interested in oriental studies.

Yet another edition—and an excellent one—of the complete text of Saadi’s *Gulistan* is rendered available through the enterprise of the publishing firm of Philip Allan & Co., Ltd. (69 Great Russell Street, London). Saadi has been called justly “The Nightingale of the Groves of Shiraz,” and for many years his witty and telling similitudes, his language and his style have been the admiration of scholars both in the East and the West. Yet the *Gulistan* has been up to now the most difficult of all the works of his translator, Sir Richard Burton, for the ordinary reader to obtain. Unlike ordinary books, the *Gulistan* is a collection of tales, poems, and wise sayings. “The oftener it is read,” writes the translator, “the more will the reader be impressed with Saadi’s truth, wisdom, and knowledge of the humanities.”

We agree with this view. The present edition is printed in handsome form, from the small privately printed edition put forth by Burton in 1888. The present reprint is thus a notable acquisition to the standard translations in English of oriental texts.

The books of the great French writer known to the world under his well-known pseudonym of 'Pierre Loti,' have long since been acknowledged as masterpieces in the literature of France and it were time that a rendering into English of his complete works were made available. The enterprise of the firm of T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. (24-26, Water Lane, London, E. C. 4) is at last going to remove this long-felt want. His uniform library edition will include the following fourteen volumes. EGYPT (*La Mort de Philae*), THE ICELAND FISHERMAN (*Pêcheur d'Islande*), JAPAN (*Madame Chrysanthème*), A TALE OF THE PYRENEES (*Ramuntcho*), A TALE OF BRITTANY (*Mon Frère Yves*), INDIA (*L'Inde, sans les Anglais*), JERUSALEM (*Jérusalem*), MOROCCO (*Am Maroc*), MADAME PRUNE (*La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*), SIAM (*Un Pèlerin d'Angkor*), THE MARRIAGE OF LOTI (*Tahiti*), THE SAHARA (*Le Roumi d'un Spahi*), CONSTANTINOPLE (*Aziyadé*), and PIERRE LOTI: The Romance of a great writer, by Edmund B. D'Auvergne. Thus in course of time the collected works of this one of the greatest world-painters of the world would be rendered available to those who know English. The volume on India, called in French *India Without the English*, created great sensation on its first appearance in 1906. In its new garb and handsome format it should particularly appeal to all interested in India and to all students of Indian affairs.

We have on many occasions since the inauguration of the series some years back, called attention to the merit and value of the many useful books included and being issued in the "Heritage of India" series (The Association Press, Russell Street, Calcutta). The latest addition to the series is a *History of Telugu Literature* by two sound scholars of the subject—Mr. P. Chenchiah and Raja Bahadur Bhujanga Rao. Mr. C. R. Reddy—Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University at Bozwarda—commends the book in a well-written foreword. As a pioneer work on the subject it deals with—the first attempt in

English and probably in any language to offer a concise but continuous history of Telugu literature—the book deserves a hearty welcome. But its intrinsic value is great and undoubted and it richly merits wide appreciation in all circles interested in the study of the literature of the people of the Andhra-desh.

We are living in India in an age in which there is a persistent demand for the formation—or rather reconstitution—of British Indian provinces on a linguistic basis. Such a demand is heard now in connection with Sindh, the Oriya-speaking tracts, and last but not least the dismembered portions of Karnataka. There is considerable controversy about the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency and the vast bulk of Hindu opinion in Sindh and even outside it is opposed at present. As to the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts, there is formidable opposition offered to the proposal by the Government of Madras and—curiously also by the Government of Bihar and Orissa—on the ground of an apprehended deficit of 11 lakhs! Fortunately no such real or imaginary difficulty is likely to arise in the case of the amalgamation of the Canarese-speaking tracts under one administration. The case for the new province is ably, convincingly and almost conclusively set forth in the book called *United Karnataka*, which makes out a very strong case for the unification of the British-Canarese tracts. It is issued by the Secretaries, Karnataka Sabha, Dharwar. The book merits careful attention.

Mr. Newton Mohun Dutt's *Baroda and Its Libraries* (Central Library, Baroda) is an excellent and well-got-up account of the library movement in that progressive State. Not only in no other Indian State, but not even in any British Indian province has the library movement taken so kindly to the soil as it has done in Baroda—thanks to the munificence of the ruler of the State. In his book under consideration, Mr. Dutt—to whose assiduous work and devotion the success of the library movement owes not a little—presents a very readable account of the various aspects of the library movement in the State, which should appeal to all students of the subject. There are also reprinted in it three addresses on libraries and literature by the Gaekwad, besides an introduction

by the Dewan, 34 illustrations and diagrams, rules for libraries and an extensive bibliography. All these materially enhance the usefulness of Mr. Dutt's work on the library movement in the Baroda State. Two classics of Eastern travel have just appeared in popular editions: These are Mr. V. C. Scott O'Connor's *The Silken East* (Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 36, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) and the late Miss Gertrude Bell's *Syria: The Desert and the Sown* (William Heinemann, Ltd., 99 Great Russell Street, London). The former is out-and-out the best descriptive record of the scenes and sights of Burma and the one-volume popular edition—which now replaces the original two-volume library edition—is introduced in fitting terms by Sir Harcourt Butler. In its present form Mr. Scott O'Connor's book—written with first-hand knowledge and recording the author's vivid impressions in graphic language—will appeal once again to all interested in Burma and her people. . . . Miss Bell's *Syria* has often been reprinted since its first appearance in 1907 and it has attained in the present reprint its majority. Like the *Silken East*, Miss Bell's *Syria* is a sympathetic description of the lights and shadows of the external and internal features of life in that country and should interest a large circle of readers.

Messrs. H. C. Thomas and W. A. Hama's *Foundations of Modern Civilization* (John Hamilton, Ltd., publishers, London) presents the story of the origin and development of our present-day civilization with all the skill and sympathy of which the modern historian is capable. In this book the authors trace man's progress from the earliest times down to the middle of the eighteenth century. No attempt is made to give details or to make a connected narrative of the history of any one country, but rather to show the origin and development of modern institutions and the contributions of various peoples and periods to present-day civilization. The book closes with a survey of conditions as they were in Europe of the old regime. It is intended to publish a second volume dealing with the transition from the old regime to modern times and, later, a third volume to bring the

story up to the present day. When completed, the work will present a fascinating record of the world's progress from primeval barbarism to present-day culture and the latest features of civilization.

Mr. F. H. Law's *How to Write and Deliver an Oration* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24, Bedford Street, London) will be of very great assistance to the aspiring public speaker. The entire object of the book is to aid the student to successful accomplishment. To that end the explanations are limited to those that have definite practical value to the ordinary speaker; the directions are supplemented by numerous selections that serve, also, as models of spirit and of style; numerous exercises call for the immediate application of principles, and a definitely planned series of forty special directions leads to the writing of a complete oration, while another series of twelve special directions leads to the development of power in platform speakings. In the book the student will find simple, direct, and extremely practical methods for the writing and for the delivery of an oration, which will be of great benefit to all requiring thorough training in public speaking.

Learning Lawn Tennis by Miss Betty Nuthall (Herbert Jenkins, Ltd., 3 York Street, St. James's, London, S. W. 1) is the latest exposition of the subject of tennis playing by the latest tennis star in England. It is not to be wondered at that having won her spurs, Miss Nuthall should be anxious to deliver her message on the subject. Scores of books have been written from the point of view of the expert who is capable of teaching the game to those who know something of it, but who has forgotten the early difficulties which he or she encountered when a racket was a strange implement. *Learning Lawn Tennis* is a book in which the beginner will find many of those difficulties solved for the first time. Simplicity is the essence of Miss Nuthall's success on the court; simplicity is the secret of the success of the book this world-famous young player has now written. We have much pleasure in commending it to all beginners in tennis.

"Benn's Sixpenny Library" (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E.C.)—which we noticed in a previous issue in terms

of appreciation—grows apace and is fast rising in popularity. This is not at all surprising when it is kept in view that each booklet is the work of an authority who is a master of the subject he deals with, by having specialized in it, and that the brochures are neatly printed and extend from 70 to 80 pages at the ridiculously low price of six pence a volume. Within their short limits they offer a fairly comprehensive and lucid exposition of a subject, which being written by an expert is sound, accurate and instructive. The latest additions to the series are Mr. Charles Sisson's *Elizabethan Dramatists*, Mr. E. H. Warmington's *Athens*, Mr. A. R. Wright's *English Folklore*, Mr. Robert McElroy's *History of the United States*, Mr. R. A. Sampson's *Science and Reality* and Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency's *The Legal System of England*. "Benn's Sixpenny Library" should continue to command a very wide circulation in this country.

RECENT HINDUSTANI LITERATURE.

Moliere in Hindi. By Dr. Lakshman Sarup. (Das Brothers, Anarkali, Lahore). 1928.

This is a critical account of the life and work of Moliere, based on the latest research. Hindi biographies generally represent a person as a passive tool in the hands of Nature. A catalogue of events, over which an individual has absolutely no control, is given. The biographer seldom penetrates into the inner working of the soul of the subject. No attempt is ever made to reveal the personality of an individual. This life of Moliere is written on modern lines, laying emphasis on the battle of life. It represents him as a man of action, whose mind was in constant conflict with the force of unfavourable circumstances. It is a short story of a hard struggle, of grim determination in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties. It shows how by sheer force of will and incessant labour, man can triumph over the machinations of powerful human enemies as well as an adverse fate. Such a life is always interesting, instructive, and full of inspiration, and so this notable biography is an acquisition to Hindi literature. To turn now to the contents of the book. All the poems and plays of Moliere are critically reviewed in their chronological order. As

Moliere is much indebted to the works of Spanish and Italian poets and dramatists, the original sources of his plots are traced, and the Spanish and Italian works, utilised by him, are mentioned on pp. 100—109. There is a critical chapter on the style of Moliere, which is defended against the adverse criticism of French critics like La Bruyere, Bayable, Fenelon, and Scherer. A chapter discusses the main ideas, i.e., the philosophy of Moliere, who was an iconoclast of his age. Moliere was a social reformer, who used the weapon of ridicule to purge the society of its vices. The corruptions and quackeries of every stratum of society—the nobility, the medical profession, the bourgeois, the church—are exposed on the searchlight of stage tho. He accepted the scientific knowledge of the period, e.g., circulation of blood—this was denied by the medical faculty of the University of Paris during the lifetime of Moliere. A critical chapter is devoted to the dramatic art of Moliere. Another chapter contains a literary comparison of Moliere with Aristophanes. In order to enable Hindi readers to follow the points of comparison and contrast between the two greatest comedians, the plays of Aristophanes are described, and various scenes from them, illustrating the chief characteristics of Aristophanes, are translated in Hindi—perhaps for the first time. A comedy of Moliere, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* is translated into Hindi from its French original, prose into prose, and verse into verse. The author's object of writing this book is to bring Hindu readers in contact with the master-dramatists of Europe. This contact will open new literary channels and place fresh literary models before them. Hindi is fairly rich in the literature of drama—both original and in translation—as compared with some other Indian vernaculars, particularly as compared with Urdu. Many of Moliere's famous dramas have been adapted to the requirements of the Indian stage by Mr. G. P. Srivastava in elegant Hindustani, but it is all for the best that a scholarly study of the greatest French comedian is now made available to those familiar with Hindi through the labours of a distinguished man of letters like Dr. Lakshman Sarup, who deserves our warm acknowledgments on having written the valuable critical work under notice.

II. This book is a critical study of the life and work of Moliere, whose plays fascinated the court of Louis XIV—the then most brilliant court in Europe. Dr. Lakshman Sarup did some research on Moliere at the University of Paris in 1919-20. The result of that research is embodied in this book. The illustrations were all made in Paris by French artists. The table of contents will show that he has also made a comparative study of Moliere and Aristophanes. The Hindi life of Moliere is written on modern lines so as to appeal to the educated mind. Most biographies in Hindi merely chronicle the events over which an individual has no control. An attempt is rarely made to penetrate to the inner working of his mind or soul. The personality of an individual is seldom revealed. These defects Dr. Sarup has tried to remove. He has shown how by constant and incessant work and a grim determination Moliere was able to triumph not only over the machination of human adversaries, but also over an unkind fate. In a critical review of his poems and plays he has traced the original source of Moliere's information, e.g., Italian and Spanish predecessors. He has also discussed his style, his philosophy, his dramatic art. There is also the literal Hindi translation of his well-known comedy the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, prose being rendered into prose and verse into verse. It is thus a complete study of the famous European dramatist. I am sure Dr. Lakshman Sarup has placed the Hindi-reading public under a deep debt of gratitude by this scholarly work of his, which strikes an entirely new line in Hindi literature. I commend the book to the Hindi-reading public with confidence.

(The late) LAJPAT RAI.

An Anthology of Urdu Poetry. Edited by Professor Elias Burney, M.A., LL.B. (Alig.), 12 vols. (Jam Bagh, Hyderabad, Deccan), 1927-8.

Professor Burney's collection, is the first attempt to our knowledge to edit a comprehensive anthology of Urdu poetry on the advanced system of the comparative study of cognate poems. The collection includes more than twelve hundred poems selected from the works of nearly two hundred poets—old and new—bearing upon a large variety of important and interesting subjects

and arranged according to the affinity of their subject-matter. The series thus offers, in a convenient form, what may be called the cream of Urdu poetry, while by the special arrangement of the pieces selected it provides ample scope for the growth and development of critical instinct, which is the soul of higher literary education. We are sure that the anthology will remove not only the long-felt want of a popular collection for the Urdu-reading public but will also meet the demand for systematic text-books in schools and colleges where Urdu is studied. The series was started in 1919 when the first three parts were published and received such an active support, far and near, that it rapidly extended to no less than twelve volumes within the next four years. A revised and enlarged edition of these volumes has been published in their final form in the edition under consideration and it is possible that some additional volumes may still follow in the future though the work, as it is, is quite comprehensive. The series is divided into three sets, and covers twelve volumes as follows:

MA-ARIF-E-MILLAT (Problems of Community):

Volume I—collection of poems in praise of God and the Prophet and others imbued with the spirit of religious devotion: A prayer book.

Volume II—collection of poems depicting the past, present and future of Islam and the Muslims. The tragedy of Karbala, as told here, is extremely impressive.

Volume III—collection of poems dealing with the various phases and prospects of Nationalism in India.

Volume IV—collection of poems dealing with the various problems of Ethics.

JAZBAT-E-FITRAAT (Natural Feelings and Emotions):

Volume I—selections from the works of the two old and premier poets—Mir and Sauda.

Volume II—selections from the works of the eminent poet, Mirza Ghalib, his noteworthy contemporaries, Zaun and Zafar and his devotee Hasrat Mahani.

Volume III—selections from the works of some thirty old notable poets.

Volume IV—selections from the works of some sixty modern popular poets.

MANAZIR-E-QUDRAT. (The Scenes and Sights of Nature):

Volume I—collection of poems reflecting the various manifestations of Time, such as Dawn, Sunrise, Sunshine, Sunset, Night, Moonlight, Rainy Season, Winter, Summer and Spring.

Volume II—collection of poems reflecting the Scenes and Sights of Space, such as Earth and Sky, Plains and Mountains, Rivers and Forests, Fields and Gardens, Cities and famous buildings.

Volume III—collection of poems describing the objects of Nature, such as Fruits and Flowers, Worms and Insects, Bees and Butterflies, favourite Birds and Quadrupeds.

Volume IV—collection of poems describing the various important and interesting phases of Indian life, such as popular customs and ceremonies, functions and festivals, games and sports, fashions and etiquettes, and various shades of domestic life. Also the ancient mode of warfare.

It will thus be seen that the series, in its variety and scope is really a panorama of the life and culture of the Muslims of India, depicting their genuine feelings and emotions, discussing their communal problems as well as social and moral notions, describing their everyday life and its relation to the objects of Nature. This collection will enable the reader to survey the extent and gauge the depth of Urdu poetry, with an advantage which cannot be furnished at present by any other anthology of the subject. The book, therefore, deserves wide appreciation at the hands of all students of Urdu poetical literature. Whatever the verdict—whether favourable or other-

wise—on the claims of Urdu poetry amongst the literatures of modern India, there can be no two opinions of the great value of Professor Burney's labour of love in producing this almost exhaustive collection of materials on which a judgment may safely be based. Professor Burney is thus fully entitled to our warmest acknowledgments on his self-imposed task, which he has performed with tact, skill and acumen of no mean order. His work deserves extensive circulation amongst Urdu-knowing circles.

HINDI PERIODICALS FROM LUCKNOW

Of late there has been an almost phenomenal development in Hindi magazines, particularly in those issued in Agra and Oudh. Allahabad long took the lead with its high-class *Saraswati* and with several others, it still maintains its ground in Hindi periodical literature. Benares also justly boasts of a highly organized Hindi press, including a well-known and efficiently-conducted daily called *Aj* ("Today"). But it is to Lucknow that one now looks up as the home of all that is best in Hindi periodicals. This is, at first sight, strange as that city has long been associated in the public mind more with Urdu than with Hindi literature and journalism. But the fact remains that Lucknow at present produces Hindi periodicals which render the capital of Oudh perhaps the most important centre of Hindi journalism in Northern India, from Calcutta to Lahore. Of these the two most prominent and deserving of wide appreciation for their intrinsic worth and merit are *The Muthuri* and *The Sudha*. Both of these are well-illustrated monthlies and have secured the support of a large number of highly proficient writers, with the result that in the variety of their contents and the interest of their contributions, they may safely challenge comparison with the best periodicals in any other Indian vernaculars. The special numbers of *The Muthuri* (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow) and of *The Sudha* (Ganga Fine Art Press, Lucknow) are magnificently illustrated and well-written treatises of nearly 350 pages each, replete with learned, instructive and interesting articles. They deserve very wide appreciation among the Hindi-knowing public.

TOPICS OF THE DAY

LAJPAT RAI

In the death of Lala Lajpat Rai—a sketch of whose career appears elsewhere—the public life of this country has suffered an irreparable loss. Lajpat Rai was one of our greatest national assets. He had a burning love of the country, untiring energy and great capacity for mass leadership. For nearly forty years, he worked hard and steadfastly for the promotion of many national causes. His activities were many-sided and he will be remembered not only as a great political leader but also for his splendid educational and social work. He endeared himself to his countrymen by his sufferings and sacrifices and died a hero's death. The circumstances attending his death do no credit to the Government. To his countrymen Lajpat Rai has left the example of a life nobly lived in the service of the motherland and a grateful posterity will remember him as a great nation-builder.

AFGHANISTAN

The situation in Afghanistan is both grave and complex. Following the abdication of Amanullah and his flight to Kandahar, his brother Inayatullah—who succeeded him—has also disappeared from the scene and Kabul is at the present moment at the feet of the brigand chief—Bachha-i-Sakko who has entered the Royal palace and declared himself Amir under the name and title of Habib-Ullah Ghazi. As to what the ultimate issue of the conflict now going on in Afghanistan will be, no one can say. At present there appears to be no central authority there. Amanullah who is at Kandahar has rescinded his abdication, assumed supreme power and appealed to the people for support. He has been joined at Kandahar by his brother, and his ex-ministers. The Shinwaris who are in control of Jalalabad and other hills have not so far recognised the new regime at Kabul. Bachha-i-Sakko's position is by no means secure. Amanullah's chances of coming back to power would depend upon the support he is able to get from the Durranis and the powerful Ghilzai and Mongol tribes. The

way from Kandahar to Kabul is blocked by heavy snows. Amanullah is reported to be concentrating large bodies of troops from the Kandahar and Ghazni regions at Ghazni. For the final results, we shall have to wait till March, or rather April, before which the climatic conditions are not likely to make the resumption of effective fighting possible. It is to be noted that in this civil war, no hostility has been shown towards the foreign legations which are reported to be safe at Kabul.

It is impossible for us in India to withhold sympathy from ex-King Amanullah. During the ten years that he occupied the throne, Amanullah showed himself to be a strong and capable ruler inspired by a desire to see his country progress along modern lines. The rebellion which, for the time being, has deprived him of his throne represents the reaction against the progressive policy pursued by him in the domain of social reform. Amanullah realised that if Afghanistan was to progress it must modernise itself. He was bold and uncompromising in his attacks on the social customs which had retarded the development of Afghanistan. To him the power which the Mullahs enjoyed was a menace to the social and political stability of the nation. A forceful personality like his was bound to come into conflict with the dark and sinister elements which have held back progress in all Asiatic countries. It is easy to blame him for being impetuous and impatient—but we venture to think that generations of Afghans will remember him as the pioneer of a civilisation which will alone enable Afghanistan to rise to the full height of her stature.

THE NATIONAL WEEK

THE CONVENTION

In some ways, far the most important of the gatherings that were held during the Christmas Week was the National Convention, which had met to consider the Nehru Report. The exclusion of Indians from the Simon Commission had the much desired effect of bringing about greater unity of endeavour and purpose among the Indian political parties and the National convention

representing as it did all the important political and communal organizations in the country was the direct result of it. Its proceedings were watched with uncommon interest by all politically-minded Indians, and its decisions, it was felt, would determine for some time to come the course of political development in this country. That it was unable to arrive at unanimous conclusions need make no one feel despondent as to the future. In no country has the task of constitution-making been easy and in our case, where the compelling motive is still absent, the task is not likely to be easier. Actually the unity which was achieved at the Convention exceeded the anticipations of many who partook in its proceedings. It was clear to everyone that the political workers—whatever be their creed, whether they were Dominion-wallahs or Independence wallahs—were animated by the sole desire to serve the country and to achieve freedom for it in the quickest possible manner. On the question of goal, we are glad to note with satisfaction that the Convention declared itself for Dominion Status, which is the fundamental recommendation of the Nehru Report. The communal settlement recommended by the Nehru Report was not acceptable to the Muslims unless modified in certain particulars, and the Muslim demands were found unacceptable by the majority of the Convention. Without discussing the merits of the Muslim demands, our own feeling is that neither side approached the communal problem at the Convention in the broad and catholic spirit which can alone enable a final solution of it to be reached. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the efforts of the Nehru Report towards a communal settlement have not borne any fruit.

The Nehru Report has the support of many distinguished Muslims and even though the chief Muslim communal organisation has not endorsed it, the actual modifications suggested by it are not such as to make one despair of a settlement at an early date. It is to be hoped that the leaders will continue their efforts towards a final settlement and that at its adjourned sitting the Muslim League, in May, will be able to accept the Nehru Report either in its present form or in a form acceptable both to it and the Convention. It is to be regretted that the Convention was adjourned *sine die* without setting up any machinery for completing its work—

but it is to be hoped that the Congress which called it into existence will take steps to see that it finishes its work by the Hindus and Muslims coming to a settlement on the communal issue.

THE CONGRESS

The Congress as the oldest political organisation in the country has always appealed to the imagination of the people—and its annual sessions naturally and rightly attract considerable public attention. It was particularly fortunate this year in that it had as its President a veteran politician in Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. Pandit Moti Lal's address was a fully reasoned statement of India's case for freedom. It was temperate and balanced and gave evidence of the careful thought that the Pandit has bestowed on Indian political problems. The Pandit advised the Congress to accept the Nehru Report and on the question of Independence *versus* Dominion Status expressed himself in the following terms:—

"I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against Dominion Status—as full as any dominion possesses it today—provided I get it before it loses all attraction. I am for severance of the British connection as it subsists with us today but am not against it as it exists with the Dominions."

The left wing in the Congress was not, however, prepared to accept the Pandit's advice, and eventually a compromise resolution which did not receive the support of all the advocates of independence, was passed by the Congress. The resolution as actually passed declares that the Congress will accept the Nehru Constitution, if it is adopted by the British Government before the 31st December, 1929, but that in case it is not so accepted the Congress will revive the non-co-operation movement by advising the people to refuse to pay taxes and in such other ways as may commend themselves to it. Meanwhile, the advocates of independence have been given the liberty to carry on, even during this interval of one year, propaganda in favour of national independence, and, in any case, after the 31st December, 1929, the Congress will not be bound by the Nehru Constitution, and will stand committed to full National independence.

It seems to us that, whatever be our ideal, we

shall have to put forth considerable effort before we can achieve anything in the way of substantial political advance. At a juncture when unity between the various parties is, perhaps, the most important need of the hour, it is unfortunate that we should be divided among ourselves over our objective—or rather our methods for attaining freedom. We believe with Pandit Motilal that “pure idealism completely divorced from realities has no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening.” We should have thought that wisdom lay in accepting wholeheartedly the principles of the Nehru Report which, to use Pandit Motilal's words, is “based on the principles of the highest common agreement.” We are unable to understand the psychology of those who would drive away the propertied classes in this country into the arms of reactionaries by talking in terms of communism and socialism. Our first concern in India must be the attainment of national freedom—and it strikes us that we can only win it by a supreme effort towards national unity. We are thus unable to congratulate the Congress on the actual resolution that it has passed. We do not know what the conditions a year hence will be exactly like—but we shall be greatly surprised if they will be such as will make any organized non-co-operation on a large scale possible. Be that as it may, one thing is quite clear and that is, that the younger generation of Indian public men have not the faith in the good-will of the British people which the older generation had. The problem for British statesmanship is how to restore the lost faith of India, how to conciliate a generation which is resentful of the assumption of racial superiority upon which the present system of government is based. It will not do merely to denounce and deprecate talk of independence. This talk of independence is, in our opinion, symptomatic of the new phase upon which our Indian politics is entering. It is the result of the illiberal policy which British statesmen have been pursuing towards India.

Repressive measures cannot crush this new spirit—this yearning for freedom—this passion for working out our own salvation. Only a great and truly sympathetic gesture can save India from drifting into chaos. The acceptance by the British Government of the Nehru Report and its fundamental recommenda-

tion of Dominion Status can alone strengthen the connection between Britain and India. We do not expect that the Government of India with their present mentality will recommend Dominion Status or anything like it. We have never built any hopes upon the Simon Commission and the way in which the Commission has been going about its business has only confirmed our misgivings in regard to it. The lesson to be learnt by our Government is that even the Gandhi's and the Motilal's are becoming back members, and that if they persist in their present policy they will have no friends left in this country. We do not believe that they will ever learn this lesson or profit from it. Meanwhile the situation will deteriorate and those of us who are interested in the ordered development of this country must suffer for the faults of a Government lacking in constructive statesmanship.

GOVERNMENT MEMORANDA ON THE REFORMS

The memoranda submitted to the Simon Commission by the governments of Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal reveal the vast gulf that divides Indian nationalists from the bureaucracy in this country. That these provincial governments are opposed to any constitutional changes of a far reaching character need surprise no one. The provincial governments dominated as they are by service interests have never been known to espouse reforms. The fact is that the Montagu reforms have carried self-government to a stage beyond which it is impossible to move without parting with real power, and for this the Bureaucracy is not at all prepared. No section of Indian opinion is likely to be satisfied with the sort of crippled Provincial autonomy recommended by the Punjab Government, the reactionary character of whose proposals has been exposed in able minutes by Sir Fazal-i-Husain and Mr. Manohar Lal. Common features of the schemes suggested are the emphasis they lay on the impossibility of law and order being transferred to popular control, the necessity for large powers of intervention to the Governor over the whole field of administration, the undesirability of widening the franchise and the support they give to communal electorates. The

Governments of the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal also advocate the establishment of second chambers. The Panjab Government would do away with the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects, provided the governor is given larger powers of intervention and an official minister is retained to take over charge of administration in case of a breakdown in the provincial governments. According to the United Provinces Government the best line of advance would be to maintain the Diarchical system with a bicameral legislature, the second chamber to be constituted on the model of the Council of State, provide for increased representation of landed interests and Depressed classes in the lower house, slightly lower the franchise, place the finance department under a financial adviser who would occupy a semi-independent position under the Governor, retain the communal electorates and the weightage already given to the Muhammadans, reserve law, order and land revenue to the reserved half and regulate the Governor's power to overrule his ministers in a manner which would make him even more autocratic than he is under the present constitution. The Indian Home Member, of the Agra and Oudh Government has agreed with these recommendations. We are not surprised at it for we have never credited the Nawab of Chhattari with liberal instincts or any spirit of independence. The Bengal Government would have a unitary system with official ministers in charge of law, order, finance and European education, a bicameral legislature with a second chamber elected on a narrow

franchise and communal electorates. It is some satisfaction to note that Sir P. C. Mitra has differed from these recommendations. In Bihar and Orissa Sir Fakhruddin has, while pleading for separate electorates, strongly urged full provincial autonomy. We propose to subject these memoranda to a more critical examination in our next issue. This summary is just to indicate the main outlines and to show how reactionary the proposals of the provincial governments are.

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION

The Liberal Federation which met at Allahabad on the 30th and 31st December had as its chairman Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. The Federation was firm in its support of the Nehru Report and Dominion Status. Its resolutions make it clear that the Indian Liberals will not be satisfied with anything short of complete responsible government both in the centre and the provinces and that they are just as eager as any other body of men in this country for national freedom. Sir Chimanlal's view that for the present Diarchy was inevitable in the central government did not find any support from the responsible leaders of the party. The Federation had no misgivings in regard to the adult franchise which is the basis of the communal settlement recommended by the Nehru Committee. The Federation reiterated its adherence to the boycott of the Simon Commission. Its resolution on the Indian States was just and fair both to the rulers and the ruled in these states.

SHORT POEMS

BY

LELAND J. BERRY

IF I AM DEAD

If I am dead when you return once more
Quiet, sleeping in the Churchyard on the hill,
O! Come and seek the place where I am resting
Bend close, and whisper there "I love you still"
And I shall hear, tho' soft you speak above me
My soul shall calmer, sweeter be,
And at God's feet I'll lay me gently sleeping
To wait the day when you will come to me!

LOVE IS LONELINESS

I shall be lonely without you tonight,
Without your slender burden in my arms,
And O! I'll miss the pure delights
Of warm red lips that lure my own.
I'll miss the wonder of your hair,
The sweetness of our whispered love,
The touch of clinging hands, of trembling breast
And lovely eyes that lure and plead

DAPHNIS DREAMING

O! Love I shall be lonely, tell me this
That sometime after moonrise you will free
The glorious spirit of your love, to come
And kiss me once before I fall asleep.
Give to me your hand, Love,
Gaze into my eyes,
Send my dream-thoughts flying
Thro' the azure skies.
Set thy tresses flowing
O'er my breast and arms,
Weave on me thy spell, Love,
Drug me with thy charms,
Lip to lip caress me
Aye—and eye to eye,
Shut me from the world, Love,
Even tho' I die.
In the depth of passions
Wild tempestuous roll,
Kiss, and set the thoughts free
Raging in my soul.

Had I but the power, Love,
Given in my hands,
We would leave our clay, Love,
Fly to fairer lands.
On thro' mist and sunshine
Prey to fear no more,
We would wing in rapture
To that distant shore.
I would be thy King, Love,
Thou my lovely Queen,
Where Troubadour or rival
Ne'er could come between.
Crowns for both our heads, Love,
Music for our ears,
Thou and I and Joy, Love
One—throughout the years!
But oh! what use is dreaming?
All is as before,
Only after death, Love,
Shall dreams be dreams no more.

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THE PARAMOUNT POWER IN RELATION TO INDIAN STATES

BY

COLONEL K. N. HAKSAR, C. I. E.

That the British Government is the Paramount Power in India is not open to any doubt. But what legal rights the admitted fact of its paramountcy confers upon that Power in relation to the Indian States is a question which it may be profitable to examine. Such an examination is the more necessary because in the name of paramountcy there are constantly being put forward varied claims for which the warrant would not appear to be quite obvious, and, as the question has never yet been freely ventilated, the true position remains obscure. The matter is of considerable public importance, apart from the fact that *per se*, it is of great interest to constitutional lawyers.

In order to invite discussion it may be affirmed that even leading authorities on Constitutional Law appear to have gone wrong in the views they have expressed. They have delivered themselves of *ipse dixit* without attempting to argue out their views.

Hall deals with the question of the limitation on the sovereignty of the States in a footnote (International Law, 8th Edition, p. 28). He says, that in matters not provided for by Treaty, a "residuary jurisdiction is considered to exist, and the Treaties themselves are subject to the reservation that they may be disregarded, when the supreme interests of the Empire are involved, or even when the interests of the subjects of the

Native Princes are gravely affected. The Treaties really amount to little more than statements of limitation which the Imperial Government except in any exceptional circumstances, places on its own action."

Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India said:—

"The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitation of its own prerogative."

Lord Reading in his reply to the Nizam asserted:—

"The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon Treaties and Engagements but exists independently of them and, quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to Foreign Powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all Treaties and Engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India."

It is difficult to say whether these two Viceroys drew their inspiration from Hall or whether they arrived at their opinions by a personal examination of the question. It is still more difficult to assume that Lord Reading, sitting as Lord Chief Justice of England, would have said as definitely what

Lord Reading as the Political administrator of India did not hesitate to assert. As regards Hall, however, it may be safely observed that quite unconsciously he was justifying Bethman-Hollweg in 1914. Similarly in regard to Lord Reading's dictum it might be suggested that if the paramountcy of the British Government is independent of Treaties then it rests on *force majeure*. The correct view would appear to be that paramountcy gives to the Crown definite rights, and it imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matters and certain matters only, *viz.* those relating to foreign affairs and external and internal security. It does not confer upon the Crown any authority or discretion to do acts which are not necessary for the exercise of such rights, and the performance of such duties.

But, whether paramountcy confer only such limited or much wider rights, on the present occasion it is only proposed to examine, as a basis for discussion, the rights accruing to the British Government under the clauses in the Treaties with various States which transferred to that Government the whole conduct of the States' foreign relations. One such clause reads as follows:—

Article 9 (of Indore Treaty—1818) thus defines the State's obligation:—

"Maharaja Mulhar Rao Holkar engages never to commit an act of hostility or aggression against any of the Honourable Company's allies or dependents or against any other Power or State whatever. In the event of differences arising, whatever adjustment the Company's Government weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice may determine, shall have the Maharaja's entire acquiescence. The Maharaja agrees not to send or receive Vakeels from any other State or to have communication with any other States except with the knowledge and consent of the British Resident."

Whereas Article 7 which defines the obligation of the British Government reads:—

"In consideration of the cessions made by this Treaty, the British Government binds itself to support a field force to maintain the internal tranquility of the territory of Mulhar Rao Holkar and to defend them from foreign enemies;"

It is clauses in other Treaties of similar import to that of Article 9 quoted above which constitute

the "right" of the British Government to control the "Foreign relations" of the States, while those corresponding to Article 7 define the obligation incurred by that government.

Before discussing how far the "right" is itself an obligation, two comments may be ventured:—

(1) Obviously these clauses do not confer upon the British Government the right to make what engagements they like with the Foreign Powers—external and internal, from the standpoint of India—and to compel the States to respect those engagements regardless of how those engagements are likely to affect the rights of the States reserved to them by their Treaties or such other rights as have not been specifically transferred to the British Government and so must be assumed to inhere in the States and therefore to belong to the category of their reserved rights.

(2) The Treaties which transferred to the British Government the sovereign right of the States to enter into relations with other States in India or with Foreign Powers outside India were entered into at a time when the British apprehended danger to the security of their own position from alliances which the States might form. Therefore the primary and sole object of those Treaties was to debar the States from acquiring or deriving such strength as would threaten the British Power.

It was in return for this limitation upon their sovereign powers which the States either willingly accepted or were compelled to accept that the British Government undertook:—

- (a) to settle any differences that might arise between the contracting State and any other States;
- (b) to protect the States from external aggression; and
- (c) to put down internal commotion within the States.

To this extent only have the British Government acquired by "Treaties and Usage" the right of control of the foreign relations of the States. If a State conceives itself aggrieved by another State, it is debarred by Treaty from going to war against that State. It must invoke the assistance of the British Government to effect an equitable adjustment of the dispute. If any power in or

outside India attacks a State, the British Government is bound by Treaty to defend it "with all its resources." If disorder breaks out in a State, such a State may not seek help from a neighbouring or a friendly State but by the Treaty must invite the assistance of the British Government to suppress the disorder. In all these contingencies the position of the British Government is that of a party owing obligation to the States, the obligation of the States being confined to treating the British Government as the sole referee and ally. Thus *vis à vis* each individual State, the Paramount Power really owes obligations. These obligations assume the aspect of right only against the adversary or enemy of an aggrieved State. The following illustration brings out the point of the argument:—

State A has a Treaty with the British Government in virtue of which the British Government has undertaken to protect it and all its rights.

State B has or has not such Treaty. B attacks A. Against B, by virtue of the Treaty with A, the British Government has the right to intervene and defend A. Towards A such defence is an obligation.

The Treaties are with individual States; consequently in the matter of foreign relations the British Government, under its Treaties with those States merely owes obligations to them. It has acquired no rights and certainly no such right as empowers it to impose any kind of administrative or fiscal disability upon the States. Even the measures

adopted by the British Government, *e.g.*, the planting of Cantonments within the territories of States are incidents of the discharge of a contracted obligation, not acts in assertion of any inherent or acquired right.

The true test therefore of the legality of any claim by the Crown, based on paramountcy, to interfere in the internal sovereignty of a State must apparently be found in the answer to the following question:—

"Is the act which the Crown claims to do, necessary for the purpose of exercising the rights or fulfilling the obligations of the Crown in connection with Foreign relations and external and internal security?"

It follows that the Paramount Power cannot claim to be endowed with any general discretionary right to interfere with the internal sovereignty of the States: On the contrary, so far as can be judged, there is no evidence of the States generally agreeing to vest in the Crown any indefinite powers or to confer upon it any unlimited discretion. Outside the subjects of foreign relations and of the external and internal security of the States, each State remains free to guide its actions by considerations of self-interest, and to make what bargain with the Crown or its agents it may choose. In other words, there is no legal basis for a claim that any State is under a duty to co-operate in matters outside the field of "Paramountcy" which is defined by clauses such as those quoted herein before.

INDIA'S INTELLECTUAL LIFE*

BY

SIR JAGADISH BOSE, Kt., C. S. I.

When I received your kind invitation I realized anew the unity of intellectual life of India and its continuity from the most ancient times. Your kind thought in asking me to deliver the Convocation Address has probably been prompted by your sympathy and appreciation of my efforts, now extending over more than a third of a century, in the revival of the great intellectual traditions of this great country. Many years ago I chose

teaching not as a profession, but as the highest vocation. I could think of nothing higher than consecrating my life to the guidance of the young with their dreams and aspirations yet unfulfilled and in helping them in the attainment of true manhood. I see before me young students going out in life's great adventure. What is to be the guiding principle that is to stand by you and inspire you even in days of despondency? There

* Mysore University Convocation Address.

never came a time so fateful as the present when a greater demand is made on the strength and idealism of our youth in serving the highest interests of the country. I will not therefore appeal to your weakness but to your strength: I would not care to set before you what is easy but use all compulsion for your choice of the more difficult. You are seekers after truth; I will tell you of the discipline through which you must pass for the discovery of truth. In this the heritage of the past will help you; but you are not to be a mere slave of the past but the true inheritors of its wisdom.

HYPNOTIC SUGGESTION.

I was paralyzed at the beginning of my life by various hypnotic suggestions that India was only interesting because of metaphysical speculations of her ancient dreamers, and that the greatness of the country was past never to be revived again.

You may ask who taught me better, what led me to persist against insuperable difficulties? My answer is that my own work was my teacher, that strokes of repeated adversity served as the adequate stimulus, and that the lesson of the past was my abiding inspiration. I believe that nothing which is not innate in our civilization can ever give us requisite strength for a true national revival. I cannot speak too often on this matter of fundamental importance.

In my address I will not speak of anything that is impossible of attainment or of things that have been accomplished only in other countries, but what can be done or has been done in India. I have been, and am still, a student; your struggles and difficulties have also been mine. In your hours of despondency it may perhaps help you to know that not even a glimmer of success ever came to remove the gloom except after years of persistent struggle. I held the belief that it is not for man to complain of circumstances, but bravely to accept, to confront and dominate over them. I know that what has been done before will be accomplished again and that the past was not to remain merely as a dream.

THE PURSUIT AFTER TRUTH.

I spoke of my work itself being my teacher. The illumination came to me only after years of unremitting pursuit after truth. It was this that enabled me through rigid scientific methods to establish the great generalization of the Unity of Life and to realize fully all its implications. I will tell you what I was able to decipher in the book of life itself, of conditions which exalt the highest manifestations of life.

The tree may be likened to a State consisting of countless living units, different groups of which co-operate in the discharge of definite functions for the advantage of the community; any disharmony in the organism means the destruction of the Commonwealth. The tree persists because it is rooted deeply in its own soil which provides its proper nourishment and endows it with strength in struggling against all dangers that threaten it. The shocks from outside had never been able to overpower it, but only called forth its nascent power of resistance. It had met change by counter-change; the decaying and the effete had been cast off as worn leaves, and changing times called forth its power of readjustment. Its racial memory had also been a source of great additional strength; every particle of the embryo within the seed may thus bear the impress of the mighty banian tree. What then is the strength that confers on the tree its great power of endurance? It is the strength derived from the place of its birth, its perception and quick readjustment to change, and its inherited memory of the past. The efflorescence of life is then the supreme gift of the place and its associations. Isolated from these what fate awaits the poor wretch nurtured in alien thought and ways? Death dogs his footsteps, and annihilation is the inevitable end.

A STIMULUS FROM WITHIN.

Any great work that is to endure must therefore be through the awakening of all that India had conserved by her inheritance and culture. Such awakening will be the release of a giant force, hitherto held latent, for dynamic expression in the great Indian renaissance. The stimulus for this must come from within, the portent of which is found in the quickened national consciousness.

The highest expression in the life of a nation must be its intellectual eminence and its power of enriching the world by advancing the frontiers of knowledge. When a nation has lost this power, when it merely receives and has nothing to give, then its healthy life is over and it sinks into a degenerate existence which is purely parasitic. The status of a great university cannot be secured by any artificial means, nor can any charter assure it. Its world status is only to be won by the intrinsic value of great contribution made by its scholars. To be organic and vital, our national university must stand primarily for self-expression and winning for India her true place among the federation of nations.

Critics have denied India's capacity for advancement of knowledge and spread of learning among her people. It has been urged that there is no true democratic spirit, that there could be no real contact between her diverse peoples, and no continuity between the past and the present; that there is an intolerant theocratic spirit which insisted on acceptance of authority in place of dictates of reason; that the people of India because of their speculative bent are incapable of advancing positive knowledge; and that the exact method of science being Western is alien to national culture. These assertions are as ignorant as they are baseless.

THE RIGHT OF MAN TO CHOOSE.

I do not know of any other country in the world, except ancient India, where sons of kings and commons were required to live a life of simplicity and perfect equality under a great teacher. In our great epic we read of a great tournament that was held before the court of Hastinapura more than thirty centuries ago. Karna, the reputed son of a charioteer, had challenged the supremacy of Prince Arjuna. To this challenge Arjuna had returned a scornful answer: "A Prince could not cross swords with one who could claim no nobility of descent." "I am my own ancestor," replied Karna, "and my deeds are my parents of nobility." This is perhaps the earliest assertion of the right of man to choose and determine his own destiny.

In regard to my own early training it was fortunate that my father instead of sending me to the more fashionable English school insisted on my attending the vernacular school. My comrades were hardy sons of toilers, from whom I realized the true dignity of labour. I derived my passionate love of nature from those who tilled the ground and made the land blossom with green verdure and ripening corn. The sons of the fisher-folk used to tell me of the strange creatures which frequented the unknown depths of mighty rivers and stagnant pools; henceforth I was never to be alone but at every step the marvels of life thrilled me with a strange emotion. When I came home accompanied by my comrades, I found my mother waiting for us. Though an orthodox Hindu, the "untouchableness" of some of my comrades never caused any misgiving; she welcomed and fed them as her own children. It is only true of the mother heart to go out and unfold in her protecting care all those who needed succour and a mother's affection. I now realize the object of my having been sent at the most plastic period of my life to the vernacular school, where I was to learn my own language, to think my own thought, and to receive through the great Indian epics the heritage of our national culture.

THE TRUE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT.

Such is the true democratic spirit which pervaded the land even from ancient times. At the head of the State was the court of a Vikramaditya, never regarded as complete without the "nine gems" representing the different branches of knowledge. The State received the homage of the people not for its being panoplied by physical force, but because it aspired to make conquest in a realm infinitely higher—that of mind and spirit. May this great Indian tradition always endure in the Indian States.

In regard to the spread of learning, geographical barriers have never in the past offered any obstacle to the intellectual communion among the different peoples of India. The vision of the past rises vividly before us and we behold a great procession of immortals who still live and inspire us. We see Sankaracharya acclaimed everywhere during his march of intellectual conquest of all countries

from the South to the extreme North. We see the scholars of Bengal with a few palm-leaf manuscripts as their sole treasure, crossing the Himalayan barrier inspired by love and service, to carry Indian lore to Tibet, to China, and to the further East. The great intellectual movements were never confined to any particular province, for the torch of learning was kept lighted for many centuries in her different universities. And it was the fame of a great teacher that drew scholars from even the most distant corners of India. The traditions of the past have not been lost, for even today leaders of thought from different provinces travel from one end of the country to the other, thus keeping alive the bond of unity and closest kinship. Those who have read history aright realize the great assimilative power of Indian civilization by which many races and peoples came to regard this great country as their home. And it is by their joint efforts that will be built the Greater India yet to be.

THE SPIRIT OF INTOLERANCE.

It is perfectly true that nothing could be so detrimental to the furtherance of truth than a narrow theocratic bias and intolerance in accepting new facts and doctrines that run counter to narrow orthodoxy. One is, however, constrained to say that this narrow spirit is more in evidence in the West than in the East. Galileo's recantation under compulsion and Bruno's being burnt at the stake are well-known facts. The spirit of intolerance is still alive as exemplified by the bitter controversy that has recently arisen regarding the Darwinian theory, and the penalizing of the teaching of evolution in a certain State of progressive America. There is a priesthood even in science, and it is notorious how seldom a great discovery finds appreciation during the life of its author.

In regard to the question whether theocratic bias obstructed free pursuit of inquiry in this country, the fact is well-known that two schools of thought flourished here side by side, one of which relied on faith and was supported by established authority. The other based itself on pure reason and refused to accept anything which could not be substantiated by objective proof. This great and

liberal outlook may probably have been due to the fact that even the devout realized that the existence of providence dependent on men's condescending patronage was tantamount to blasphemy.

A STRANGE DISTORTION OF HISTORY.

No false claim should, however, be made that our ancestors were omniscient and that no further advance of knowledge was possible. What they attained was through unremitting efforts in building the edifice of knowledge step by step. Even after all they had achieved they had the greatness to declare that even the Vedas are to be rejected if these do not conform to truth. It is false patriotism that would claim credit for anything less vital than the supreme gift of freedom of inquiry that had been bequeathed to us.

Nothing can be more vulgar or more untrue than the ignorant assertion that the world owes its progress of knowledge to any particular race. The whole world is interdependent and a constant stream of thought has throughout ages enriched the common heritage of mankind. It is the realization of this mutual dependence that has kept the mighty fabric bound together and ensured the continuity and permanence of civilization.

It is a strange distortion of history that all advance of knowledge has been claimed as the contribution of the West. An equally wrong claim made in the West has been in regard to the highest development of statecraft. It must be a matter of high gratification to the Mysore State that two of its distinguished officers should have, by their patient labours, succeeded in lifting the veil that shrouded the past. The pioneer work on the Positive Science of the Ancient Hindus has been the result of vast erudition of the Vice-Chancellor of this University. No less important is the remarkable contribution of Dr. R. Shama Sastry whose patient and critical scholarship has brought to light Kautilya's Arthashastra.

INDIAN IMAGINATION.

Can we, however, remain satisfied only with the traditions of the past? Critics have told us time after time that whatever the past might have been, there is now no strength left for the renewal of our national life. They point out that while

successes in our national efforts have been few and far between, the failures have been far too many. But failure is only transient, while success waits for us round the last corner. It is the obvious and the blatant that blinds us to the essential. Few realize the great urge hidden to eyes of men, that is moving the great mass of the people in their ceaseless efforts to realize some common aspiration. Where lies the secret of that potency which makes certain efforts apparently doomed to failure, rise renewed from beneath smouldering ashes? When we look deeper we shall find that as inevitable as is the science of cause and effect, so unrelenting must be the sequence of failure and success. We shall find that failure must be the antecedent power to lie dormant for the long subsequent dynamic expression which is acclaimed as success.

Although science is neither of the East nor of the West but international in its universality, yet India by her habit of mind and inherited gifts handed down from generation to generation is specially fitted to make great contributions in furtherance of knowledge. The burning Indian imagination which can extort new order out of a mass of apparently contradictory facts, can also be held in check by the habit of concentration; it is this restraint which confers the power to hold the mind in pursuit of truth in infinite patience.

LIFE'S INTRICATE MECHANISM.

Two different methods are essential for the discovery of truth, the method of introspection and the method of experimental verification. Aimless experimentation seldom leads to any great result while unrestrained imagination leads to wildest speculation subversive of all intellectual sanity. The two methods must therefore be equally balanced one supplementing the other.

The real difficulty that thwarts the investigator of life as exemplified by plants arises from the fact that the interplay of life-action is taking place within the dark profundities of the interior of the tree which our eyes cannot fathom. As the first step to discover the hidden mechanism of the tree, one has to become the tree and feel the pulse-beat of its throbbing life. Next, in

order to reveal the intricate mechanism of its life, it is necessary to gain access to the smallest unit of life, the "life atom" and succeed in recording its throbbing pulsation. For this it was necessary to invent instruments of surpassing accuracy and sensitiveness. The invention of the microscope magnifying only a few thousand times initiated a new era in advance of biological science. My Magnetic Crescograph magnifying fifty million times is now revealing the wonders of a new world, the plant itself being made to reveal the secrets of its inner life. Even in this path of self-restraint and verification, the inquirer is making for a region of surpassing wonder. When visible light ends he still follows the invisible. When the note of the audible reaches the unheard, even then he gathers the tremulous message. He thus realizes a new world hitherto invisible, and listens to voices unheard before and enters into a realm of life, which struggles and suffers even as ourselves. Is it less of a miracle that man undismayed by the imperfection of his senses should yet build himself a raft of thought to make daring adventures in uncharted seas. And in his voyage of discovery he catches an occasional glimpse of the ineffable wonder that had hitherto been hidden from his view. That vision crushes out of him all self-sufficiency, all that kept him unconscious of the great pulse that beats through the Universe. It was by the combination of the introspective and the highly advanced experimental methods that it was possible to establish the Unity of Life, the barrier that divided kindred phenomena vanished, the plant and animal being found as a multiple unity in a single ocean of being.

THE INDIAN HABIT OF CONCENTRATION.

These wonders became revealed to me only after years of struggle in overcoming difficulties which at first appeared as almost insurmountable. It was the Indian habit of concentration that led ultimately to the overcoming of all difficulties. It is no easy life that lies before an investigator. He has to steel his body and mind to the utmost, and prepare for a life of unending struggle. Even after all this there is no assurance whatever of success to reward him for his ceaseless toil. He has to cast his life as an offering, regarding gain and loss, success and

failure, as one. But the lure that draws his heroic soul is not success that can be easily achieved, but defeat and tribulation in the pursuit of the unattainable.

When I commenced my investigations, it used to be said that experimental skill was wanting among our workers, and that the people lacked the faculty of discovery and invention. It was only after years of persistent efforts that it was possible to prove that there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome by the power of the will, that when one dedicates oneself wholly for any great object, then the closed doors shall be opened, and the impossible become fully attainable as regards construction of apparatus of extraordinary delicacy by Indian mechanicians. It seemed to me that the race which by the subtle dexterity of their hands wrought wonders in the past, could not altogether be extinct. It was only necessary for me to take my craftsmen in my confidence and fire them with enthusiasm for great national achievement. All the instruments whose marvellous performance created great enthusiasm all over the world, were constructed by the mechanicians trained in my Institute. Although these instruments were widely exhibited in Europe and America, and every facility offered for their duplication by eminent instrument-makers, yet it was frankly admitted that our craftsmen possessed tactile delicacy which could not even be approached. It is necessary to lay special stress on this point at this juncture when the assertion, totally ignorant and unfounded, is made that this country is incapable of making any great industrial advance.

THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF DISCOVERIES.

I have often been asked: What could be the practical use of these researches on the recondite phenomena of the life of plants? A similar question was also asked when, so far back as 1894, I succeeded in transmitting energy by wireless electric waves for starting machinery at a distance and exploding a distant mine. The invention of the galena receiver in my laboratory also solved the difficulty of long distance transmission. All this was regarded at the time as mere scientific curiosity.

Regarding the practical applications of discoveries in plant life, researches on growth have been rendered possible by the invention of the High

Magnification Crescograph. The laws of growth are now being discovered, a knowledge of which is essential for any real advance in practical agriculture. Another important advance has been made by the discovery of identical reaction of various drugs on plant and animal life. This has led to investigations on the action of extracts from various Indian plants, the medicinal properties of which had not hitherto been suspected, and by the employment of which the heart machine can be regulated and rendered highly efficient. The newly invented resonant cardiograph inscribes the different phases of the heart-beat with wonderful minuteness and reveals the specific action of different plant extracts in reviving the activity of the heart in a state of depression. From the results of these investigations, an entirely new arsenal of medicine obtained from Indian plants will be available for the relief of humanity.

THE NERVOUS SYSTEM OF PLANTS.

An altogether different line of advance has also been made in regard to the tracing of gradual evolution of nervous system from the simplest to the most complex. In the simpler vegetable life where lies the plant-psyche, the faint copy of our consciousness? A nervous structure I have been able to discover in the plant, the characteristic reactions of which are likely to lead to the better understanding of the parallel phenomena in our own psychic life. A plant carefully protected under glass from the stimulating blows of the environment, looks flourishing but in reality it is flabby and decadent, its highest nervous function remaining undeveloped. But when the same plant is exposed to the rough shocks of the environment, then its nervous structure becomes fully developed. In human life also, it is not cotton wool protection but blows of adversity that evolve true manhood.

I had occasion recently to take part at the great International Conference on Education held at Locarno. They realized that the old system hitherto in vogue was quite antiquated and that new initiative must be taken in methods of education. The imported method hitherto in vogue is quite out of date and must therefore be modified and made a living force for the wakening of national aspiration and efficiency. A system which holds forth no

other hope but perpetual tutelage cannot but be deadening. Nothing could be more humiliating than the position of Indian students in Europe, a situation which for many reasons is full of danger. Why should we not aspire to found great centres of learning? It was this idea which led to the foundation of my Institute ten years ago by which I hoped to revive the great traditions of our country, which so far back as twenty-five centuries ago attracted scholars from all parts of the world, within the precincts of its ancient seats of learning, at Nalanda and Taxila. That dream of mine has been now amply fulfilled. May I not hope that what has been accomplished would be carried out with even greater power by this enlightened State? You must, however, be inspired by an indomitable faith. In justification of that faith it was necessary to indicate briefly what was accomplished by Indian initiative and by Indian scholars.

THE CAUSE OF UNREST.

Increasing unemployment and severe economic distress is the cause of unrest here as in other parts of the world; only on account of its magnitude the problem is far more acute here. It is hunger that drives people to desperation and to the destruction of all that has been built up for ordered progress. It is tragic that our own country with its great potential wealth and possibilities of industrial development should be in this plight. All efforts have been long paralysed by assertions, as ignorant as they are unfounded, that this country is incapable of producing great discoverers and inventors. These assertions have now been completely disproved.

In other parts of the world, it is not doctrinaires but the best intellect of the country—leaders of science as well as leading men of business—who are called to devise means for increasing the wealth of the country. In my travels I found little or no distress in small countries such as Norway and Denmark, countries which are in no sense rich in natural wealth. Nevertheless they have their system of universal education and the most up-to-date University. Poverty is practically unknown. The miracle is accomplished through science by utilizing to the utmost all the available resources of the country. Could we not take to heart the lesson

thus taught? There are now a very large number of young men who could be specially trained in efficiently conducted institutes, the standard of which should bear comparison with any in the world. It should be also our aim not to be so entirely dependent on foreign countries for our higher education and for our needs. For carrying out such a programme a far-sighted State policy is urgently required. But there is a strange general apathy on this matter of most vital importance. It is a matter of much gratification and pride to us to know that the State of Mysore has given its most serious attention to this subject on which I shall presently make reference.

NATURE AND THE FEEBLE

When man beheld spread before him the earth, the sea and the air, he went forth in his great adventures. He rode the tumultuous sea and circled the globe. The challenge of the sky he accepted and by his daring spirit conquered it and established an unobstructed highway. Man is a creative being and these miracles attest to his god-like and indomitable spirit but the weakling who has forgotten the divinity that is in him leads an ignoble life of passivity. He alone who has striven and won can enrich the world by giving away the fruits of his victorious experience.

A strange weakness and passivity has entered into the life of the people, and unless immediate steps be taken to remedy the evil, the end is inevitable. Nature shows no mercy to the feeble and the decadent; the vicious circle lies on this; the lazy is content with earning what is barely sufficient to maintain life itself. This reduces his power of work and his power of resistance to illness, ending in the lowering of scale of human life, starvation and death. Different is the attitude of the people of the West, who even under great stress of national disaster have maintained their spirit and efficiency unbroken, and through their labour are building up national prosperity. May I say that this is greatly due to the unceasing interest taken by the State in spread of education and in promoting people's welfare?

As a concrete example illustrating the difference of outlook, I will speak of what came within my own experience; many of my old students showed special

aptitude in science; but as there was no scientific career open for them, they were compelled against their natural inclination to choose the profession of law. None but the intentionally blind can fail to realize the crisis to which things are tending in a country where distress is so widespread and where the only escape for intellect is the pursuit of the tortuous and uncertain course of the law courts.

JAPAN AND HER PEOPLE.

In contrast to this, I had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the solicitude with which the Government of Japan follow the career of her promising students whom they regard as the greatest asset for the advancement of their country. I found that such promising students are personally known at headquarters, and arrangements made through their Consul in Europe and America, so that in the course of two years they go through a very special training under the most distinguished specialists to make them efficient in their subject. They do not find themselves stranded on their return, for arrangements had already been made by their Government, so that their intellect and training find the fullest scope in the service of the State.

This leads me to the ideal of the State which has found practical expression in the establishment of a National University in many enterprises for the welfare of the people. The University and industrial enterprise cannot be dissociated from each other, but must be regarded as complimentary activities for the common good of the people. There are other countries more fortunate which can shower their millions for a particular department in the University. We have no such millions to spare; but is this to deter us, is the mind of man with his indomitable spirit of no account? Shake off your depression then, and cast off your weakness! I remember that India is our working place, and our duties are to be accomplished here and nowhere else. Should we forget that we belong to a race which accomplished great things with simple means?

THE WORK OF NATION-BUILDING.

Perhaps those who are at a distance can better appreciate the efforts of this State in the work of

nation-building. The Chief Minister is in the closest touch with the people and their prosperity redounds to the credit of the State. It is here that some of the greatest of Indian administrators found full opportunity for the expression of their genius. We are thrilled by what has been accomplished by Sir K. Seshadri Iyer in opening vast field of enterprise, by extension of railways, by the development of the Kolar Gold Field, by his schemes of irrigation; he was the author of the great hydro-electric scheme at Sivasamudram. Are we to appraise these achievements by mere money value—though this was undoubtedly great—or by something of higher import? Who can measure the stimulus thus given to young minds trained in this University by the unique opportunity offered for the highest development of their latent powers? Industry and research will thus act and react on each other to the lasting benefit of both. To Sir M. Visvesvaraya, another Minister of this State, is due the credit of the foundation of Bhadravati Iron Works and other industrial enterprises. In this State, men are not mere dreamers, but they have the strength and persistence to see their vision realized. What is the fountain head of their inspirations? Is it the love of the country coupled with a sense of loyalty to an ideal State where its Prince is the natural leader of the people?

TEACHING AND RESEARCH.

Teaching and research are indissolubly connected with each other. The spirit of research cannot be imparted by mere lectures on antiquated theories which are often entirely baseless and which effectively block all further progress. Nothing can be so destructive of originality as blind acceptance of *ex cathedra* statements. The true function of a great teacher is to train his disciples to discover things themselves. Such a teacher cannot be easily found and it will be your duty to discover him and give him every facility for his work. Let there be no creation of a learned caste whose attention is mainly taken up in securing special privileges. It is only from a burning candle that others could be lighted. The pupils by working under such a teacher will learn the value of persistence and of the infinite care to be taken at every step; they will catch from him

glimpses of inspiration by which he succeeds in wresting from nature her most jealously guarded secrets. They will become a part of his being and will hand down a passionate love of truth through fleeting generations. That spirit can never die: we shall pass away and even kingdoms may disappear. Truth alone will survive, for it is Eternal.

The extension and utilization of knowledge in the service of men are as important a function of the University, though not only function. It is here that we are brought into intimate contact with great thoughts and ideals of different races and people. We need not be discouraged by the temporary aberration of man, but must be inspired by the nobility of his aspiration. It is not by withdrawal but through active struggles that we shall best serve our country. What is to be my message to the men and women students with whom I am brought in touch today?

THE CALL TO ACTION.

I would want you to realize the great privilege of being born at a time when the country needs you most. The civilization we have inherited had

lasted for many millenniums; you will not certainly allow it to be destroyed through weak passivity. You will answer to the call that has been echoing through ages, the call which compels men and women to choose a life of unending struggle for the alleviation of human suffering. The removal of suffering and of the cause of suffering is the Dharma of the Kshatriya. Be each of you a Kshatriya. The earth is the wide and universal theatre of man's woeful pageant, who is to suffer more than his share. Is the burden to fall on the weak or the strong?

It was action and not weak passivity that was glorified in heroic India of the past, and the greatest illumination came even in the field of battle. There can be no happiness for any of us, unless it had been won for others. Therefore I urge on you the doctrine of strength. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformation must be innate in that mighty civilization that has seen the intellectual culture of the Nile Valley, of Assyria and of Babylon wax, wane and disappear and which today gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the past.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES: ITS SOLUTION BY POST-WAR EUROPE

BY

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE, M.A.

The problem of minorities is not an Indian but a world problem. It has played a prominent part in European history and politics and specially in post-war political reconstruction of Europe where it has influenced the formation of several new states whose constitutions throw considerable light on the problem in all its aspects.

The victorious Powers assembled at the Peace Conference at Paris stood for the principle of self-determination and its applications as the only foundation for a stable peace in Europe by removing as far as possible the inherent sources of conflict. They however, found that it was not possible to apply that principle fully. They asked Germany to be self-determined, i.e., to be governed

henceforth by a democracy. But in most other parts of Europe it was difficult so to arrange that each race could be made to constitute its own state or to prevent different races from coming together within the one and the same state. An approximation to the ideal of self-determination was, therefore, sought to be achieved by the principle of minority protection as affording the only basis on which different elements, cultures and communities could be brought together within a single state and reconciled to a common Government. Treaties called the Minorities Guarantee Treaties were framed with a double object in view, first the creation of a sentiment of loyal co-operation on the part of the Minorities with the new Governments

under which they found themselves and second, the reconciliation of these new Governments with their former enemies admitted and accepted of their own new nationals and citizens.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

The Peace Conference, therefore, proceeded with the reconstruction of Europe on the basis of the two principles of self-determination and minority protection. The territorial readjustment found necessary to give effect to these two principles changed the boundaries and composition of some of the old states on the one hand and also gave rise to a few new states on the other. With the former, peace treaties were entered into by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in which was introduced a provision for the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities, as a fundamental and inalienable part of those treaties. The old states thus treated were Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey which were restarted on a new basis that would promote a greater internal harmony between their conflicting constituents. As regards the newly created states, the Great Powers were free to impose upon them special and separate treaties called the Minorities Guarantee Treaties. These states were Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom while Roumania and Greece also had to accept these Treaties.

MINORITIES PROTECTION SECTION OF LEAGUE

Later on, the League of Nations, the most important result of the Great War and the Peace Conference, was made to run a separate section called the Minorities Section to protect the various minorities of reconstructed Europe according to the terms of these treaties. The League has also made it a condition of the admission to its membership of a state that it should satisfy the League on the subject of minority protection.

The stipulations of these Minorities Treaties are considered to be 'obligations of international concern,' and are, therefore, placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. It is, however, laid down expressly that this guarantee is to be confined only to racial, religious and linguistic

minorities. It does not extend to what are called "political or social" minorities in whose favour the League has no right to interfere.

The stipulations concerning minorities in these international instruments are based on a common plan and pattern. Very often they adopt even common and standardised wordings as expression of an accepted ideal. This will be evident from the citations given below from the constitutional documents of some of the new states of Europe which will show on what lines the international treatment and solution of the minority problem has proceeded.

THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENS

The constitution of this new state adopted on June 28, 1921, has several remarkable features. It is one of few constitutions in Europe that have dispensed with the second chamber in the legislature. This provision is all the more striking when we consider that this new state has been made up of several preceding states that differed widely in matters of religion, custom, and habits of life. During the war, the Allies and Associated Powers, aiming at the break-up of the Austrian Empire, proclaimed as one of their war aims the emancipation and unity of all Southern Slavs in one state. These, outside Serbia, remained distributed for several centuries, among separate territories, the sport of several contending empires. The proposal of the Great Powers stimulated a movement towards unification among the Slavs until they were gathered together in this new state. In view of the different elements brought together in this state, its constitution while offering a study in the treatment of minorities and the solution of their perplexing problems, is also distinguished by the provisions it has included for the fostering of a sense of national unity.

The following articles in the constitution may now be considered:—

Art. 4: There shall be but one nationality in the kingdom.

Art. 12: Liberty of religion and of conscience shall be guaranteed. All recognised religions shall be equal before the law and may be "practised in public." The enjoyment of civil and political

rights shall be independent of the practice of any religion.

Art. 16: Education shall be on a uniform basis throughout the country with such adaptations as may be required by local conditions.

All schools shall provide instruction in morals and shall develop civic conscientiousness in a spirit of national unity and religious toleration.

The state shall be responsible for primary education which shall be universal and compulsory.

The state shall encourage the fostering of nationality.

Minorities in race and language shall be given primary instruction in their mother tongue under conditions prescribed by law.

THE POLISH REPUBLIC.

Poland, an elective monarchy, became a hereditary monarchy by the constitution of May 3, 1791. This constitution, before it could function, was succeeded by the second partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia. Since then Poland, divided without a constitution for over a century but with the outbreak of the Great War in 1919 Poland became at once the centre of international attention. The war being fought ostensibly for the liberation of subject nations the cause of such nations, whose territories specially offered advantages to any of the contending parties to the war, was eagerly avowed by them. Poland was thus one of the first of these nations to attract attention and the three empires which possessed her dismembered territory at once stood forward as the champions of her liberties. At first Germany forced on her a constitution after her occupation of Poland in 1915, and declared her to be an independent state. The Poles non-co-operated with the constitution and framed a constitution of their own. Germany was forced in 1917 to proclaim a new constitution which functioned but feebly. After the defeat of Germany, General Pilsudski assumed the dictatorship as chief of the Polish State, and helped her to frame a constitution for herself. The following articles in the constitution of the Polish Republic may be cited:

Art. 109: Every citizen possesses the right of safeguarding his nationality and of cultivating his national language and customs.

(Special laws of the state guarantee the full and free development of their national customs to minorities in the Polish states.)

Art. 110: Polish nationals belonging to minorities in this nation, whether based on religion or language, have equal rights with other citizens in forming, controlling and administering at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the free use of their language and practice of their religion therein.

As has been already stated, Poland, by her leaders, Dmowski and Paderewski, signed the Minority Guarantee Treaty at Versailles. But Germany and Soviet Russia both complained that Poland was violating that treaty by her treatment of the many non-Polish nationalities and minorities included within her newly extended territory. At last under the Grabski Ministry, Poland passed laws in 1924 to satisfy the minority. One of these permitted the opening of private schools in which instruction was to take place in the language desired, and provided that at the request of the parents of 40 children in regions where there was a non-Polish minority amounting to 25 per cent of the population, instruction might be conducted in the language of the Minority, although in all instances, Polish, Polish history, and Polish geography should be taught, that last two always in the Polish language.

THE ESTHONIAN REPUBLIC.

The Estonians who form 95 per cent of the total population of the country were for long dominated by the Russian and German Minorities who formed the governing caste and made their education compulsory in either Russian or German. The liberation of the Estonians from the dominations of the Russians, Germans, and later on the Bolsheviks, was brought about by the Allied victory. Their treatment of minorities was much better than the treatment meted out to them by their own minorities in the preceding regime, as will appear from the following articles, in their constitution:

Art. 12: "Instruction in their mother tongue is guaranteed to racial minorities."

Art. 21: "Racial minorities in the country have the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national

culture and to maintain special organisations for their welfare, so far as is not incompatible with the interest of the State."

Art. 22: "In districts where the majority of the population is not Estonian but belongs to a racial minority, the language used for local administration may be the language of that racial minority."

The Czechs and the Slovaks struggled for a long time against the domination of the Germans and the Magyars respectively, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The victory of the Allies resulted in the liberation of the subject States of their enemies. Thus Czechs and the Slovaks won for themselves a new state. Themselves oppressed minorities for so long, they were quite considerate towards the minorities of their own newly started State, as will appear from the following articles of their constitution:

Art. 132: "In town and districts where a considerable proportion of Czecho-Slovak citizens belongs to a minority as regard race, religion, or language, and where sums of public money are set aside for educational purposes in the state, municipal or other budgets a due share in the allocation and use of such sums shall be accorded to such minorities, within the limits of the general regulations concerning public administration."

Art. 133: "The applications of the principles of article 132 and in particular the definition of the expression 'Considerable proportion' shall be provided for by special legislation."

Besides the clauses cited above from the new constitutions of Europe some of the clauses of treaties, proposed or entered into after the war in Europe throw additional light on the problems of Minorities, as is shown below:

(1) The Treaty with Austria of 1913 relating to the protection of Minorities:

Art. 68: "Austria will provide, in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of the Austrian nations of other than German speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Austrian nations through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Austrian Government from making and teach-

ing of the German language obligatory in the said schools.

GERMAN-POLISH CONVENTION OF 1922.

Chapter IV. Section II—Public Elementary Education.

Art. 106: "A Minority School shall be established on the application of a national supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 40 children of a linguistic minority."

"If at least 40 of these children belong to the same denomination or religion, a minority school of the denominational or religious character desired shall be established on application."

"Should the establishment of a minority school be inexpedient for special reasons, minority classes shall be formed (in the public schools for teaching the minority children their language and religion)."

Art. 107: "At least 18 pupils are required to claim such Minority language classes in a public elementary school and 12 for religious classes."

Art. 109: "The Minority schools shall receive a share, proportionate to the number of their pupils, of the funds allowed from the budgets of the school districts, apart from general administration expenses and grants-in-aid."

Art. 118: "For secondary and higher schools 300 pupils are required to claim Minority state schools, 30 for Minority classes in the lower forms and 20 in the higher forms, 25 for Minority language courses in the ordinary state schools and 18 for Minority religious courses."

Art. 129: "If a private Minority school replaces a state secondary or higher school, it shall be entitled to a grant from public funds provided that the number of pupils belonging to the Minority amounts to either a total of 150 or an average of 30 per class in the four lower classes or 20 in the other classes."

(3) The Lausanne Treaty with Turkey of 1923.

Art. 41: "In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the state, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes."

PROTECTION OF MINORITY LANGUAGES IN HUNGARY BY LAWS PASSED IN 1923 AND 1924.

In these laws 20 per cent of the population is taken as constituting "a considerable proportion," and in districts where the minority reaches this proportion all Government and Municipal authorities and judges must be able to speak the minority language.

These laws also provide that public Minority schools are to be opened in districts where either the majority of the population belongs to a linguistic Minority or there are 40 children speaking the Minority language. (Mair's *Protection of Minorities*, pp. 136-137.) The above clauses in the new European constitutions and Treaties indicate the lines on which the Indian treatment and solution of the Minorities' problem may be attempted, if we are to set our political clock going by the world's chronometer. The following positions are established in the international settlement:

(1) The Nationalities that have been seized by the Great Powers to start new and better composed states in reconstructed Europe, such as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, or the Serb-Croat-Slovene kingdom do not form larger majorities in their respective states than the Hindu majority in India. Moreover, the majorities with which the new states of Europe have been constituted on up-to-date ideals of state constructing are majorities that have been artificially obtained, whereas the Hindu majority in India is initial, indigenous, standing, and historical. The comparative figures for the different majorities are 69 per cent for Polish, 64 per cent for Czecho-Slovak, 73 per cent for the Serb-Croat and 75 per cent for the Hindu.

(2) The Minority problem is the most difficult and acute in Czecho-Slovakia which has to deal with the highly-cultured and powerful German Minority amounting to 24 per cent of the new states. India has similarly to deal with the Muslim Minority of 24 per cent. It is also agreed on all hands that the solution of the Minority problem is most successful in Czecho-Slovakia. (Prof. Gilbert Murray in his "Introduction to Mair's *Protection of Minorities*.")

(3) A Minority to be politically recognisable should be able to attain a certain minimum size

or numerical strength, a certain proportion of the total population of a country. This proportion is undefined in some, and defined in a few constitutions, and this definition may be taken to be understood and granted in the constitutions of the neighbouring states that do not contain this definition. In the Polish Republic, as a result of international pressure, recognition is given to non-Polish Minority if it amounts to as much as 25 per cent of the total population of the State. In Czecho-Slovakia, the limit is reduced to 23 per cent to accommodate the German Minority and in Hungary the limit is 20 per cent. The limit of 20 per cent is the lowest allowed in these international arrangements. (See p. 120 of Mair's "Protection of Minorities.")

APPLICATION OF NUMERICAL STANDARD TO INDIA.

Applying this international numerical standard for a minority to India, we find that the Muslims amounting to about 24 per cent of the total population of India have a just claim for special political recognition in the constitutional arrangements affecting India as a whole, but in the provinces considered separately, they are either in the majority, or in the minority of a degree which falls below the minimum international limit to be conformed to by a Minority. The distribution of the Muslim population in India has been in such a manner that they are in the majority in the North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Bengal, provinces. Their largest minority is in the United Provinces where it comes up to less than 15 per cent. This 15 per cent again is not evenly distributed in these provinces, but is largely concentrated in the urban areas particularly in the northern part of the province.

Therefore, in the light of international settlement, the problem of minority in India emerges really as a Hindu problem for the Punjab and Bengal where the Hindus form large-sized minorities amounting to about 44 per cent and 46 per cent respectively, and thus considerably above the prescribed limit, while the minority problem is a Muslim problem for India as a whole, and for purposes of the Central Government.

(4) As regards local areas, the numerical limit for a minority is heightened and emphasised. The

theory seems to be that a minority to claim special treatment should congregate as far as possible in certain areas to render such treatment administratively feasible.

It must so distribute itself through the different parts of a province that it can register everywhere the minimum degree of density defined. It should not dwindle into thinness as that is not recognisable. All the new European constitutions agree in insisting that a minority should form 'a considerable proportion of the population' by concentrating at certain areas. A Hungarian Decree issued in 1919 insists on minorities 'living in sufficiently considerable compact masses in the territory of the state.' The Estonian and Hungarian constitutions go so far as to require that a minority should convert itself into a majority in a particular area to claim special treatment. This condition will appear all the more striking for the minorities in these states or numerically very small in Estonia for instance only 12 per cent of its total population, 17 per cent Germans, and 106 per cent Russians and others.

It is to be carefully noted that since these new arrangements were in operation where it failed to come up to the show that a minority was denied protection where it failed to come up to the limit of its minimum size thus prescribed. In one of the districts of Poland, the Government, "forced the children of German-speaking parents to attend Polish Schools, on the ground that the number of Germans in the district was not sufficient to constitute a considerable proportion of the population" in the words of the Treaty. The Lithuanian Government took advantage of the lower figure given by the census to deprive the Polish minority of their rights. The Czech Minority in Austria recently complained to the League of Nations about their treatment whereupon the Austrian Government explained that 'they considered that the proportion of Czechs was not in any part of Austria sufficiently large to enable them to claim special educational privileges' (see pp. 93, 102 and 103 of Mair's book already cited).

(5) The numerical test is elaborately worked out in most of these constitutions to regulate the protection of the most important interests of a minority, viz., their language and religion.

Thus a minority can claim a special school for itself from the state funds for the primary education of its children where they come up to the minimum number of 40; and a secondary and higher school where the number comes up to the minimum of 300. The minimum number of pupils is lower for claiming special classes in the state public schools. For primary education, it is 18 for language and 12 for religion. For secondary education, it is 25 for language and 18 for religion. It will be noted that religion is more leniently treated for protection than the language of a minority, and primary education more generously than secondary.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MINORITIES NOT RECOGNISED.

(6) In all cases and constitutions, the special treatment or protection is strictly confined to the language, religion, and the racial characteristics, and special laws, customs, and institutions of a minority and is not applicable to anything else.

(7) A political minority (e.g., the liberals or the communists) or a social minority (e.g., non-Brahmins or the depressed classes) is not recognised for protection. In every constitution, what are termed racial, religious and linguistic Minorities 'alone' are recognised.

(8) Thus the theory of Minority Protection seems to be that such protection is not permissible for any artificial accidental aspect or features, which a minority may acquire or assume in its career. It must take its stand upon its native inherent, fundamental features—its particular cultural characteristics. These are respected so that a minority community may develop along its own lines of evolution, and may, by its particular culture, make its own specific and appointed contribution to the general culture of mankind. An article in the Polish Constitution 'guarantees the full and free development of their national customs to Minorities.' The Estonian Constitution lays down that 'racial minorities in the country have the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national culture and to maintain special organisations for their welfare so far as is not incompatible with the interests of the state.'

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES AND SEPARATE REPRESENTATION NOT RECOGNISED.

(9) Separate communal electorate and representation as such have not been recognised as legitimate means for achieving the end of minority protection, and have accordingly no place in any of the Western constitutions, old or new, including Turkey. The fundamental principle laid down and repeated in every constitution is of the form: 'There shall be but one Nationality in the State.' It is further declared that 'the enjoyment of civil and political rights shall be independent of the practice of any religion.'

(10) Minorities' Protection is sought to be achieved in all the new states of Europe through

the fundamental and permanent provisions introduced for the purpose in their constitutions and is not made dependent on electoral methods and uncertainties. It is dealt with by a regular and special scheme incorporated in every constitution, as its inalienable part.

The problem of Minorities, like the problems of Labour, Health, or Welfare, has now received an international treatment, a common and standardised solution. The problem need not be faced, treated, and solved by India in isolation. Let her at least deal with it in the light of the constitutional arrangements which she has already approved and guaranteed for so many centuries of Europe as an original member of the League of Nations.

INDIAN ART AND LITERATURE AS INFLUENCED BY ISLAM AND BRITAIN

BY

THE RT. HON'BLE THE MARQUIS OF ZETLAND.

India has a civilisation reaching back into a very remote past; and, for its earliest beginnings, you would have to peer back down the centuries to a period 4,000 years or more ago. If you could do that, you might notice, standing on the high passes of the Hindu Kush Mountains and gazing down upon the sun-drenched plains of India, a caravan of men, the pioneers of a race born and brought up amid the rugged highlands of Central Asia. They were a fair-skinned race who called themselves Arya, or Noble; a branch of the original stock from which we are ourselves descended; and seeing the land, that it was good, they poured down into it, pushing before them, or subduing, the more primitive people whom they found already in possession. These newcomers were in the habit of offering sacrifices to their gods—personifications for the most part of the forces of Nature—and of chanting hymns in their honour at the performance of the sacrifice. Though they were, of course, quite unaware of it they were thus laying the foundations of the future literature of India. Centuries rolled by and the next important milestone along the road is to be found somewhere

about the year 1000 before Christ, when we find a collection of 1,028 of these ancient hymns definitely recognised under the name of the Rig Veda as the authoritative scriptures of the race.

ABSTRACT SPECULATION.

Thereafter we have to take note of another and very important development. From very early times the Indo-Aryan people displayed a tendency towards abstract speculation, and, as time went on, there were added to the Vedic hymns, works of a different kind, containing strange and abstruse speculations upon the nature of things, to which was given the name of 'Upanishad' or books of secret knowledge. The literature of those days was not written, but was handed down by words of mouth from generation to generation. This entailed a tremendous strain upon the memory, and gave rise to a sort of oral shorthand which developed into a recognised type of literature called "Sutras"—strings of terse sentences in which everything was sacrificed to brevity and condensation. It is scarcely surprising in these circumstances that as the centuries rolled by the meaning of the "Sutras"

should have become obscure, or that, when writing came into general use, a number of commentators should have arisen who composed elaborate works giving each his own interpretation of the "Sutras," and incidentally, becoming the founders of distinctive schools of philosophic thought. One of the best-known of the commentators was the theologian Sankara who, about the eighth century A.D., expounded a philosophy of a high order, having in its main contention much in common with the subjective idealism which many centuries later found so brilliant an exponent in the West in Bishop Berkeley.

BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

Of course the philosophic thought of India did not flow down a single channel; it broke up into important branches; and notable among the branches is the literature of the Buddhists whose founder, Siddharta Gautama, known to the world as Buddha, broke away from the authority of the Priesthood about 500 years before the Christian era. But common to all the schools of Hindu philosophic thought is one outstanding belief—the belief, that is to say, that as a man sows, so shall he reap, if not in his present life, then in one of an infinite succession of lives that lie before him. For coupled with this belief in the inexorable sequence of cause and effect, is an almost universal belief in the transmigration of souls. A great deal might be said on this subject, but I must now pass on to another type of indigenous composition of great antiquity which has played an important part in the literature of India, namely, the ballads sung by village bards.

The habit of recounting the deeds of Gods and heroes—of dramatising history, so to speak—stretches back to pre-historic times and persists in the villages of India to the present day. And the vast collection of legend and folklore which has resulted from this practice may be said to be, in special measure, the contribution of the masses, as distinct from the intellectuals to the literature of India. To the Priesthood, nevertheless, must be given the credit for collecting and editing much of the material which has thus been provided and for presenting it in the shape of two immense epics—the "Mahabharata" and the "Ramayana," which

are to this day outstanding examples of this branch of Indian literature. They have been compared to the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" of Homer and they may be said to resemble them at least to this extent that the one is concerned with a great war for power between rival factions, while the other the wanderings and adventures of a king. They are, however, of a bulk before which their Greek counterparts pale into comparative insignificance, the "Mahabharata" alone being about eight times as long as the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" combined; while there is also interposed in it a famous dissertation of a religious and philosophical nature known as the "Bhagavad Gita," which is at once one of the most remarkable and the most treasured of the Hindu sacred books.

MAHOMEDAN INVASION.

About the time of the Norman conquest of Great Britain, India was the scene of a powerful invasion—that of the Mahomedans, who, like the Aryan immigrants 3,000 years before, poured down on to the plain of India through the mountain passes on the North-West bringing with them a religion, a civilisation and artistic standards, differing profoundly from those of the Hindu people. To the art, and particularly to the architecture of India, they have made a striking contribution; many of outstanding buildings of the country, such as the Taj Mahal, the world-famed tomb at Agra, and the mosques and palaces of many other cities, being in the main attributable to their genius. To the pictorial art of India they have likewise made a notable contribution. The miniatures of the Moghul school of painting are admirable portraits, the accuracy of the likeness being assisted by strict attention on the part of the artist to minute and delicate detail. Realism rather than idealism, is the characteristic of Moghul art, the artist being concerned to reproduce faithfully what he saw, so that in any Moghul landscape painting, for example, the various trees appearing in it can readily be identified. But it is precisely in this respect that the art of the invaders differed from the indigenous art of the Hindus, outstanding features of which are an attractive mysticism and imagination. These latter characteristics are due to the outlook of the Indian artist; for just as the Indian philosopher dismissed the

world of matter as an illusion, so did the Indian painter or sculptor, seek to represent the reality which he detected behind the appearance of a thing, rather than the appearance of the thing itself. When an Indian artist wishes to convey the idea of infinite power as an attribute of the deity, he paints a figure with an unnatural number of heads or arms. To the Europeans to whom this mode of expression is unfamiliar the result is apt to seem fantastic. Not so, however, to the Indian; for these conventional forms, which he employs for this particular purpose, are traditional and are made use of in his literature as well as in his art. There is for example a passage in the "Bhagavad Gita" descriptive of a vision in which the hero of the battle is permitted for a moment, to see God as He is. He thus describes Him: "With mouths, eyes, arms, breasts, multitudinous, I see Thee everywhere, unbounded Form."

IDEALISM.

This kind of idealism in Indian art can be very attractive. Take, for example, the conventional image of Buddha, seated cross-legged in an attitude of meditation which is to be seen in all Buddhist countries. Judged by Western artistic standards, it suffers from many imperfections. The face is expressionless and the whole figure is devoid of anatomical detail. There is nothing to indicate that the original possessed either veins, muscles or bones and from this point of view it might well be described as crude. Yet one realises, as one gazes at it, that it is producing on one's mind the exact effect intended; for it inevitably suggests the idea of permanence in a world of flux, of divine peace in a universe of ceaseless and tumultuous unrest. And if you attempt to analyse the factors which go to create impression you will be driven to the conclusion that it is the very absence of detail that is chiefly responsible. There is nothing to divert the mind from the main idea suggested by the whole, namely, immobility. All is at rest. You see before you the embodiment of that ideal which, throughout the ages, India has sought with an almost passionate tenacity—released from all activity; that perfect peace that passeth all human understanding

which the Buddhists call Nirvana, and the Hindus, Moksha—liberation from the evil of existence, in a word—salvation.

BRITISH INFLUENCE.

Islam is not the only civilisation from without that has affected the development of Indian literature and art and, in conclusion, I must refer briefly to the influence of another and more recent incursion—that of Great Britain. Until comparatively recent times the language of culture in India was Sanskrit, the old classical language of the Hindus just as in England up to the sixteenth century, the language of the cultured classes was Latin. It is, indeed, less than a hundred years since the Indian peoples—awakened from their apathy by impact from the virile civilisation which flowed in upon them from the West—began to realise the literary possibilities of the languages of their daily life. In Bengal in particular was this the case. Here, as a result of the labours of a band of Indian scholars, the Bengali language gradually succeeded in combining the grace and dignity of Sanskrit with the directness and vigour of English and in becoming a live and artistic medium of expression. The result of this development was the appearance of a whole galaxy of modern Indian writers, including poets, dramatists and novelists. It may seem invidious to mention by name any one of the many who are already famous in the history of modern Indian literature. Yet among the pioneers of the nineteenth century the name of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the novelist, described by his admirers as the Walter Scott of India, stands out. While among living Indian writers the name of Rabindra Nath Tagore, winner of the Nobel prize of literature at once occurs to one as a poet and writer of outstanding eminence whose command of English is so great that his works, brilliant though they are in their original language lose little when uttered by him in the English tongue. Here, then, we have a new milestone on the long road of Indian literature and art—one which marks the beginning of an epoch, the possibilities of which may be dimly guessed at even though, as yet, they cannot fully be foreseen.

INDIA THROUGH THE AGES: IV.—ISLAM IN INDIA

BY

DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E.

The Muslim conquest of India differed fundamentally from all preceding invasions in one respect. The Muslims came to India as a new element which the older inhabitants could not absorb. The Greek, Seythian, Mongolian and Parthian invaders had, a few generations after their settlement in this land, been completely Hinduized in name, manners, religion, dress and ideas.

In the second century before Christ, a Greek named Heliodorus, the son of Dion, when travelling in India on an embassy, could adore Vishnu and erect a column in honour of that Hindu god. Men considered it quite natural that he should do so and take to himself the title of a Bhagavat or Vaishnav. [Besnagar Pillar Inscription.]

But Islam is a fiercely monotheistic religion. It cannot allow any compromise with polytheism or admit a plurality of deities. The God of Islam and of Christianity—like the God of Judaism, which was the parent of both these creeds,—is “a living and a jealous God.” He cannot tolerate any companion or sharer in the hearts of His adorers. Hence, the absorption of the Indo-Muslims into the fold of Hinduism by recognising Allā as another of the numberless incarnations of Vishnu and Muhammad as an inspired Saḥib, was impossible. Therefore, Hindus and Muhammadans,—as, later on, Hindus and Christians,—had to live in the same land without being able to mix together. Nothing has enabled them to bridge this gulf. The Indian Muslims have, throughout the succeeding centuries, retained the extra-Indian direction of their hearts. Their faces are still turned, in daily prayer, to a spot in Mecca; their minds, their law-code, their administrative system, their favourite reading sought models from outside India,—from Arabia and Syria, Persia and Egypt. All Muhammadans have the same sacred language, era, literature, teachers, saints and shrines, throughout the world, instead of these being restricted to India, as is the case with the Hindus.

The Hindus were willing to absorb the Muslims; they wrote the *Allo-pamshad* and went perilously near to making an avatar of the Emperor Akbar. But the Muhammadans would not yield on the cardinal points of their faith, nor accept the new convention necessary for entering Hindu society. They clung to the Quranic precepts: “The polytheists are unclean; let nothing unclean enter the Kaba.”

This was the cardinal difference between the Muslim settlement in India and all the other foreign immigrations that had gone before it. Another equally important characteristic of the Muslim element in India was that from 1200 to 1600 their state and society retained its original military and nomadic character,—the ruling race living merely like an armed camp in the land. It was Akbar who, at the end of the sixteenth century, began the policy of giving to the people of the country an interest in the State, and making the government undertake some socialistic functions in addition to the mere police work it had hitherto contented itself with doing. Up to Akbar's time the Muslim settlers in India had been in the land but not of it.

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA.

What were the gifts of the Muslim age to India? They were ten:

- (i) Restoration of touch with the outer world, which included the revival of an Indian navy and sea-borne trade, both of which had been lost since the decline of the Cholas.
- (ii) Internal peace over a large part of India, especially north of the Vindhya.
- (iii) Uniformity secured by the imposition of the same type of administration.
- (iv) Uniformity of social manners and dress among the upper classes irrespective of creed.
- (v) Indo-Saracen art, in which the mediæval Hindu and Chinese schools were blended together. Also, a new style of architecture, and the prome-

tion of industries of a refined kind (e.g., shawl, inlaying, kinkhab, muslim carpet, etc.).

(vi) A common *lingua franca*, called Hindustani or Rekhta, and an official prose style (mostly the creation of Hindu munshis writing Persian, and even borrowed by the Maratha *chataises* for their own vernacular).

(vii) Rise of our vernacular literatures, as the fruits of peace and economic prosperity under the empire of Delhi.

(viii) Monotheistic religious revival and Sufism.

(ix) Historical literature.

(x) Improvements in the art of war and civilisation in general.

The intimate contact between India and the outer Asiatic world, which had been established in the early Buddhist age, was lost when the new Hindu society was reorganised and set in rigidity like a concrete structure about the eighth century A.D., with the result that India again became self-centred and isolated from the moving world beyond her natural barriers.

This touch with the rest of Asia and the nearest parts of Africa was restored by the Muslim conquest at the end of the 12th century, but with a difference. The Hindus no longer went outside, as they had done in the Buddhist age; only many thousands of foreigners poured into India and some Indian Muslims went abroad every year.

Through the passes of the Afghan frontier the stream of population and trade flowed peacefully into India from Bukhara and Samarkand, Balkh and Khurasan, Khwarizm and Persia, because Afghanistan belonged to the ruler of Delhi, till near the end of the Mughal empire (1739). Through the Bolan Pass, leading from India to Kandahar and Persia, as many as 14,000 camel-loads of merchandise passed every year in the reign of Jahangir, early in the 17th century. The ports on our western coast were so many doors between India and the outer world that could be reached by sea. From the eastern port of Masulipatam, belonging to the Sultans of Golkonda up to 1687 and thereafter to the Mughals,—ships used to sail for Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Siam and even China.

The two hundred years of Mughal rule gave to the whole of Northern India and to much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system and coinage, and also a popular *lingua franca* for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary villagefolk. Even outside the territory directly administered by the Mughal emperors, their administrative system, official titles, court etiquette and monetary type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu rajas.

All the twenty Indian subahs of the Mughal empire were governed by means of exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in all official records, etc. . . . Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one province to another. Thus, the native of one province felt himself almost at home in another province; traders and travellers passed most easily from city to city, *subah* to *subah* and all realised the imperial oneness of this vast country.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE ON FINE ARTS.

In the domain of the fine arts, the richest contributions of the Mahomedans are a new style of architecture (especially palaces and tombs), the Indo-Saracen school of painting, and artificial gardening.

In the earliest Muslim paintings to reach India, namely, those from Khurasan and Bukhara, we see complete Chinese influence, especially in representing the faces, rocks, sheets of water, fire and dragons. . . . In the court of our truly national King Akbar, this Chinese or extra-Indian Muslim art mingled with pure Hindu art—whose traditions had been handed down unchanged since the days of the Ajanta frescoes and the Bharhut and Ellora reliefs. Thus Muslim art in India underwent its first transformation. The rigidity of the Chinese outline was softened. The conventionality of Chinese art was discarded. We note a new method of representing rocks, water and fire, which is no doubt suggestive of the Chinese school, but it is clearly the Chinese school in a process of dissolution and making a nearer approach to Nature. The scenery and features are distinctly Indian. . . .

This process of the Indianisation of Saracen art continued after Akbar's time, till at last in the reign of Shah Jahan, the Chinese influence entirely disappeared, the Indian style became predominant, and the highest development was reached in delicacy of features and colouring, minuteness of detail, wealth and variety of ornamentation, and approximation to Nature—but without attaining either to true perspective or to light and shade. This Indo-Saracen art was entirely developed in the courts of the Mughal Emperors.

Thus, in painting there was a true revival, and the highest genius was displayed by Indian artists in the Mughal age. This style lingers on in our times under the name of "Indian art" or "Mughal painting."

In European history we find that the social revolutions caused by the Barbarian overthrow of the Roman Empire continued through the Dark Ages till the 13th century, when the former provinces of the Roman Empire reappeared as independent national kingdoms, and in each of them a vernacular literature sprang up, which took the place of the old common cultural language, Latin. Chaucer (c. 1360), Dante (c. 1300) and the Troubadours are the morning stars of Sung in the respective languages of England, Italy and France. In India, too, the old Sanskrit literature ceased to be a living growth after 1200 A. D. Though Sanskrit works continued to be written long after that date and have been written even in our own times, these were entirely artificial works,—mere commentaries, or commentaries on commentaries, conventional treatises or *tours de force*, and not original productions deserving the name of literature. They fail to appeal to our hearts or to add to our stock of knowledge, so that it may be truly said that what is popularly called the Pathan period, i.e., from 1200 to 1550, was the Dark Age of North Indian history and the Hindu intellect was barren during those three centuries and a half. But, by the time that Akbar had conquered his enemies and established a broad empire covering all North India, peace and good administration began to produce their natural fruits. With the feeling of security, wealth grew, and wealth brought leisure and a passion for the things of the mind. There was a sudden growth of vernacular literature in

all our provinces. In Bengal a new impulse was given to the creative instinct by the followers of Chaitanya (1485–1533), who wrote the first great works—as distinct from folk-songs—in modern Bengali. Such were the saint's biographies, the "Chaitanya Bhagabat" (1535) the "Chaitanya-charitamrita" (completed 1582) and many others.

In the Hindi-speaking world the greatest master was Tulsidas who began his immortal and perennially inspiring "Rama-charit-manasa" in 1574. He had been preceded by a Muslim poet, Malik Mahomed Jaisi, whose allegorical romance, the "Padmavat," had been completed in 1540 and "Marigavat" in 1592. There was quite a crop of Hindi poems produced in this age such as the *Akharavat*, *Sopनावत*, *Kandaravat*, *Madhu Malati*, *Usman's Chitravati* (1613).

I do not here refer to the Hindi religious poems of an earlier age, like those of Kabir (d. 1518), Dadu and Nanak (1469–1538), because they were not literature proper, but more in the nature of aphorisms intended to be committed to the memory and transmitted orally.

Nor do I refer to the Persian literature (other than history) produced in India under the patronage of Akbar and his successors, because it was an exotic. Many of the Persian poets of the Delhi Court down to the middle of the 17th century were emigrants from Persia. Such were Mahomed Jan Quli, Taliba Amuli and others. Their productions have no life, no value as literature.

Urdu came into being in the 16th century but only as a vulgar-spoken tongue, despised by authors and cultured society. It became a literary language in the north only in the late 18th century: Wali of Aurangabad (c. 1710) having been its first recognised poet of note. But the southern Urdu or *Bekhata* had produced good poetry more than a century earlier.

The literary impulse given by the peace and prosperity of Akbar's long and successful reign and the patronage of that emperor and his vassal princes, led to a wonderful flowering of the Indian intellect at the close of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. To this period belongs the curious corrupt Sanskrit history of Bengal entitled "Shaikh-Subhodaya," the Persian writings of Chandra-bhan Brahman, a courtier and a diplomat of Shah Jahan, and

the Hindi works noted in the *Mishra-Bandha-Vinod*.

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON HINDUS.

Let us now consider the result of the impact of Islam—both creed and society—on the Hindus and the reaction of Islam to its Hindu environment during the many centuries that these two faiths have lived together in the same land. Cunningham, the historian of the Sikhs, as early as the middle of the nineteenth century thus described the moral effect of the Muslim conquest:

"The influence of a new people, who equalled or surpassed Kshatriyas in valour, who despised the sanctity of Brahmans, and who authoritatively proclaimed the unity of God and His abhorrence of images—began gradually to operate on the minds of the multitude of India . . . New superstition emulated old credulity. Pirs and shahids, saints and martyrs, equalled Krishna and Bhairav in the number of their miracles, and the Mahomedans almost forgot the unity of God in the multitude of intercessors whose aid they implored."

That was one effect, the growth of popular superstition; but something higher soon followed. I quote Cunningham again:

"The first result of the conflict [between Hinduism and Islam] was the institution, about the end of the 14th century, of a comprehensive sect by Ramanand of Benares. . . . He seized upon the idea of man's equality before God. He instituted no nice distinctive observances, he admitted all classes of people as his disciples. About 1450 the mysterious (*i.e.*, mystic) weaver Kabir assailed at once the worship of idols, the authority of the Quran and Shastras, and the exclusive use of a learned language."

But it is historically incorrect to hold as Hunter and some other European writers have done, that the monotheistic and anti-caste movements among the Hindus in the Middle Ages originated in Islam. We know that all the higher thinkers, all the religious reformers, all the sincere devotees among the Hindus from the earliest times, have proclaimed one and only one supreme God behind the countless deities of popular worship, and have declared the equality of all

true adorers and placed a simple sincere faith above elaborate religious ceremonies; they have all tried to simplify religion and bring it to the doors of the commonest people. Hence, what really happened after the Muslim conquest was that these dissenting or reforming movements among the Hindus received a great impetus from the presence of the Mahomedans in their immediate neighbourhood. The example of Islamic society acted as a solvent on Hindu prejudice.

Many sects arose which tried to harmonise Islam and Hinduism and to afford a common meeting-ground to the devout men of both creeds, in which their differences of ritual, dogma and external marks of faith were ignored. This was the avowed aim of Kabir and Dadu, Nanak and Chaitanya. They made converts freely from Hindus and Muslims and rejected the rigid orthodoxy of the Brahman and the Mulla alike.

So, too, the Sufi movement afforded a common platform to the more learned and devout minds among the Hindus and Mahomedans. Unlike the above-mentioned popular religions of mediæval India, Sufism never extended to the illiterate people. It was essentially a faith,—or rather an intellectual-emotional enjoyment—reserved for the philosophers, authors, and mystics free from bigotry. The eastern variety of Sufism is mainly an off-shoot of the Vedanta of the Hindus, and it rapidly spread and developed in India from the time of Akbar, under whose fostering care Hindu and Muslim thought formed a close union, with help from many Persian emigrants of liberal views. Akbar's mantle as an eclectic and peace-maker in religion fell on his great-grandson Dara Shukoh, who openly declared that he had found the fullest pantheism (*tawhid*) in the Vedanta only and prepared a Persian translation of fifty of the Upanishads and another work bearing the significant title of *Majma-ul-biharain* or "the mingling of the two oceans," which explains for Persian readers the technical terms of Hindu pantheism, with their parallels in Sufi phraseology, in order to facilitate the study of the subject by members of both creeds.

In short the popular religious sects founded by the saints and the Sufi philosophy tended to bring the ruling race and the subject people closer together.

HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

Another gift of the Muslims to India is historical literature. The chronological sense was very imperfectly developed among the Hindus, who are apt to despise this world and its ephemeral occurrences. Before the Islamic conquest, they produced no true history at all.

On the other hand, the Arab intellect is dry, methodical and matter-of-fact. All their records contain a chronological frame-work. The historical literature of the Mahomedans in all countries has been vast and varied and well furnished with dates. We therein get a solid basis for historical study. The Persian chronicles which were written under every Muslim dynasty in India and in every reign under the Mughals not only serve as materials of study in themselves but furnished an example which Hindu writers and Hindu rulers were not slow to imitate. Thus a new very useful element was introduced into Indian literature, and in the 17th and 18th centuries it formed a magnificent body—if we take all the histories, biographies and letters into account.

The cultural influence of the centuries of Muslim rule was necessarily widespread. Hunting, hawking and many games became Mahomedanised in method and terminology. In other departments also, Persian, Arabic and Turkish words have entered largely into the Hindi, Bengali, and even Marathi languages. The art of war was very highly developed by the Muslims, partly by borrowing from Europe through Turkey and to a lesser extent through Persia. The imperial Mughal army served as a model which Hindu Rajas eagerly imitated. The system of fortification was greatly improved by the Mahomedans in India, as a natural consequence of the general advance of civilisation and the introduction of artillery.

The Muslim influence was naturally most felt on the system of administration, the Court ceremonies and dress, the military organisations and arms, the lives of the upper classes, the articles of luxury, fine arts, architecture (other than religious) and gardening. In Court life and even the titles and office procedure of State officials, the Mughal Empire set the fashion which the Hindu Rajas often slavishly copied. In some Rajput and Malwa

Hindu States, the official language even today is Urdu and the Persian script is used instead of Devanagari.

The basis of the revenue system was indigenous and a continuation of the village organisation that had come down from before recorded history, but the official arrangements, titles and method of record-keeping were due to the Perso-Saracen model imported by the Muslim invaders, and these were borrowed by the Hindu States. [Mughal Administration, 2nd Ed. Chs. 5 and 11.]

In warfare, gunpowder was introduced and cavalry rose to great prominence eclipsing the elephants of the old Hindu days. The animals now ceased to be an arm and continued as a mere transport agency.

The Muslims, leading generally a more luxurious life than the Hindus and being a predominantly city population (except in East Bengal), encouraged several manufactures and fine arts. They were more tasteful and elegant than the Hindus in their daily life and even in their vices—which the richer Hindus and particularly the official class copied whenever they had the means. By the agency of the Mahomedans new articles of food and new styles of cookery were introduced. In aesthetics, perfumery and—though not so completely, in music and dancing also—the Muslim royal family guided the taste of the entire society.

Paper was introduced by the Mahomedans, as the Arabic word "Kaghaz" proves. Thus, books could be multiplied in a more attractive and durable form than by scratching on palm leaves. The illumination of manuscripts is an art which we owe to the Mughal Empire and from Akbar's time onwards Hindi and Sanskrit works were finely copied and illustrated for the sake of Hindu Rajas, while the Persian book illumination and calligraphy then done in India enjoyed deserved fame in Europe. We owe to the Mahomedan influence the practice of diffusing knowledge by the copying and circulation of books, while the earlier Hindu writers, as a general rule, loved to make a secret of their productions.

The best medical men of the age were the *ghowani hakims* or Muslim physicians practising the Græco-Arab system of medicine. This was due partly on account of the patronage of the Court and of the nobility, but mainly because the progress of Hindu

medicine had been arrested long ago, while Muslim medical science was daily progressing by keeping touch with the west.

The Muhammadans were the only foreign traders of India (if we leave out the European sojour-

ners in the land). This naturally resulted in a greater expansion of their minds in comparison with those of the stay-at-home Hindus. In the Persian language a travelled man, *nuard-i-jihan-slida* is rightly considered as a model of wisdom and culture.

LAW AND MORALS: THEIR INTER-RELATIONS

BY

MR. N. N. GHOSH.

The question of the relation between Law and Morals may appear in a summer to have been prejudged by the statement made in my previous paper on "Law and Truth," that it is the business of law at all times effectively to reflect that complex of beliefs and practices which is styled the "mores" of the day. I confess that do what I may subjecting myself repeatedly to a discipline Cartesian in severity and thoroughness, I have found myself, at the end of every such process of intellectual self-flagellation back to the fundamental conviction that Law must be subordinated to Morals and through Morals to the Conscience of men.

But what are Morals? And what is the character of this relation of subordination?

I have deliberately preferred the term "Morals" to "Ethics." Under the category of "Morals," I wish to include every rule of good conduct, and rules of good conduct spread a good deal beyond what is implied by purely ethical conduct. Conduct which may be indifferent in ethical value may yet be opposed to the "mores" of the day as being indecent or crassly thoughtless. Equally opposed to the "mores" of the day may be that pedantic over-accentuation of formal ethicisms which bears the ill name of "priggishness" and which is twin-brother to that other vice, sanctimoniousness.

Where again in the "mores" of the day is the place of faith in religion, of conformity to religious practices? Modern States comprise people of different religious beliefs—of communities conforming in varying degrees to different religious and social practices eating different foods, observing different fasts and festivals affecting different modes

of aesthetic enjoyment. What are the "mores" of the day at any given time in a modern State? And are there more than one body of morals operating at the same time within the same political jurisdiction? In the presence of such and other particularistic conflicts, where are the "mores" of the day and how is the Law to seek to reflect and realise them?

To say that it is the business of Law to reflect effectively the "mores" of the day is therefore clearly not to solve the problem. It is merely to formulate it. The finding of the right rules of law and their application have, as I have already stated, always been and must be a serious and difficult business. With the progress of complexity in social arrangements, the seriousness and the difficulty have increased rather than diminished. And, mark this, there is no finality in the rules found, just as (and because) there is no finality in social adjustments. The laws and the manner of their application must undergo perpetual adaptation. But through all the changes, there must (as I have taken pains to stress in my paper on "Law and Logic") be maintained a character of stability. Whatever is stable for the time being however, is not for that reason static, though in order to be dynamic (as Law is and must be), it need not, I affirm again, be in a state of Heraclitean flux.

HUMAN CONDUCT.

Rules of Law are first and foremost rules of human conduct, that is to say, rules which must directly or indirectly determine human action. So must moral rules, understood whether in the narrower sense in which they are usually spoken of, or in the

wider sense I have indicated. But these last by no means exhaust the whole range of human conduct. What I mean is that all rules of human action do not necessarily have a moral implication understood in even this wider sense, and let us be thankful to the mysterious Powers that rule human destiny, that they do not. Only a fraction again of the moral rules, so understood, take rank as legal rules. All legal rules (except mere rules of procedure and what are styled enabling statutes which are law only by courtesy) must be moral rules in the wider sense but all moral rules cannot and, as I shall explain later, should not embody themselves in legal rules.

It follows that all legal and moral rules must possess certain general characteristics which should be noted here. Let it be noted first, that both varieties of rules are intended to govern the voluntary acts of individual human beings. I have used the term "govern" because the rules (of both Law and Morals) are in a sense mandatory and not conventional, and are often spoken of as "commandments" because men are "required" to follow them. But they have to follow them (and this I may say is one of the main theses of my address) not because they are commanded but because on the whole men feel that they have to be followed for the attainment and maintenance of their highest well-being, individual and communal. What I am anxious these words "govern," "mandatory," "commandments" shall not convey to the philosophical student of law and morals is that these rules are compulsory in the sense that they deprive the individuals to whom they are addressed of the option, if they so choose, to do the opposite. They are originally and essentially "appeals to the individuals" civic and moral consciences. There are no doubt characteristic "sanctions" attached to them in their respective spheres. But what has specially to be noted is that the sanctions do not operate until the addressees of the so-called commandments have had a chance of disobeying them. An act would not be voluntary, if the option not to do it was not there, and I am posing no paradox when I say that by depriving a man of the option to do wrong you deprive him of the privilege of doing right. Rules of law and morals, I say, are commandments which those to whom they are addressed are free to obey or not, at their own risk. "Men are not to be driven on rails nor yet by reins." There

is no merit in converting autonomous human beings into automata and I for one would not go into ecstasies over the peace of a king of whom it might be said: "Such a fine driver of the State chariot was he that his subjects did not deviate by a hair's breadth from the path marked out for them since the days of Manu." A moral rule I say again, will cease to be moral if it compels people without choice to be moral. Equally, a legal rule ceases to be legal if it compels obedience without option of violation. Were it otherwise, would not prison-houses be ideal nurseries of law and order? And what a prison-house it would need to make all men law-abiding! It is not sanction but conscience which coerces, if anything does so at all. Sanctions are "ex post facto" visitations. Legal sanctions are merely marks or "indicia" that a breach of a rule to which they are attached will be punished or penalised "after the event by the State itself." The binding character of legal rules is not derived from their sanctions.

THE DIFFERENCE

It follows that the difference between legal and moral rules rests outwardly on the difference in the respective sanctions by which in cases of breach the violators of these rules are visited and the agency by which the sanctions (not the rules) are enforced, the intrinsic character and the ultimate purpose of both sets of rules being the same. As previously stated most legal rules are, at bottom, moral rules, but all moral rules (because of their far wider extension and scope) are not legal rules. The same rule may thus be simultaneously supported by legal as well as moral sanctions and enforced at the same time by State agencies and by the various methods and influences by which outraged social, communal or sectional opinion may make itself felt. The delimitation of the province of law from the wider domain of morals has been, it will be observed, a familiar device of social economy in all ages and climes. The boundary line has never been rigidly drawn and is always shifting. But patent as the distinction between law and morals may superficially appear to be, it is by no means easy to formulate general reasons why

some matter or matters only and not others should be made over to law and not left to be secured like the rest by the force of moral judgments alone.

It is usually affirmed that law is concerned with requiring conformity to an external standard, it has nothing to do with what lies in the hearts of men. "The Devil himself," said a fifteenth century Chief Justice of England, "knoweth not the thought of men." But if courts of law must in this matter confess themselves to be even less discerning intellectually than Satan, how much more helpless must be my friends and neighbours regarding the inner motives and intentions of my acts? The plain fact is that courts of law equally with one's neighbours (and let me add, now the ever watchful Public Press) are constantly engaged in judging of men's inner motives and intentions. "Per contra" has not Mrs. Grundy always shown more concern for my failures to conform to standards of decorum as manifested by outward acts than for what I think and feel? And the reason of that fact is plainly this that laws, equally with morals, have their roots deep down in the hearts of men. A rule of law or morals is not what it pretends to be if it finds no echo whatever in the moral consciousness of the community. They must all, without distinction, be such as will command general respect irrespective of the sanctions provided for their enforcement. It is unfortunately the case, for all that, that neither legal nor moral rules are universally respected or obeyed. But some of these rules are so intimately bound up with the vital forces of the community that even a casual snapping of these rules has to be instantly remedied and repaired for the safety of the organism as a whole. The organised force of the entire community has to take charge of infractions of rules, the observance of which, so to speak, insures the safety of the body politic. The setting up of legal rules over moral rules does not thus mean a surrender by the latter to the former. Laws, I say, are never meant to replace morals. They are made to meet those exceptional cases where the moral forces left to themselves would prove too weak in operation to prevail unaided, and yet it is necessary for the safety of the community that they should prevail.

The evil consequences of law "displacing" morals would be as serious as those of the parallel contingency of Mrs. Grundy dislodging all individual consciences and taking sole control of the morals of a people.

It has nevertheless to be admitted that the assumption of control by law does as a rule result in an appreciable weakening of the moral forces. State interference like that of Mrs. Grundy's is thus an evil and not the less so because it is an unavoidable evil. Both species of interference have for this reason been likened to poison, bearable and beneficent only in moderate or attenuated doses. Also discrimination in application is in both cases indispensable to success. Law is physic not food as morals are and not every moral disease will admit of exorcism by the big stick of law. Where morals suffice the law should hold its hands just as Mrs. Grundy would be always well-advised to turn her prying eyes the other way when men's individual consciences suffice to keep the moral atmosphere sweet and savoury.

EXTERNAL CONDUCT.

I am now prepared to concede that law should as a rule confine itself to standardising the external conduct of men, for to pry too nicely into men's hearts for the sake of those hearts would be to interfere with what had best be left to individual consciences. Law should be very careful not to undermine morals by fussy and quixotic interference where it should well let things alone. "Laissez faire" should still be the guiding spirit of Law. "State interference," it has been truly said, "is an evil where it cannot be shown to be good." And the omelette, be it added, is always on the maker of the Law.

I have no fear that Law whose methods must necessarily be very often rough and crude will ever replace morals any more than that public opinion will displace the still small voice in individual bosoms—the voice which I regard as a more potent instrument of Law and Order than either law or public opinion. Nobody indeed need fear that the social structure will be so inverted that the apex will replace the base. But I do feel that the attempt which is being constantly made by zealous legis-

lators to encroach upon the sphere of morals and the even more insidious encroachments of both law and public opinion upon the domain of conscience are materially vitiating public and private life in modern societies. "There is no modern tendency which I deplore more or regard with greater misgivings than the tendency to measure all moral obligations by the legal standard"—a tendency which is based on the fundamentally mistaken notion that the bounds of law limit also the domain of morals and the jurisdiction of conscience. A man feels free to make himself un-neighbourly to the point of being a nuisance to people around him so long as he does not overstep the bounds of law. Is A justified in making night hideous to people over the way, simply because the law does not make such a course illegal? Why in such a case should A slyly assume that he is doing a favour by not making himself a cad, when to the utmost core of his being he should feel that in being neighbourly to his fellow-creatures he is simply doing what he should and that to do otherwise would constitute a breach of a higher law than the law of the State, a breach indeed of that from which the laws of the State derive their sanctity. Other instances will readily occur—so readily indeed that I can safely refrain from specifying them for the purpose of pointing my moral.

LINE OF SAFETY.

I admit that it is not easy always to define with precision the boundary between laws proper and morals. It must sometimes require acute judgment and delicate discrimination to draw what I regard as the "line of safety," the line where law shades off into morals and *vice versa*. Twilight here confuses the boundary between night and day but that is no justification for calling day night and night day. Provided the object is kept constantly in view, no serious legislator or judge need fail in sensing roughly at least, where Law should stop and leave the field clear to Conscience. But to the common man, the subject of all laws (legal as well as moral) the matter should present no difficulty. Let him only not get into the bad habit of asking first what the law requires or permits him to do. Let him begin always rather by enquiring what his Conscience tells him. In ninety-nine cases out of

a hundred, he will not need to consult the other two oracles, Public Opinion and Law.

And I affirm further that the obligation to consult the higher oracle of Conscience is not confined to the subject alone. It rests equally on rulers and their agents, including governing corporations. I have previously denied that law is or at any time was the capriciously willed command of the ruler. Therefore I am not called upon to demolish or circumvent the extravagant doctrine that the State is above law. I have said that Law sits enthroned on the communal and in the last resort on the individual conscience. But it may be urged that the Government at the present day is seldom an individual; it is a body corporate; and if Government servants are ordinarily natural persons, many of the most important functions of Government are now discharged by bodies corporate, municipalities, Rural Boards and Universities, for instance. Corporations, it has been sometimes said, have no soul and no conscience. If this description be true, then it is high time that they borrowed a soul and cultivated a conscience. Even Law, I am glad to say, has been casting aside this ancient superstition. It is now being confidently asserted by writers in legal journals that it is no longer impossible for Courts to convict corporations of crime involving "mens rea." So far at least as law goes, therefore a corporation is no longer a creature without a body to be flogged or a soul to be damned.

INTERACTION.

What then is the relation between Law and Morals? The relation is one of close interaction. But it is also a relation of subordination of Law to Morals and, through Morals, to men's Consciences. The power of Law, I have said, does not rest on its sanctions. The sanctions operate remedially or at the best as prophylactics. The power rests ultimately on the moral assent of the community. "The paramount power, I repeat, is Conscience, the power that normally works without sanctions." The "Divorce of Law from Morals," of which one heard so much three decades ago is to my mind inconceivable. A Law, I say, cannot be law unless it is also moral, or at any rate polarised that way.

This however does not mean that a rule to be a rule of law must be born first as a rule of conscience

and then be adopted as legal rule. A rule of law need not necessarily be posterior in point of time to the rule of morals of which it is the counterpart. A rule of conscience may be born, like Mr. Minerva in the full panoply of a legal rule. Conscience may thus exceptionally discover itself for the first time as a rule of law; and communal conscience, dull and unintrospective, may (more rarely still) blaze into self-consciousness only after the rule has been habituated as law. But these instances in no way detract from my thesis that Law has its roots al-

ways in the moral consciousness of the people. Where that is not the case, the so-called law soon becomes a dead letter, if it is not still-born in fact.

To conclude, I declare, that the social machinery cannot be worked and is not intended to be worked by intellectual opportunism alone. All three motive powers which go to make up the mind of man, Heart, Brain and Conscience, must work together, or else the machinery will inevitably be thrown out of gear. And primacy within this Sacred College belongs, first and last, to Conscience.

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER'S FIRST INDIAN BUDGET

BY

MR. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

The financial statement presented by Sir George Schuster, which for a maiden effort is singularly frank and free, raises many reflections which are being canvassed by the members of both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. There is one aspect of it referred to by him in the concluding portion of his speech to which pointed attention has to be drawn. You have in your leading article reviewing his speech, touched on the important and vital question of the economic condition of the people, and what do the figures supplied by the Finance Member show? Are they really reassuring or do they disclose a state of things which must cause grave searchings of heart? In my view they point to a growing deterioration of the condition of all classes of people, the rich and the poor except of course those who are drawing fixed salaries from Government or the railways which have been increased out of proportion during the last ten years, to which period alone I propose to refer in this article.

Tell me about the state of your finance, and I will tell you all about your people, said John Bright. It is not possible, to take an accurate measure of the economic growth or deterioration of a people from budget figures; but surely they can indicate the tendency. Let us take therefore those items of central revenue from which

one can infer whether the taxpayers are better or worse off than they were ten years ago. The three important sources of central revenue that bear upon the economic condition of the people are the tax on incomes, the revenue from customs and the duty on salt. The income-tax does not affect the general body of taxpayers as it is confined to practically a small body of men; but the customs and, more especially, the duty on salt are paid by the people.

THE PROCEEDS OF TAXES.

Taking the tax on incomes, the highest point was reached in the year 1921-22 when the yield was Rs. 2,21,754 (thousands of rupees). It fell to Rs. 1,81,394 in the following year. Sir Malcolm Hailey proposed to increase the rates on incomes in 1922 and re-grade the higher rates on super-tax and thereby add to the revenue by 24 crores; but the yield in 1923-24 was only Rs. 1,84,912. It fell next year to Rs. 1,62,123; to Rs. 1,61,203 in 1925-26 and to Rs. 1,59,830 in 1926-27. At 16 crores since then the figures have been standing and in the next year the Finance Member proposes to raise 16½ crores; and just as he failed this year, it may be found to be an over-estimate. The phenomenon cannot be accounted for by the fact that there is a trade depression in the current year. The continuous fall from 1921 from Rs. 21

crores to 16 crores: despite the attempt to raise the revenue by an additional Rs. 21 crores in 1922 shows that the condition of the less than three lakhs of income-tax payers has deteriorated by at least 30 per cent in the last ten years if we have regard to the fact that the "specialised" department is annually improving in its methods of scientific assessment.

To take the customs which, if it does not affect every tax-payer—the large body of the poor in the villages do not consume imported goods except pigre goods—affects a pretty large number, the revenue in 1921-22 was Rs. 3,44,098 (thousands of rupees). It was the year in which Sir Malcolm Hailey increased taxation by a little over Rs. 19 crores of which customs contributed Rs. 8 crores. The general *ad valorem* duty was increased from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 per cent and a specific import duty of 12 annas per gross boxes was levied on matches in place of the *ad valorem* duty of 71 per cent. The duty on liquors, tobacco and certain "luxury" articles was also increased. This was found insufficient. In 1922 customs were increased all round and were expected to yield nearly Rs. 14,90 lakhs. But the revenue rose from Rs. 3,44,098 to Rs. 4,13,465 (thousands) or less than Rs. 7 crores which is a fall of 50 per cent on the estimate. In 1923-24 the Finance Member expected to collect a net revenue of Rs. 45.09 crores, but was able to raise only Rs. 39.69 crores. In other words, what should have yielded Rs. 49.30 crores, yielded Rs. 10 crores less! The deterioration was progressive in the two years. Two changes of importance were made in 1924. The duty on imported Government stores including Railway stores and a higher valuation for sugar which came into force from the 1st January, were expected to yield an additional revenue of over two crores. The yield, however, was Rs. 453 crores. Since then there has been an increase of half a crore per annum and the estimated revenue for the next year is Rs. 50 crores. Making allowance for the abolition of the cotton excise duty and certain reductions in minor export duties, which Sir Basil Blackett effected in the last years of his office, it will be found that the increase of Rs. 15 crores expected by Sir Malcolm Hailey in 1923 could not be brought about till six years after.

It may however be added that population has

increased at least by one per cent per annum and customs revenue may be expected to increase *pari passu*. The fall in prices may account to a certain extent for the fall in the rate of normal growth; but it must be set off against increased consumption of cheaper goods. If the economic condition of the people had improved, it should have been reflected in the customs revenue. A portion of this revenue is paid by the subjects of the Native States and if their condition is steadily improving as the Ruling Princes are telling us, the conclusion is irresistible that the customs revenue shows that the large body of the people who consume foreign goods are really deteriorating.

THE SALT TAX.

A more satisfactory index of the economic condition of the people is the duty on salt. An examination of its figures gives some curious results. During the period 1882-88 when the duty was Rs. 2 a maund, the increased consumption per year was 668,000 maunds. Between 1889-1903 when the duty was raised to Rs. 2-8-0 the annual increase fell to 270,000 maunds. When the duty was restored to Rs. 2 in 1903 the rate of increase jumped up to the astounding figure of 1,270,000 maunds per annum. In 1905 the consumption was 391 millions and when the duty was lowered by 25 per cent it rose by 4 millions in two years. Between 1907-08 and 1920-21 the rise was 9 millions and the revenue expanded from 5 crores to 61 crores. The population meanwhile expanded only by 6 per cent. What do the figures during the last decade show? In 1921-22 the total revenue was Rs. 6.34 crores; and the Finance Member has budgeted for an income of only Rs. 6.35 for the year 1929-30. In 1923 Sir Basil Blackett doubled the duty expecting to raise an additional Rs. 41 crores, but the sum actually raised was only Rs. 3.19 crores. When the old rate was reduced the income fell to Rs. 7.59 crores in 1924-25. Since then there has been a fall and after eight years the yield is the same. But if allowance is made for the growth of population since 1921 and the increased area under cultivation—salt is used also as manure for land and for cattle—the consumption shows deterioration. It is an unsatisfactory state of things and must really set

the people thinking about the economic helplessness and destitution, daily growing, of the large body of general tax-payers.

GOVERNMENT'S LOAN TRANSACTIONS

The effect of this growing deterioration is naturally reflected in the loan transactions of Government. In spite of the Herculean efforts made by Sir Basil Blackett to raise the wind for the extravagant scheme of capital expenditure into which the country has been plunged by thoughtlessness, from the people of India the attempt has been a failure. Sir George Schuster has pointed out that in the five years ending 31st March, 1928, the capital expenditure amounted to Rs. 108 crores and £36½ millions. Of this sum the public subscriptions amounted to only Rs. 12 crores and £13 millions, we have no idea how much of the £13 millions is Indian capital; we should not be surprised if the whole was subscribed by Englishmen and also a portion of the rupee loan. Assuming that the rupee loan was taken up by the Indian public, it gives a rate of less than Rs. 2½ crores a year. Thirty years ago the late Justice Ranade estimated that the annual capital savings amounted to Rs. 5 crores; and, if I remember right, it was Sir James Westland who estimated the raising of a rupee loan in India of Rs. 5 crores without disturbing the money market. That in the years of grace 1923-28 only

Rs. 2½ crores can be raised by public subscription to a feverish capital programme calls for no comment.

CONCLUSION.

No conclusion can be drawn from the enormous sum of Rs. 56½ crores raised by means of Post Office cash certificates and Post Office and other Saving Banks deposits. How far these amounts represent the actual saving of the people apart from investments by trading communities who find the rate of interest a bit paying is more than we can say; and if it really represents such withdrawal from trade it cannot be a matter of satisfaction. It is unnecessary in this article to refer to the other methods of financing capital expenditure employed by Sir Basil Blackett. The Revenue Surplus of Rs. 12 crores, the provision for reduction or avoidance of debt which contributed Rs. 22½ crores, the other appropriations from revenue of Rs. 3 crores, the Depreciation and Reserve funds of Rs. 25½ crores are all so many inroads made upon the tax-payers who have been mulcted by heavy taxation which no financial jurist can justify and which has been tolerated in India only because there is no effective financial criticism of Government policy by an intelligent electorate or patriotic critics. But the figures show that the heavy taxation is slowly grinding down the people so miserably poor, helpless and down-trodden.

THE ART OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

BY

PROFESSOR AMARANATHA JHA, M.A.

"I am no orator, but as you know me all, a plain blunt man. For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth, Action nor utterance, nor the power of speech, To stir men's blood." And yet if I have ventured to select oratory and eloquence as my subject my justification is the importance of it and the fact that I have myself had the privilege of listening to some marvellous efforts of human eloquence. Oratory is no longer studied as a science and is rarely practised as an art. It is my hope that these words of

mine may stimulate interest in a subject that is well worth studying and act as an incentive to go back to the ancient and modern examples of fine speech. In an age when government in all spheres is by talk and when the speaker can make his voice heard thousands of miles away, the importance of the art of public speaking cannot be exaggerated.

Eloquence is natural and inborn; oratory is the result of study, of effort, of knowledge. Eloquence carries its appeal in an instant; oratory carries

conviction with it. The one touches the mainsprings of the heart, the other goes to the head. A man is eloquent by nature; he has the gift of effective speech; he can lay hold of the genius of the moment; the audience inspires him, and he speaks so that all that hear him are lifted off their feet and carried into a region where they lie completely at his mercy, and he can at will make them weep or laugh, toss them up or hurl them down, and they are content thus to be used by him. This is the speaker's supreme glory and miraculous achievement. But such achievements are rare and this divine power of stirring men's blood, of making them forget themselves in the joy of self-surrender, of robbing them of their blentity, of flooding their minds with light or firing their imaginations, is possessed by only a few speakers. Lesser mortals must be content with humbler gifts. There are talents that industry can acquire. It will be my endeavour this evening to survey rapidly the region of speech and to put before you some suggestions that may not be entirely without usefulness.

Aristotle—it is surprising how we have in so many matters to hark back to the ancients—has numerous important things to tell us about rhetoric. He defines it as a faculty of discovering all the possible means of persuasion on any subject. I shall be content for the present to mention what he says; I consider the definition to be rather narrow; but let it pass. Rhetoric, he proceeds, has four uses: (a) it is the means by which truth and justice maintain and assert their natural superiority to falsehood and injustice, (b) it is the only method of persuasion suitable to unscientific audiences, (c) as it teaches us to see both sides of a case and to sustain either the one side or the other, so it enables us to see through our adversary's arguments, if they are unfair, and to refute them, (d) it is a means of self-defence. The complete rhetorician should possess (a) the power of argumentative reasoning, (b) a knowledge of character, (c) a knowledge of the nature and quality of the emotions. This, you will see, is a large order; but not by any means a counsel of perfection. The qualities required are not impossible, and then, too, they are necessary for "the complete rhetorician," not for ordinary work-a-day speakers. Aristotle attempts next to tell us what the various parts of a

speech are and what exactly they should strive to do. And first he mentions the *Exordium* or Prologue. Of this the example that occurs most readily to the mind is the brilliant effort of Mark Antony in *Julius Caesar*.

"Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;

I came to bury Caesar, not to praise him.

The evil that men do lives after them;

The good is oft interred with their bones;

So let it be with Caesar.

This, however, is in a play, not an actual speech. Well, here's a fine exordium of the speech delivered by Abraham Lincoln at the Gettysburg Cemetery in 1863:

"Fellow-countrymen,—Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fit and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

A wonderful specimen this of inspired eloquence. The exordium has immediately raised the subject to a

very high altitude, and it has struck the keynote of the whole speech; on this pitch the rest must be delivered; any note will soon jar on the ears. The prologue then tells the audience exactly from what standpoint the subject is to be treated, what tone the speaker proposes to adopt. A Gladstone raises the topic to a sublime height, half politics, half religion, wholly moral; a Disraeli makes it literary, paradoxical, amusing, sarcastic. The audience accordingly attunes itself; it hereby arranges its mental attitude; and it is up to the speaker to see to it that the expectations raised by the exordium are satisfied, that no false note is struck; that though all the various parts of the speech, through all the efforts of raffery and sarcasm and wit and invective, in the midst of all learning and scholarship, the main current of thought is not lost and the initial note continues to predominate. It was Jowett who told an aspiring writer, "Never have a porch to your essay." In speech, a porch, a preface, an exordium is of the essence; it is unavoidable, and indeed, desirable. It serves the same purpose as Milton's magnificent opening lines of *Paradise Lost*.

The second part of a speech is the *Exposition*. Plato's disciple insists that the exposition or narrative should be ethical, that is, (a) it should indicate a moral purpose, (b) it should contain such characteristic marks as accompany particular characters, (c) it should seem to proceed not from policy, but from the heart. This, together with the third, *Proofs*, is really the most useful part of a speech, and to that extent requires great skill on the part of the speaker. You may have an unanswerable case; you will produce no impression unless you marshal all your facts in their proper sequence, clarify the issues involved, sift the grain of relevance from the irrelevant mass, and give to every argument precisely the emphasis and time and attention that is needed. Too great an elaboration will spoil your case as effectively as too hasty or cursory a treatment. Here, as in all art, moderation is required, and restraint and sense of proportion. Proper perspective has to be acquired. You have to carry your point; see how best you can do it. "Charm us, orator, till the lion looks no larger than the cat." You can

only do it by a correct use of chiaroscuro, due mixture of colour, suitable background, effective distance.

And now we come to the fourth and last part of a speech. A Bengal orator was addressing the Calcutta Congress of 1906. His oratory had overwhelmed the assembled hosts; the pandal was overflowing with the sound of his voice; it went on like a mighty stream, torrential, irresistible, carrying all before it. Romesh Dutt who was acting in the temporary absence of Dadabhai Naoroji as President sounded the gong in vain; in vain he reminded the impassioned orator, that his time was up; in vain he appealed to him to resume his seat. At last the speaker turned round, glared at the President, then cast on him a look of withering scorn as if wondering how he could be insensible to the charm of his eloquence, and said: "At least, sir, let me finish my peroration." Well, of such importance is the peroration of a speech. Aristotle tells us that the *peroration* has four elements, (a) to inspire the audience with a favourable opinion of oneself and an unfavourable opinion of one's adversary, (b) to amplify or depreciate the subject, (c) to excite the emotions of the audience, (d) to recall the facts to their memory. Too much attention cannot be devoted to the peroration. In music it is the last notes that linger in our ears, the memory of which we bear long after they are heard no more; in poetry it is, not rarely, the last lines that are the best. So in speech it is the impression of the concluding words that lasts longest; it is these that turn votes; it is to these that speakers owe at times their oratorical successes; these most effectively sway the minds and feelings of the audience. Dr. Hornby, a noted Head Master of Eton, gave the sound advice: "Above all things, take special pains about your peroration—you never know how soon you may require it." Sometimes, of course, the emotions of the moment decide for you how you will end your speech; a sudden brilliant brain-wave arises, and a totally unpremeditated thought or image or appeal becomes your peroration. But for all great occasions, great speakers have been known to have carefully, even laboriously prepared their peroration. Of the peroration that satisfies the first test, that of inspiring the audience with an

unfavourable opinion of one's adversary, Disraeli's description of Gladstone is a fine instance: "A sophisticated rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity." Or listen next to the conclusion of Disraeli's attack on Sir Robert Peel in reference to the latter's change of tone towards the agricultural interest.

"There is no doubt a difference in the Rt. Hon. Gentleman's demeanour as Leader of the Opposition and as Minister of the Crown. But that's the old story; you must not contrast too strongly the hours of courtship with the hours of possession. It is very true the Rt. Hon. gentleman's conduct is very different. I remember him making his protection speeches. They were the best speeches I ever heard. It was a great thing to hear the Rt. Hon. Baronet say: 'I would rather be the Leader of the gentlemen of England than possess the confidence of sovereigns.' That was a grand thing. We don't hear much of the gentlemen of England now. But what of that? They have the pleasure of memory, the charm of reminiscence. They were his first love, and though he may not lean to them now as in the hour of passion, still they can recall the past; and nothing is more useless or unwise than these scenes of recrimination or reproach, for we know that in all these cases when the beloved has ceased to charm, it is vain to appeal to the feelings."

In a more elevated vein is Disraeli's attack on Gladstone's Ministry of 1872:

"Extravagance is substituted for energy by the Government. The unnatural stimulus is subsiding. Their paroxysms end in prostration. Some take refuge in melancholy and their eminent chief alternates between a menace and a sigh. As I sit opposite the Treasury bench, the ministers remind me of those marine landscapes not very unusual on the coasts of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest. But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes; and ever and anon, the dark rumblings of the sea."

As an example of the peroration that amplifies the subject, I have always considered the following to be unapproached. It is from an address by Lord Rosebery. He is speaking of the Scotch poet, Robert Burns:

"I should like to affirm that we have something to be grateful for even in the weaknesses of men like Burns. Mankind is helped in its progress almost as much by the study of imperfection as by the contemplation of perfection. Had we nothing before us in our halting and futile lives but saints and the ideal, we might well fail altogether. We grope blindly along the catacombs of the world, we climb the dark ladder of life, we feel our way to futurity, but we can scarcely see an inch around or before us. We stumble, and falter, and fall, our hands and knees are bruised and sore, and we look up for light and guidance. Could we see nothing but distant unapproachable impossibility, we might well sink prostrate in the hopelessness of emulation, and the weariness of despair. Is it not, then, when all seems blank and lightless and lifeless, when strength and courage flag, and when perfection seems as remote as a star, is it not then that imperfection helps us? When we see that the greatest and choicest images of God have had their weaknesses like ours, their temptations, their hours of darkness, their bloody sweat, are we not encouraged by their lapses and catastrophes to find energy for one more effort, one more struggle? Where they failed we feel it a less dishonour to fail; their errors and sorrows make, as it were, an easier ascent from infinite imperfection to infinite perfection. Man, after all, is not ripened by virtue alone. Were it so, this world were a paradise of angels. No! Like the growth of the earth, he is the fruit of all the seasons; the accident of a thousand accidents, a living mystery, moving through the seen to the unseen. He is shown in dishonour; he is matured under all varieties of heat and cold; in mist and wrath, in snow and vapours, in the melancholy of autumn, in the torpor of winter, as well as in the rapture and fragrance of summer, or the balmy effluence of the spring—its breath, its sunshine, its dew. And at the end he is reaped—the product not of one climate, but of all; not of good alone, but of evil; not of joy alone, but of sorrow—perhaps mellowed and ripened, perhaps stricken and withered and sour. How, then, shall we judge anyone? How, at any rate shall we judge a giant, great in gifts and great in temptation, great in strength, and great in weakness? Let us glory in his strength, and be comforted in his weakness. And when we

thank Heaven for the inestimable gift of Burns, we do not need to remember wherein he was imperfect, we cannot bring ourselves to regret that he was made of the same clay as ourselves."

II

John Bright once told Mr. George Russell that he prepared his speech by dividing the subject into compartments, to each of which he supplied what he called an island, *i.e.*, a carefully prepared key sentence. Then he would swim from island to island, until he landed on the best island of all, which was, of course the peroration. Bright's speeches always had a fitting peroration. I shall take the liberty of quoting to you a brilliant effort of oratory in a speech delivered by the late Lord Morley in 1901 on the South African War. A passage condemning "a hateful war, a war insensate and infatuated, a war of uncompensated mischief and irreparable wrong" was followed by this peroration.

"The master-key of the prosperity and strength of the realm is peace. Peace means low taxes, reduced rent, advancement in the comfort and well-being of the people of these islands, and what I do not, will not, disregard—it means the good will of the world. If our aim is the extension of our territorial dominion, the transformation of our ancient realm, which has aided civilisation for generation after generation, into a boastful military Empire, to be supported, I suppose, by conscription, and a Customs Union thrown in, which will lose us our best markets for the sake of the worst, then, I say, financial ruin undoubtedly awaits us. I quote a sentence from a great divine which I have used before: 'Things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be. Why then, shall we seek to deceive ourselves?' Wear out your coal, pile up your debts, multiply and magnify your responsibilities in every part of the globe, starve social reforms among your people at home; and then, indeed, you will have a little England, a dilapidated heritage to hand on to your children and your children's children."

About 200 A. D. there lived on the Euphrates a Syrian named Lucian. He is the author of a most entertaining volume entitled "The Orator's

Manual." Full of subtle irony, pungent wit and keen sarcasm, he wrote in a style peculiarly his own. You will be pleased to hear what advice he tenders on how to become a perfect orator. Remember that he is only mock serious. "First of all, I will tell you what provisions you must bring from home for your journey, and how to replenish them so that you may reach your destination as quickly as possible. Secondly, I will myself show you some things as you start on your way, and give you advice as to others. Thus, before the sun sets, I will make you a supreme orator like myself, beyond any manner of question, the beginning and middle and end of all who aspire to eloquence. Well, you must take as your staple ration stupidity, adding effrontery, recklessness, and brazenness. Leave shame, decency, moderation, bashfulness at home. They are useless and will only hinder you. Take the loudest possible bellow, a devil-me-care voice, and a walk like mine. That is all you really need, and is sometimes enough of itself. . . . First of all you must take particular care of your appearance and wear your clothes with an air. Secondly, you must pick up somewhere fifteen to twenty Attic words, learn them accurately by heart, and have them at the tip of your tongue, expressions like 'divers,' 'thereafter,' 'say you so,' 'howsoever it be,' 'My sweet air,' and so on. Lay them on thick like sauce in every speech. . . . After that collect some mysterious, rare words, used once or twice by the ancients, and carefully discharge them at the company. The masses will look up to you as a marvel of culture quite above their heads, if you call washing 'laving,' a deposit 'earnest money'; and dawn 'the rim of the dark.' Sometimes you must invent yourself extraordinary new words, and legislate that the man with a gift for expression must be called 'speechsome,' the clever man 'wise heart,' the dancer 'a hand-virtuoso.' If you perpetrate a solecism or a grammatical blunder, your universal nostrum must be shamelessness. You can produce in a moment the name of some poet or prose-writer who does not exist and never did. He was, you say, a genius, and a man of extremely polished utterance, and he sanctioned your expression. But don't you ever read the old classics, that rubbishy Isocrates, that cheery Demosthenes, that frigid Plato. . . . When the

moment for your speech arrives, and the company proposes themes and subjects, say that all the difficult ones are easy, and pour contempt on the timidity of their choice. When they have made their selection, don't waste a moment, but say whatever comes into your feckless head. Don't trouble to put things in their proper logical order, one, two, three, but say what occurs to you first. Only hurry, and leave no gaps, and never stop talking. If the audience do not applaud you, take it amiss and abuse them. And if they get up for very shame and prepare to go out, tell them to sit down, and let the whole business be sheer tyranny. Watching your sweat and your laboured breathing, they are unable to resist the conclusion that you are a monstrous fine exponent of the art of speaking. And in particular this rapidity covers a multitude of sins and excites popular admiration. So take care not to write any notes or think your subject out, before you rise. That finds you out at once."

III

A faithful observance of the above rules will ensure a unanimous chorus of unmusical noise from the audience. The modern audience is more critical; camouflage can no more pass muster; normally they insist on solid worth in the speaker and matter in the speech. In one of his many paradoxical moods, Lord Morley once remarked: "Three things matter in a speech; who says it, how he says it, and what he says, and of the three the last matters the least." There is in this saying a considerable mixture of truth. The speaker's personality is a very important factor indeed in a speech. The appeal of the eye is irresistible; the gestures are eloquent; the quiver of the mouth, the gaze of scorn, the uplifting of a finger, the swaying of the arms all contribute to the success or failure of a speech. It is Morley again who says that the great political speech, which for that matter is a sort of drama, is not made by passages for elegant extract or anthologies, but by personality, movement, climax, spectacle, and the action of the time: political oratory is action, not words,—action, character, will, conviction, purpose, per-

sonality. In describing Gladstone's supreme effort on the Home Rule Bill of 1886, his biographer says: "As this eager master of men underwent the enchantment of periods exquisite in their balance and modulation, the compulsion of his flashing glance and animated gesture, what stirred and commanded them was the recollection of national service, the thought of the speaker's mastering purpose, his unflagging resolution and strenuous will, his strength of thigh and sinew well tried in long years of resounding war, his unquenched conviction that the just cause can never fail." Personality, the speaker's presence, his reputation, the thought of his past achievements, the expression of his face, the fibre of his voice—all this is surely, though perhaps only subconsciously, modifying the effect of the mere word. Many renowned speakers have suffered from defects that would daunt feebler spirits. The name of Demosthenes occurs immediately; as a boy he had some kind of impediment in his speech. It might be said of him as was said of St. Paul that his bodily presence was weak and his speech contemptible. But he underwent a course of rigorous self-discipline.

One may recall also the instance of Burke: Goldsmith's goodnatured gibe about refining and dining was not pointless. Tom Moore said of him: "In vain did Burke's genius put forth its superb plumage, glittering all over with the hundred eyes of fancy—the gait of the bird was heavy and awkward, and its voice seemed rather to scare than attract." His biographer goes on to add that his gestures were clumsy; he had sonorous but harsh tones; he never lost a strong Irish accent; and his utterance was often hurried and eager. And yet, notwithstanding these shortcomings when he sat down after impeaching Warren Hastings, Macaulay reminds us, every listener, including the great criminal, held his breath in an agony of horror, smelling-bottles were taken out and Mrs. Sheridan was carried away in a fit. Charles James Fox was another speaker with an ungainly presence. Hazlitt thus describes him: "Everything showed the agitation of his mind; his tongue faltered, his voice became almost suffocated, and his face was bathed in tears. He

was lost in the magnitude of his subject. He reeled and staggered under the load of feeling which oppressed him. He rolled like the sea beaten by a tempest." Still, Lord Rosebery tells us, and that is the unanimous verdict of all contemporary chroniclers, that it is clear that under every imaginable condition of discussion, he must have been a giant, and that powers which could make an audience forget his coarse features, his unwieldy corpulence, his slovenly appearance, his excessive repetition, and his ungraceful action, would have overcome any obstacles."

So much for the first important point of a speech, "Who says it?" Now let us turn to "How he says it." This, to my mind, is quite the most momentous aspect of oratory. You may have sterling truth to utter, your opinions may be most sound and incontrovertible; your opponent's case may not have even one leg to stand upon; logic, commonsense, fact, justice, honesty, may all be on your side; yet you will fail to win your point unless you make your speech attractive, embellish it, make it spicy, put fire and energy and wit into it, invest it with persuasiveness, humour, readiness of retort, invective, denunciation, rillery, and the numerous other resources of the practised orator—unless, in short, the expression, the form, the manner is arresting. No art is perfect without an adequate form. Poetry is crude unless the words are well-chosen and appropriate. Similarly in speech.

IV

Turning to the technical elements of speaking qualities that can be acquired by patience and assiduity, I should like to mention that chief source of confidence, previous preparation. I do not dispute—who can?—that many superb speeches have been unpremeditated, that even when a speech has been previously prepared, the occasion has inspired the speaker to say something entirely fresh, that extempore orations possess certain charms denied to studied efforts. The Earl of Balfour once said, "No impromptu speech can have the finish, the polish, or conscious arrangement which is the result of study. But the man who writes his speech and then learns it, and then declaims it—so that every man knows that he has written it—that man will

never succeed as a speaker." Another gifted speaker, the late Marquis of Salisbury used to say that his finest sentences, as they occurred to him while preparing his speeches, burnt themselves upon his mind. Now, there is no doubt that almost every supreme oratorical effort is the result of conscious preparation. It was complained of the speeches of Thucydides that they smelt of the midnight oil. There is no harm in it, nor need the fact be concealed. Mr. Winston Churchill once confessed with charming candour: "I wrote that speech out six times with my own hand." Sir Surendranath Banerji has left it on record that he spent a long time in preparing his Congress Presidential addresses and the preparation was so thorough that he was easily able to perform a marvellous feat of memory: he delivered his entire addresses of 100 printed pages without once looking at the notes. Without preparation a speech inevitably tends to become "a tale of little meaning, though the words are strong." John Bright used to conceal the notes of his speeches in the crown of his hat, Lord Balfour usually writes his main points on an old envelope. The late Earl of Asquith used a different method. He has a few key-sentences written out on different slips of paper. A whole sheaf of these was kept properly arranged in his capacious pockets. As he proceeded with his speech, with clock-work precision, the requisite slip of paper was taken out of the paper, he read out from it and put it into the other pocket. The Marquis of Salisbury, "the master of gibes and flouts and sneers" kept no notes, but he spent hours in thinking out his speech and even preparing beforehand all the purple passages in it. A majority of Lord Randolph Churchill's speeches were written out in advance, quickly learned, and even sent before delivery to the newspaper which throughout remained faithful to him. Disraeli's phrases were carefully prepared and committed to memory. The notes of Gladstone's speeches—and very voluminous notes they are—are still preserved at Hawarden. It is true that preparation sometimes is a handicap; in a heated debate, in particular, new points arise, fresh arguments are advanced, unthought of suggestions are made, quick wit has to be exercised, the opponent's position has to be shattered, and your prepared speech acts like a

drag; you long to escape from its fetters, you feel cramped and circumscribed, you are eager to rush into the fray and take up just the arms that are ready at hand, the arms that will lead you to sure victory and not encumber you. Even in such exceptional circumstances it is, I think, a decided advantage to be cased in the triple armour of preparation, to be confident that you have your own arguments to fall back upon, and to be able to present to the jaded audience a few new ideas, a few suggestions, hints, facts, arguments, illustrations, figures that it had not received from the previous speakers. As Brougham, himself no mean exponent of the orator's art, said: "The highest reaches of the art can only be attained by him who well considers and maturely prepares and oftentimes sedulously corrects and refines his oration."

V

I have spoken above of ready wit. In the heat and tumble of public life this is an indispensable quality. The immortal Jack Falstaff said with wonderful self-complacency: "I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men." It is hardly pleasant to feel, however, that others can be witty at your expense. The ready retort, the crushing reply, the remark that silences interruption, the joke that turns away wrath, the well-timed jest that dissolves gathering clouds of anger and impatience, the impromptu observation that puts the audience in good humour—this is a gift not by any means to be despised. It was the French Molière that said the impromptu is truly the touch-stone of wit. Care must indeed be taken that your wit only plays and not wounds. The ill-natured jest naturally gives offence and is rarely of much service to the speaker. The best instance that I know of a witty retort is that attributed to Mr. Lloyd George. "We will have Home Rule for Ireland and for England and for Scotland and for Wales," he said once, addressing a meeting of Welsh farmers. "And for hell," interposed a deep, half-drunken voice. "Quite right, I like to hear a man stand up for his own country." You can imagine the electric effect of this retort; it must have pulverised the interrupter. Joseph Chamberlain, on being interrupted by Dillon by the cry "Traitor" replied, "Ah, the hon. gentleman

is a good judge of traitors." Of readiness of wit I may also quote the following story. It is borrowed from one of the most fascinating character-writers of our day. Mr. Balfour used to flee from the House of Commons in ostentatious scorn whenever Mr. Winston Churchill assailed him. As he was disappearing on one of these occasions, Mr. Churchill, secure in his triumph, cried, "The Rt. Hon. gentleman need not leave the House, I am not going to refer to him." And the chronicler remarks that amidst the shout of laughter that followed, Mr. Balfour turned, and a word of withering scorn was seen rather than heard to issue from his lips. That well-meaning cynic Labouchere once made a delicious hit against Gladstone. Alluding to Gladstone's frequent appeals to a higher power, he said that he did not object to the old man having a card up his sleeve, but he did object to his insinuating that the Almighty had placed it there. Lord Curzon relates an amusing incident: "I have seen Disraeli," he says, "sitting hour after hour while Mr. Gladstone or some other opponent was thundering at him, motionless, with his arms crossed, his eyes apparently closed, and not a flicker of emotion on his pallid countenance. Here is an illustration of his sardonic and disconcerting method; it was on the occasion when, Mr. Gladstone having more than once repeated the phrase, 'The Rt. Hon. gentleman and his satellites,' and having then paused or momentarily lost the thread of his argument, Disraeli, rose and amid a hushed House remarked in dulcet tones, 'The last word was satellites!' Mr. Gladstone himself once said that the finest repartee that he had ever heard in the House of Commons was the reply of Lord John Russell to Sir Francis Burtlett, who, after turning Tory and joining the Carlton Club, had sallied at the cant of patriotism. 'I quite agree,' said Lord John, 'that the cant of patriotism is a bad thing. But I can tell him a worse, namely, the recant of patriotism.' Another finished example of Parliamentary repartee was the retort of Sir Robert Peel in 1848 to F. O'Connor, who, charged with being a Republican, had denied it, and said that he did not care whether the Queen or the devil was on the throne. Peel replied, 'When the hon. member sees the sovereign of his choice on the throne of these realms, I hope he

will enjoy, as I am sure he will deserve, the confidence of the crown."

VI

I wish I had space to illustrate the other qualities that I have enumerated, sarcasm, railery, irony, exaggerated politeness, freezing indifference. Of railery, I will not resist the temptation of giving one instance. The late Mr. Bonar Law once described Mr. Lloyd George thus: "It is said that if Mr. Lloyd George is good in war, why is he not equally good in peace? I don't think that it quite follows. In a charge on the field of battle, the drummer plays a great part, as any of you who have read Kipling's story of 'The Drums of the Fore and Aft' will recall. He plays as great a part as any of the combatants. During the war the drummer was needed not only to keep up the spirit of the men on the field of battle, but was needed equally at home to keep up the courage of all of us who were not at the front. Mr. Lloyd George was the drummer. He did that better than any of us could have done, I think, but when the charge is over, and some have fallen and some are in hospital, the drummer would be rather out of place in a hospital, unless his drumsticks were taken from him. I suppose you have heard the story which rather illustrates it. It is a very old one. A highland soldier was in hospital. He was in the last stages of exhaustion. His nurse deeply sympathised with him. As she bent over him, he whispered: 'If I could only hear the bagpipe. The nurse had a warm heart. Without getting permission she brought a piper into the room, who played his entrancing music. The patient fully recovered. Every other patient in the hospital died.'

And this brings me to the vexed question of the style of speech. Is there a different style for the platform and another suited to Parliament or Council? Can the same speaker excel in both? Wherein does the difference exactly lie? The truth seems to be that every occasion demands a special style which shall be appropriate. Even in Parliament the style needed in an obituary tribute must of necessity be very different from the style in which a no-confidence or censure motion is made. The Chancellor of the Exchequer presenting his Budget cannot possibly speak in the style of the Secretary

of State for War asking the country to mobilise. Similarly on the platform a man unveiling the statue of a popular hero must adopt a manner and style very remote from that employed by a speaker on the subject of—let us say, co-education! The style, we are told by the Frenchman, is the man; one may say truthfully that the occasion is the style. Many speakers have, however, been exceedingly careless of the form of their speeches. Take up any volume of Gladstone's speeches, you will find them dreary reading; not a single arresting sentence, not a phrase that will cling to the memory, no sublime commonplace, not one luminous period. And yet it is the verdict of all that heard him that he was a wonderful speaker. He was a speaker after the heart of Fox who said: "If a speech reads well, it must have been a d—d bad speech." And speaking in the House of Commons on Gladstone's death, Mr. Balfour said: "It is not the speeches which read best which are the greatest speeches. Posterity cannot possibly judge of their merit by a mere study of the words used. They must see the man, feel the magnetism of his presence, his gestures, the flash of his eyes. The test of a speaker is the audience he addresses. There is no other judge; from that court there is no appeal." I have already mentioned Burke whose speeches, irreproachable in literary form, so pleasing to read and re-read, were listened to with ill-concealed impatience. I am for a compromise. A speaker, in order that he should live and not die with his death, cannot afford entirely to ignore the literary form of his speech. It may not be absolutely indispensable for the moment; it may even jar upon the uncultured audience, but after all, the audience in front is only an infinitesimal part of the vaster audience that reads the speech in the daily press, and the latter, as it reads it in cold print, without the personality of the speaker to explain and illustrate and illumine, unaided by the excitement or electrically charged atmosphere of the movement inevitably judges of it accordingly as it reads well or ill. And even the audience actually listening to the speaker is bound to be thrilled by a passage of such literary charm as this from a speech of the elder Pitt, describing the coalition of Fox and Northcote in 1754: "At Lyons I was taken to the place

where the two rivers meet; the one gentle, feeble, languid, and though languid, of no great depth, the other a boisterous and impetuous torrent. But different as they are, they meet at last"; or by this in a speech of the Irishman, R. L. Sheil: "When the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together, in the same deep pit but their dead bodies were deposited, the green corn of spring is now breaking from their commingled dust, the dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave." Oh, no, literary finish adds greatly to the effect and life of a speech. Phrases, such as those of Disraeli: "I am on the side of the angels"; "blundering and plundering"; "organised hypocrisy"; "power of spontaneous aversion"; those of Morley: "a dark horse in a loose box," "mending or ending"; those of Gladstone: "dim and distant future," "a strategical movement to the year"; that of Winston Churchill, "terminological inexactitude";—these are not among the fopperies of idle scholarship, but invaluable embellishments without which a speech becomes dull, rapid, insipid, retaining no charm beyond the moment.

I should have liked to deal with certain other aspects of speaking, of the recognised tricks, the rhetorical question, the dramatic pause, the apt quotation, the effective gesture. That task must wait. I have been content to describe what appear to me to be the salient qualities of public speaking; I have not considered, as I had proposed, whether oratory as an art is declining, whether the forces of democracy are detrimental to the development of true oratory, whether as Lord Rosebery epigrammatically put it, eloquence and stenography are not of congenial growth, and as reporting improves eloquence declines. But I should like to commend the saying of Disraeli: "To make others feel we must feel ourselves, and to feel ourselves we must be natural." In speaking as in other things, artificiality is the deadliest of sins; let the audience but suspect that you are insincere, that your protestations are lip-deep, and all your words straightway lose all force; all appeal, all weight. As the greatest of modern Indian

orators, Surendranath Banerji puts it in his last book: "The qualifications of the orator are moral rather than intellectual. It is the emotions that inspire the noblest thoughts and invest them with their colour and their distinctive character. Let no one aspire to be an orator who does not love his country, love her, indeed, with a true and all-absorbing love. Country first, all other things next, is the creed of the orator. Unless he has been inoculated in it, baptised with the holy fire of love of country, the highest intellectual gifts will not qualify him to be an orator. Aided by them, he may indeed be a fluent debater, an expert in the presentment of his case, a fascinating speaker, able to please, amuse, and even to instruct; but without the higher patriotic or religious emotions he will not possess the supreme power of moving men, inspiring them with lofty ideals and the passion for the worship of the good, the true and the beautiful. The equipment of the orator is thus moral, and nothing will help him so much as constant association with the master-minds of humanity, of those who have worked and suffered, who have taught and preached great things, who have lived dedicated lives, consecrated to the service of their country or of their God."

Lord Rosebery describing the later speeches of the younger Fox says: "The mouth still spoke great things, but the swell of soul was no more." In order that one may have the swell of soul—and without it the speech is like a fieldy or ornamented temple with an empty tabernacle—you need to have a mind illumined with the dry light of reason, a heart burning with none but the purest of passions, a gaze beyond the day to the great hereafter, a hope that transcends all obstacles. Thus inspired, the orator can indeed touch hearts as with burning fire, and while he speaks, hold sovereign sway over the feelings of all that listen; thus he will speak with the voice of authority; thus he will help to trim and keep bright the eternal torch of progress. Hard is the task; long and weary is the path; but great is the glorion.

SOME RAMBLING IMPRESSIONS OF CEYLON

BY

MR. N. K. VENKATESWARAN.

In far-off days *Sita*, the first woman of all time, was borne in an aerial car to the enchanted isle and a great war was waged to redeem her. It was in this way that India and Ceylon came into contact. Roughly as it was begun, the contact has persisted to this day, but as the sea stretches a thin arm between, it is but a contact still. Perhaps it is as well the sea is there, for otherwise Ceylon would have become one with India and the little Eden would have been lost.

The old Arabs are responsible for the story that when Adam was expelled from Paradise he came to Ceylon and lived there for the rest of his days. Indeed, the island was only second to the garden and even today she claims to be, justly no doubt, the queen of the earth.

One cannot enter this beautiful land without a certificate of health and, even with one, in the first ten days of one's stay there one will be under medical observation. One has only to see the land to know that its loveliness is too precious to be exposed to any evil germ from abroad.

In harmony with the beauty of the island, its people are fond of industry, and are prosperous. If there is poverty it does not readily meet the eye. Tea and rubber and coconut grow everywhere. The railways pierce the giant mountains. The roads are asphalted and motor vehicles smoothly glide on them while the pedestrian goes his way without having to take their dust. Epidemic diseases, the dread of India, seldom come here and if they do, the visitations are short and sporadic. Not more than a hundred, on an average, die from them in the year. It is a victory for hygiene.

When this writer was spending a few days in Colombo sometime ago the city was not in a happy frame of mind. The medical dovecotes were in a flutter. "What is this?" he asked, and it was said that a report of some cholera cases had reached Colombo from Jaffna in the north. A detachment

of doctors was soon on the track of the disease. By this time the flutter had spread over the whole island. Not till those 'medicos' had shown the people the blood of the germ did the country regain calm to resume its interrupted avocations.

The children of the island are so happy and active. Sports speak to them and their spirits run high. The women are free-limbed and graceful. They like to work hard and like 'the simple way' too. The young Sinhalese girl is a beautiful dear thing. Her eagerness to put into her time some useful labour gives her an added charm. In the picture-shops in Colombo at which the visitors through her simple face and artless smile shine like fluttering gold.

Education has made much headway in the island. English is, of course, the vogue language, and the educated Sinhalese gentleman is somewhat proud of his perfect facility in this language. Speaking generally he has not a high notion of the Indian's proficiency in this line. The Indian mouths it he would say. His own articulation is very good and he chatters colloquially in easy manner for hours on end.

Some of the schools of Ceylon provide excellent education. The Trinity College at Kandy, for example, is one. The school-house is set in a delightful scenery. All round the giant hills lift their heads into the blue skies. It is the 'presence chamber' of Nature and from this enchanted world of the eye the juvenile mind can draw the highest nourishment. The school itself admirably fits the surroundings. The well-designed buildings seem to live in a haunting tradition and the play grounds are such as invite the young. The teachers are given adequate pay and they, in their turn, give their loving care to the children under them. The Trinity College is one of the most celebrated schools in the east.

The educated young men of the island naturally hanker after the gods of the west. Ceylon has been under European control for about three hundred years now. Today it wears a European look. The European costume has become almost universal. Lately, however, a movement has been set afoot to retard this rapid translation of the simple Sinhalese into an imitation Englishman. But this movement has thus far failed to take. In some quarters it is simply laughed out of court.

The Indian in Ceylon is often somewhat 'suspect.' The Indian, wherever he goes, only takes with him his few wants and he is, so to say, proof against luxury. He is, therefore, apt 'to undersell' the Sinhalese. It is, of course, not quite a good thing to do. Moreover, too many Indians 'cross over.' Since Sri Ramachandra led his monkey hordes to victory in the island the suspicion of the Indian must have been stirring 'preconsciously' in the bosom of this land. India can do something to enable it to push the suspicion to Sheol.

One meets the Buddhist priest at all places in Ceylon. Most of them are old and mild of mien. But one can see now and then a youngish monk also. The yellow robe seems hardly to fit these. Youth does not take kindly to the killing of desire. If the 'tenderfoot' priests steadily hold the torch with which the great master lighted the floundering soul to the way of peace it is only because the torch they hold is the one that the master himself held. However that may be, Buddhism is a live faith in the island. The 'rhythm and racket' of 'progress' beats laughably on the shore. It too may have a message to give. But the greater message of the Buddha is the one that still prevails, and when tomorrow the angry surge from the west gains upon the land the same message may be trusted to still some of its wild gestures.

Today the island presents an exceedingly pleasing aspect. In three hours the *S. S. Carzon* will take you from immense India to the emerald isle.

THE CAPITAL OF CEYLON.

In some respects Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, is worth seeing. When the sky burns white and the calm sea laps wearily on the shore the city of

Colombo trembles like a living flame on the water's edge. When the moon pours on it her mellow light and the sea dances like a witch's hair in the wild wind a dreary silence like that of a still desert reigns in its supreme. Breathlessly busy by day and ominously silent by night, Colombo, risen, as it were, from the sea, is one of the greatest commercial centres of the eastern world. It is a unique city. It is an ever-changing city. The currents that compose the streams of its population rise from many lands. Fluid, fluctuating elements fill its streets. It is a city of passing shows, of roving pictures.

The city is best seen at break of day and the best view is that which is obtained from the offing. Thickly folded in the morning mist Colombo sails into view as the good ship approaches the harbour. At this time it appears like an ascetic lost in meditation. The mists encumber the scene like visible thought and the dim mountains in the distance stand like guardians of 'the holy man.' As the steamer ploughs the sea slowly the slumbering city rises from the mist. It is a sea rising and falling to the universal music of the morn. Away in the east, from the bosom of the Indian Ocean the sunken sun emerges. It is all a dream. For that sun soon tosses his torch of blazing beams, and the mists go and the mountains fade. Man has returned to work and the streets swell with the clamour of competition.

The best time to be in Colombo is when the monsoon breaks. Then it is that the 'dark blue ocean' boils and foams and rises into the air. It is then that the sea assumes its anarchic majesty and throws mountains of foam into the mid-air.

But one is a stranger in the city and cannot afford to stand long wondering at this fierce manifestation of elemental energies. The city is a thief and will ease him of his money. East and West combine here to tempt the visitor. Nobody minds him except as an article of trade. It is commerce that holds the spot in unquestioned sway.

Somebody came along and bumped into my head. But he did not go along as is the custom in the city. He stopped and looked at me. But such human relations occur like angel's visits. Trade has no patience with the sentiments of men.

In trying to board a tram-car I measured my length on the road. The Electric Company accept not the least bit of responsibility for such lapses from the correct postures of human beings. I was put up at an 'eating house' for a fortnight. Those people never cracked a single joke. The starched proprietor was always to be seen in front of his cash box ringing the changes on his business.

There is a pleasure to live in this ebb and flow of commerce. But the newcomer cannot give himself up wholly to this pleasure. He must expect to have some trouble with his health. Lest he should fall ill he must go daily for some days to the Port Surgeon and get his attendance marked in a serious register kept there for the purpose. This dignitary holds his office at the quay. One may go to him through the Fort, the fashionable quarter of the city. Here everything is spick and span. Even the newspaper boys manage to introduce a polished accent into their cries. The policeman stands scrupulously erect where the two roads meet.

The central tower is the clock-tower and the light-house in one. It marks impassively the muffled heart-beat of time and throws interminable arms of light into the sea. The tower stands in a charming spot, in an atmosphere of orderliness touched with vivid tints and subdued sounds.

Not far from the Tower is the Queen's House, where the Governor who rules the island dwells. By its side is the Post Office, a noble edifice, where men empty their sorrows and cares, and, too, joys. The Governor sets the law to the land while the Post Office receives the complaints of the people and transmits them in all directions.

While in guarded security the Governor in the Queen's House tries to look into the future and adjust the destiny of the island to his vision of things a thousand people come to the Post Office to tell their relatives and friends how their daily destinies hammered by invisible blows are changed from day to day.

JOTTINGS FROM A RUNNING TRAIN.

Colombo is an emporium of the order and anarchy that come from man. But the order and anarchy of nature are not far. The 'iron-horse'

will swiftly take you, if you like, away from Colombo. Looking out from the compartment you see wavy green. Coconut and arecanut gardens succeed one another as if to succeed thus is their only job in life. Now the hills have come lifting their heads in the morning dew and white mists. The 'iron-horse' which you ride soon plunges into a tunnel thinking to itself that it could even remove the mountains if it wanted. But the hills are not less patient than old. They let the conceited creature pass puffing as much as it can.

The passengers seldom turn their eyes to the window.

Here are the peasants' labours. Endless terraces of rice-fields are spread on the hill-sides like so many chess-boards. The train has stopped and nobody knows why. These trains are often larky. The hoot of a motor-car-horn comes from somewhere. These horns have no sense of purity and fling their pollution anywhere. A Sinhalese girl looks at me from far below. Here is a deep gully but the slim arecanut trees raise their heads into the air to reach the altitude on which I sit. Some coconut palms squat on that yonder hill as if they have forgotten the art of growing and rising.

This is a very long tunnel but the lights are turned on and it is possible to see and write. The dark day-dreaming mountain burns a lamp within. Now the train has become timid and creeps cautiously at the edge of a dark ravine. The road that connects Colombo and Kandy looks here like a white thread roaming in the wild expanse of colour and contour. Here is a little hut that hangs by the brim of a precipice hundreds of feet high. Four 'young hopefuls' look at the going train through an only chink in the wall. The woman sits on the swimming strip of verandah weaving her secret dreams. Here is a valley filled to the brink with a tumbling crowd of coconut trees, but before the eye has time to look at it it is entombed in a tunnel. The chattering Sinhalese girls in the compartment even now go nineteen to the dozen. Here comes a chasm whose depth is more than one can tell, but rice-fields like a thousand of snakes rolled together come sweeping over it. Here is a broad valley in which is all the vegetation

in the world. Above the valley the sun is suspended from the hem of a cloud like a football made of fire. The mountain close by with its spear-like rock is evidently trying to stab the sun and bring him down. Here the head can actually swim. Yonder is a little rill that has cut for itself a channel, the toil of centuries, to bubble by. The journey is from tunnel to tunnel. Here are some cows, an excellent breed. They are grazing.

'Their heads never raising,
There are forty feeding like one.'

Through these endless tunnels civilization has stolen to this magnificent realm of nature. The upstart-manner of the engine has now considerably changed. Its larks have ceased, its spirits are subsided. The anguish of labour now marks every inch it makes. Even the goats standing yonder sneer at the humbled thing. A solitary crow cruises the heavens so far above man. There a police-station intrudes into the realm of the hills, unnecessarily, for here is no law for people to break.

At last a railway-station is come sporting, as every station in the island does, the name of its master. Two Buddhist priests have alighted, one so young and the other so old. They bear, between them, a golden faith, worthily no doubt.

Now the train sends forth heavy puffs of smoke and jerks out and the cool air, unpolluted by human contact, slashed its fragrance on the face. The train steams forward drawing semi-circles and girdling the hills like belts of iron-links. The passengers are become listless but the irrepressible girls still go on. Three young calves have taken fright at the spectre of the running train and are running away with uplifted trunks and tails. The keepers make after them like three running full-stops. The golden rays of the sun are painting the lily-like scene.

Here are endless tea and rubber plantations. The tea clings to the earth. The rubber aspires high. Rubber is a killer of distances. Tea hugs and warms the heart. Yet the two grow side by side. A green patch of tea creeps up the hill yonder, which a hungalow crowns. In it the big superintendent of labour lives. Down below amidst

the tea and rubber live the labourers. They have learnt everything in life but work.

This idea blinded my eyes and by the time I could see I had reached Kandy.

KANDY IN THE HEART OF THE HILLS

I reached Kandy at 6-30 p.m. Dark shadows floated in the golden twilight. The impulse of the hills was in the air.

I had hardly come out of the railway-station before a swarm of rickshaw-pullers surrounded me with amiable hostility. They were mere boys but smart boys quite to make a noise in the world. They sank their competition before the obvious stranger and flew a high pitch. It was a solid combine, but a cool boy presently came along and bore away my box. The little pullers saw me vanish looking at each other. Their determination had saved from the sin of making a tender boy a draught-animal.

For a couple of days I was put up at Mr. S. Ranganathan's, a civilian, who was then the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon. I liked him more than I liked his western mode of life. I liked him because, as we shall presently see, he was a stout-hearted champion of the poor Indian labourer in the island. The mind of the average planter is not much addicted to pity for the labourer, and during the four years in which Mr. Ranganathan held the Agent's Office he carried on, in the face of sad temptation and some danger, a silent, strenuous and partially successful conflict with the planter-mind.

But I was now more anxious to discover Kandy than to dive into the hidden warfare in which my friend was engaged.

And I discovered it in the first morning after my arrival at the place. I discovered that it was doubtful if there was a more delightful little town anywhere on earth. Kandy is the elfin queen of the thirty towns of Ceylon. It has absolutely no pretension to size. One may put it in one's pocket and make off with it overnight. If one does that one will be possessed of a queen. Kandy is incomparably beautiful. It is a garden of marigold amidst dark hills and giant trees.

Its glory is its lake trembling like a silver leaf. The sinking sun scatters his crown of hundred colours on it. Wace Park to which a devious and steep road gives access overhangs this lake. This park is specially valuable for the very splendid view of the town it affords. There is a little rise in it from which one is asked to turn his gaze on the town below. It is a distinct little picture one sees from here. The Main Street looks like a railway in a post-card. The Queen's Hotel, that lordly mansion on the lake's edge that invites every rich stranger to the town, is seen in microscopic magnificence.

Kandy is nearly perfect. The roads often shine like the floor of a ball-room. The citizens are clean folks. The vegetable market looks even purer and fresher than the lake. The pale Chinese silk-vendor no less successful than quiet is there too. The 'Pittani' moneylender who never goes to a court of law and never loses a cent from his loans is also occasionally seen. Kandy might easily have been the city of God but for the fact that it is infested with motor-cars. Mr. Henry Ford may not have filled the earth with them yet. He has filled Kandy. These cars are here, there, everywhere. They come behind you racing, they come towards you threatening. Here is a regiment resting. There they hunt in packs. The pedestrian cannot be too careful in Kandy. If he flags one of two calamities must happen to him. He will either be knocked down or carried off to a place he does not want to go. A friend of mine was whisked off to Colombo 80 miles down like that. You can hardly escape the motor-car in Kandy.

If the lake is the glory of Kandy the Dalida Maligana is its heart and soul. The Dalida Maligana is the *Palace of the Golden Tooth*. This temple is a place of pilgrimage to the million-peopled Buddhist world. Once in twelve years this tooth of the Blessed One is exhibited and then comes half of Asia into this little town.

The temple itself is a modest building. The daily tale of votaries is not large. One may see the form getting the better of the substance in the daily routines of worship. Candles are burned and incense too. One may say that these people have made the Buddha a god and are not too mindful

about his message. Still there is a rare spirit diffusing in the temple. That spirit must be coming from the master-mind that did, perhaps, more than any other to leash the evil in the human breast.

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON.

The steamer in which I sailed from Tuticora to Colombo was carrying about two hundred Indian labourers to work in the estates of Ceylon. They were packed in the ship's hold like, shall I say, sardines, but it must have helped them to suspect that it was, perhaps, to no happy shore that they were sailing. I very much wanted to travel in their company but the awful stench that proceeded from the thousand sheep from a neighbouring hold drove me to the upper works, where I made friends with an Indian bell-metal worker keeping a shop in the city of Colombo. He proved to be a very present help to me both on board the ship and in Colombo. He took me to his lodgings in the city, a big house sheltering a large population. They were all day-labourers making about a rupee a day and saving about Rs. 15 a month. They led very frugal lives and thrived on honest solid labour. I asked them about the labour-conditions prevailing in the tea-estates in the island and they puckered their lips giving me to understand that they at any rate should not care to speak of them in better terms than they deserved. They told me that the *Kangonis* who 'carry off' labourers from India to Ceylon were a sly lot quite able to hold their own against all the laws in the world. The *Kangonis*, they said, deluded the unsophisticated starving working-classes in South India with hopes of plenty in the plantations of the island and uprooted them from their homes to make them suffer in the hills of Ceylon. From what I saw afterwards I could realize that there was much horse-sense in what these people told me.

There are about seven hundred thousand estate-labourers come from India in Ceylon. Every year hundreds of new labourers go to the island. Every year hundreds of them after various difficulties succeed in returning to India perhaps sadder and wiser. The demand for Indian labour in Ceylon is very great. If India withhold this labour the rich estates of the island from which the planting community there have been

deriving large fortunes must cease to exist. These estates can afford to make life much easier for the labourers that nourish them, but case-hardened capital has not always been known to be kind to its great associate which is labour.

That is the reason why Mr. Ranganathan had to declare 'a state of war' against the planters in Ceylon. But he was left without any tangible weapon to fight it. He had immense responsibility but minute power. He was left with that uncertain thing called 'moral suasion,' to awaken a consenting kindness in the planter mind. Its employment is needless in the case of the better-class planters of whom it must be admitted, there are a good many in Ceylon. In the case of the others it is hardly adequate to the circumstance. It reflects some credit on Mr. Ranganathan's ability that he could do what he has done and the measure of what he has done can be judged from the hostile manifestations that emanated from the planting community from time to time to his proposals.

His work in Ceylon was ruled by the criterion that what mattered was whether every Indian labourer was well off in Ceylon, not whether he was better off in Ceylon than in India. He has been fighting against overcrowding on estates, against the 'utter inefficiency of the average estate dispenser, for the establishment of a dispensary for every group of 750 labourers under a trained apothecary and having a trained midwife, for the provision of educational facilities in the estates, for the giving of 'the local option vote' to every adult labourer, because on average the Indian labourers spend about thirty lakhs of rupees on drink supplied by the taverns, and for the establishment of co-operative stores in the estates. He has also been fighting for the establishment of fixed standard rates of wages in the estates and this has now been done. The Ceylon Wages Ordinance has not only fixed rates of minimum wages but has also

made obligatory the issue of one-eighth bushel of rice to each working man and widow with a non-working child, has fixed the rates for piece-work, has made obligatory the issue of good rice to the labourers at a fixed price and has enforced the regular payment of wages into the labourers' own hands so that the money-grabbing *Kangani* might have less chance of taking his 'usual share' from them. The Ordinance also prohibits the employment of children under ten years of age. Mr. Ranganathan left Ceylon hoping that the Standard Wages Ordinance would soon be followed by a Medical Wages Ordinance and a Housing Ordinance, the necessity for which he was urging on the Government of the island for some time.

Perhaps the reader may carry away the impression that the condition of the Indian labourer in Ceylon is good. Such, however, is still some way from being the case. For one thing it is hardly 'fair wages for a fair day's work.' For another the value of laws does not lie in themselves but in the manner they are worked. Actual conditions are very often different from what laws contemplate and this is especially so when those whom these laws purport to protect are such as the generality of the Indian labourers in the island are. Their credulity and ignorance are a standing invitation for any likely people to deprive them of 'what is theirs and to harass them. It is next to impossible to save them in their present state altogether from the cunning and often rapacious *Kanganis*, who have become a quite prosperous people, and the planters, supposing they are really inclined to sympathise with the labourers, cannot possibly get rid of them because if the *Kanganis* go they should not know how to draw the labour, so essential to them, from India. The only way to help the labourer is to educate him, for without education he cannot come by that self-help which is a pre-condition of the ability to take advantage of other aids.

THE INDIAN FINANCIAL SYSTEM

BY

MR. W. T. LAYTON

(Financial Expert to the Simon Commission)

I. DEFECTS OF PRESENT PROVINCIAL SETTLEMENT.

(a) The principle of allocation of undivided heads of revenue introduced with the Reforms was designed to ensure the fiscal independence of the provinces and thus to make possible political and administrative autonomy. The actual allocation was not based on the prospective yield of taxes or the future economic requirements of the various provinces.

(b) In practice, it gave a larger increase of revenue to certain provinces than to others. In several, the increase was at once eaten up by the rise in salary rates.

(c) The disproportion thus introduced was at first modified by the provincial contributions fixed by the Meston Settlement. It is only since the final abolition of these varying payments in 1927 that the full effect of the allocation has been experienced.

(d) Under the Settlement two provinces have improved their relative position, while in two others it has meant a change for the worse (see diagram A). It might be argued that the change in relative position was remedying a previous inequity. In the case of the two provinces which have benefited most, however, no data have been put forward to prove this. In the case of the poorer provinces, however, it is claimed, with considerable force that even the previous settlement gave them quite inadequate revenues that had to be eked out with doles which have now ceased.

(e) The present distribution undoubtedly leaves the provinces in very unequal circumstances as regards revenue and therefore as regards possible standards of administration (Diagram B). Even when allowance is made for varying density of population the disparity in expenditure per head is very striking.

(f) In addition to criticisms of its initial inequity, the settlement is open to the more fundamental objection that while assigning to provinces many functions that urgently call for increasing expenditure the actual and potential sources of revenue allotted to them are inelastic (Diagram C).

Provincial revenues as a whole have actually increased more than Central Government revenues. But the argument as to elasticity is sound if considered in relation to

(i) the growth of the last four years,

(ii) prospects of future expansion, and

(iii) revenue in relation to the growth of expenditure.

(g) Again it is represented that the present distribution of the sources of revenue does not enable provinces to tax all sections of the population on an equitable basis.

(h) All these grounds of criticism have considerable force.

(i) Moreover it has frequently been pointed out that the penury of certain provinces in recent years has greatly added to the difficulty of working the Reforms.

(j) On both political and financial grounds, therefore, it is necessary that there should be a radical reconsideration of the financial relations of the provinces and the Central Government which will take account both of the present inequalities between provinces and of their growing needs.

2. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING PROVINCIAL REVENUES AND EXPENDITURE.

(a) Hardly any of the existing provincial sources of revenue are likely to expand in the future.

(b) Land revenue has not risen with the rise of prices since the War. Indeed, if newly irrigated

lands and new land brought under cultivation are excluded, the rise is only a few per cent compared with, say 50 per cent, rise of prices. Hence, what was formerly by far the most important source of revenue in India not merely under British rule but for many centuries previously has fallen into second place. Government whose expenses—including those for collection of land revenue—have risen greatly is obtaining a sum worth much less than before the War in real values, while the cultivator—or the landlord—has benefited.

(c) There is no prospect of any change in this respect. On the contrary, the tendency is for conditions in the temporarily settled areas to approximate to permanent settlement by the lengthening of the period between settlements, limiting the permissible enhancement at any settlement and fixing limits to the percentage of fixed assets that can be taken as revenue.

(d) This tendency is unsound from the fiscal point of view, for it is fixing the revenue in money that can be raised directly from the chief source of India's wealth, *viz.*, agriculture. If prices rise, this benefits the agricultural community at the expense of the Exchequer. If they fall, the reverse will happen. If they remain stable, the cultivator will get the benefit of any increased productivity, while the Government must look elsewhere for its growing needs.

(e) There are, however, obvious difficulties in the way of reversing this tendency in the temporarily settled areas, while in the permanently settled areas, and particularly in Bengal, the fractionalization of rights means that an increase of revenue would fall on a large number of small-income-receivers.

(f) The only ways of securing more revenue from agriculture without increasing the burden of small-income-receivers are either by graduation of land revenue or by removing the exemption of agricultural incomes from income-tax.

(g) Irrigation is to a considerable extent in the same position as land revenue—expenses rising and water rates stationary. In cases where the return is dependent on the revision of the land assessment the revenue rises very slowly. There is no likelihood of irrigation becoming an expanding contributor to general revenues.

(h) The other mainstay of provincial finance—Excise—is almost at a standstill owing to the prohibition movement. This source is unlikely to expand and may fall heavily.

(i) Devolution Rule 15 has failed to impart the much needed elasticity into provincial revenues.

(j) The scheduled taxes also have not provided an adequate remedy—for those hitherto imposed only touch a small section of population and yield very little, while several others—tobacco, death duties, etc.—could not satisfactorily be imposed except by central administration.

(k) Since 1924-25 total provincial revenues have risen at the rate of less than 1 per cent a year. The most optimistic forecast of future revenue we have received is from the United Provinces, where the Finance Secretary—assuming that the Council would approve all new taxes that were likely to be profitable—indicated a possible increase of Rs. 1½ crores in ten years (from Rs. 12½ crores to Rs. 14 crores or 12 per cent), *i.e.*, about 1 per cent a year. Many of the provinces will certainly not experience so great an increase as this under existing conditions.

(l) On the other hand, demands are almost unlimited. In Madras it is estimated on the lowest basis that universal primary education would cost Rs. 5 crores additional annually (another estimate Rs. 10 crores) plus a large initial expenditure on schools. The Government memorandum on financial relations suggests that Rs. 50 crores additional may ultimately be required for primary education. In regard to all estimates relating to education it must be remembered that the increase in expenditure will be slow owing to inevitable delay in training teachers, building schools, etc. But these figures give some idea of the dimensions of future requirements.

3. THE SITUATION IN PARTICULAR PROVINCES.

(See Diagram D.)

4. CENTRAL FINANCES.

(a) During the period of the Reforms the revenue of the Central Government has risen and expenditure fallen. In the absence of any change in policy or remission of taxation this is likely to continue (see Diagram E).

(b) Customs have risen partly through a rise in rates but also through an increase in the volume of trade which has considerably increased since 1921. Rs. 14 crores arise from "protective" duties. In some cases these have been so high as to kill the revenue and if this policy were extended the revenue in general would suffer. But if duties are kept at present figures, the yield should steadily grow. There are also no doubt some non-protectionist taxes which could be made to yield more.

(c) Income-tax has been inelastic owing to difficulties in the industrial areas in recent years. This has caused disappointment as to the results of Devolution Rule 15 and would have caused even more disappointment if there had been a division of the income-tax on a 50-50 basis. But there can be no doubt that in time this tax will again become an expanding source. It is, however, not to be expected that this tax—or rather this group of taxes—can play anything like so large a part in India as in a western industrialised country.

(d) The opium revenue will disappear in a few years.

(e) The railway contribution on present freight and passenger rates is likely to increase; but public policy may require that some of the increase of receipts should be returned to the public in a reduction of rates. It would not be wise to assume railway contributing on a much larger scale than at present.

(f) Turning to the other side of the account, at the end of the period of stabilised expenditure (and in the absence of War) army expenditure should be capable of reduction. In this connection the Incheque Committee suggested a standard figure of Rs. 50 crores (compared with Rs. 55 crores now) if prices fall (some downward movement of prices has taken place since the Report). This, however, involves matters of policy not appropriate to the present paper.

(g) Civil administration is slowly rising. But the salary increments must soon reach their peak and when this happens, this item should become stationary unless the Central Government assumes or has imposed upon it new functions.

(h) Conditions are momentarily against reduction of the debt charge. But the sinking fund is

definitely established and will steadily reduce the central budget item for interest.

(i) The net result is that with present taxation there should be a steadily widening margin—the size of which mainly depends on economies in military and other expenditure—available for provincial purposes.

(j) The argument that taxes should be remitted and this potential taxable capacity held in reserve against contingencies is not a valid reply to the view that taxable capacity will be increased if this money is spent on nation-building services. In any case, under modern conditions, wars are so costly that they must be met from borrowing.

(k) The Central Government must, however, retain the right in case of emergency to enhance, for its own needs, the rates of taxation of all centrally administered heads of revenue.

5. FRESH SOURCES OF REVENUE.

(a) India is a poor country and the burden of taxation must be judged in relation to the average income of her people. Figures of average income need to be handled with the greatest care and are not very reliable; but on the lowest estimate that I have seen of average income, India is lightly taxed in proportion to its total wealth and it should be possible to increase the burden for beneficent purposes. But so large a proportion of her people are poor and live on their own production that it is not as easy as in Western countries to raise revenue in cash by direct taxation.

(b) In a country such as India, new taxation must therefore be largely indirect—in spite of the economic advantages of direct taxes.

(c) Among the taxes from which fresh revenue may be derived, the following have been mentioned by the committee on taxation or elsewhere:—

- (i) The income-tax, whose yield may be increased by the abolition of the exemption of agricultural incomes and by lowering the minimum and super-tax limits.
- (ii) Death duties.
- (iii) Excise on tobacco, matches, etc.
- (iv) Other indirect taxes terminal, turnover, octroi, etc.

(d) Most of these—notably (i), (ii) and (iii)—should be levied at a uniform rate all over India. This means that their rates must be fixed by the Central Government—though the proceeds could, if necessary, be earmarked to the provinces in which they are collected.

6. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON FUTURE SITUATION.

The deductions to be drawn from the preceding sections are as follows :

(a) The Montford Report suggests that the Central Government should be provided with the resources estimated to be necessary for the functions assigned to it and that all other revenues should be handed over to the provinces. This idea, which implies that the financial requirements of the Central Government are comparatively stationary, while those of the provinces are likely to expand is in accordance with the constitution and requirements of British India. Indeed, unless new functions are assigned to the Central Government, its financial requirements should tend to fall.

(b) Since many of the most fruitful of existing or possible new taxes, *e.g.*, customs, income-tax, excise duties, death duties, can in practice only be devised and collected by the Central Government or a centrally administered agency, whereas most of the resources that can be collected by the provinces are incapable of considerable expansion, it follows that if the total revenues of India are to be enhanced on anything like the scale required for her future development, substantial sums must be collected centrally.

(c) This in turn implies one of three possible lines of development—

(i) Some of the more costly and expanding functions of Government would be transferred to the Central Government. This would be in accordance with development in most federal countries and would have the great advantage that the body which had the unpopular task of raising the money would also be

responsible for seeing that it was properly spent. At present, however, India is developing in the opposite direction.

(ii) A system comparable to that in England where a large proportion of local revenue is derived from central sources but control is exercised and economy ensured by the system of grants-in-aid and by inspection. This method is also objected to as involving an infringement of provincial autonomy.

(iii) Some more or less automatic method or methods of distributing centrally collected revenues. In the case of certain taxes, the incidence of which can be traced, it is possible to allocate the proceeds to the provinces from which they arise. But apart from the fact that it may not be equitable to do this there are many cases in which the proceeds cannot be thus allocated. To some extent therefore some other method or methods will be required.

(d) In any case the question is not merely one between the Government of India and the provinces. Both the increase of existing taxes and many of the new taxes that have been contemplated involve the taxation of the population of the Indian States. The whole of the proceeds cannot fairly be appropriated for the use of the provinces of British India alone.

7. METHODS OF DISTRIBUTION.

(a) The problem cannot be solved by a mere redistribution of funds. The present distribution is unsatisfactory ; but there is no practical alternative that would both provide expanding revenues and do justice between the provinces if the principle of undivided funds is adhered to.

(b) The proposals of the various provinces are expedients which, while easing the situation for the particular provinces, leave that of others unprovided for. For example, the proposal of Bengal that the

jute export duty should be assigned to the province is an expedient affecting Bengal alone which could only be considered if different arrangements were being proposed for each province. Provincial control of export duties is open to the objection that it would involve the provinces in question of international commercial policy which must necessarily be treated for India as a whole. Again the proposal of Bombay that the provinces should surrender general stamps to the Central Government in return for half the income-tax has some advantage from the provincial point of view. In particular, it hands to the provinces as a whole rather more than it takes away. From the point of view of elasticity of revenue, it takes away a moderately expanding source of revenue and hands over one which it is assumed will ultimately expand but has in fact fallen slightly since 1920. The chief criticism of the scheme, however, is that while remedying some irregularities it would make others worse. This will be evident from the fact that income-tax collections in Bengal are equivalent to 50 per cent of the present provincial revenue, they only represent 9 per cent of the provincial revenue—low though it is—of Bihar and 6 per cent of that of the Central Provinces.

(c) It is not proposed to suggest the lines of solution. Some of the suggestions that have been made may find a place in the completed scheme. Clearly it is desirable as far as possible to avoid solutions which will involve individual bargains with each province—a process that is likely to create friction and jealousy. It may not be possible entirely to avoid this, for before applying certain general rules, there are claims that must be considered for remedying certain handicaps of long standing and it is not possible to rule out altogether demands which in the case of the poorest provinces can only be met by special grants or subventions. The fact that Bihar is debarred from raising revenues from its mineral resources is a case in point.

(d) Apart from these special cases, there are two general principles to be considered. The first is to allot to provinces from centrally collected revenues on the basis of the extent to which they produce these revenues, i.e., their tax-yielding capacity.

There are strong arguments for enabling a province to benefit from the increase of its own wealth. The principle is important not merely from the point of view of satisfying the sense of equity and patriotism of the province but also on the economic ground that it would be to the financial advantage of a Provincial Government to foster and husband its taxable resources.

The principle must not, however, be pressed too far. The idea is sometimes held that provinces have a "natural right" to certain classes of revenue that arise within them. This argument is sometimes used by supporters of the present settlement. But if this principle is admitted with regard to present provincial revenues such as land revenue, it must be admitted also of income-tax, customs and other items. It cannot therefore justify the present partial allocation which favours agricultural provinces at the expense of industrial provinces.

Even, however, if this principle were applied to all sources of revenue, it could only be maintained if provinces were suitable fiscal units. It would not, for example, be reasonable to apply it as between a province consisting of a port of an industrial enclave and one consisting of an extensive but purely agricultural hinterland. We cannot accept the conception of the present provinces of British India as suitable, self-contained fiscal units entitled to all the revenues arising in them—subject only to a proportionate contribution to the central budget.

This doctrine must therefore be supplemented by reference to the "needs" of the various provinces. In a restricted sense India is an economic unity and it is reasonable to attempt to secure some uniformity of progress. It is therefore reasonable to conceive a national fund fed from central revenues which would be allocated to nation-building services either on a population basis or number of school teachers or scholars or some other test of needs. So long as there is strong objection to central inspection, etc., the extent to which the funds previously referred to can be so distributed depends on finding suitable automatic tests connected with various services.

TABLE A.
Comparison of Current Revenue with Standard Revenue adopted in 1911
(in lakhs of Rupees)

Province	Standard revenue adopted in 1911.	Budget 1928-29	Increase	Percentage increase.
Punjab	526	1273	947	290
Madras	613	1697	1084	177
United Provinces	525	1247	722	138
Burma	485	1122†	637	131
Bombay	624	1436‡	812	130
Central Provinces	245	554	309	126
Assam	123†	278	155	126
Bihar and Orissa	265†	347	309	117
Bengal	562†	1093	531	94

* Standard revenue figures minus "Irrigation Working Expenses" debited to Provincial revenues.

† Figures of 1912-13 minus the special contributions from the Government of India in that year.

‡ Excludes interest received from the three local Bodies in Bombay being in the nature of a book adjustment.

§ Includes the figures of Shan States for purposes of comparison.

TABLE B.
Expenditure per head of Population in 1927-28 (in rupees)
(in rupees)

	Burma	Bombay	Punjab	Madras	C. P.	Assam	U. P.	Bengal	B. & O.
Education	1,002	1,043	726	517	390	373	424	295	251
Medical and Public Health	540	353	269	218	132	297	133	178	114
Rest	4,022	2,656	2,849	1,166	1,539	1,215	833	670	584
Cost of collection excluding land revenue.	803	499	214	279	398	308	118	146	104
Land Revenue & General Administration.	1,277	1,482	708	622	685	586	488	534	269
Law and Order	1,843	1,355	967	739	721	527	593	700	405
Total	9,484	7,389	5,733	3,540	3,865	3,306	2,589	2,323	1,727

TABLE C.
Cross Provincial Revenue including Contributions
(in lakhs of rupees)

	Madras	Bombay	Bengal	U. P.	Punjab	Burma	B. & O.	C. P.	Assam	Total
1912-13*	796	782	714	678	467	—	328	325	178	4,268
1921-22	1,541	1,341	895	1,242	868	900†	443	495	197	7,952
1922-23	1,603	1,473	985	1,248	1,004	934	494	538	199	8,478
1923-24	1,638	1,481	1,013	1,271	1,091	922	528	539	226	8,709
1924-25	1,626	1,515	1,032	1,238	1,153	1,050	536	547	240	8,943
1925-26	1,693	1,549	1,070	1,270	1,266	1,065	579	546	259	9,297
1926-27	1,683	1,482	1,050	1,290	1,172	1,056	574	529	258	9,094
1927-28 (revised estimates).	1,676	1,559	1,076	1,283	1,242	1,054	565	547	268	9,250
1928-29 Budget	1,697	1,574	1,094	1,247	1,273	1,073	574	554	278	9,364
Percentage increase between 1921-22 and 1928-29	10.12	17.37	22.23	40	41.75	19.22	29.57	11.91	41.11	17.75

* The figures for 1912-13 represent the total provincial revenues minus "refunds and draw-backs" and working expenses under "irrigation" charged to provincial revenues in that year.

† Estimated figure. Shan States were separated from Burma in 1922-23.

TABLE D.
Revenue per head of Population in 1927-28 (in rupees)

	Burma	Bombay	Punjab	Madras	C. P.	Assam	U. P.	Bengal	H. & O.
Land Revenue	4.108	3.704	1.450	1.374	1.764	1.184	1.526	2.75	4.96
Excise	.944	3.047	.369	1.263	.868	.933	.311	.480	.578
Stamps	.530	.906	.370	0.591	.469	.309	.378	.743	.323
Forests	1.696	.377	.154	0.126	.365	.475	.146	.072	.028
Registration	.053	.261	.044	0.092	.047	.030	.028	.086	.040
Irrigation	.259	.222	1.973	0.205	—	—	.216	—	.066
Total Revenue including other items	8.519	7.240	5.828	4.017	1.881	1.543	2.833	2.315	1.684

TABLE E.
Budgets of the Central Government.
(Rupees in crores)

Year	Revenue (excluding provincial contribu- tions)	Expenditure	Surplus or deficit	Provin- cial contribu- tions
1921-22	75.04	112.53	-37.49	9.83
1922-23	74.47	98.69	-24.22	9.20
1923-24	83.19	90.00	-6.81	9.20
1924-25	85.46	88.98	-3.52	9.20
1925-26	85.77	88.66	-2.89	6.20
1926-27	84.96	87.17	-2.21	5.17
1927-28	83.38	85.59	-2.21	—
1928-29	8.706	86.40	-0.30	—
(Revised estimates)				
1929-30 (budget)	87.32	88.22	-0.90	—

Note.—In this statement, Customs, Taxes on Income, Salt, Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, Registration, Tributes from Indian States and "Extraordinary Items have been taken gross and all other items net."

CASTE CONFERENCES AND NATIONAL PROGRESS*

BY

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, BAR-AT-LAW.

I am deeply sensible of the very great honour that has been conferred upon me on the present occasion. I assure you that it is all the more welcome, as it has come absolutely unsought and, in fact, wholly unknown to me. Except on two occasions, it has not been my privilege to be associated actively with the work of this Conference and it, therefore, came upon me as rather an agreeable surprise when I was informed by the Secretary of your Reception Committee that almost all the

local committees, in which the privilege is vested of nominating the President, had recorded their votes for me. For this reason my appreciation of the honour is all the greater and I desire to express my sense of profound gratefulness for your so kindly calling me to the presidential chair, that too at the first session to be held in Delhi, the historical and now, once again, the administrative metropolis of our country.

* Extracts from Presidential Address at the All-India Kayastha Conference held at Delhi on 29th March, 1929.

II

Since the last session of the Conference met in December, 1927, the community in particular and not the least the country in general has had the dire misfortune of suffering an irreparable loss in the death of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Sinha. My relations with the deceased statesman were so intimate and cordial—it was to him that I owed the privilege of association with the Government of my native province—that I could speak of him “much and long” but I forbear by reason of the fact that his death has been mourned throughout the length and breadth of the country, by all sections, classes and communities. “His career”—as wrote the *Times* in its obituary—“marked a definite stage in the association of India with the British Empire and was a remarkable illustration of the new tendencies in India.” The first Indian to hold many of the highest executive offices under the Crown, and the second to hold the highest judicial office, as a member of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, Lord Sinha has left to the rising generation of his countrymen not only his mantle of inspiration but a name and a fame which, I hope, will stimulate them to emulate his illustrious example.

In the economy of Providence, however, pleasure and pain are indissolubly intermingled and the year which has witnessed the demise of Lord Sinha has brought to members of the community some of the highest offices under the Crown—on the executive side the appointment of Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter as a Law Member of the Government of India, and on the judicial side that of Sir Binode Mitter as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. With Sir B. N. Mitra already in the Government of India, the appointment of Sir B. L. Mitter gives our community now two out of the three Indian members. Similarly the appointments of Sir Provas Mitter and Mr. G. R. Pradhan to the Executive Councils of the Governors of Bengal and Bombay, will enable two prominent members of the community to be associated with the Government of their native province, as also another—Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, an ex-President—with the Agra University as its elected Vice-Chancellor. We have also to express our satisfaction at the appointment of Mr. N. N. Sircar

as the Advocate General of Bengal. All these appointments should be particularly gratifying to the members of this Conference and I have no doubt you will place on record your sense of appreciation of them. Lastly we should offer our respectful congratulations to the greatest Indian scientist, a man of world-wide reputation—Sir Jagadish Bose—on the celebration of his seventieth birthday, and also express our hearty admiration of the courage and public spirit of Rai Rajeshwar Bali—ex-Minister, United Provinces—on his having resigned his office rather than be a party to an unconstitutional procedure wholly subversive of public interests.

III

After these preliminary observations I should like, mainly for the benefit of the younger generation, to refer briefly to the origin and the objects of this movement and discuss the principles and method of social reform. The first impetus to reform and progress in the community was imparted in Upper India through the labours of that great-souled patriot, Munshi Kali Prasad “kulbhaskar,” who founded in 1873 a tiny school which has now developed into the great educational institution at Allahabad—the Kayastha Pathshala—and of the Board of Trustees of which our esteemed friend, Mr. Ishwar Saran, who is well-known as one of the prominent members of the Legislative Assembly, is the President. The Pathshala formed a very effective nucleus of educational progress and led to a rapid expansion of higher education amongst the younger generation of the community in the provinces now known as Agra and Oudh. The result was that by 1887 there originated in the mind of two prominent graduates—the late Munshi Hargovind Dayal and the late Rai Bahadur Sri Ram, C.I.E.—the idea that a Conference of that section of the community, which is known as Hindustani Kayastha, should be organised. A circular was accordingly issued to the educated members of the community which was couched in the language of a stirring appeal and evoked a sympathetic response—particularly from the English-knowing section of the community in Upper India. The result was the holding of the first session of this Conference at Lucknow, in 1887, under the presidency of Rai Bahadur Jaiparkash Lal, C.I.E., the well-known

Dewan of the Dummerij. From that time onward the Conference continued to be held in various centres in Northern India. About twenty years back there grew amongst its members the consciousness that the sphere of its activities need not be confined to the Hindustani Kayasthas alone, but that the movement should bring within its fold that large, important and influential section of the community, which resides in Bengal and which had so far not been asked to join it, presumably because they do not speak Hindustani but Bengali. It is due to the memory of the late Mr. Sarla Charan Mitter—a well-known Judge of the Calcutta High Court—to state that he took the most prominent part in bringing about the fusion in this Conference of the Hindustani and the Bengali Kayasthas, with the result that in December 1912 the first session of the All-India Kayastha Conference was held in Calcutta.

Since then the Bengali Kayastha community has given us three very worthy and eminent Presidents in Maharaja Sir Girja Nath Roy for the session held at Allahabad in 1914, the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose for that held in the same city in 1916 and, last but not least, Sir P. C. Roy for the session held at Daultaganj, in Bihar, in 1927. It seems to me, however, that we have failed so far to utilise fully the assistance of our Bengali brethren, and it should be our endeavour to enlist the services of eminent Bengali Kayasthas, of whom there is no dearth, for guiding the future sessions of this Conference. But though 1912 saw the amalgamation of the Bengali and the Hindustani Kayasthas, another large section of the community, which has inhabited for centuries the Maharashtra and is known as the "Prabhu Kayastha," remained outside this Conference. This section of the community is a very important one in the Maharashtra. As it was obviously desirable to bring into the Conference so important a section of the community, its organisers acted very wisely when at the last session held in Calcutta, in December 1926, they offered the chair to Sir Shankar Rao Chitnavis. That session of the Conference, held but two years back, thus consolidated into one body the entire Kayastha community and it now rests with us to so shape our programme that it may lead to the well-being of the community as a whole, irrespective of provincial

boundaries or such distinctions as we have inherited from the past—due to historical causes—of being divided into sections known as Hindustani, Bengali and Maharatti.

IV

Having now treated briefly the origin and the striking developments of this movement, I shall next address myself to discussing whether a movement confined to a particular community can be held—at any rate, now—to be at all beneficial in its activities, in so far as the general progress of the country is concerned. This question is, to my mind, an important one for a communal conference to consider, as its decision may be of a far-reaching character. You are no doubt aware that, particularly during the last few years, a revulsion of feeling has come over certain sections of the educated community in regard to the value and utility of communal conferences. It has been chiefly due to the fact of the following in the wake of this Conference—which was the first in the field—of a large number of similar conferences confined not only to large communities but to sections or sub-sections of them, that earnest reformers and well-wishers of the country have been repeatedly asking the question whether the multiplication of such conferences is likely to lead to the good of the country as a whole or whether they do not, by accentuating local and parochial considerations, retard the growth and development of the country, specially in the matter of the evolution of an Indian nationality. I must tell you frankly that in my opinion this is a question which cannot be shirked but must be faced. It merits serious consideration—whatever the view which one may ultimately take of it as the result of careful and earnest deliberation and discussion. Amongst those who have taken the view that communal conferences are injurious to India's progress, I shall refer to but one eminent authority on our social history, a great scholar, a distinguished savant and, above all, an earnest social reformer, namely, the late Dr. Sir Ram Krishna Bhandarkar who expressed himself as follows:—"A wave of reaction has been sweeping over us for a good many years. I have heard of the formation of caste clubs and recently we have

had periodical conferences of many castes. It is often urged in favour of such conferences that they are the means of the introduction of social reform in those communities. To that extent a conference may do good, but the assertion of the exclusiveness of the community involved in the holding itself of a conference or the running of a club serves to harden the caste distinction instead of softening them. Hence these conferences and clubs are retrogressive in my opinion, for in our meetings and our conferences we should accustom ourselves to be guided only by the feelings of a united nation." Now, whatever may be said to the contrary, these observations of a great Indian reformer contain a warning which cannot be neglected or ignored, and in all that we say or do, either in this Conference or outside it, we should always be anxious that the result of our speech or action is not one which may be calculated, even remotely, to retard the progress of this country in the matter of developing national unity.

But that apart, this problem is after all not so simple as it may seem at the first blush. If merely by ignoring caste distinctions in our speech or writing and by talking of a united nation, we could evolve in its true sense an Indian nationality, then there has been already so much talk about it, that we should have long since been successful in our effort. But unfortunately facts are stubborn things and it does not stand to reason that by merely ignoring our present limitations, we shall be able to rid ourselves of the effect of those sociological conditions under which we have lived for thousands of years. Now, the roundwork of our social system has been based for several millenniums on caste and all that that system implies. Many eminent sociologists, therefore,—who have studied the origin, the developments and the effects of the caste system on the people of this country—have come to the conclusion that whenever India is able to develop nationality, in that political sense in which that term is understood in Western countries, it will only be by moulding and modifying the system of caste on correct lines, by adapting it to our modern requirements, and not by merely ignoring it or refusing to utilise it for what good result it may be likely to yield, if approached in the right spirit. This

view, it is held, is based on the experience of Western countries themselves, where nationality has developed in a marked degree during the last few hundred years. Thus one qualified European authority—who is conversant with Indian conditions—writes on the subject of the evolution of national unity in India as follows:—"There is no doubt that the general tendency of evolution is in the direction of unity. But it is at the same time in the direction of gradually increasing specialisation and differentiation. The two processes run side by side and may be observed not only in the wider evolution of communities and nations, but also in the smaller sphere of individual development. The question arises therefore: how are we to synthesize and reconcile two such apparent opposites? In what sense can unification and specialisation form part of one homogeneous process?"

Now if the view propounded in the above observations be correct, it will have to be admitted that the process of specialisation and differentiation of the individual and communities has still to be gone through by the vast bulk of our people, and it will have to be so passed through before we can hope to have a genuinely unified nation. By this expression I mean not that kind of make-believe unity which was witnessed during the last few years, and which collapsed at the feeblest touch of some disruptive element, but that true unity which springs as an urge from within, as the result of a keen perception of its absolute necessity for the good of all the people in a country and is independent of any artificial aid such as opposition to a common adversary, for the time being. This true unity, which alone can be the basis of nationality, is not likely to accrue merely from any such fortuitous circumstance as a sense of wrong against a common opponent, but should derive its sustenance from the indigenous elements in the body politic, as the result of sheer intellectual and moral necessity. That which is the outcome of such adventitious aid as an opposition to a common antagonist cannot in the nature of things retain any elements of permanence, for no sooner than the antagonistic factor disappears, the artificial unity is bound to cease to exist. According to this view, therefore, before there can

be a true spirit of nationality in our country, each component part of the people must realize that its individualisation has reached a point in self-expression when it is desirable in the interest of further advance or progress to merge itself with other groups or communities. In other words, before there can be a true effort at nation-building, the integral factors of the body-politic must come to realize that their specialisation has reached a point at which they may feel it to be to their advantage to merge themselves with others. Unless therefore all the communities making up the people of this country become self-subsistent and self-expressive, no true Indian nationality is likely to come into existence, for the unity to be perfect can only be the direct result, not the negation, of fully developed individualism of each organic part of the whole organism. If you look at the problem from this point of view, you will have no difficulty in appreciating the causes that have brought into existence the non-Brahmin movement in Southern India, the Bhumihar Babbar upheaval in Bihar, and the Musalman opposition in general even to nationalist demands, culminating in a war on the Nehru Report, led amongst others by the Maulana ex-President of the National Congress. The spectacle so presented to view is, no doubt, depressing and annoying, but it should be appraised at its true value as an inevitable concomitant of the present stage of our social evolution.

The popular theory, therefore, which largely obtains at present in this country, that political unity can be brought about by ignoring or suppressing the sociological limitations of the component parts and is independent of them, seems not at all warranted either by experience or the teaching of history. That it is unsound is evident to all who have followed the course of events in this country during the last few years, the outstanding feature of which is the gradual disappearance of the artificial unity we saw some years back, under the pressure of the frailest of disruptive forces—to which it is unnecessary to refer in detail. But apart from our experience and the lessons to be derived from the teachings of history, considerable support is lent to this view by the observations of one of the greatest European sociologists and thinkers, who writes on this subject

in the following terms:—"Before there arise in human nature and human institutions changes having that permanence which makes them an acquired inheritance of the human race, there must be innumerable recurrences of the thoughts and feelings and actions conducive to such changes." He adds that "the process cannot be abridged and must be gone through with due patience," and "the man of higher type must be content with greatly moderated expectations, while he perseveres with undiminished efforts"; as "he has to see how comparatively little can be done and yet to find it worthwhile to do that little." Such being the divergence of views, I have noticed with gratification the opinion expressed by my esteemed friend, Mr. Lwar Saran, in a recent contribution by him made to the columns of the *Hindustan Times* of this city. This is how he has reconciled the two seemingly conflicting views:—"In nationalism alone lies the salvation of India. Nationalism has peculiar difficulties to contend with in this country and the feeling of separateness generated by caste and intensified by innumerable sub-castes is its worst enemy. How then, well may the question be put, can an Indian nationalist take part in a caste organisation? To my mind—I do not forget that there is a serious conflict of opinion on this point—there is nothing inherently objectionable in a nationalist identifying himself with a caste movement provided, of course, his real motive is to serve the whole through the part. As long as castes exist, these caste movements, if wisely guided and controlled, can be made to render effective and useful service." I am disposed to agree with my esteemed friend whom I have just quoted and it is in this spirit that I stand before you today to guide the deliberations of this Conference. I hope that nothing that we may say or do shall have the least trace of any such communalism as may be held likely to jeopardise the larger interests of the country.

V

Having thus cleared the ground, we may now address ourselves to the task before us, with a better perception and a keener realisation of the problems that await solution at our hands and of the methods which we have got to adopt for solving them.

During the last few weeks I have received from numerous friends throughout the country many valuable suggestions for being incorporated in this address and I cannot sufficiently thank them for the trouble and interest they have taken in the matter. Almost all of them, however, have concentrated on particular questions in which each of them is interested. To my mind, however, the proper thing for the President of a Conference like ours is not so much to discuss particular problems as the principles underlying the movement for social reform and progress, and to insist strenuously upon that fundamental law, which, so to say, constitutes the *raison d'être* of the reform movement, the law of continuous adjustment and constant adaptability to environment, whether in the case of a particular individual or a group of human beings collectively, massed together as a people, tribe, race, community or nationality. If this law of adaptation to environment be as universal and inevitable, as it is now believed to be, then it is quite clear that efforts at reform in any given community should not be spasmodic or haphazard, but must be one long continuous process. Essential as the appreciation of this law may be in all spheres of human activities in other countries, it is all the more necessary in India, where we have long been in a most pitiable condition for want of capacity to adapt ourselves to our ever-changing environment. It is clear that power and prosperity depend on this capacity, while decline may be dated from the time when glory is believed to have reached such a climax as to make men apprehensive to interfere with the existing order of things, lest a false step may lead to untoward results. From this time onwards the whole social system begins either to crumble or to get fossilized and it soon becomes incapable of replenishing its diminished vitality by the absorption of new ideals and new lines of progress. Once society is reduced to that level, the spirit of enterprise and reform disappears and it is but the dead body of the people that remains behind. This has been the state of affairs in this country, beyond all doubt, for at least one thousand years.

Now, I am as proud as any one can be of the great achievements of my countrymen in ancient times, in the domains of religion, philosophy and literature. But every dispassionate student of

Indian history and sociology will have to admit that the social system inherited by us from our forefathers has, on the whole, not been quite successful, and has not fully subserved the end in view. For one thing, it has not succeeded in enabling the people to resist successfully foreign invasions and aggressions, nor has it enabled them to hold their own in competition with the other nations, in various walks of life. The result of these limitations and deficiencies in our social system has been that for now centuries and centuries we have lived under foreign domination, than which no greater misfortune can befall any people. And the whole atmosphere in which, even today, we live and move and have our being is smothered with dense ignorance and gross superstition. For more than a century now, eminent social reformers have been working amongst us for the regeneration of the people, and though it is a matter of satisfaction that some progress has been made specially during recent years, it is nevertheless clear as daylight that a great deal of leeway has got to be made, before the country will be in a position to take full advantage of the resources of modern civilisation, with which we have now been brought into contact, thanks to British connection. Until we, therefore, keenly realise the truism that it should be our constant effort, while conserving all that is good in our ancient system and tradition, to so mould it that it may be fully adapted to the requirements of modern civilisation, it seems that it would be futile to go on passing a long series of resolutions, from year to year, on this or that particular question. *That we have been* doing for the last forty-two years, but I am now trying to discuss with you the reason why we have achieved so little success in spite of our piling bundles on bundles of resolutions at each of our sessions, and my unequivocal answer is that it is entirely due to the fact that till now, though we have intellectually assented to the propositions embodied in our resolutions, we have not in our heart of hearts really believed in them. In other words, the reason of our failure has been due to a natural conflict between our intellect and emotion, a subject to which I shall refer later.

Again, our habits and methods for carrying on public work, due to our having been brought up in a vicious atmosphere, are such that they stand, to a

large extent, in the way of our progress on right lines. Leaving aside the masses, that is, the vast bulk of our people, it cannot honestly be said that even we, the educated classes, have yet displayed, in any appreciable degree, the possession of that kind of character which one has to presuppose as existing amongst a really progressive people. Our blind confidence in the existing state of things, our disbelief in the efficacy of change, our lack of enterprise, our spirit of helplessness to contend with natural evils and to surmount difficulties, our over-anxiety to shirk responsibility and to take shelter for our actions behind some one else, our ingrained spirit of disunion, our habits of sheer indolence and procrastination, our loose, careless talk and reckless promises and assertions, our distrust of each other, the absence of any feeling of genuine co-operation, and, above all, our sadly lacking in the appreciation of the virtue of organisation, these, and many other patent defects of our character, make earnest and steady public work difficult, slow, exasperating and as often as not abortive. If, therefore, we desire to make steady progress and to rise in the scale of peoples, we shall have to develop those phases of character which will enable us to discharge properly our duties and responsibilities both as citizens of the State and as members of the community to which we belong. We have thus to learn or rather to educate ourselves to perform treble duties. Firstly, to conquer the many shortcomings of our character and to extirpate from our minds the pernicious influence of early teachings and surroundings; secondly, to teach and help our co-adjutors in public work to do the same; and, thirdly, to organise the work itself. All this is—when you come to think of it—a gigantic task which can only be accomplished by possessing a large fund of patience and by working strenuously, diligently and steadily, from year's end to year's end, by means of efficient organisations throughout the length and breadth of the country. Believe me, that to awake the age-long sleeping Himalaya and to make it walk bodily to Land's End would be an easier task than to so organize and mobilize the forces of the community or the country as to put it in the way of achieving notable success in this direction within a reasonable time.

Merely, therefore, meeting once a year and passing sheafs of resolutions and then forgetting all about them till we meet again twelve months later, cannot obviously enable us to attain our salvation. At the present rate of our very slow progress, many generations will have to pass before we shall have reached a state of thorough working order. But it behoves us to keep always in view that everything, which tends to remove the obstacles to our progress, should be heartily and readily accepted, while those things that stand in the way as unhesitatingly discarded. Amongst the latter the principal ones are our undue reverence for the past and a reluctance to alter for the better the system in vogue amongst us. I need hardly say that in making these observations I am thinking of our people in the bulk and not of exceptionally gifted individuals or even large cultured groups, for the simple reason that in judging of a people's character as an important—nay, an essential—element in advancement, the capacity of a few or of a small class or a few classes is not quite relevant. Those of you who have studied English history carefully are, no doubt, aware that it was never the case that at any time England possessed indubitable superiority in intellectual capacity or culture in her statesmen over those of other European countries, but it was rather that since the Elizabethan times the vast bulk of the people of England have possessed character of a high order and have displayed that sense of unity and identity of interest which are the concomitants of high national character. Unless, therefore, we devote ourselves to mould and develop on right lines the aggregate of the character of the people, our dreams, whether for social or political or economic advancement, are likely to remain unrealised. I say this not to discourage the younger section amongst us or to damp their enthusiasm, but with a view to emphasise how vast a field of useful work is lying before us in the matter of the wide expansion of primary education and reclamation of our people to a higher standard of living, and a ready acceptance of progressive ideals. Here is work which may profitably occupy all of us for years and years—work than which none nobler or more patriotic can possibly be conceived or commended to earnest social reformers.

VI

I would not be surprised, however, to learn that these observations of mine, while acceptable on the merits, or in a sense disappointing to some of you who expected me to discourse not on the principles and methods of social reform and progress, but on those special problems which are supposed to affect the particular community to which we belong. You will pardon my pointing out that in taking this view of the matter we are apt to fall into a grievous error. A careful study of the sociological conditions of this country and of its social problems will satisfy you that such an attempt to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation between the social problems affecting a particular community and those affecting others, or the country as a whole, is, in the nature of things, bound to be unscientific and, therefore, wrong and untrue. I feel sure you will accept my contention if you will apply the test of analogy to other branches of human activities. Students of comparative studies tell us that all branches of human knowledge—many of them having no obvious connection—are ultimately inter-related and have an appreciable bearing on one another. Buckle, the famous historian of civilisation, was the foremost to proclaim that "no one can have a firm grasp of any Science if, by confining himself to it, he shuts out the lights of analogy. He will never be able to enlarge its philosophy, for the philosophy of every department depends on its communication with other departments and must, therefore, be sought at their points of contact in the places where they touch and coalesce." Similarly, Sir John Herschel, the eminent scientist, has declared his views on the interrelation of all branches of human knowledge in the following terms: "It can hardly be pressed forcibly enough on the attention of the student of nature that there is scarcely any phenomenon which can be fully and completely explained, in all its circumstances, without the union of several, perhaps all the Sciences."

So much for the co-relation of the different departments of human knowledge. I could multiply examples drawn from other departments of human activities, establishing the same point, but I forbear from doing so for want of time. I hope

I have said enough to satisfy you that the attempt to draw the line of distinction between "communal" social problems and "general" social problems is not likely to lead to any substantial results. If this view be correct, then it is obvious that our one constant endeavour should be to find out the greatest common measure among the social problems affecting the people of this country as a whole. And if you judge it in this light, you will find that practically all the questions which you have been discussing for now over forty years—except perhaps a few minor ones—are those which affect the Hindu community as a whole. Nay more. Those of you who will be able to recall the memorable address delivered by that great reformer—the late Mr. Justice Ranade—at the Lucknow Session of the Social Conference, held in 1899, will no doubt remember his teaching that there was in the domain of social reform and progress much common ground between the Hindus and the Muslims, "both of whom," he said, "lack many of those virtues represented by love of order and regulated authority." "Both are wanting," he went on to say, "in the love of municipal freedom, in the exercise of virtues necessary for civic life, in aptitude for mechanical skill, in the love of science and research, and adventurous discovery, the resolution to master difficulties and in chivalrous respect for woman-kind." Obviously, then, the main problems must affect all the Hindus equally. If but time permitted I could refer in detail to the resolutions passed by this Conference at its previous sessions, to show how they affect equally the well-being and progress of the other communities, constituting jointly with us, the great Hindu community.

VII

But the real point—the crux of the situation, so to say—is not what resolutions you have previously passed or will pass at the present session, but that of seeing to it that they are duly carried out. And here, from my long experience of having watched the practical working of your movement in Bihar and the United Provinces, I may be permitted to say that it is the settled conviction of the members of the community that the resolutions of this Conference are no better than the scraps of paper they are

written upon. Our committees and Sabhas, where they at all exist, at any rate in these two important provinces, are mere paper transactions. They do no work and are absolutely moribund. Once the Conference is over, its adherents lapse back into their usual listlessness and apathy, our resolutions in condemnation of even such acknowledged evils as demands for exorbitant dowries, are more honoured in the breach than in the observance amongst large sections of the community, not only in the Upper Provinces but even, I am sorry to say, in advanced Bengal. Looking into the report of the Conference held in Calcutta, so recently as in December 1926, I find that the mover of the resolution about dowries delivered himself as follows: "The evil of dowry remains as rampant as ever. I must confess to a feeling of disgust that we have not been able to do anything to carry out this resolution. What is the good of our passing resolutions if we do not put them into effect?" The seconder spoke on the subject as follows: "This canker is eating into the vitals of the middle classes in Bengal. It is a crying evil specially amongst the Kayasthas in this province." A third speaker on the same subject said: "This insidious poison, the dowry system, is eating into the vitals of the community and the middle classes are becoming totally impoverished on this account." But although this question of questions is being discussed for more than forty years in our Conference, it still remains unsolved, so far as the vast bulk of the community is concerned. These three short extracts will, I hope, satisfy you of the correctness of the position taken up by me, in the earlier part of my address, that such divergence between our profession and practice is due to a conflict between our intellect and emotions. It means in other words, that though we intellectually assent to the soundness of a proposition, our emotions, for want of development on right lines, stand in the way of our carrying it out in practice.

Now, it may at first sight seem paradoxical that our feelings should not permit us to do what commands our intellectual assent, but if you will take the trouble of indulging in a little self introspection, you will realise for yourselves that there is nothing singular in this, as lack of courage of conviction is perhaps the commonest phenomenon in Indian public life. In almost all spheres of our activities, we find people

professing views and sentiments which they dare not think of putting into practice. This interesting psychological problem is discussed by Herbert Spencer in a luminous essay on "Feeling versus Intellect" and this is how he explains the apparent inconsistency: "It is assumed that when men are taught what is right they will do what is right—that a proposition intellectually accepted will be morally propulsive. This undue faith in teaching is caused by the erroneous conception of mind. Were it fully realised that the emotions are the masters and the intellect the servant, it would be seen that little can be done by improving the servant while the masters remain unimproved." That being so, you will see how tremendously necessary it is that our young men, in particular, should have a chance of improving, by means of proper exercise, not only their intellect but, even much more so, their emotions on right lines. For obvious reasons, however, it is not possible for our schools and colleges to offer our youth suitable opportunities for what can be properly developed and exercised only in the more congenial surroundings of one's home; and as the home naturally implies the influence and guidance of women, it is clear that there cannot be surroundings favourable to the growth of our emotions in our homes unless our women are qualified by education to play their parts, as they should, in moulding the lives and destinies of the younger generations. In this view of the matter, you are brought face to face with one of the greatest problems of Indian reform, namely, the emancipation, physical and mental, of our women. I may venture to request you to address yourselves in right earnest to this problem of all problems than which none is more pressing or more emergent. Unless we take up in all seriousness this great cause, which is clamouring for reform,—“the woman's cause,” which rightly understood, is no less the man's—we shall have failed in our duty as educated persons and will not have proved ourselves worthy of the education we have received.

VIII

Having said so much on the principles underlying the problem of social reform, I may now advert briefly to the method which, in my opinion, should be adopted in bringing it about. I have noticed

of families, and, unless satisfactorily settled, is bound to work much greater mischief in time to come. I have been told by some persons who profess sympathy with the idea of inter-marriage that they are reluctant to give effect to their view for fear that such marriages may not be legally valid. If I understand the law aright, there can be no doubt that inter-marriages amongst the various sections of the same community are perfectly valid in law and I hope no practical reformer will be deterred from carrying out this much-needed reform for fear of any imaginary or fancied legal difficulty.

But this problem is not one which should be tackled for the sake of affording facilities for marriages only. Its solution is called for even more so, in the larger interest of fusing into one compact whole the various sections of the community, which I believe number no less than a dozen among the Hindustani Kayasthas alone and some of these have sub-sections—a kind of “lower deep in the lowest deep.” So long as these sections and sub-sections remain, the centrifugal forces that have operated on us for ages past naturally lead to the existence amongst us of sectional and even sub-sectional movements and keep alive the distinctions which all sensible persons would like to see disappear. In spite of forty-two years of this Conference the Hindustani Kayasthas are still sharply divided into twelve sections and many more sub-sections, and the Bengalee Kayasthas, at least, into four. Now the only way to my mind, to destroy root and branch the disintegrating forces and to convert them into centripetal ones is to have intermarriage among the various sections and sub-sections of the community on an extensive scale. It is by this means and this means alone that the fusion of heterogeneous elements, in other countries, has come about and so will it be here amongst us, if only we are alive to our duties and responsibilities. But unfortunately we have done hardly anything appreciable in this direction, with the result that we continue to be hopelessly divided and go down in the race of life for want of unity and cohesion, when placed in competition with other communities, which compared with us are solid and compact. I appeal to you, therefore, in the name of all that is sensible and patriotic to address yourselves in right earnest to the solution of this very serious problem. I also

venture to express the hope that our community in Bengal—a highly educated and gifted section—will leave no stone unturned in solving this problem of the fusion of its four territorial groups into one unified whole, in their province. The fusion of both the Hindustani and Bengali sections between themselves, and with the Prabhu section in the Maharashtra, may be looked forward to, to come about in the fulness of time. But we should not lag behind in doing what we can today, for it is a question of “now or never.” If I may venture to address you in the highly emotional language which the great Latin poet, Virgil, puts in the mouth of Sibyll, I would say that:—

“Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
A voice of brass and adamantine lungs.”

I could even then hardly hope to make a sufficiently impassioned appeal to you to take practical steps immediately to bring about the fusion, into one compact whole, of our sub-sections and sections by means of intermarriage, which is the only remedy for the present miserable state of affairs.

To talk to members of the Kayastha community about the benefits and advantages of education or to impress upon them the expediency of its expansion would be like carrying coal to Newcastle; for an analysis of the figures given in the Census Reports of 1921 brings into strong relief their high position amongst the literate classes, in the various provinces of the country. In Bihar and in the United Provinces, they are easily the first in male education, while in Bengal they stand third, following closely the two other communities which are slightly in advance. But while these figures establish a fairly high degree of literacy amongst the male population in Upper India, they equally clearly show the low degree of education amongst the females. I shall, therefore, invite your attention to the solution of this great problem of the advancement of our women, to which I have already made reference in an earlier part of the address. Next, therefore, to the questions of dowry and inter-marriage, I shall advise you to direct your attention to the problem of female education with which is intimately connected that of female emancipation, that is the removal, in a reasonable degree of the restraints now placed by purdah upon the movements of our women. In this connection, I am

glad to tell you that during the last twelve months there has been a remarkable change in Bihar in this respect and many of the prominent men in the community have taken a notable and commendable part in the female emancipation movement, which has been accelerated by the holding of the session of the All-India Women's Conference at Patna in January last.

I shall refer now to but one more question before I conclude my address, and that is, that of the economic distress in the community due to unemployment. I am aware that due to it there is great discontent amongst the younger generation of our community throughout Upper India. I quite understand that a community, which has been dependent for centuries past either on State services or the learned professions, must feel seriously handicapped when it finds itself in competition with others who, under the levelling influences of British rule, have betaken themselves to literary education, just like the members of our community. If the result of the competition rested on efficiency and ability alone, I do not think the young men of our community would have anything to fear from fair and open competition, judged by any test howsoever strict or high. But speaking from an intimate knowledge and experience of the working of Government, I feel I must declare that the tendency in Bihar and in the United Provinces—and perhaps in other provinces also—is to penalise as such the members of our community. This is a position to which you should not submit and I hope you will take all such action as may be legitimate and reasonable to bring this grievance of yours before the local Governments of the different provinces.

At the same time, I want our young men to realise, as well as they can, that the old order has changed giving place to the new, and that we are not living now in the days when literary education was practically the monopoly of certain classes only—either amongst the Hindus or the Mussalmans. Instead of bewailing the new state of affairs, the best thing would be for our young men to gird up their loins to meet the changed situation, and for the Conference to educate public opinion on this subject, by pressing upon our young men to betake themselves more and more to commercial and industrial pursuits. So long as they do not carve out

careers for themselves outside the State services or the learned professions, the fate of the community may be taken to be sealed. It is not possible for any Government to provide with posts all the educated men of one community; nor that all the successful men in the literary or the legal professions should be members now of only one community. Our young men should, therefore, be impressed and strongly impressed with the expediency and the desirability of chalking out for themselves careers in trade, industry and commerce. Contrast in this respect the average Britisher with the average member of our community. When the war broke out, a number of our British fellow-subjects in this country, employed in the civil services, buckled on their armour and went to fight for their King and country. Those who fortunately survived returned to their work of administration; those amongst them who have since retired on pension have set up various careers for themselves in their own country in trade and commerce—while here our average young men are only grumbling that they are being asked to give up their literary careers and betake themselves to some technical profession. The only solution, therefore, of this problem of unemployment and economic distress is for our young men to receive their training more in Science and technical studies and less in literary subjects or law. Let them aspire to be great captains of industry and great commercial magnates, instead of trying to be merely great advocates or great officers under the State. I shall also earnestly impress upon them to do their duty by the country by joining the territorial force.

XI

I fear I have inflicted upon you a rather long address, the only justification for which is the tradition—now unfortunately so well established in this country—that a presidential address should be, if nothing else, at least, inordinately long. But before I resume my seat I would like to tell you that I have been all my life a great believer in the power of the press—an efficient, a well-conducted and a well-organised press—for the purpose of carrying on propaganda and educative work for all purposes—political, social, educational, economic and industrial. Now, in this, as also in many other

things to which I have drawn your attention, we are sadly lacking. The idea of any reform movement in Europe or America being carried on, without the reformers having even one good organ of their own, would be to a European or an American inconceivable and, in fact, ridiculous—though it is, of course, not so amongst us in this happy-go-lucky land of ours. I am firmly persuaded that to the extent we have failed in achieving the objects with which this Conference was inaugurated in 1887, it has been principally due to our not having been able to organise an efficient press for carrying on propaganda. I have read during the last forty years almost all the journals which have been started by the members of our community and which have all failed and disappeared, as they perhaps deserved to do, as not one of them was adequately equipped and organized to resist the law of the survival of fittest. I shall, therefore, strongly impress upon you the desirability of establishing well-conducted journals in different languages and in different provinces to advance the cause which you have at heart. If you cannot do that, you will have to thank yourselves for continuing to live in that stagnant condition in which you find yourselves at the present moment. I need not pursue this matter any further and I shall leave my suggestion in your hands in the fullest hope that this Conference will be able to come to some decision on the all-important question of the organisation of an efficient press for the advancement of the community in the different provinces.

XII

I must now bring my remarks to a close. For reasons explained by me above, I have not tried to cover the whole range of your activities but have confined myself to but a few of them, and even in their case I have taken them more as illustrations of my propositions rather than made an attempt to exhaust their discussion. In fact, my main object in this address has been not so much to exhaust the discussion of any one subject or group of subjects as to stimulate the thought—with what success it is for you to judge—of the younger generation and make them think for themselves. My primary effort has been to impress upon them the downright necessity of adopting in their mental outlook a change, which may enable them to grasp that stern

reality—the inevitable, universal and supreme law of adjustment to environment as the essential and fundamental factor in human progress, which operates not only in physical but also in the ethical world; for as pointed out by so eminent an authority as Dr. Sir James Frazer, "the old view that the principles of right and wrong are immutable and eternal is no longer tenable and the modern scientific view is that the moral law is as little exempt as the physical world from the law of ceaseless change and perpetual flux." He insists that if we contemplate the diversities, the inconsistencies, the contradictions of the ethical ideas and practice, not merely of different peoples in different countries, but of the same people in the same country in different ages, we shall be able to realise that the foundations of morality itself are not eternally fixed. If they so seem to us, it is because we do not extend our view beyond the narrow limits of our time and country and also because the rate of change is generally so slow that it is imperceptible at any moment. Such a comparison, if carefully made, would convince us that if we speak of the moral law as immutable and eternal, it can only be in the relative or figurative sense, in which we apply the same terms to the great mountains in comparison with the short-lived generation of men. But any geologist will tell us that the mountains too are changing, though we do not perceive the change and this scientific truth has, as you are aware, found expression in literature in a beautiful and well-known stanza in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. In fact, it is now a scientific axiom that nothing is stable or abiding under the sun and that this world is not so much in a state of being as of becoming, and we can thus as little arrest the process of evolution in the moral or material world as we can stay the sweep of the tides or the course of the stars. That being so, our duty is quite clear to take advantage of this great law of life and to so shape our ideas and conduct that by acting in consonance with it, we may subserve the great end of nature—namely, progress from lower to higher forms and state. Weightier words have not been spoken on this subject than what one of the foremost of scientists, Georges Cuvier, said: "Succeeding one another without interruption, thoughtful spirits—faithful depositaries of accumu-

lated knowledge, constantly occupied in augmenting and vivifying it—have brought us in less than forty centuries from the earliest efforts of rude observers to the profound calculus of Newton and Laplace and the learned classifications of Linnaeus and Jussieu. This precious heritage, always accumulating—brought from Chaldaea to Egypt, from Egypt to Greece, hidden during the ages of darkness and misfortune, rediscovered in more happy times, spreading unequally among the peoples of Europe—has been followed everywhere by wealth and power; the peoples who have cultivated it have become the masters of the world; those who have neglected have fallen to foolishness and obscurity." Practically the same conception of human progress

is embodied in the soul-stirring words of a great American poet, James Russell Lowell, which I would commend to the careful attention of the younger generation:—

"New times demand new treasures and new men;
The world advances and in time outgrows
The laws that in our father's day were best;
The time is ripe and rotten-ripe, for change;
Then let it come; I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind,
Nor think I that God's world would fall apart
Because we tear a parchment more or less;
Truth is eternal; but her effluence,
With endless change, is fitted to the hour;
Her mirror is turned forward, to reflect
The promise of the future, not the past."

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE NEWS AGENCIES: THEIR PRESENT RELATIONS EXAMINED

BY

MR. S. SADANAND,

Managing Editor of "The Free Press of India."

The nature of the relations that exist between the Government of India and News Agencies in this country has come into prominence by the disclosures recently made in the Legislative Assembly when attention was drawn to serious misstatements of facts contained in the official publication "India: 1927-28" regarding the feeling in the country in regard to the appointment of the Simon Commission. The question has been asked: "wherefrom, has Mr. Coatsman, the Director of Public Information, who is the acknowledged author of the book, derived his facts which are so inaccurate?" Some members of the Assembly may recollect that soon after the announcement of the Commission, they had seen published in the press in this country, telegrams said to have been sent to England by Reuter Agency that the boycott movement was weak, as also telegrams affixed on the Notice Board of the Central Legislature that the hartals on the occasion of the first arrival of the Commission in India were failures in several places and that the Commission was accorded welcome in several centres, during their tour.

As one, who is closely connected with News Agency activities in this country, I should like to state firstly as to whether there had been reports circulated by any News Agency or News Agencies on which Mr. Coatsman's statements could have been based and secondly what are the actual relations which subsist between the Government of India and News Agencies in this country.

I shall answer both the questions frankly. As soon as the Simon Commission was announced and there were choruses of protests against the constitution of the Commission, public attention was drawn in the Indian Press to an Associated Press telegram published in Colombo conveying the impression that the Commission really met with welcome in the country. There were also reports wired from London giving summaries of telegrams sent by Reuter in which the impression conveyed was that opposition to the Commission was really negligible. Then, when the Simon Commission actually arrived in this country in February 1928, and hartals were held in different parts of India, conflicting reports appeared in the Press through

the Associated Press of India and the Free Press of India. The Associated Press recorded that the hartals failed in a large number of cities while the Free Press recorded that the hartals were successful in a large number of centres and failed only in one or two centres. Then when the Commission toured the country during their first visit, conflicting accounts again appeared in the Press regarding the reception accorded to the Commission. Lord Burnham made public comment on the accounts of one of the receptions. He said that the Commission was really welcomed but press reports made it appear to the contrary. As this particular report which Lord Burnham challenged had been circulated by the Free Press of India, I at once telegraphed to the Free Press Representatives touring with the Commission and received a telegram confirming the accuracy of the report and offering to substantiate it. The Representative actually met Lord Burnham and informed his Lordship that the News Agency in question was prepared to substantiate its reports.

I was then in Delhi and made an offer to the Director of Public Information to substantiate every one of the reports circulated by the Free Press of India and in view of conflicting reports circulated by the two News Agencies I invited him to undertake a scrutiny into the accuracy of the two reports either personally or through the instrument of a small committee. But the suggestion was not acted upon.

THE PRESS IN INDIA AND NEWS AGENCIES.

I shall now deal with the relations which subsist between the Government of India and the News Agencies in this country. Before doing so, it is necessary to state the salient features of the situation which confronts News Agencies.

In the whole country, the approximate number of daily newspapers subscribing to any kind of news service is 60. Of them 10 are Anglo-Indian-owned and 50 are Indian-owned. Of the 50, 18 are published in English while the remaining 32 are published in seven different vernaculars. The Anglo-Indian newspapers spend on news-services three to four times what their Indian contemporaries spend on news-services. The result is that the support of the ten Anglo-Indian news-

papers may be said to be equal to the support which the major section of the Indian Press are able to extend to any News Agency. The result has been that while the Anglo-Indian papers may be said to pay for the news-services at commercial rates, the payments made by the Indian Press are not on commercial basis. Still, news-services are made available to the Indian Press even at uneconomic rates. The consequent loss to the News Agencies has to be made good by other means, of which I shall have more to say.

There are three principal News Agencies operating in this country. They are (1) the Reuter's Agency, (2) the Eastern News Agency, Ltd., owning the Associated Press of India and the Indian News Agency and (3) the Free Press of India, Ltd. The Reuter's and the Eastern News Agency are both non-Indian companies and are even said to be one and the same corporation for practical purposes. The General Manager of Reuter's in the East is also the Managing Director of the Eastern News Agency in India. The Free Press of India is a company registered in India with a paid-up capital of Rs. One lakh and wholly owned and controlled by Indians.

The Free Press of India commenced its activities only in January 1925. Until that period, Reuter's and the Eastern News Agency, Ltd., acting together, enjoyed a practical monopoly in supply of news.

Briefly stated, the relations between the Government of India and the principal News Agencies may be said to be as under:

The Government of India grant to the Reuter's Agency and the Eastern News Agency the following:—

- (1) Large sum of money annually as subscription to news agency telegrams. The provision in the current year's budget under the head Miscellaneous is over Rs. 75,000;
- (2) Free first class travel on the Indian Railway system;
- (3) Free use of Trunk Telephones;
- (4) Reduced telegraph charges; and
- (5) Favoured treatment in regard to Government of India news.

As against the above facilities granted to the Reuter's Agency and the Eastern News Agency, Ltd.,

the only facility which the Free Press of India receives at the hands of the Government of India is a formal admission to the press facilities of the Government of India, notwithstanding which facilities are extended or denied to the Free Press of India at the discretion of the individual departments or officers of the Government of India. And whether by series of acts of coincidence or deliberate intention, the telegrams of the Free Press of India are subjected to serious delays over the telegraph system from time to time, complaints eliciting no relief.

I shall now discuss more fully the special privileges extended to the two non-Indian News Agencies:

ANNUAL PAYMENTS.

The sum of Rs. 79,000 and over is paid to the two News Agencies as subscription to news agency telegrams. The supply of these telegrams involves on the part of the News Agencies no special labour as the telegrams are but summaries of the telegrams supplied to the daily press. It was pointed out to the Government of India that if the payments were not really veiled subsidies but only payments for value received, every opportunity should be given to the Free Press of India also to compete for the privilege of supplying telegrams to the Government of India either in substitution of or in addition to the services now maintained. But the Government of India would not consider the suggestion at all.

FREE RAILWAY TRAVEL.

Application to the Railway Board, for the extension of the facility of free railway travel to the Free Press of India as provided to the other News Agencies elicited a definite refusal.

The Secretary to the Railway Board wrote under date 17th December, 1928: "I am directed to say that free passes are at present given to the representatives of the Associated Press of India and Reuter's News Agency. The issue of the passes is at the discretion of the Railway Board, who decide every application on its merits. The Board regret that they are not prepared to enter into a discussion with you as to the reasons for not complying with your request for a free pass for the Free Press of India."

In reply, I wrote on the 24th December, 1928, stating: "May I invite your reserusal of my letter of the 6th instant? I sought enlightenment as to what are the conditions which have to be fulfilled in order that a News Agency or a newspaper may qualify itself to receive this pass. I also permitted myself to ask the reasons for the refusal merely to provide for the contingency of either there being no condition to be fulfilled or there being reasons outside the conditions for not extending the courtesy to us. The only object in seeking the information was that steps may be taken either to qualify the Free Press for the courtesy or to remove any objections which may now hold good."

The letter has not received the courtesy of either a reply or an acknowledgment to this date.

FREE USE OF TRUNK TELEPHONES.

That News Agencies were allowed the free use of trunk telephones was not known at all until attention was drawn to it by the Accountant-General of Posts and Telegraphs in his report on accounts of 1926-27 when he wrote: "The line (trunk telephone line) was utilised by him for calls of some considerable duration and as at times the amounts of bills which should have been recoverable from him rose to several hundreds of rupees per month, the aggregate benefit of this concession was not inconsiderable."

In para 28 of their report on the accounts of 1926-27, the Public Accounts Committee said:

"The Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs, has brought to notice a case in which the representative of an important business concern with which the Posts and Telegraphs Department has large business transactions, had been allowed for some years free use of the trunk telephone line between two important places as an act of courtesy. It has been conceded that the grant of such concession is not unusual between bodies having business relationship with each other. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that an extension of the system may easily lead to abuse and the Committee accordingly recommend that such concessions should be given in future only by the Government of India, who should scrutinise the cases zealously and communicate their sanctions to audit."

It was elicited by the Public Accounts Com-

mittee that the concession was made during the war which means that the News Agency in question enjoyed the concession for about ten years before the irregularity was discovered and even when the discovery was made, the decision taken was to regularise the concession but not to discontinue the concession.

That the representative of the commercial concern was the representative of News Agency has been admitted officially by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, to the Free Press of India.

REDUCED TELEGRAPH CHARGES.

The press telegraph charges are fixed by an Act of the Legislature. The charges over the inland telegraph system are:

8 annas for 48 words for an ordinary press telegram and one anna for every additional six words.

Rupce One for 48 words for an express press telegram and two annas for every additional six words.

Express telegrams necessarily take precedence over the ordinary press telegrams and can be handed for transmission during all the hours of day and night while ordinary press telegrams can be tendered for transmission only between certain fixed hours.

Evidently as no rebate can be paid on the scheduled telegraph charges without the cognisance of the Legislature, recourse is had to departmental instructions, whereby telegrams or both Reuter's and Eastern News Agency are classified as special class of telegrams and receive treatment as if they are express telegrams, though apparently paid for at ordinary rates only.

Thus, in Part One, Volume XI of Posts and Telegraphs Manual, it is stated in para 92 under the heading: "description of telegrams and their class prefixes" as follows:

For purposes of transmission, different classes of messages are grouped as shown below. Messages will take precedence in their own group according to Code time.

And under Group 9 are classified together 'Government and Press, Indian News Agency and Express Inland or Ceylon Press.'

And this is what is stated regarding 'Government and Press messages' in para 348 in Part Two of Volume XI of Posts and Telegraphs Manual: "Government and Press messages tendered by Reuter's Agent at Bombay are distributed to the officials and newspapers or news agencies mentioned in Appendices 8, 9, 10 and 11. Reuter's full service will be signalled under the class prefix Gp and will be charged for at Bombay according to the number of subscribing newspapers and news agencies at 'Ordinary' press rates plus copying fees for copies supplied to newspapers but will be treated in transmission as 'Express.' In the case of Reuter's Special Service, the words 'Special Service' should appear as the first words in the text of the message."

Regarding Indian News-Agency messages also, it is stated: 'In transmission these messages should be treated as Express.'

In addition, in contravention of Telegraph rules governing acceptance of messages for transmission at press rates, it is stated: 'The Manager, Indian News Agency, is allowed the privilege of sending messages at press rates when telegraphing to his correspondent in India in connection with the Indian News Agency messages. He is also authorised to receive press messages from various parts of India addressed to him by name or Despatch Delhi or Simla.'

The number of words transmitted by Reuter's at Bombay in full and special services may be computed in aggregate to amount to about 40,000 words monthly. The number of words of Indian News Agency telegrams may also be said to amount to an equal number of words. Therefore, by recourse to departmental instructions, the two News Agencies are evidently allowed to transmit through the Indian Telegraph system certain class of their messages at half the scheduled basic rates, equivalent to a rebate of 50 per cent on the basic rates.

FAVOURED TREATMENT IN REGARD TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA NEWS.

The general rule observed by the Government of India is that a news agency desiring extension of press facilities should apply to the Government of India in the Home Department through the Local

Government and would, if admitted to the press facilities, be entitled to receive all the facilities which the departments of the Government of India extend to recognised press agencies and correspondents.

The Free Press of India applied for recognition in 1926. It was one full year before the Government of India intimated that the Free Press of India would be admitted to the press facilities. The Free Press of India appointed a permanent representative with the Government of India early in 1928, after distinct assurances had been given that the press facilities would be extended to the Free Press Representative in equal measure.

Since 1928, the Free Press of India receives, as a rule, the communiques and publications of the Government of India. But several specific instances have been brought to light when a publication or a communique was made available to the other two News Agencies much earlier.

One such outstanding instance was the supply of the text of the Public Safety Bill on the eve of the Simla session of 1928 to the Associated Press of India twelve hours earlier than any other News Agency. Here it was no question of enterprise of the News Agency in question. The text of the Bill was published in the Gazette of India, Part Five, on a Saturday morning. The News Agencies had been officially told that Part Five of the Gazette would be made available to all alike only on the morning of publication. But in this case, Part Five was made available to the Associated Press by some responsible official on the evening of Friday in violation of all the rules of the Department.

Then the Political Department issue the honours list. The Department supplies to the Free Press of India its communiques, but it has decided that it is not prepared to supply it the honours list. The Political Department is one of the departments of the Government of India and once a press agency has been admitted by the Home Department acting for the Government of India as a body to the press facilities, it is not really for the Political Department to say arbitrarily that it will supply the communiques but not the honours list. It was pointed to the Political Department that eleven newspapers rely exclusively on the Free Press of India for the honours list. But the department has declined to

reconsider its decision. The anomaly of the situation was brought to the notice of the Secretary to the Home Department without eliciting the courtesy of an acknowledgment or reply. The good officers of the Director of Public Information were requested under the impression that it was one of the functions of that officer to act as liaison officer but without effect.

Several other instances can be mentioned of discriminatory treatment in regard to supply of Government of India news, the only effect being to convey to the newspapers that to the extent that it lies in the hands of the Government of India either acting as a body or acting through its individual officers, it is intended to place at a disadvantage the papers subscribing to the Free Press of India with a view to compel them either to give up the Free Press of India services or to subscribe to the other services also for the sake of official news whether the papers like to do so or not.

INTERFERENCE WITH PRESS TELEGRAMS.

I shall now mention only a few cases of interference with Free Press telegrams.

In February 1928, when the Assembly carried by a majority the resolution boycotting the Simon Commission at about half past five, both the Associated Press and the Free Press sent brief messages announcing the result of the division on the resolution. The Associated Press telegram reached the Madras papers in time for publication the same evening, that is within one hour of the division. The Free Press telegram reached Madras next day at about ten in the morning after a delay of over 16 hours. The only result of complaint was a refund of the telegraph charges on that telegram and the loss of customers to the Free Press as a protest against the delay of such inordinate character.

In November 1928, when the All-India Congress Committee held its sittings, Free Press and Associated Press handed in their reports at the Telegraph Office at New Delhi more or less simultaneously. The Associated Press reports were transmitted in time to every centre the same night for publication in the morning papers while the Free Press reports were inordinately delayed and were not transmitted in time for the morning papers and the Free Press Representatives at Delhi,

Lahore and Calcutta had to use the trunk telephones in order to prevent papers exclusively depending on the Free Press from going to press without any reports of All-India Congress Committee. Complaint to the telegraph authorities elicited a bare expression of regret for the inconvenience caused.

Then, in January and February, 1929, the messages of the Free Press Correspondent at Peshawar were subjected to inordinate delays in the name of censorship while telegrams of other News Agencies and other correspondents were allowed free transmission though they contained identical news which when transmitted by the Free Press Correspondent were subjected to inordinate delays. Editorial comment was made on this by "The Amrita Bazar Patrika" resulting in enquiry from the telegraph authorities in New Delhi for particulars of the delays caused to Free Press messages. And a telegram from Bombay office of the Free Press to Lahore office of the Free Press asking for particulars of delays was not delivered at all to the Lahore office. And the interference with Free Press messages continues to this date.

Only a few instances have been mentioned, but they can be multiplied.

With payments from Government of India and Provincial Governments aggregating to rupees one lakh and a quarter approximately as subscription to news agency telegrams, with free railway travel,

with free use of trunk telephones, with reduced telegraph charges and with favoured treatment in regard to official news, the Reuter's Agency and the Eastern News Agency, Limited, work at profit while the Free Press of India has to work at a considerable loss annually borne by the shareholders, even though the staff of the Free Press of India work on subsistence wages.

Commenting on a note prepared by the Free Press of India in 1928 drawing attention to the payments made as subscription to news agency telegrams, Mr. K. A. Bickel, President of the United Press Association, wrote under date, July 23rd, 1928:

"It (the note) presented a very interesting picture of the relationship between the Central Government and the various provincial Governments and the News Agencies that they are assisting. Frankly it has always been the position of the United Press that such a relationship is generally provocative of evil.

It is quite understandable how Government might have felt the necessity of granting News Agencies support thirty to fifty years ago when the news agency and newspaper businesses were not so strongly organised as they are today, but certainly, in progressive and advancing communities, such a relationship between a press association and Government is not healthy."

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER

1. Critical Essay-Review Studies

TWO GREAT PERSONALITIES*

BY

MR. PHULAN PRASAD VERMA, M. A.

This book is a penetrating study of the two most outstanding personalities of the modern age, one of whom is still living. Both of them, Lenin as well as Gandhi, have made gigantic attempts of putting into practice their doctrines for the redemption of humanity. This century will go down in history as the century of Gandhi and Lenin—the two persons

who have made experiments of the most titanic dimensions for the destruction of the present unjust, social and political order and for the establishment of an ideal one. In both we notice, as we read this exceedingly interesting volume, a profound sense of kinship with the oppressed and the dispossessed masses and an ardent longing to put an end to their

* *Lenin and Gandhi*—By René-Folop-Miller. Translated from the German by F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait (G. Putnam's Sons, 24 Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

misery and poverty. "Later ages," as the author explains in his Introduction, "will measure the significance of our epoch by the standard of the work of Lenin and Gandhi, and the inadequacy of these two men will show the tragic deficiencies of our age, which set itself the task of attaining the unattainable, the concrete realisation of the age-old Utopias." The Utopia may still remain a distant dazzling dream, as it always will, but the experiments that these two great men have made are of the most adventurous and heroic kind in the history of the world and should command our attention and consideration. There have been other dreamers, too, who were merely so, but these two visionaries are extraordinary men of action, who have made unprecedented efforts to reduce to a concrete application their fantastic theories of a new social and political order.

In spite of the fact that both Lenin and Gandhi are inspired by the same purpose, their methods of approach are fundamentally different. Lenin wanted the destruction of those who stood against him, Gandhi wants the conversion of those who oppose him. Lenin believed in the unlimited use of violence, Gandhi believes in the total rejection of it. It may be said in justice to Lenin that he considered violence as indispensable only as a temporary measure for the purpose of eliminating violence ultimately, as he said in one of his letters to Gorki, the celebrated Russian novelist: "Today is not the time to stroke people's heads; today hands descend to split skulls open, split them open ruthlessly, and although opposition to all violence is our ultimate ideal, it is a hellishly difficult task." But as a means to an end Lenin considered non-violence or pacifism to be ridiculous and characterised Tolstoy, as "an imbecile preaching about not resisting evil with force." Lenin's method appears to us to be inherently defective for the simple reason that if each prophet were to spread his gospel by means of violence, the result would probably be the extermination of the human race. To kill people to convince them that they are in the wrong and you are right, is a curious way of carrying conviction. It can only show that you are stronger physically; it does not prove that truth is on your side. The moment your opponents can

command greater brute force, they will adopt similar methods to convince you and you will be nowhere. Such a terrible philosophy means interminable chaos and there can be no getting out of it. The only way to propagate your mission, if it is to be permanent in its effect, is a systematic attempt at the moral regeneration and the mental illumination of the people.

Lenin again believed in complete mechanisation and to carry out his object he proceeded at once to consummate the technification of Russia and to bring it to the standard of the most skilfully organised centres of industry in Europe, whereas Gandhi rejects machinery altogether, because he thinks that instead of saving the work of the individual and alleviating conditions of life for the community, it is useful only to a minority of rich men and inflicts infinite harm on the working classes: Gandhi is a profoundly religious man, Lenin, on the other hand, mobilised all his forces against religion and denounced God as "the archfiend of the communist state." What a contrast between the two!

It is yet too early to pronounce an opinion, one way or the other, on the experiments of either the Russian or the Indian. The author has done well in giving the biographical portraits of Gandhi and Lenin in two separate monographs without attempting at any comparative estimate. The treatment of the subject is thus satisfactory. The author does not sit in judgment over the achievements of these two masterful personalities, who according to him embody the spirit of the age. He does not judge them by his own standards. Like a true critic, he has attempted without any bias and with imaginative insight, to understand and portray the workings of their minds in relation to their ideals and their endeavours for the realisation of those ideals. Their life-histories, as set out here, read like romance, though described in a matter-of-fact way. No embellishment of language is needed to heighten the effect. Lenin appears in the very first chapter as a nineteen-year-old youth saying (to the general indignation and consternation of the people at the meeting of the Committee of Relief for the famine-stricken people) that it would be a crime to help the starving population, which meant the support of the existing political regime, whereas their real welfare consisted in subverting it. The

story develops. It grips one's imagination. Thrilling incidents of his trials and tribulations, his exiles and participations in the revolutionary upheavals, captivate us as we read page after page. We study his rupture with the socialists of the moderate school, who believed in the triumph of socialism by the institution of an intermediate bourgeoisie that could replace the existing feudal organisation. He made a common war against feudalism and bourgeoisie at one and the same time and supplanted them both by the joint proletarian rule of the workers and the peasants. His idea was to unite peasantry as well as labour to found that new system of which is now popularly called Bolshevism. And however widely condemned Bolshevism may be at this stage, there is no doubt it has established itself in Russia, and he must be a bold man who can predict its future.

The fascinating character of Gandhi, who combines in himself the idealism of Tolstoy with the volcanic energy of Lenin, his comprehensive programme—the outcome of the peculiar conditions of India—his philosophy of non-violence, the non-co-operation movement, and the salient incidents of his life, are all described accurately but vividly. The language is clear, forceful and elegant. The portraiture is faithful and sympathetic, and considering that the German author has never been in India, his study of Gandhi is surprisingly accurate. Throughout his study of him, there is only one misreading of the situation. The author says that on his return to political life after the period of imprisonment in jail, when Gandhi compromised with the Swarajists with regard to the question of the Council entry, the no-changers seceded from him and persisted in non-co-operation with the Legislatures. There has been no such secession. There is no doubt there was some dissatisfaction among his followers, not because Gandhi had changed, but because in spite of his convictions of the futility of the Councils, he agreed to giving a chance to the Swarajists, but they did not secede from him or his political leadership.

The volume has also been enriched by the views of some great modern thinkers (like Roman Rolland,

Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair, Tagore and others) on Gandhi and Lenin. The author has done well to include in the book copies of letters of Lenin from Siberia and of Gandhi from prison. They tell us more about them than anything else can, serving the same purpose that a soliloquy does in a drama. The book has an artistic get-up. It deserves to be read widely, as it is indispensable to a study of the careers of the two great and historic personalities and the movements they stand for.

VILLAGE UPLIFT IN INDIA*

The work in social uplift done in the Gurgaon district of the Punjab, under the energetic direction of its Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Brayne) and his equally enthusiastic wife calls for admiration. An idea of what has been accomplished there can be had by perusing *Village Uplift in India*, a collection of notes written at different times in connection with the large amount of propaganda work in the district. As a result of six years of intensive work more than 40,000 manure pits have been dug in the Gurgaon villages, more than 1,500 girls are attending the boys' schools, an annual agricultural show has been organised, rural exhibitions have become common, and these have helped to popularise health, co-operation, cottage industries, etc., and a great deal of interest has been created in the subject of social welfare. All this has been possible because of the very real interest which the Deputy Commissioner has been able to take in the uplift of the peasantry aided, of course, by enthusiastic support on the part of his subordinates and enlightened local opinion. The success of the movement there naturally leads Mr. Brayne to hope that work on similar lines would be greatly helpful elsewhere as well. The object of the book is to draw the attention of people interested in rural reconstruction to the work done at Gurgaon.

In his Foreword, Sir Malcolm Hailey seeks to answer the charge that the Indian Government has not attacked the problem of rural reconstruction and refers to the general spread of education, the stimulus given to the co-operative movement and the work of

* *Village Uplift in India*—by F. L. Brayne, M. C., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon District, the Punjab, with a Foreword by H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the Punjab. (The Pioneer Press, Allahabad.) 1928.

Socrates in an Indian Village—by F. L. Brayne, I.C.S. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1929.

the Health and Agricultural Departments. He, however, admits that the Government have not yet made a direct and concerted attack upon the problem. The difficulties in the way of such an attack are, according to him, the enormous deadweight of conservatism and apathy of the people and the immensity of the task. There is doubtless an amount of truth in the charge of conservatism but it would have given way before concerted effort on the part of the Government. He hits the nail on the head when he says "not many of us, to tell the truth, have had the missionary spirit necessary for the enterprise . . . he (the villager) will not be persuaded by those whom he has not learnt to trust, charm they never so wisely, and he will not trust those who do not seem prepared to put aside all other claims and considerations in order to live with him, to learn his troubles and to support him through them." These words are obviously intended to be a criticism of the average educated Indian who cuts himself away from his village in search of employment in urban areas. But they are as much applicable to the members of the service to which the author of the book belongs, who set the example for the others to follow in living away from the rest of the population.

The book itself is openly a propaganda of a type that smacks of the Salvation Army or the missionary appeal of a few decades ago. Mr. Brayne is a type of the benevolent autocrat who delights in doing a good turn mixed with plenty of abuse during the process. There is no particular value in circumlocution, for instance, and a spade is best called a spade. But little merit there is in calling a normal spade a crooked one. There ought to be a certain proportion even in propaganda. The villager responds to whatever appeals to his reason. Mr. Brayne's propaganda leaflets now reprinted together are of a piece with the film version of the unscrupulous sowcar who was eventually led to invest his funds in cotton mills, which the co-operative department in the Punjab had put out some months ago. Gurgaon villages may be filthy but so are the slums in London, the capital of the great British Empire. And it is not efforts on the lines of Mr. Brayne's propaganda that are steadily reforming the conditions of the slums. The cultivators may be asked to use iron ploughs, keep Hissar bulls and

use improved implements of cultivation. Very few would object to them when they have been proved to them to be profitable and when they can afford them. A disproportionately large stress on the ryot's expenditure on jewellery does not fit in with the facts of actual life. The picture suggested by the book of villages in the Gurgaon district seems too unreal to be true.

The problem of rural reconstruction in a country such as our own is one of extreme importance. And a very large amount of money and willing work on the part of the educated Indians are necessary for it. The peasantry pay a very heavy land tax but instead of being utilised for their betterment a large part of it goes to maintain a standing army and an exceedingly costly administration. Educational endeavour in the country has been for obtaining an adequate supply of clerks and assistants—for the administration. Of late there has been an increasing recognition of the needs of the villager, largely brought about by the growing economic distress. There is a likelihood of increased attention being devoted to the problem in the future. Let us hope that efforts on the lines of Mr. Brayne's without its superciliousness will achieve it.

Mr. Brayne's later book—*Socrates in an Indian Village*—is thus introduced by Lord Irwin: "The book is lucidly and forcefully written and lets the daylight into many a dark corner of village life . . . Mr. Brayne and his wife have not confined their energies to didactics, but have given very ample practical demonstrations that what they teach is within the reach of the ordinary villager. I am glad to see that already in other parts of India their example is being followed, in some places by the landlords themselves; in others by co-operative societies or other agencies. I am convinced that once we can persuade the inhabitants of agricultural India that the key to a great increase in their prosperity and happiness lies in their own hands, we shall have taken a very big step forward in the reconstruction of Indian life. Mr. Brayne's book gives a clear and much-wanted lead in this direction and I recommend it with confidence to all those who have at heart the interest of the Indian ryot." This passage brings out clearly the merits of Mr. Brayne's *Socrates in an Indian Village*. Cast in the form of

a dialogue between "Socrates" (the author), and the villager, these imaginary conversations cover the whole of the villager's life—social and economic—and they point a moral which cannot be ignored. The book deserves to be circulated broadcast in vernacular translations.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN WOMEN IN EUROPE*

By K. N.

The League of Nations has been devoting attention to the subject of international traffic in women and we earnestly trust that its efforts to stamp it out will meet with complete success. An inside view of the traffic has been lately published in the form of a book entitled, *The Story of a Terrible Life*, by Mr. Basil Tozer. The story, it is stated, is the actual narrative of the whole of her amazing career, told to the author by "perhaps the most notorious procuress in Europe." Mr. Tozer tells us in a brief introductory note how he came to know her and to get the story from her. "I met her first," he writes, "many years ago in New Orleans. Afterwards we came across her in many lands, but not until the War, when I had occasion to be in close touch with her at a French base for over a year, did she gradually relate to me, bit by bit, the whole story of her extraordinary career." This Messaline, as the author names her in order to spare the susceptibilities of relatives bearing her name who are still alive, amassed a large fortune during the five years that the War lasted: she died recently. She seems to have been born with a strong bent towards depravity, and was a willing victim to the seducer early in her teens. In a short time she came into touch with "Countess X" who maintained a big fashionable brothel in an aristocratic castle in German forest. The account of how innocent young girls were inveigled into the castle and broken to the trade is fearfully realistic. Drugging is a part of the method and the least sign of rebellion was at once punished by chastisement and there was a room set aside for this purpose from which cries could not penetrate outside.

Almost all of the girls were daughters of bourgeois and had become discontented with their homes and set out in search of adventure and excitement.

Few of the inmates in the castle were British. "Apparently," observes Mr. Tozer, "British girls were the most difficult to decoy, also the precautions taken in England, particularly in London, Liverpool and Manchester, by the police and by private societies to prevent girls being taken out of the country unless certain credentials of the persons in charge of them were forthcoming, interfered considerably with the traffic here." Messaline gradually learned the ways of the trade and became in course of time herself the greatest and most successful trader. "How long do your girls last?" Mr. Tozer asked Messaline one day. "From eight to ten years" was the reply. "After six years they begin to fail even when free from disease. We transfer them then to the lower-rate establishments, where they last for another few years—some I have known to be productive for twelve years, but that only seldom happens." "And after that?" "We get rid of them." "What happens to them? Where do they go?" "God knows. It doesn't concern me. Into the gutter, I suppose, some into the river in some countries, judging by the number of bodies that are dragged out of the rivers from time to time." Alcohol is an indispensable concomitant of the brothel. "A fruitful source of revenue in her houses and in the places of entertainment of the *tinsel-tinsel* type which she opened at her own expense as her profits rolled up" writes Mr. Tozer, "was the sale of intoxicants. In the houses the cheapest champagne was sold at two and three guineas a bottle—the price depended on the customer and what he looked like and if he seemed willing and in a position to pay the higher price—and whisky and cognac at two guineas a bottle." Messaline's experiences are of an interesting character. Her best patrons, she said, were men of over fifty. It is men above that age who generally had much money to spend and they seemed to want to squeeze every ounce of pleasure out of life before

the end came. Russian Grand Dukes, Indian nabobs and American millionaires, were among the most lucrative of Messaline's customers. Coloured men, we are told, have a special attraction for "a lot of white women (though not many young girls) of all nationalities who are not in the least attracted by white men." So much is said nowadays to the detriment of the coloured man, but Messaline's testimonial to him comes as a surprise. "Men of colour are the most discreet people on earth," she told Mr. Tozer "I have known white men have recourse to blackmail when society women had been so injudicious as to have secret dealings with them. I have never known a coloured man try to extort blackmail under similar conditions." In illustration of the fascination exercised by coloured men, Mr. Tozer states that "at some of the great exhibitions held in Europe and in America, where native villages were included among the attractions, women of the class referred to crowded into their villages and their compounds and made almost open overtures to the natives." Among such customers, we read, was a powerful and fabulously rich Oriental potentate whose appetite was never satisfied. He never bought less than ten girls at a time, and generally many more. "It was a red-letter day," Messaline said "when an order came from this native. There was keen competition among her girls when it became known that an order from this man had been received." There are things said in this book beside which Miss Katherine Mayo's stories in *Mother India* and *Slaves of the Gods* pale into insignificance. If half of these are true, Europe is a greater menace to humanity than India as seen through Miss Mayo's highly coloured spectacles.

THE GREAT PROPHET OF ISLAM

It is a wonderful monument of learning, enthusiasm and sympathy—this great tome put together by a Frenchman and an Arab. Their *Life of Mohammad* is an *édition de luxe*, a superb volume illustrated by the great painter of Oriental

splendour and beauty—Mons. E. Dinet—worthily crowning the edifice built up by the series of admirable pictures which we owe to the talented brush of this marvellous artist. Thus the text (rendered into English) and the Frenchman's splendid illustrations make this work truly a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. This artist is famous for having devoted his life to delineating on his remarkable canvases, the landscapes, scenes and sights of Algeria, which he loves and knows so well. His paintings command high prices all over the world; and the rare sympathy shown to him by the Arabs, his perfect command of their language, his insight into their life and character, prove that few could have been better qualified to write and illustrate a work of this kind. The result is a magnificent work which no lover of Islam can afford to do without.

It was with almost religious emotion that E. Dinet and Saliman-ben-Ibrahim resolved that they would work together—*Insha'Allah!*—(God willing!), and retrace the history of the great Prophet whose memory they both profoundly revere. *The Life of Mohammad* is the result of their collaboration extending over a decade, and it is a glorious monument to the memory of the great Prophet of Islam. Born among the Arabs of the desert of Sahara, whose manners and customs, at the present time, are practically the same as those of the old Hijaz tribes amongst whom Mohammad (may his soul rest in peace) accomplished his surpassing mission, Saliman-ben-Ibrahim was the best possible man for the task of describing realistically the events that ushered in the coming of Islam. With scrupulous fidelity he has set forth every incident, relying on ancient texts, conscientiously founding his statements on the written traditions of reliable scribes, and other trustworthy authorities.

The incontestable proof of the narratives, dating twelve centuries back, is that they are absolutely identical with the mode of living, sentiments and language of the Moslem desert dwellers even at present, and govern the life of Muslims from China to Peru. Muslims, in every part of the globe, have always endeavoured to copy the way—

and doings of the Prophet, in the highest as well as in the most humble functions of life, and such pious imitation is kept up to this very day. These peculiarities, faithfully noted by the artist, have inspired him for the portrayal of religious scenes: incidents in the movements of nomadic tribes, all disciples of the Prophet, and views of the Hijaz, his native land, instead of giving a portrait that must obviously have been imaginary, and therefore unreal and not true to life. Dinot's determination, in this series of *tableaux*, was that his originals in oils should be reproduced by a direct process, because they are, so to say, chronicles of a cult. That is why, for many months, he personally superintended the engraving of the plates, each of which passed in the press again and again. It is only by minute, painstaking, meticulousness that the infinite

variety of tints and effects of luminosity of Dinot's paintings could be reproduced. Thanks to the artist's perfect knowledge, technique, and great experience in colour-printing, the results are admirable and the numerous illustrations adorning *The Life of Muhammad* will fill every amateur with delighted wonder. Moreover, Dinot happily confided the ornamental decoration of his book to an Arab calligrapher, particularly skilled in the art of illumination and belonging to a family which for years has jealously guarded the traditions of Muslim art in all its purity, free from the influence of the Far East which too often mars Persian miniatures. Book-lovers will assuredly revel in the precious collection of ornamental plates specially designed by Dinot for this work, which is glorious, splendid and magnificent.

II. Bird's-Eye-View Critical Notices

RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN ECONOMICS

Indian Finance in the Days of the Company.

By Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee (Macmillan and Company, Limited, St. Martin's Street, London), 1928.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee is one of the best known of the Indian economists, his two books—*A Study of Indian Economics* and *Fiscal Policy in India*—having justly brought him name and fame as a highly qualified writer on the subject of Economics. His latest venture is *Indian Finance in the Days of the Company*, in which he has offered a historical sketch of the financial system of this country during the administration of the East India Company from 1765 to 1858. Professor Banerjee rightly believes that a connected account of the financial system of India in the days of the East India Company is not to be found in any published work. He has therefore attempted in the present volume to deal with the most important aspects of Indian public finance during the 93 years from 1765 to 1858. The subject has been treated mainly from the historical point of view. Stress has been laid not merely on revenue and expenditure, but also on financial policy. The author has treated

the subject with remarkable lucidity and the result is a work which is clear, well-informed and authoritative.

India's Currency, Exchange and Banking Problems, 1925-8. By Sir Jehangir C. Coyajee. (The Book Company, College Square, Calcutta), 1928.

Indigenous Indian Banking. By M. S. M. Gubbay, C. S. I., C. I. E. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay), 1928.

History of Indian Currency and Exchange. By B. E. Dadacharji, M. A. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay), 1928.

Sir Jehangir Coyajee is admittedly a great authority on Indian currency and banking. His book—*India's Currency, Exchange and Banking Problems*—is a reprint of articles contributed to various papers by the author on the ratio controversy. In these Prof. Coyajee contends that the adjustment to the 1s. 6d. ratio had already come about at the time the Currency Commission published its recommendations, that the agriculturist cannot be said to have suffered anything in the way of a net loss, and that the new ratio can

be maintained without any questionable manipulation of currency. He also upholds the attitude of the Currency Commission towards such important issues as a Gold Currency and a Reserve Bank. All this is not surprising since he was a member of the Commission. In such controversies, it is apparently impossible for anybody to say the last word on the subject, but Prof. Coyajee maintains his thesis with vigour and clarity and his book has its own interest for students of the subject. The controversy relating to the subject is yet alive and it is well that its unpopular side should be represented by so qualified a writer as Sir Jehangir. Whether he will carry conviction to the mind of the vast bulk of his educated fellow-countrymen is a wholly different matter.

Mr. Gubbay, of the Indian Civil Service, retired as Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department and is now holding an important office in the banking world in London. The brochure—called *Indigenous Indian Banking*—is a reprint of a lecture delivered by Mr. Gubbay at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, London. It contains also a discussion connected with the subject in which Sir Henry Strakosch, Sir S. Freemantle, Mr. E. L. Price, also took part. Mr. Gubbay's lecture is a valuable contribution to Indian banking literature, and contains fertile suggestions for further enquiry. His main theme is an examination of the present and future position of the Indian Joint Stock Banks with rupee capital and local management, and of the private Indian banker, the Bania, who has been hitherto ignored by our economists. He examines the working of both these types of financier, indicating the chief factors likely to prevent the growth of banks in the mufasil. He points out the very strong hold the Bania has on Indian business and he doubts whether a central banking system can be easily grafted on to the Bania system. He has given a very valuable estimate of the present and future position of these two groups. He traces the reasons for the slow development of the joint stock system in the mufasil and points out that it would be difficult to superimpose a central banking system on the two systems already existent. This question is not so topical now because of the dropping of the Reserve

Bank Bill. Nevertheless, Mr. Gubbay has done a real service in drawing prominent attention to the existence of an elaborate system of indigenous banking so that reformers may concentrate their attention on bringing it into line with modern requirements instead of seeking to do away with it altogether. Mr. Gubbay's booklet deserves careful consideration and wide circulation.

Professor B. E. Dadacharji's *History of Indian Currency and Exchange* is meant as a text-book for students desirous of graduating in either Economics or Commerce. It is frankly based on standard works on the subject and does not claim to be an original work. As a text-book its merits are great. It is well arranged, systematic, lucid and exact—than which there can be no higher praise for a book intended to be informative. We have much pleasure in commending Professor Dadacharji's *History of Indian Currency and Exchange* as an almost ideal text-book of the subject it deals with.

The Co-operative Movement in India : A Comparative Study. By J. L. Raina. (D. B. Tamporevala Sons and Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay), 1928.

The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt. By M. L. Darling, I. C. S., Second edition. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1928.

Mr. J. L. Raina—the author of *The Co-operative Movement in India : A Comparative Study*—is well-versed in the study of the Co-operative Societies and has mastered the principles of the Co-operative Movement in India. He has acquired practical knowledge of its working and vagaries during his tours in the four major provinces of India, viz., Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces. He not only visited the areas concerned, but also had exceptional opportunities of consulting the officials, and seeing for himself the internal workings and conditions of the societies and institutions referred to in this work, in which he explains at considerable length the practical side of the Co-operative Movement, which has unfortunately been hitherto overlooked by several writers. The book will be found very useful to all interested in improving the conditions of the depressed classes living in the villages, and the

wage-earners in the larger towns and cities. Prof. Wadia rightly observes in his Foreword, that "this comparative study of the Co-operative Movement will draw attention to the value of this movement and the potentialities that lie behind it." Mr. J. L. Raina's study of the subject is a practical exposition of the movement for improving the condition of the masses which has a flavour somewhat of Robert Owen's work in England—an experimental epoch, by a visionary full of mistakes but which nevertheless had valuable results when education made the people better acquainted with the needs and equipped them better to meet them. We hope that similar happy results may ensue in India. Towards that end Mr. Raina's highly informative book is a valuable contribution.

Mr. M. L. Darling's authoritative work on the Punjab peasant—published in 1925—is welcome in its second and enlarged edition. In introducing the first edition—which we noticed in terms of appreciation—Sir Edward Maelagan (late Governor of the Punjab) said: "Mr. Darling has in this book made a notable contribution to the economic literature of India. He has given us a vivid picture of the peasants' attitude towards the supply and use of capital. At the same time the vividness of his portraiture has not betrayed him into partizanship. Under his guidance we realize that we are dealing with a very complicated series of problems; and that it is not possible to rely on preconceived generalities in dealing with them. We acknowledge the abuses connected with money-lending in this part of India, but we learn the usefulness, and indeed the necessity, of the money-lender in agricultural economy." In the second edition, under notice, the author has made useful additions and has judiciously revised and enlarged the book, thereby enhancing materially its utility. The book is likely to maintain its position as the standard work on the subject for a very long time.

Indian Economics. By G. B. Jather and S. G. Beri. 2 vols. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay), 1928-9.

There could be no more conclusive proof of the interest taken at present in this country in the study of Economics than the crowding in of

excellent text-books on the subject almost every year, written by thoroughly qualified persons. The latest to appear is a comprehensive work in two volumes, by two learned Professors of Economics in the Bombay Presidency. In their work the authors have aimed at giving an adequate treatment within a reasonable compass of the principal economic problems of India. Their study must have involved an extensive use of blue books and other primary sources, the essential results of which they have presented in an instructive and readable form. Although the book is specially designed to meet the requirements of students reading for degrees in Economics in the different Universities in India, it offers a main line of orientation to all those who wish to become acquainted with the vital economic and politico-economic problems before the country. The subjects dealt with in the first volume are India's physical environment and natural resources, population, social and religious institutions, the economic transition, and agriculture in all its aspects—technical, tenure, indebtedness, co-operation, labour, irrigation, and marketing. There is a final chapter on industries. The second volume deals with industrialization, and its offshoots, economic distress, trade, transport, currency and exchange, banking and credit, finance and taxation, financial relations between the Central and the Provincial Governments and, last but not least, middle-class unemployment. The treatment of the subject is thorough and almost exhaustive, the statements of the authors are, on the whole, commendably accurate and the views expressed by them are generally sober, sane and sound. The book is, for a text-book, not only well-written but well-balanced and will form an almost ideal introduction to the subject to students and laymen alike. In its next edition it should be printed in one handy volume, should be supplied with a bibliography and should be free from misprints.

Federal Finance in India. By Professor K. T. Shah. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay), 1929.

Professor K. T. Shah of Bombay is one of our voluminous writers on Indian Economics, having already placed to his credit no less than eight solid

and authoritative works. His latest and ninth production is designated *Federal Finance in India*, and is, to our knowledge, a pioneer work, breaking new ground and as such deserving of welcome from students of Indian Economics. The book contains a course of six lectures delivered by Prof. Shah at the Patna University. It is a careful and exhaustive study of the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Government in British India as well as with Indian States. The treatment of the subject has been general. The lecturer, however, confines himself to considering the general principles as guiding considerations which should attend the practical study of individual cases, in the hope that the line adopted would be serviceable at this juncture. Reconstructive suggestions have been made in the concluding lecture, and the main tendencies of the developments in finance are sufficiently stressed by a pro-forma statement of revenue and expenditure. These lectures, now presented to the public in a convenient form, will be of the greatest use to all interested in Indian financial problems. He skilfully passes in review the allocations made of the total collection of taxes and makes suggestions as to their betterment—as between the British Government, the whole of India and the particular States. One obtains here a very good idea of the complications in excise, merchandise and income taxes as they affect the Imperial and Provincial Budgets. Prof. Shah has here attempted to approach the subject of Indian Public Finance from a new point of view and the development of the subject is illuminating. Some of the material in this book is not new and is to be found in the author's work, *Sixty Years of Indian Finance*, but the new orientation which he has given to it is itself a contribution of great importance. In Lecture V, however, he has given us valuable information about the Indian Native States and the grievances of the States are discussed with great sympathy and insight. Taking the book, as a whole, it deserves to be accorded a very high place in the literature of Indian Economics by reason of its many merits enumerated above.

Economics of Protection in India. By Prof. V. J. Kale, M. A. (The Arya-Bhushan Press, Poona), 1929.

Professor Kale (of the Fergusson College, Poona) is a distinguished economist and the author of some notable books on the subject he has made his own. His *Economics of Protection in India*, which comprises the Banalli Lectures delivered in the Patna University last year, is a comprehensive and lucid examination of the policy of protection adopted in India, from the theoretical as also the practical point of view. In doing so the author has naturally drawn freely on his experience as a member of the Tariff Board and has utilised its Reports. The result is a masterly exposition of the subject.

RECENT LITERARY WORKS.

What to Read in English Literature. By Jack R. Crawford. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24 Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Professor J. R. Crawford's *What to Read in English Literature* is a highly useful work for the student and the layman alike. The purpose of this outline is to present to the general reader a list of the foremost books in English literature and science by authors whose contributions to the development of modern thought have survived the test of time and critics. The contribution may be in any form: a novel of the London slums or a theory of evolution, a tragedy in blank verse or the principles of economics, a clever epigram or the law of gravitation. All are brought under survey with skill, knowledge and critical acumen. For any reader, this work is a valuable and authentic source of information on much of the best that has been said or thought in this world through the medium of the English language. Further, this book suggests the obvious avenues of approach, through a list of biographies, letters and criticism, to more concentrated study of any author who arouses the interest of the reader. Altogether, it is a valuable guide to the study of English literature.

The Delight of Great Books. By John Erskine (Eveleigh Nash & Grayson, Ltd., 148 Strand, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Professor Erskine's *The Delight of Great Books* is a delightful collection of essays dealing with English classics from *Canterbury Tales* to those of our own times. Here is one of those companionable books to which we sit down with a feeling of pleasurable

anticipation as to a long talk with a sympathetic friend. Professor Erskine defines "the great books" as being those which are capable of re-interpretations which surprise us by remaining true even when our point of view changes. That is, they remain true by continuing always, no matter how old they be, to reflect human character and life in such a form that we see ourselves in their mirror. Beginning with three examples of the early days of English literature, "Canterbury Tales," Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," and Spenser's "Faerie Queen," the writer comes down the centuries to modern books like "Moby Dick" and "The Order of Richard Feverel," and in each chapter he aims to illumine the point of view and purpose of the writer and to show how true to the eternal truths of human nature his work remains. The last chapter deals with modern Irish poetry and is a brilliant treatment of the subject. Professor Erskine's book is a literary feast.

Modern English Playwrights. By J. W. Cunliffe. (Harper & Brothers, 35 Great Russell Street, London W. C. 1), 1928.

Professor John Cunliffe's *Modern English Playwrights* is a volume in the publisher's "Plays and Playwrights" series. It is a short history of the English drama during the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, one of the most remarkable periods of English dramatic history. Although the Restoration reopened the theatres after their closing in 1642, they appealed only to the most frivolous class of the people, the Court and its hangers-on; when the Court became more respectable, the theatres lost this support and failed to gain that of the middle class. It was the nineteenth century, however, which brought the English theatre back to the people and the people back to the theatre, and it is this period which is fully dealt with in the volume under notice. Beginning with an introductory chapter on the drama of the early years of the century, the author proceeds to the Victorian transition. Then follow chapters on each of the important playwrights and groups of playwrights, bringing the account down to contemporary times. Those interested in the history of English drama will find Professor Cunliffe's book both interesting and informative.

Contemporary Movements in European Literature. Edited by William Rose, M.A., Ph.D., and

J. Isaacs, M.A. (Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.), 1928.

This is the first serious attempt to give a picture of twentieth-century literature and the effects on it of the Great War. The volume contains a series of lectures delivered by eminent specialists in touch and in sympathy with the newer doctrines of thought and feeling in each of the nine countries of Europe, the literature of which is surveyed. A special point is made in the bibliographies of noting all available English translations of important works, so that the general reader, without a knowledge of foreign languages, may have a reliable guide to the literatures of which Proust, Chekhov, Couperus, Ibanex, Croce, Joyce, Kaiser, Capek, Mann, Pirandello, Hamsun, and Valéry are at present the best-known figures. These bibliographical notes will be highly useful to the student. In addition, the chief modernist movements, including Futurism, Imagism, Expressionism, Dadaism, and Surrealism, are discussed in their European perspective, and their underlying elements are skilfully analysed. Thus the book is of the very greatest interest to serious students of English literature and the literatures of other European countries—France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia, and Holland. Taken as a whole, *Contemporary Movements in European Literature* is a comprehensive study of modern literary developments and tendencies in modern Europe.

Literary Ethics. By H. M. Paull. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15 Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Mr. H. M. Paull's *Literary Ethics* is a highly interesting work. It is a study in the growth of the literary conscience from the days when such a crime as forgery of documents was scarcely considered a matter for blame, to the present day. The author, after discussing literary crimes such as forgery, piracy, etc., deals with literary misdemeanours such as plagiarism, hoaxes, and the unscrupulous deeds of certain historians and editors. The varying standards of literary morality at different times regarding such matters as copyright, censorship, criticism and so forth, are illustrated by numerous examples, and the modern practice in regard to these and many other topics of a literary kind are discussed at some length.

Thus it is the first systematic and comprehensive work on the subject. What limits should be set to the candour of a biographer? Should private letters be published? Why do we tolerate the censorship of plays? Should clergymen preach other people's sermons? Such are only a few of the many questions here considered. In the making and production of books and plays innumerable questions of right and wrong, of good feeling and bad, of legality and illegality, are bound to arise, and all of these are fish for Mr. Paull's wide-dung net. If his ideals are austere, his pages are infinitely beguiling, for they range over the whole field of modern literature and are packed with illustrative allusions that will delight all readers. Equipped with wide knowledge and sound feeling, the author has, in his *Literary Ethics*, produced a work of permanent value on a subject of great importance to all students of literature.

Hogarth Lectures: No. D. No. I—*A Lecture on Lectures*, by Sir Arthur Quiller Couch; No. II—*Tragedy* by F. L. Lucas; No. III—*Studies in Shakespeare*, by Allardyce Nicoll; and No. IV—*The Development of English Biography*, by Harold Nicolson. (Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1), 1928.

We welcome the first four volumes of the *Hogarth Lectures*. This series is designed to help both students and teachers of literature, but the names of the authors of the volumes are sufficient guarantee that they are not merely handbooks for the crammers and the crammed, but will interest the ordinary reader. Unlike other series on literature, the *Hogarth Lectures* treat the whole of literature as dynamic rather than static, tracing the discovery, development and decadence of literary forms; considering fashions and imitations, revolts and revivals; expounding history rather than theory. Each volume (except the first which is a general introduction to the series) contains the substance of six or seven lectures, the result of which is that being cast in a conversational form, the text carries conviction easily as compared with formal works. Sir Quiller Couch's lecture is an excellent defence of lectures as a medium of communication. The other three books are instructive expositions of the subjects they deal with. The series, when completed will be a notable addition to the literature of contemporary criticism.

Much Loved Books. By James O'Donnell Bennett. (Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 34-5 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

Mr. J. O'Donnell Bennett's *Much Loved Books* has for its sub-title "The Best Sellers of the Ages." It deals with many of the well-known European classics in brief, unassuming articles (originally contributed to the *Chicago Tribune*) emphasising the permanent value of the great books of the ancient and modern times. These short essays are brisk, vivid presentations of the most important and interesting books of all times, a few words of their history, their import on the life of their times, something of their authors, a short synopsis of the plot where the work is fiction, and an attempt to explain their meaning and their popularity. As such they fully merited permanent record and in their present form will appeal to a large circle of cultured readers, as an instructive guide to "The Best Sellers of the Ages"—to use the words composing the very expressive sub-title of the book under review. Sixty books of different ages and countries are brought under survey and each dissertation is a skilful analysis of the elements which make up the greatness of each of the classics.

RECENT WORKS ON SCIENCE.

Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula. By Joer H. N. Evans, M. A. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

In his *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, Mr. Evans has done well to reprint his valuable contributions from various journals on Malayan beliefs, antiquities and technology. Mr. Evans made his mark as an authority on the subject by the publication, some years back, of his *Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom of British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, in which he embodied the results of his researches till the time of its publication. In the work under consideration, he presents the synthesis of his later studies. This book is thus a sequel to his earlier one, the sections in which on neolithic implements, cave-dwellers, early bronze, and iron tools are new and represent an important advance in our knowledge of the former inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. Mr. Evans's two books will long remain standard treatises on the subjects they deal with.

just to show that there is a wide difference between practice, profession and theory and that the spoken word should be taken *cum grano salis*. After all, one should be judged not by his speeches but action and judged by this test he may be said to have been tried in the balance and found wanting. Nonetheless this book has a value of its own.

Studies of an Imperialist. By Lord Sydenham, (Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 11 Henrietta Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

It was unnecessary for Lord Sydenham to have advertised himself as an Imperialist. His Imperialism is synonymous with reactionarism and diehardism—at any rate, in Indian affairs. Part two of the book relates to India and has three papers—one on Indian Nationalism (originally contributed to the *Times*, an article on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (reprinted from the *Empire Review* in 1923), and a speech on the same in the House of Lords, delivered in 1918. In reprinting the *Times* contributions of 1913 the author has prefixed a note saying that in writing them his "object was to give an early warning that India was still wholly unfit for democratic institutions." Granted; but was this warning listened to by responsible British statesman who drafted the memorable announcement made by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons on the 20th August, 1917? Next, Lord Sydenham delivered himself of a diatribe on the Montagu Report in the House of Lords. Good, but with what result? He himself says that to this "amazing report... the India Office and the Government of India were committed!" Again, he states that "my forecasts have been abundantly justified by the events," and yet there is the Simon Commission trying to work out a scheme of reforms for constitutional development. Lord Sydenham states that he wrote these articles and speeches "in the interest of the vast masses to whom forms of Government convey nothing." It were to be wished that he had stated the occasion when they requisitioned his services. Verily, the race of Pecksniffs will not be extinct so long as greed and selfishness rule the human heart.

Sceptical Essays. By Bertrand Russell. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London, E. C.), 1928.

Mr. Bertrand Russell is one of the greatest British thinkers and his collection called *Sceptical Essays* deserves a cordial welcome. This volume begins with an essay on "The Value of Scepticism," and all its seventeen essays have this in common, that they advocate a considerable degree of scepticism. The earlier essays give in popular form scientific and philosophical reasons for an undogmatic attitude in all departments of knowledge. Then there is a group setting out the moral and ethical advantages of a realization that our beliefs are all subject to error. The third group applies scepticism to politics; while the last essay in the volume suggests—though with due scepticism—certain things likely to happen in politics, economics, family life, art and literature, if our industrial society develops without a cataclysm. It is possible to differ from Mr. Russell's views, but it is not possible to ignore them; and the book thus merits serious attention.

Selected Addresses and Essays. By (the late) Viscount Haldane. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.), 1928.

The sudden and premature death of Viscount Haldane is a distinct loss to the world of thought and scholarship. His philosophical works are many and important, but it is his popular essays that appeal to the cultured layman. Some of these were collected in *Higher Nationality Conduct of Life and Universities and National Life*. They appear now regrouped in the *Selected Addresses and Essays*, the book under notice. Some desire has been expressed for the publication in a conveniently accessible form of the particular addresses and essays which this little volume contains. They have all appeared before, but they have not been arranged collectively. This has now been done, and the contents of the book are now assembled as containing an expression of faith in knowledge, in higher education, and in a special phase of the unwritten constitution of the Empire. This volume should be very welcome to all cultured readers.

Looking Round: A Miscellany. By Lord Riddell. (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2), 1929.

Lord Riddell is, we believe, a successful solicitor, turned even a more successful journalist as the

proprietor or chief director of that well-known London Weekly—*The News of the World*. His *Looking Round* is a collection of excellent short essays reprinted, in the main, from *John of London's Weekly*. To us in India, just at present, Lord Riddell's paper on Sir John Simon would be most interesting. It should be read through, but a few short passages may be quoted: "Notwithstanding his legal successes, he is not a lawyer in the sense that Lord Reading, Lord Birkenhead, Lord Hewart, Lord Hailsham and Sir Thomas Inskip are lawyers . . . His ambition is a brilliant political career and he is very ambitious." Alas! that India should be the field of his ambition. Lord Riddell's essays are well-written and are highly interesting and *Looking Round* is a capital miscellany.

Lectures and Addresses of Rabindranath Tagore. Edited by A. X. Soares. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Lane, London, E. C.), 1928.

Professor Soares (of the Baroda College) has done well to put together this collection of the addresses of the Poet-Laureate of Asia, who enjoys "almost world-wide manifestation of regard." Of the speeches brought together, the one that should appeal widely is that delivered in America on "Nationalism in India"—which opens magnificently as follows:—"Our real problem in India is not political: it is social." Perfectly true, that. This collection of the poet's lectures should enjoy a large circulation.

Speeches of the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga. (Lal Chand and Sons, 76 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta), 1929.

The collection of the speeches of the Hon'ble Sir Rameshwar Singh is a superfluous book as there is nothing in his addresses to justify a permanent record. Nor is it surprising that no editor or compiler has made himself responsible for the collection, in which the Maharajadhiraj—who is a mere zamindar and not a ruling chief—is throughout referred to as "His Highness." One wonders whether it was to give permanence to this false designation that the book has been issued.

LATEST TOURIST LITERATURE AND GUIDE BOOKS.

Baedeker's Southern Germany. Thirteenth Edition. (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany), 1929.

We extend a cordial welcome to the first 1929 addition to Baedeker's series. The latest Baedeker is the thirteenth, revised edition of the English text of *Southern Germany*. It is the eleventh post-war edition to Baedeker's world-famous series of guide-books, which began with the revised edition of *Omnia* in 1922, followed by *London and Berlin* in 1923, *Paris* in 1924, *Northern Germany* in 1925, the *Rhine* in 1926, *Tyrol and Great Britain* in 1927, *Italy and Switzerland* in 1928 and now *Southern Germany* in 1929. In the early years after the Great War there were not many visitors to Germany, except men of business. But the passing of the years, the better relations since Locarno and the entrance of Germany as a member of the League of Nations, have resulted in a big increase of tourists to Germany, which already assumes pre-war proportions. It is, therefore, of special service, at this juncture, that a new edition of Baedeker's *Southern Germany* (which embraces Baden, the Black Forest, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria), should be issued, with its up-to-date information with regard to hotels, routes, and attractions, in addition to the exhaustive information contained in previous editions. The new edition is fully abreast of the latest changes and is thoroughly up-to-date. It is—like all Baedeker's—systematic, practical, compact, handy, neatly-printed, well-got-up, embellished with numerous maps and plans (no less than 118 in this book) and completely equipped with all the requisites of the tourist in the way of information. With *Northern Germany*, it supplies an exhaustive guide to the territories of the new German Republic, and should appeal to all visitors to Germany.

The South and East African Year-Book and Guide for 1929 with Atlas. Edited annually for The Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., London. By A. Samler Brown, F.R.M.S., and G. Gordon Brown, F.R.G.S. (3 Fenchurch Street, London, E. C. 3).

Messrs. Samler Brown and Gordon Brown's *South and East African Year-Book and Guide* is beyond all doubt one of the best works of its class and kind. This meritorious guide is now in its 35th issue. Each annual edition sees many new features and improvements and the current issue is worthy of special attention. The book is divided into three sections: Part I deals with South Africa,

Part II with East Africa; and Part III with Sports and Research. The wants of the businessman, the sportsman, the tourist, and the invalid are fully catered for. Detailed descriptions of the towns and of the country are given, embellished with index, plans, diagrams, maps, etc. There are nearly 1,000 pages of text and a specially prepared atlas of 64 pages of maps in colour, constituting the finest atlas of South and East Africa available, which is carefully kept up-to-date. As a gazetteer for office use this work is without a rival: the index contains 2,000 place names. Imports and exports, means of transport and communication, etc., are dealt with in considerable detail, together with the rapid growth in manufacture. No conciser publication extant will be found more correct, more useful or more practical on all subjects connected with South and East Africa than is this volume, packed as it is with highly useful information about all the countries in this area. To residents in India, where East African affairs now command so much attention, it should be invaluable. We have much pleasure in commending this valuable work of reference—which is annually overhauled, judiciously revised and kept abreast of the latest changes—to the attention of all interested in the fortunes of South and East African countries—whether for the sake of business or pleasure, to which it is an ideal guide.

London, 1929. (The Residential Hotels and Caterers' Association, 26 Woburn Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1), 1929.

Where to Stay in Great Britain. (Hotels and Restaurants Association, 11—13 Southampton Row, London, W. C. 1), 1929.

The two books enumerated above are issued annually by the organizations mentioned after their names. *London, 1929*—which is in its eighth annual edition—is a very useful guide to the hub of the universe, since it tells you, in a short compass, what to see, where to stay at residential hotels—i.e., at private establishments which are “unlicensed” for the sale of alcoholic liquors—and what you will have to pay for your accommodation in London; besides giving full particulars about those hotels which are owned by the members of the Residential Hotels and Caterers' Association. Well-

illustrated, brimful of the latest information about the scenes and sights of London, it is for its price—which is but six pence—the cheapest, best and most up-to-date guide to the capital city of the British Commonwealth.

The scope of the second publication in our list is not, in a sense, so wide as that of *London, 1929*. Divided into two parts, its first section deals with the “licensed” London hotels and restaurants in which the members of the Hotels and Restaurants Association (founded in 1906) are interested, and the second section is similarly devoted to those in Great Britain outside London. Beginning with a select list of the best-known establishments of the metropolis, an alphabetical arrangement is adopted for the country generally, with a separate classification for Scottish hotels, which facilitates reference. But this is not all. In addition to useful information regarding accommodation, telephone numbers and telegraphic addresses, brief notes descriptive of the attractions in the various towns, the tariff charges for bed-rooms, meals, etc., there is appended in each case a photographic view of the establishment in question. The book—which is copiously illustrated—will be very serviceable to travellers in the British Isles seeking suitable accommodation in such hotels or taking meals at such restaurants as are licensed to supply liquor on the premises—as opposed to the “residential” hotels or private establishments, which are not so licensed, and which are dealt with in *London, 1929*. Both *London, 1929* and *Where to Stay in Great Britain* are very neatly printed on good paper, are well-illustrated and are in handy pocket size, convenient for being carried about when travelling.

London: Town and Country. (Commercial Manager, Underground Railways, 55 Broadway, Westminster, London), 1929.

Having sampled all the post-war guides to London, we have no hesitation in declaring *London: Town and Country* as the very best for its size and price (one shilling, net). Prepared by the London Underground Company, this handy and compact guide embodies a vast amount of highly useful information not only about the capital of the British Commonwealth, but also about the very beautiful countryside that surrounds it. In fact,

It is in the latter respect that this excellent guide is unique and compares favourably with all the other guides to London, which deal rather perfunctorily with the environs to the great metropolis of the Empire. The text, though printed in small type, is pleasingly clear and its usefulness is materially enhanced by its being embellished with a large number of exceedingly well-produced photographs of the various scenes and sights—including several aerial views—besides numerous well-drawn maps and plans. Our only friendly criticism is dearth of practical information, especially about accommodation. This should be supplied in the next edition. For the rest, *London: Town and Country* is a capital little guide and deserves a cordial welcome.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

The History of the Privy Council. By Sir Almeric Fitzroy, K.C.B. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.), 1929.

By reason of its adjunct in the Judicial Committee, the Privy Council is in India the best-known British institution. That great authority, the late Professor Dicey wrote of the Privy Council that it embodies "the history of all the greatest institutions which make up our national constitution. Our Parliament and our Law Courts are but the outgrowth of our Council. In its history is seen how not only institutions, but ideas assumed their modern form." No one living has such intimate knowledge of the Privy Council as Sir Almeric Fitzroy and no one is better qualified to write about it. The book is serious and instructive history, but it is enlivened with many curious and entertaining episodes from the Council records, and it is written with skill and humour. It is adorned with illustrations which add to the value of the letter-press. Altogether Sir Almeric Fitzroy's *History of the Privy Council* is a contribution of the highest excellence and greatest utility and deserves warm appreciation.

Constitutional Laws of the British Empire. By L. Marchant Minty. (Sweet and Maxwell, 2 and 3 Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2), 1929.

Mr. Leonard le M. Minty's book has been written primarily to meet the needs of students, especially

of those taking the final LL.B. and the Bar Examinations. But it is so well-planned that other readers will find it interesting as a short introduction to the subject—the Constitutional Laws of the British Empire. In order to meet the disabilities of students who are not engaged in law and have no access to a set of Law Reports, the author has mentioned the facts in leading cases instead of merely giving legal references, and he has purposely set out the facts in Colonial cases in more detail than their importance frequently deserves, for the very good reason that few law-students have access to a set of Colonial Reports and few of those who have can find time to look up cases for themselves. These important features enhance its usefulness. In places he has departed slightly from the rule of adhering strictly to law and facts and has explained the reasons for various constitutional changes which have taken place. He has done so because he finds that students more quickly remember changes in law if they understand their causes. There is a useful summary of Indian Law.

Some Lessons from Our Legal History. By W. S. Holdsworth, D.C.L., K.C. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.), 1928.

Dr. Holdsworth's *Some Lessons from Our Legal History* is a reprint of the four Julius Rosenthal Foundation Lectures delivered in 1927 at the Northwestern University in the United States. The titles of the lectures are as follows: The Importance of Legal History, The Common Law's Contribution to Political Theory, The Rule of Law, and A New Discourse on the Study of the Laws. They embody Dr. Holdsworth's views on topics of perennial interest for American lawyers, views which represent the matured judgment of one of the great students of legal history in this generation. But the lectures are of interest to other than American lawyers. Dr. Holdsworth has for the past five years occupied the Vinerian Chair of English Law at Oxford University, and he is well-known in the legal profession as the author of a nine-volume "History of English Law," completed in 1926 and now constituting the greatest achievement of any English legal historian. He is also known personally to a large number of American lawyers as a result of his recent visit to the United States when he was entertained in many cities and

universities throughout the country. His views are therefore entitled to respectful consideration, and his exposition of the subject is thoroughly sound and highly informative.

The Legal System of England. By J. E. G. de Montmorency. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1928.

Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency's *The Legal System of England* appears as a volume in Messrs. Benn's Sixpenny Library, and it is one of the best contributions to that excellent series. Within the compass of about eighty small pages, the learned author—who is Quain Professor of Comparative Law in the University of London—has furnished a fairly complete conspectus of the substantive and adjective law of England, that too in a form which can easily be assimilated by the student. It deals with the history of English Law, its form, status, rights of property, public rights, protection and declaration of rights, criminal law and an epilogue on future prospects. A useful bibliography is also appended, to enable the student to follow up his studies with advantage. Altogether *The Legal System of England* is a highly useful summary of a great subject.

The Middle Temple Hall. By J. Bruce Williamson. (The Treasurer, Hon'ble Society of the Middle Temple, Inns of Court, Fleet Street, London), 1928.

Mr. J. Bruce Williamson—a Master of the Bench of the Hon'ble Society of the Middle Temple—has in his *The Middle Temple Hall* put together a series of highly interesting notes upon its history, culled from the records of the Middle Temple Society. The brochure is neatly got-up and well illustrated. All those who are members of the Middle Temple will welcome this highly informative booklet on the history of the famous hall of their society, which began in 1562 was completed in 1573 and which for its beauty and historical incidents is an object of pride to all Middle Templars and an object of attraction and admiration to all visitors to legal London in general and the Inns of Court in particular. Mr. Williamson's brochure deserves appreciation.

Rules and Orders Relating to Public Servants, and The Indian Arms Act Manual. By Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy. (Eastern Law House, 15 College Square, Calcutta), 1928.

Amongst compilers of and commentators on Anglo-Indian Law, Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy—Retired Superintendent of the Home Department of the Government of India—justly occupies high position. His *Collection of Rules and Orders Relating to Public Servants and their Dismissal* (now in its sixth edition) is a highly useful compilation containing instructions regarding social and official intercourse. It gives in a compact form all rules and orders relating to the conduct of public servants, their rights, duties and privileges. His *Indian Arms Act Manual* is the only work of its kind, embodying the latest amendments, full explanatory notes, systematized digests of case-law and lucid commentaries. It is admittedly the best text-book on the subject—systematic, well-arranged, fully annotated, and highly elucidative.

The Indian Constitution. By M. C. Chagla, B.A., Oxon. (The Bombay Book Depot, Girgaon, Bombay), 1928.

In his *The Indian Constitution*, Mr. M. C. Chagla has put together a commentary on the Government of India Act, as amended up-to-date. In the course of a Foreword contributed by him to the book, Sir Chinnulal Setalvad commends it by saying that "it deals in a concise form with the present constitution of India in a manner which will make it useful for popular reading" and "it also deals with the practical working of the Reforms, thus supplying materials for thought regarding further Reforms that are immediately necessary." This characterization of the book is sound and we have pleasure in inviting attention to it of students of the subject.

The Searchlight Contempt Case. (The Behar Journals, Ltd., Dak Bungalow Road, Patna), 1928.

Of the contempt cases tried of late in this country, none compares in importance with that of the trial of the editor of the *Searchlight* of Patna, before a full bench of the Patna High Court, in August last. In this book the articles in the *Searchlight*, which formed the subject-matter of the trial, are given, followed by a verbatim report of the judgment of the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Adami in the Barhi Sati case and also the judgment of the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Allanson in the sedition case against Babu Jagat Narain Lal. A full report of the arguments of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and

judgment in the contempt case is then given. In three appendices are given the charge, the summing up of the Sessions Judge of Patna and the verdict in the Sati case, which were all referred to in the course of the arguments and the judgment in the Sati case on appeal and in the contempt case. As another appendix, the article in *Forward*, which was reproduced in the *Searchlight*, and which constituted one of the offending articles is also given in extenso. The whole report is instructive as showing what, in the eye of the law, are the limits of legitimate criticism of the judiciary by the press and all newspaper men should read this report carefully.

LATEST BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Who's Who, 1929. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., 4-6 Soho Square, London), 1928.

A highly meritorious work of reference is the well-known annual, called *Who's Who*. Of the current books of reference, perhaps none is more useful to the journalist than this annual biographical dictionary. This is the eighty-first year of its issue and it is a well-nigh perfect example of what it professes to be—"an annual biographical dictionary." After using it for many years we cannot recall a single instance of its giving incorrect information. It does not, however, profess to be international in its scope. Nevertheless, it does give biographies of a good many prominent Continentals. So great is the labour of compiling and printing this vast work, which comprises nearly three thousand five hundred pages of close double-column type, that printing has to begin as early as August. The work opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year. This is followed by an account of the Royal Family, and then come over 32,000 biographies. The biographies, though generally exceedingly condensed, are accurate and informative. They give, besides, useful and interesting information about the habits, tastes and hobbies of the large number of persons whose careers are sketched. The book is thus indispensable to a journalist. Indian names appear in *Who's Who*, but the sketches of eminent Indians need careful revision by experts and specialists in current Indian affairs. Additions are also required to make the Indian list comprehensive and more useful than it is at present. It goes without saying that *Who's*

Who long ago won its way to the foremost place among books of reference of its kind. Year by year *Who's Who* becomes a more absolute necessity to those whose work entails a study of all phases of British life, and it is as ever an indispensable part of the furniture of any library or office.

Whitaker's Peerage, 1929. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12 Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

Whitaker's Peerage (which though in its thirty-third year is the youngest of its class) is not only the cheapest but the most convenient work for reference. The current edition contains complete list of Peers, Baronets, Knights and Companions, including full lists of the last new year's honours. The careful compilation and methodical arrangement, which have always characterised the work, are fully maintained, while for ease of reference it can hardly be surpassed. The obituary for the last year is complete. *Whitaker's Peerage*—as stated above—is not only the cheapest work of its class but its convenient shape and handy size add materially to its value and usefulness as an indispensable work of ready reference for all who may have to seek information concerning the title-holders in the British Empire. Of the books of its class and kind, it should, therefore, have a large circulation in India. It is much to be desired that a work of reference dealing with Indian rulers, chiefs, princes and zamindars were compiled and issued annually, modelled on *Whitaker's Peerage*, by some enterprising publisher in India or in Great Britain.

Whitaker's Almanac for the Year 1929. By Joseph Whitaker. Complete edition, 6s. net. (J. Whitaker and Sons, Ltd., 12 Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

That most familiar and reliable of books of reference, *Whitaker's Almanac*, appears now in two forms. There is the "Complete Edition" (6s. net), and there is also the "Popular Edition" (1s. 6d. net) which, at any rate, everyone must have. Inaugurated in 1868, *Whitaker's Almanac* for the current year is the sixty-first yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-speaking world. It is justly established in popular estimation as the most useful and the most comprehensive repertory of information—well-informed and accurate—on current public affairs. It is a highly

meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the Government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The current edition of *Whitaker's Almanac* will be indispensable to public men and publicists, it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium of facts and events of the world today. It is unnecessary to say anything further of so invaluable a work of reference except to observe that the present volume is larger than any of its predecessors and extends to 932 pages in the familiar green and red cloth cover.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book, 1929. (A and C. Black, Ltd., 4-6, Soho Square, London, W. 1), 1928.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book is now in the twenty-second year of its issue and has thus come of age. It offers literary aspirants and journalist free-lances much sound and useful information, which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares with profit and advantage. Lists of paying journals, magazines, and periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of art-illustrators, publishers, booksellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors, journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists, cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information about addresses, scale of payment, the stage, the films, the radio, the juvenile market, copyright, agreements and serial rights, and guidance for art-illustrators and press-photographers, form the standard features of the publication. We have much pleasure in commending it to those connected with other literary

pursuits or the press. Though meant primarily for Great Britain, it will be found valuable for reference even in India. But the Indian section needs careful revision by some expert. This highly useful reference annual is an indispensable possession to writers, publicists, artists, composers, editors and everyone who aspires to contribute to literature, art, music or journalism. We offer our felicitations to the editor and the publishers of this meritorious work of reference on its having attained its majority.

India in 1927-28. By J. Coatman. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta), 1929.

Dr. Rushbrook Williams—who is now the Foreign Minister of Patiala—achieved in his capacity as Director of Information a great triumph as a faithful and critical chronicler of current Indian affairs. The latest number of the well-known annual is now edited by his successor in office. It has been found indispensable by all who wish to keep abreast of current developments in India, and Mr. Coatman's survey is fully equal to his predecessor's in point of general interest. It deals in brief yet clear fashion with the outstanding problems of the Indian situation combining complicated tendencies and important events into a readable narrative. The volume contains appreciation of India's international position, with special reference to the problems of Indians overseas and of Indian defence. It contains a survey of the financial and economic conditions of the year, together with an account of important developments in every branch of Governmental activity. Considerable space is devoted to constitutional problems and to the course of political events. The book will appeal to members of the general public as much as to students and men of affairs. It also contains a useful map of India, several charts, and descriptive diagrams, and photographs which materially enhance the usefulness of the book. We strongly recommend a careful study of this work to all interested in Indian progress, as the best and most informative compendium of general knowledge about the current conditions of India. We may revert to this important book in a later issue and appraise critically its contents.

The object of this preliminary review is to bring to the notice of the reader this valuable compendium, the publication of which was overdue and future editions of which, we trust, will more promptly appear. We need scarcely add that in expressing our appreciation of Mr. Coatsman's work, we have limited ourselves to the compiler's matter, but not to his views.

The Indian Year-Book, 1929. (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1929.

We welcome the sixteenth edition of *The Indian Year-Book*—edited by Sir Stanley Reed and Mr. S. T. Sheppard—which has justly come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference for all in any way connected with Indian public affairs, as it concentrates all the essential information and the statistics of the Indian Empire in one handy volume. In the current edition, all those characteristic features which have made it the standard reference annual on things Indian are retained and developed. *The Indian Year-Book* knows no politics but it is something more than a dry-as-dust record of statistics; in every section there is an attempt not only to give facts, but to see the forces which are behind the facts. This makes it a valuable and useful adjunct to every Government, mercantile newspaper office in India, as also to clubs, libraries and institutes, to businessmen generally, and to every one who takes an interest in Indian affairs. It covers a very wide range of subjects and while comprehensive it is, on the whole, commendably accurate. The 1929 edition contains all the very latest information. Everything that can be done to make it useful has been done, and this valuable work of reference is now well-nigh perfect. The value of such a book lies in its present-day accuracy and completeness and the current edition has been developed and improved in the light of experience and progress. Therein lies the inestimable value of *The Indian Year-Book* for 1929 which we have much pleasure in once again commending to the readers of the *Hindustan Review*, who will find it highly useful in dealing with the many current problems relating to India.

A List of One Hundred Books on India. By H. K. Rakhit. (Hindustan Association of America, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, U. S. A.), 1928.

A List of One Hundred Books on India, comprehensive, classified and select, printed for the Hindustan Association of America by Mr. Hemendra K. Rakhit, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Hindustan Student*, the official monthly of the Association, is now being circulated throughout the United States. It is calculated that in reaching the university and public libraries, educational foundations and hundreds of Americans and foreign residents in America the *List* will help to broadcast the sources of accurate and authentic information on India in America. Mr. Rakhit deserves well of his native land. His *List* has been printed in a booklet form to facilitate circulation. Moreover, the "Hundred Books" are arranged under twelve different headings: General Treaties, Religion and Philosophy, Literature, Poetry, Drama, Art, Social Life, Education, History, Economics, Politics, Biography. A separate section mentions important periodicals from India, with the result that the information on India is brought up-to-date in the form of books as well as through columns of the Indian periodicals. It seems to us that the publication of the *List* comes in a very fortunate coincidence with the present tour of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who has rendered great services to India by her lectures in America. The booklet includes a special note on publishers of Indian books in India, England and America, enabling the interested readers to communicate directly with the publishing houses with a view to place orders. Altogether Mr. Rakhit's *List* is a highly useful contribution to the bibliography of literature in English relating to India.

Guide to Current Official Statistics. Sixth Issue, 1927. (H. M. Stationery Office, Adastral House, Kingsway, London), 1928.

The number of official publications issued during each year is so large that the average seeker after information is apt to get bewildered at their range and immensity. A guide to them—such as is now rendered available in the book under notice—was badly needed. A reference to its pages shows at a glance the publications issued in 1927 and the various subjects they deal with. It will be found to be of considerable help to those seeking after official data and statistics. This publication has been appearing regularly each year since 1923, which dealt with the official literature

of the previous year. We have noticed in terms of appreciation the first and subsequent volumes of the *Guide to Current Official Statistics of the United Kingdom* volume. The book is a systematic survey of official statistics published in the year before and will be found highly useful in looking for authoritative and accurate data and figures which are available in official publications alone. The book deals with the official literature of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It were much to be wished that the Government of India issued annually such a survey of and guide to Indian blue books.

Facilities for Oriental Studies and Research at Indian Universities, and Handbook to Indian Universities. (Inter-University Board, India, Calcutta), 1928.

The second of the two books is the new edition of the excellent *Handbook of Indian Universities* published last year by the Inter-University Board, India. The information contained in the last volume has been considerably enlarged by the inclusion of fresh matter pertaining to other institutions of a University standard in the country. It now comprises full and accurate information about the seventeen universities in the Indian Empire. The appendices contain information about the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, the Bose Research Institute, the Indian Association for the Advancement of Science, etc., and other institutions doing work of a University standard. As a book of reference, it is indispensable not merely to members of the Universities, but also to all interested in higher education in India. An excellent supplement to the *Handbook* is the other useful reference work called *Facilities for Oriental Studies and Research at Indian Universities*, which gives sound and detailed information about oriental studies and higher research carried on at the various Indian Universities.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1929. (Census and Statistics Office, Wellington, New Zealand), 1928.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1929—which is in its thirty-seventh issue—has been compiled by Mr. Malcolm Fraser, Government Statis-

tician. This official annual publication is a remarkably useful work giving detailed information relating to New Zealand. Detailed chapters are devoted to the description, history, constitution and administration, statistical organisation, population, education, shipping, railways, public finance, banking, wealth and incomes, defence, etc., of New Zealand. Entirely new sections are added when necessary, to bring it abreast of the latest events and incidents. These add materially to the usefulness of a highly meritorious work of reference, which is comprehensive in its scope and accurate in its data. In fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year-Book*, which is an authoritative volume of about one thousand pages, replete with valuable information on all matters—political, economic and administrative—relating to New Zealand. The current edition not only retains all the salient features of its predecessors, but also a substantial amount of new matter, including some completely new sections. In its present form, this highly useful reference annual will continue to be indispensable to all interested in the affairs of New Zealand.

The People's Year-Book, 1929. (The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Balloon Street, Manchester), 1929.

The current, twelfth edition of *The People's Year-Book* deserves appreciation from seekers after information about Co-operation. The volume contains an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the Co-operative movement throughout the world, besides useful information on topics of public interest: the cost of living, the housing problem, British finance, as also the latest developments in art, science, literature, drama, motoring, aviation, cinema and photography and a mass of useful information which will interest the general reader, apart from the student. There are many tables of arresting statistics. On the literary side there is a sound critical article on the books of the year, with a careful selection of the books of 1928. *The People's Year-Book* thus constitutes a reference work, both in a special and a general sense, while the many excellent illustrations, as many as twenty-four it contains, serve as an embellishment to the volume. Its get-up deserves special acknowledg-

ment for format and excellent execution. Primarily intended as a national and international survey of co-operative organization and activities and for furnishing the latest statistics relating to this subject, *The People's Year-Book* contains much other useful and interesting information, and is thus an acquisition to current reference literature. The illustrations are highly artistic and the volume is a library in miniature for the general reader.

The Year-Book of the Universities of the Empire, 1929. (Messrs. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., York House, Portugal Street, London, W.C. 2), 1929.

The Year-Book of the Universities of the Empire for 1929 supplies detailed information regarding the Universities in the British Commonwealth, culled from the official University Calendars, which will prove of interest to all members of universities and colleges, Government departments, schoolmasters and the public generally. In the chapters introductory to the sections dealing with the universities is collected such information regarding their history, regulations and practice as they share in common. Every section contains a directory of the officers and members of the staff of the university; an account of the equipment in libraries, museums, laboratories, etc., of the university; the degrees, diplomas and certificates which it confers, scholarships open to graduates, university publications, etc.; and, statistics of the numbers of students in attendance and degrees conferred. The volume also contains appendices of great value and interest to those interested in the educational activities, in that they give useful information in regard to professions and careers for which university studies are a fitting preparation; admission of students from abroad to the universities of Great Britain; notes of foreign universities, etc. *The Year-Book of Universities* is thus an indispensable publication which those who seek any information on affairs pertaining to education cannot but find it to their profit and advantage to consult.

RECENT DIRECTORIES: CLASS AND TERRITORIAL.

The Newspaper Press Directory, 1929. (C. Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 1-2, Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C. 1), 1927.

Having seen the light in 1845, the current edition of Messrs. Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* is the eighty-fourth annual issue of this indispensable work of reference to British periodical literature. Its range of information is generally wide and accurate and it supplies the fullest details about the press of the British Commonwealth in particular and that of the other countries in general, with the result that it is of the highest utility to pressmen, advertisers and tradesmen. *The Newspaper Press Directory* has established for itself a reputation for presenting concisely much valuable information and statistics in respect of Inter-Imperial Trade. In this issue, the publishers present an article by Sir Frank Fox on the Empire Marketing Board which deals with its achievement and its future. An article on Inter-Imperial Trade contains some useful statistics relevant to its title, and some six more articles deal with the trade of various countries. The current edition has been judiciously revised and carefully overhauled and we have lighted upon few mis-statements of fact. But the section dealing with the press of India requires to be carefully revised by some one in intimate touch with the present conditions of the fourth estate in this country. Making allowance for it *The Newspaper Press Directory* is, on the whole, a very creditably accurate and comprehensive work of reference. It should have an extensive circulation amongst journalists and pressmen throughout the British Commonwealth and in America.

Willing's Press Guide, 1929. (James Willing, Ltd., 30 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2), 1929.

Willing's Press Guide, 1929, which is now in its fifty-sixth annual edition, is an excellent compendious record of the press of the British Isles. It also gives lists of telegraphic news and reporting agencies, of the principal colonial and foreign journals and a variety of useful and instructive information about the fourth estate of the realm. It thus forms a concise and comprehensive index to the press of Great Britain and Ireland in particular and of that of the British Commonwealth in general. Altogether, it is a useful work of reference for the journalist and the advertiser. The current edition is thoroughly up-to-date and is abreast of the latest changes in the world of journalism.

Thacker's Indian Directory, 1929. (Thacker, Spink and Co., Esplanade, Calcutta), 1929.

The Times of India Directory, 1929. (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1929.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory, 1929. (Chakravarti and Co., Madras), 1929.

Government of India Directory, 1929. Delhi and Simla editions. (Government of India Press, Delhi and Simla), 1929.

Of the many directories annually issued in India, the first three—the current year's editions of which are noted above—are best-known as standard works of reference amongst their class. *Thacker's Indian Directory*—which is now in its sixty-eighth annual edition—originally and for many years afterwards appeared as the "Bengal Directory." But it slowly covered the other provinces as well, and for years past the *Lal Kitab* ("the red book"), as it is familiarly known in offices, has been justly regarded as the one indispensable work of reference amongst Indian directories. *The Times of India Directory* is even an older publication than *Thacker's*, as its current edition is the seventy-seventh annual issue. Chief Justice, Sir Basil Scott of the Bombay High Court, described it in one of his judgments as "a standard work of reference in Bombay." While *Thacker's* is more comprehensive in its scope covering, as it does, the whole Indian Empire, both it and the Bombay publication have much in common. *The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory* is a still older publication, the current edition being one hundred and twenty-eighth. It does for the Madras Presidency, or rather for Southern India, what *The Times of India Directory* does for Western India. It gives the fullest information about almost all matters of public interest. The new edition has several features which will make it more useful. These three works are carefully revised, from year to year, and although no work of reference—least of all, a directory—can ever be thoroughly up-to-date, nevertheless these three hardy annuals are as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of their class to be. They usefully supplement one another and a sensible businessman should keep all of them on his book-shelf.

The Government of India Directory stands in a class by itself. For some years past the Central Government used to issue from Delhi in December and from Simla in May the Government of India List, containing the names and addresses of their officers, including also of those of heads of Local Governments and Administrations and also of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The last of the lists was issued from Simla in May, 1924. The issue from Delhi in December, 1924, appeared in better form under the more convenient name of *Government of India Directory*. The first Simla edition appeared in May, 1925. We welcome this useful publication to the list of reference works dealing with India, and it ought to have a wide circulation in circles connected with the Central Government at Delhi and Simla. The personnel of the Central and the Provincial Governments changes with kaleidoscopic rapidity and, in the circumstances, the Delhi and Simla editions of *The Government of India Directory* are useful additions to the reference literature concerning officialdom of this country.

RECENT COLLECTIONS OF STANDARD FICTION.

Great French Short Stories. Edited by Lewis Melville and Reginald Hargreaves. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

The Complete Short Stories of Maupassant. (Walter J. Black Company, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, U. S. A.), 1928.

Select Tales of Tchekov. Translated by Constance Garnett. (Chatto and Windus, 97 and 99 St. Martin's Lane, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Selected Stories and Tales: Austrian, Czech, English (three series), Polish, Russian, Spanish. 8 Vols. in "World's Classics." (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1928-9.

Messrs. Melville and Hargreaves's *Great French Short Stories* is truly a wonderful collection. It is a volume of well over a thousand pages, easy to handle, easy to read and containing a not inconsiderable proportion of the wit and wisdom of the French people. *Great French Short Stories* has a particular claim to attention in that it is universally admitted that the greatest short stories in the world are French.

Whether you want to study the development of the art of the conte from Marguerite de Navarre to Paul Morand, or whether you are simply looking for an unfailing source of entertainment, you will be abundantly satisfied in the book under review. In these thousand pages are thrills and alarms—Jules Verne, Dumas, Balzac, the dry but mellow irony of the Gallic genius poised over the unending riddle of man's strength and folly—Merimée, Gauthier, Flaubert, de Maupassant, Anatole France—the pathos of Daudet, the penetration of Paul Bourget, the varied art of Huysmans, Barbusses, Bazin, and many others. It is a collection unique in its range from the sophisticated simplicity of Perrault to the exotic cosmopolitanism of Paul Morand and the remorseless realism of Pierre Hanp, these two documenting our twentieth century civilisation even as Perrault fixes for all times the manners of the *grand siècle*. To all lovers of the best fiction, *Great French Short Stories* should offer a perennial joy, and the book deserves wide appreciation and extensive circulation.

The well-known American publishing firm of Walter J. Black Company specializes in bringing out compact one-volume editions (on thin paper) of the great classics. In their *Complete Short Stories of Maupassant*, they have managed to compress no less than ten volumes into one of handy size. Guy de Maupassant is admittedly the greatest European short-story writer and it is a great advantage to the reader to have in one compendious but handy volume of one thousand pages all his marvellous short stories, presented in a pleasing and an acceptable form.

Tehehov is beyond all doubt the greatest Russian short-story writer. The most complete translation of his tales (into English) is that by Mrs. Constance Garnett in thirteen volumes. These have been accorded high praise by competent critics; they have been compared with such classics as North's *Plutarch* of the Elizabethan times. We, therefore, welcome the compact and portable *Select Tales of Tehehov*, culled from Mrs. Garnett's renderings. The book should appeal to a large circle of readers.

The eight volumes of short stories (drawn from English and continental literature (of Austria,

Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia and Spain) should interest a wide circle of readers of good fiction. Each volume is ushered with a short but critical Introduction and the selection of the stories is judiciously made. The "World's Classics" series is thus rendering a highly useful service to lovers of good literature by issuing these cheap but excellent collections of continental and English fiction.

Before Scotland Yard and Rumours and Hoaxes. Edited by Peter Haworth. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford), 1928.

Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror. Edited by Dorothy L. Sayers. (Victor Gollancz Limited, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, E. C.), 1928.

Stories of Crime and Detection. Edited by E. M. Wrong. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1928.

The Black Cap: New Stories of Murder and Mystery. Compiled by Cynthia Asquith. (Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

The two collections edited by Mr. Peter Haworth are interesting additions to the literature of tales and short stories. *Before Scotland Yard* is a repository of classic tales of roguery and detection; while *Rumours and Hoaxes* brings together those relating to fraud and deception. Each volume is introduced with an interesting foreword. The ground covered in both the volumes is extensive, ranging as it does from ancient Greek, Latin and Hebrew to modern literature. These two compendious collections are thus notable additions to short-story literature.

Miss Dorothy Sayer's *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror* is quite a comprehensive collection of over twelve hundred pages of close but clear print. Its value is appreciably increased by its being enriched with an extremely informative Introduction, in which the history of the literature of Detection and Mystery is sketched in a masterly manner, from the earliest times till the present time. The stories are grouped under various headings representing different types. The number of authors requisitioned for the compiler's purpose is large, and along with distinguished ones, the works of comparatively unknown writers are also

utilized, which deserve recognition and appreciation. Altogether, it is a very notable collection.

Stories of Crime and Detection, included in the "World's Classics," is an exceedingly good collection, considering its rather small size of but nearly four hundred short pages, as compared with the more comprehensive ones, noticed above. It contains, however, so to say, the pith and marrow of detective stories. Poe—the originator of this kind of story—Conan Doyle, Arthur Morrison, Austin Freeman, Barry Pain and others are all represented in this collection and it is thus an excellent compendium of detective fiction.

The Black Cap is a collection of new stories of murder and mystery, compiled by Lady Cynthia Asquith, whose *The Ghost Book* enjoyed such a success last year. This most striking collection of murder stories by famous authors contains the first publication of "Shall We Join the Ladies?" the mystery play by Sir James Barrie which aroused such immense interest when it was acted. New stories have been specially written for this volume by Edgar Wallace, Hugh Walpole, Somerset Maugham, D. H. Lawrence, and other writers of the first distinction. No volume of the kind has ever comprised a greater number of famous names in the world of fiction. Lady Cynthia Asquith's anthology should, therefore, interest a large circle of readers.

The Short Stories of H. G. Wells and A Quarrette of Comedies. By H. G. Wells (Ernest Benn Ltd. Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E. C.). 1928.

The Stories of Robert Louis Stevenson. (Victor Gollancz Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, E. C.). 1928.

Sherlock Holmes Short Stories. (John Murray Albemarle Street, London, W.). 1928.

Inspector French's Case Book. By Freeman Wills Crofts (W. Collins and Co., Ltd., 48 Pall Mall, London, W.). 1928.

In the two thick but portable volumes enumerated above, the admirers of Mr. H. G. Wells may now possess all his short stories and tales. The title of the first of the two volumes explains itself, but the second—*A Quartette of Comedies*—contains the four well-known tales (rather than short stories) called

Kipps, *The History of Mr. Polly*, *Bealby* and *Lure and Mr. Lushington*. We commend these two collections to all lovers of good literature.

In the various uniform editions of Stevenson, his stories—as contrasted with novels—cover many volumes. But here they are now rendered available in one light and handy volume, which contains more than eleven hundred pages of clear print. Stevenson is one of the greatest writers of story and this comprehensive collection of his tales and romances should be able to command a very large circulation amongst the reading public, on whom the publishers have conferred a boon by issuing this collection.

Who does not know Mr. Sherlock Holmes—even if he be ignorant enough not to know the name of Sir Conan Doyle, the creator of that famous detective? Now the *Sherlock Holmes Short Stories* contains the whole series of tales concerning Sherlock Holmes—apart from the four novels—'A Study in Scarlet,' 'The Sign of Four,' 'The Hound of the Baskervilles' and 'The Valley of Fear.' It begins with his first appearance in this form in 'A Scandal in Bohemia,' which came out in 1892, until he made his final exit in the 'Adventure of Shoscombe Abbey' in 1925. By issuing this collection, the publisher has placed under obligation admirers of the best detective stories. In this one compact volume of nearly thirteen hundred and fifty pages, excellently printed, are now brought together the whole series of fifty-six stories (except the four novels enumerated above) and it should, therefore, find an extensive circulation.

Lovers of good detective fiction will welcome *Inspector French's Case Book* which contains three clever thrillers, *Inspector French's Greatest Case*, *The Cheyne Mystery* and *The Starvel Tragedy*. Never before have so many thrills been packed into one volume of over nine hundred pages. Since he became famous with his first novel, *The Cash*, Mr. Freeman Wills Crofts has never looked back. Today he is recognised, not only in Britain and the colonies, but in Europe and America, as the most ingenious detective writer of our time, and his present collection is bound to interest a large circle of readers.

The Twelve Best Short Stories in English, French and German. 3 vols. (Gowans and Gray, Limited, Glasgow). 1928.

Terrible Tales : German, French, Spanish and Italian. 4 Vols. (William Reeves, 83 Charing Cross Road, London, W. C.), 1928.

Ghosts and Marvels and More Ghosts and Marvels. Edited by V. H. Collins. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1928.

The Twelve Best Short Stories are small but well-chosen collections of English, French and German tales and merit appreciation as the selections have been made judiciously. . . . Messrs. Reeves' series of *Terrible Tales* culled from French, German, Italian and Spanish literature offer collection of tales of horror which will make your hair stand on end; while the two volumes of Mr. V. H. Collins' *Ghosts and Marvels* make up a collection of weird and uncanny tales which make your flesh creep. They should particularly interest juvenile readers, who would revel in them.

RECENT SCHOLASTIC AND EDUCATIONAL WORKS

The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet and A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary : Part I. By L. A. Waddell. (Luzac and Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W. C.), 1928.

Lieut.-Col. Waddell is indefatigable in labouring for the cause he has specialised in and, so to say, made his own. To his many works on the subject of Sumer-Aryan History and Philology, he has now added a volume on the Alphabet and the first part (A to F.) of a dictionary. Both these volumes will be of immense benefit to those interested in the study of the subject. It is true that this new study is not yet beyond the range of controversy, nevertheless the books under review—though they may partially suffer from the limitations of pioneer works—are beyond doubt of inestimable value and deserve, as such, genuine appreciation.

Shakesperian Quotations in Everyday Use. By L. L. M. Marsden, (H. F. and G. Witherby, 326 High Holborn, London, W. C. 1), 1928.

A Treasury of English Aphorisms. Edited by L. P. Smith. (Constable and Co., Ltd., 10 and 12 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Mr. Marsden's *Shakesperian Quotations in Everyday Use* would be found highly useful for

educational and literary purposes. It covers the whole range of Shakesperian dramas and the references and the notes so plentifully supplied enhance materially the utility of the book. Those who desire to enrich their knowledge of English cannot do better than try to master this book. . . . Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith's *Treasury of English Aphorisms* seems to us a book of doubtful utility, as we are disposed to agree with Lord Morley—whom Mr. Smith tries unsuccessfully to controvert—that with the exception of Bacon, there is no writer of apothegms of the first order in English. A conclusive proof of it is Mr. Smith's anthology which compares unfavourably with any French collection of aphorisms. It may appeal, however, to those content with the second best.

Dictionary of Quotations and Proverbs. 2 vols. "Everyman's Library." (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Pocket Series of Proverbs. (Haldeman-Julius Company, Girard, Kansas, U. S. A.), 1928.

The Dictionary of Quotations and Proverbs is a highly useful addition to the reference section of "Everyman's Library." The work as now issued must be the result of the labours of many successive compilers, English and American, and the authors it quotes, known and anonymous, are legion. Traditional sayings and the modern currency are both represented, and the Proverbs contain the pick of that kind of "literature-in-a-nutshell," or in a single sentence. Vol. I contains the Quotations, and Vol. II the Proverbs, together with an Index to the Quotations. It is a wonderfully good work of reference.

The Pocket Series of Proverbs is an American enterprise. The proverbs collected are issued in handy, little brochures, dealing with those of various European and Asiatic countries. Those of the greatest interest to our readers will be the volumes bringing together Sanskrit, Hindustani and Indian proverbs in general.

The Soul of Grammar. By Dr. E. A. Sonnenschein. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.), 1928.

The Writing of English. By Guy Boas. (Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London,

E. C. 4 and 8 Old Court House Street, Calcutta), 1928.

A Dictionary of Correct English. By M. A. Pink. (Sir Isaac Pittmans and Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Grammar is usually, and not unjustly, considered a dry subject. Dr. Sonnenschein's object is to show that the dry bones become alive when the languages of importance to western civilization, are regarded as fundamentally one in structure. Thus *The Soul of Grammar* is a bird's-eye-view of the organic unity of the ancient and modern European tongues studied in British schools. . . . Mr. Boas's *The Writing of English* is an excellent text-book of Grammar and Composition and should prove useful to fairly senior students. . . . Mr. Pink's *Dictionary of Correct English* is an alphabetical collection of the many kinds of errors which most people indulge in in writing English. A constant use of this very useful reference work will lead one to write faultlessly correct English.

Memorandum on the Teaching of English. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1928.

How to Teach Geography. By L. Dudley Stamp and Elsa Stamp. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 53 Nicol Road, Bombay), 1928.

The New Method Composition. By Dr. M. West. Three Parts. (Longmans, Green & Co., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta), 1928.

The Memorandum on the Teaching of English, originally issued, in 1923, by the Incorporated Association of Assistant Teachers in Secondary Schools—which now appears in a revised form—is a highly instructive work and will be of great utility even in India both as a treatise on the method of study and also for the lists of books appended to it. It deserves careful consideration at the hands of educationists in this country. . . . The authors of *How to Teach Geography in the Schools of India* are fully qualified for their task by possessing experience and knowledge. Their little book is practical and illuminating and being equipped with maps, diagrams and questions, is an almost ideal text-book of the subject it deals with. . . . Dr. West's *New Method Composition* is based on a method which is the result of a very long Indian experience and will facilitate, if adopted, the teaching of English in the schools of this country.

A Plea for Open Air Schools in India. By S. C. Chatterji. (D. B. Tamporevala Sons & Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay), 1928.

Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education. Edited by A. B. Van Doren; and **How We Learn.** by W. H. Kilpatrick. (The Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta), 1928.

Mr. S. C. Chatterji's *Open Air Schools in India* is, to our knowledge, a pioneer work on the subject and as such deserves attention. It contains an interesting exposition of the subject it deals with—a subject of far-reaching importance to the health and physique of our students. The book should, therefore, receive consideration both from the Government and the public. . . . Mr. Van Doren's *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education* is a highly suggestive account of new methods recently adopted in some Indian schools. Their results are still in an experimental stage, but they nonetheless merit consideration, since they are likely to do much good. Dr. Kilpatrick's *How We Learn* is a luminous exposition of the psychological basis of project method and should be invaluable to our educationists.

The March of History: 1689—1832, by W. H. Mc Haffie. **Study Reading,** by J. Methaven. **Gateways to English:** Two parts, by E. G. Browne. (Mc Dougall's Educational Co., Ltd., 8 Farringdon Avenue, London, E. C. 4), 1929.

The publications of McDougall's Educational Company justly take high rank amongst literature for students. Mr. McHaffie's text-book, *The March of History*, is an excellent survey of the period it deals with. Mr. Methaven's *Study Reading* is an excellent prose anthology in graded form which will be highly useful for silent reading and intensive thinking; while Mr. Browne's *Gateways to English* are ideal little books for the young ones learning English. The publications of this firm deserve to be better known in Indian schools.

Pandita Ramabai, by Mrs. Paul Appasamy. **George Fox,** by Rufus Jones. **St. Augustine,** by Eleanor McDougall. (Christian Literary Society for India, Madras), 1928.

The above three brochures are the latest additions to the vast bulk of highly useful and meritorious, general and educational literature, for which the

Christian Literature Society is deservedly famous, and all publications of which are of great utility to school and college students in this country.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

The Standard work in English on Persian Literature—the late Professor E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*—originally issued separately in four volumes, by different publishers, is now made available in a uniform edition, through the enterprise of the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C.). The first volume extends from the earliest times till the death of Firdawsi, the second up to that of Saadi, the third covers the period of Tartar domination and the fourth the modern period till 1924. Now that the whole work is accessible in a uniform style and handsome form, we hope it will have a wide appreciation as at once the most comprehensive, the most accurate, the most well-informed and the most instructive historical sketch of Persian literature.

Of the many books recently issued on the Russia of today, one of the most interesting and informative is Mrs. Buxton's *Challenge of Bolshevism* (George Allen and Unwin, Museum Street, London). In the course of her visit, the authoress lived both in towns and villages, mixed alike with townfolk and villagers and carefully studied their social, economic and political conditions. She appears to have kept her eyes open and to have searched her mind strictly as to what exactly were the most important things to be learnt. It is not surprising that her conclusions are rather unexpected. Those interested in current sociological problems should study carefully Mrs. Buxton's facts and opinions, for the data that she has brought together bear upon vital and fundamental issues and her treatment of the subject is novel and interesting.

Mr. C. F. Andrews' *Tagore Birthday Book* (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) is a useful and an interesting compilation, deserving a cordial welcome. It is selected from the English works of Rabindranath Tagore, whose admirers will be delighted to possess this well-edited volume. A brief introduction gives the reader an inkling into the poet's life and writings,

and a few illustrations—including one in colour, reproducing Mr. S. K. Hosh's portrait of the poet—add to the interest of the book, which is the result of a truly happy thought on the part of the compiler. A perusal of this compilation should serve to stimulate in many a desire to seek a closer acquaintance with the works of one of the greatest contemporary poets.

Mystic Lyrics from the Indian Middle Ages (George Allen and Unwin, Museum Street, London) is an excellent anthology. The poems of this interesting collection are strongly individual, and vary enormously in style and content. They are marked by beauty, simplicity, and originality; above all, by sincerity. The poems of the various authors are prefaced by interesting biographical notes, which enhance the value of the text, which comprises free renderings into English of poems by variety of authors, from many parts of India, arranged under the four headings Vishnu lyrics, the Ramanand group, Sikh lyrics, and the Hindu-Mohammedan group. The poems are selected with taste and knowledge, rendered into English with grace and accompanied by useful biographical notices. Sixteen writers are included, and their poems are rapturous melodies, faithfully translated by Mr. Gribble, who deserves our thanks for thus placing some of the best devotional literature of India before the western readers.

The latest (1928) edition of *The Week-End Book* (The Nonesuch Press, 16 Great James Street, London, W. C.) is a capital production. It is a greatly enlarged edition, in bright blue-and-cream binding, of a famous little book. Here, besides poems, games, songs, recipes, hints on first aid, are several new features, including a section full of useful advice about camping, another about birds and bird-song, and another about 'The Law and How You Break It'—this last for unconscious trespassers. The first edition of the *Week-End Book*, published five years ago, contained 332 pages; the revised edition of 1927 contained 388; whereas this is enlarged to 528 pages. It is printed from new type throughout, and has fourteen full-page decorations in colour by Albert Rutherston, which are noteworthy. The material which has been added since the first edition would have warranted

the publication of a "second series" volume; but the publishers have considered the pockets and purses of the old readers and the new alike in issuing this "double number" in the convenient form of a single pocketable volume. In its present, highly improved form, this excellent collection of most interesting materials will long continue to be the most cherished possession of the week-ender.

Mr. K. S. Venkataramani is a young South Indian, who has already made his mark as a writer in English by his previous works called *Paper Boats*, *On the Sand-Dunes* and *Murghan : The Teller*—the two former being collections of word-painting sketches of Indian scenes, and the last an excellent novel depicting South Indian life. All the three have been widely appreciated in India and Britain. His latest venture is called *The Next Rang* (Svetaranya Ashrama, Mylapore, Madras). It is supposed to be a treatise on present-day politics, but to us its chief interest is purely literary, for he writes, as usual, with considerable charm and his ideas seem scarcely to come within the region of practical politics. In spite of it, the book deserves a large circulation for its literary merits.

Another South Indian (an Indian Civilian to boot) who has come into literary prominence of late is Mr. A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, who has produced two series of charming *Indian After-Dinner Stories*. This he has now followed up by *Sense in Sex*, being stories droll of Indian women. The collection is very interesting especially for its depicting the mind of our lower middle classes. These frank and satirical stories of Indian women and the lower middle classes are delightful reading and should appeal to a large circle of readers, both in India and England. Containing as the book does vivid pictures of social and domestic life in this country, it is assured of a wide circulation. Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co. of 190 Hornby Road, Bombay, are the publishers.

"The Thinker's Library" has been devised to meet the tastes, the demand, of the new age. Each volume in the series is bound in clothette boards, and is enwrapped in an attractive dust-jacket; contains 160 to 336 pages; is well printed in single column on good paper; and costs a shilling only.

More important still, the subjects are of vital interest, and the authors world-famous—such as Wells, Herbert Spencer, Ernest Haeckel, Bradlaugh and John Stuart Mill. The actual size of the volumes is 8½ inches by 4½ inches, and so they are pre-eminently portable in pocket. The first six volumes are H. G. Wells's *First and Last Things*, Herbert Spencer's *Education*, Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*, Bradlaugh's *Essays on Free Thought*, Mill's *Liberty* and Wells's *Short History of the World*. "The Thinker's Library" (which is being issued by Messrs. Watts and Co. of 5 and 6 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) is a highly creditable enterprise in publishing and should command a large measure of support at the hands of the reading public.

Yet another series: "*The Golden Dragon Library*" (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway Houses 68-74, Carter Lane, London, E. C. 4). This new and entertaining series will select from the vast literatures of the East some of those lesser masterpieces of story-telling in which the East excels. The first volume—*The Book of the Mirrors of India*—comprises Arabian travellers' tales of the tenth century, by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar, translated by Peter Quennell. This collection of travellers' tales, told by the Arab sailors on their return from adventurous voyages in the Persian Gulf and the Indies, is no dry compilation of geographical knowledge, but an entertaining medley of fables and fantastic stories, and should appeal to all youthful readers. The series, when completed, will be a storehouse of entertaining Eastern literature.

Mr. Charles Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjab* and *Indian Night's Entertainment* form classics in the literature of Indian folklore. They have been long out of print and we, therefore, welcome the first of the three volumes in which a new edition, in excellent get-up and handy format, is being issued by the Oxford University Press (Bombay), with numerous illustrations by that well-known Indian artist, Mool Chund of Alwar. Enthusiastic admirers of Mr. Swynnerton's collections claim them to be the rival of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*. However that be, there can be no doubt that the Indian tales brought together here make fascinating reading and

are a wonderful collection of old and amusing stories of rare charm and unusual interest. The new edition should have a wide appreciation.

Mr. Arthur Mills's *The Blue Spider* (W. Collins and Co., Ltd., 48 Pall Mall, London, W.) is a powerful story. The (secret society) of the Blue Spider had pledged itself to recover the collection of priceless emeralds which had been stolen from it centuries before, and when Lady Julie Tamorley, into whose hands they have come, very foolishly takes them out of safe-keeping in the Bank of England, and wears them at Cannes—the inevitable happens. A certain Baron de Grignon, with whom she had been flirting violently, disappears one night from Cannes . . . and so do the emeralds! Lady Julie finds that he has gone to Annam in Indo-China. Instantly she thinks of Denis Moore the sculptor—an old love—who has been commissioned to make an idol for the Emperor of Annam. She persuades him to allow her to accompany him to Indo-China and enlists his aid in an attempt to recover the emeralds. Denis is warned in a mysterious way that unless he goes to Annam *alone* he may not come back alive. He laughs at the threat, and from that moment the Blue Spider starts its diabolical work. Mr. Mills has written an ingenious thriller which will grip the reader's attention from first page to last. We have also received from the publishing house of Mr. John Murray (Albemarle Street, London, W.) a cheap and popular edition of Mr. P. C. Wren's well-known and highly interesting story, *Beau Geste*, which in its present form should continue to command a large circulation.

We welcome the second (revised and enlarged) edition of Dr. V. G. Rele's *The Mysterious Kundalini*, with a foreword from the pen of Sir John Woodroffe, who believes that the author has made out a case for examination, and it is for the scientists to deal with the correctness of the author's conclusion. We agree. Dr. Rele is the first to explain some of the Yogic phenomena by the help of our knowledge of the sciences of Anatomy and Physiology. The interesting treatise, the first of its kind ever attempted, explains clearly the physiological importance of the various practices of Hatha Yoga and how they are

helpful to a Yogi to gain supernatural powers—powers to perform miracles. However one may differ from him, there is no denying that the learned doctor has made a discovery by locating the Kundalini and has shown that his view compares favourably with the position given in the ancient books of Yoga. A highly useful book for students of Yoga, and those desirous of developing high mental and spiritual powers, it will be appreciated by many in this country, as it is obviously the result of much study, thought and research. Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., of 190 Hornby Road, Bombay, are the publishers.

The re-appearance in a popular and pocket edition of the late Sir Edmund Gosse's *Aspects and Impressions*—originally issued in 1922—reminds us of the very great loss sustained by the world of letters by the recent passing away of that gifted stylist. The book is a collection of literary essays on books and authors, native and foreign, and is marked by the famous essayist's characteristic charm and wit. *Aspects and Impressions* (Cassell and Co., Ltd., La Belle Sau Vage, London, E.C.) should appeal to all persons of literary taste.

We noticed appreciatively in a recent issue the series designated "John of London's Little Books" (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2). The three latest additions to it are Lord Shaw's *Trial of Jesus Christ*, Lord Riddell's *Looking Round: A Miscellany* and Mr. George Blake's *The Scottish Treasure Trove*. Lord Shaw's book we shall notice later. Lord Riddell's is reviewed elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Blake's *The Scottish Treasure Trove* is designed as a compendium to "John of London's" *Treasure Trove*, which dealt with literature produced by Englishmen. Mr. Blake's book is an equally thoroughly representative collection of the literary gems composed by Scottish writers. Though appealing primarily to Scotsmen, there is much in it that should appeal to others as well. The excellent series in which these books appear deserves appreciation.

Colonel Glasford is an old Shikari and is well-known as a keen sportsman since the publication of his earlier record, called *Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle*. His recently published *Musings of an Old Shikari* (John Lane the Bodley Head,

London), sets out the author's reflections on life and sport in Jungle India. In this book the author narrates many exciting stories and thrilling personal adventures of hunting all kinds of animals, from bears, tigers and panthers to buffalo, bison and wild boars. It is a varied record of great interest; and illustrations add variety and charm to an already charming account. The literature of Indian sport and *Shikar* is extensive, but the two books by Colonel Glasford are bound to rank in it in the highest order. The present volume—which is embellished with a number of illustrations from photographs and drawings by the author—is a highly interesting record of jungle life in Central and Southern India, beginning with the seventies of the last century. Nor is it a dry-as-dust record which may be said to be of interest merely to the sportsmen. The author is a stylist and also possesses the gift of humour, which enlivens his stories, while he describes the glories of “a plexus of larger trees, a closely timbered park shimmering under the Indian sun and set in wide, woody, cultivated plain that rolls a chequer of receding yellow, green and blue to distant gold-

brown ridges of dry grass and thin jungle.” This is but a fair sample of this exceedingly well-written series of word-pictures.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, will publish shortly a work entitled “Malabar and the Portuguese” which was originally announced for publication by Messrs. Martin Hopkinson and Co., Ltd. It is a very comprehensive history of Kerala for the period between 1499 and 1663 and is written by the distinguished historian Mr. K. M. Panikkar, B.A., Oxon., Bar-at-Law, Dixon Scholar of Christ Church, Oxford, author of “Relation of Indian States with the Government of India,” etc. The MS. was written by Mr. Panikkar from original sources in Portuguese and was read with great interest and admiration by such eminent authorities as Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C. S. I., C. I. E., Editor of “The Indian Antiquary” and St. Evan Cotton, Kt., C. I. E., Chairman of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Sir Richard Temple contributes an appreciative Foreword to this work.

PROFESSOR SAPRE ON INDIAN STATES*

BY

PROF. G. R. ABHYANKAR, B.A., LL.B.

Professor Sapre of the Willingdon College has contributed an article on Indian States and British India to the last number of the *Hindustan Review*. The article is so full of fallacies that it is necessary to expose them in detail. To start with, the writer propounds a novel theory about the source of the fundamental law for India. The fundamental law applicable to any constitution, which is the ultimate source, is the willingness of the people to obey the rule. This is called by constitutional writers as the external limitation on sovereignty. If this fundamental law is made applicable to the Indian States the authority of the rulers cannot in any sense be termed “as theoretically

unlimited” as the writer has put it. Self-determination is the right of all races and this varies in accordance with the strength, enlightenment and patriotism of every people. If the British Government had not been the Suzerain Power and if it had left alone the Indian States, every Indian ruler would have been reduced to the position of a constitutional ruler in no time. But the subjects of Indian States are under the double despotism of the Indian rulers and the Suzerain Power. The helpless subjects are under the real domination of this mighty Suzerain Power and they have got to obey it in an unqualified manner. But the question is who is the Suzerain Power. And we find an

* This article was written before the Butler Committee Report was published.

astounding statement about this in this article which lays down that the ultimate source of the law of the Indian constitution is not the Government of British India, nor even the Secretary of State for India, nor even Parliament. The writer further asserts that the princes and their subjects have theoretically nothing to do with them and observes that that source must be the Crown. It is a matter of intense regret that a student of Indian history and administration should have made such an unwarranted assertion. It appears he has fallen victim to the fantastic theory which the Indian Princes are trying to set up. They seem to think that Crown means the ruling Sovereign of England alone. They further believe that the sovereign of England can act in an autocratic manner like themselves. The word Crown is however a colloquial expression or a handy constitutional phrase for "the King in Parliament." It does not signify the Royal House of England disconnected with Parliament. We therefore are simply surprised that the professor lays down that Parliament has nothing to do with the ultimate source for the law of the Indian constitution. If we throw a glance at the history of the foundation of British Empire in India, except only the granting of the Charter by Queen Elizabeth all treaties and negotiations with the Indian States were concluded with the sanction of the Court of Directors by the East India Company. The Crown or the King of England had nothing to do with them. After the Regulating Act the Court of Directors in consultation with the Board of Commissioners dealt with the Indian States. The King irrespective of the Parliament had nothing to do with these States, their treaties and their engagements. If Professor Sapre would care to read the treaties and the engagements, and if he does not allow himself to be misled by mere shibboleth, he would find that every treaty with an Indian State has been made by the Governor General acting under the direction of the Court of Directors. British Indian history clearly points out that from 1767 right up to 1858 the East India Company through its directors dealt with the Indian States and, as once observed by Lord Macaulay, "made and unmade the Nababs and the Princes in the Indian States." The Crown meaning thereby the Royal House of England alone had nothing to do with

them. The transfer of the Government from the East India Company to the Crown took place by an Act of Parliament, not by the sweet will of the Royal House of England acting independently of Parliament. Viscount Palmerston while introducing the Government of India Act of 1858, distinctly made the following statement to avoid any confusion: "The principle of our political system is that all administrative functions should be accompanied by ministerial responsibility to Parliament, responsibility to public opinion, responsibility to the Crown. I say that as far as regards the executive functions of the Indian Government at Home, it is of the greatest importance to vest complete authority where the public have a right to think that complete responsibility should vest and that when as in this country there can be but one governing body responsible to the Crown, to Parliament and to public opinion consisting of the constitutional advisers to the Crown for the time being so it is in accordance with the principles and practice of our constitution as it would be in accordance with the best interests of the nation that *India with all its vast and important interest should be placed under the direct authority of the Crown to be governed in the name of the Crown by the responsible ministers of the Crown sitting in Parliament and responsible to Parliament and the public for every part of their public conduct.*" The transfer to the Crown did not mean that government was handed over to the Royal family of Queen Victoria or of George V; it was in the name of the Crown but it was to be governed by ministers responsible to Parliament. Thus the constitution given to India in 1858 was by Parliament and not by the Crown alone. This Act further makes it quite clear that all treaties made by the East India Company are binding on the Crown. The royal title of Empress was assumed by Queen Victoria with the sanction of Parliament and not at the mere pleasure of the Sovereign of England. The Interpretation Act which made these "friends and allies" dependent vassals was passed by Parliament and not by any sovereign of England acting without the sanction of parliament. It is thus abundantly clear that the ultimate source of the Indian constitution is Parliament and not the Crown alone as is erroneously supposed by the writer of this article. We firmly affirm

that the Indian Princes and their subjects have theoretically nothing to do with the Crown meaning thereby the Royal House of England acting without the sanction of the two Houses of Great Britain. On the other hand they have everything to do with Parliament, meaning thereby the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the King, with the Secretary of State who holds delegated authority from Parliament and with the Governor General who is to pay due obedience under the statute to the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State is responsible for the Civil and Military Government of India including the Indian States and this authority is the creation of Parliament and not the creature of the Crown acting without its constitutional advisers. It is however amazing that a professor of history and politics should have so misread history as to set at naught the sovereign authority of Parliament which is the ultimate source of every law and every power used in connection with the Indian States.

Secondly, it appears the writer of the article is misled into this conclusion, that the Crown alone is the supreme authority controlling the Indian States independently of Parliament, by reason of the loyalty which the Indian Princes bear to the person of His Majesty. We however take the liberty of bringing to his notice the observations of the learned writers of the *Empire Digest* to the following effect. "Now seeing the king has but one person and several capacities, one political capacity for the realm of England, another for the realm of Scotland, it is necessary to be considered to which capacity allegiance is due and it was resolved that it was due to the natural person of the king and it is not due to the political capacity only." The ties of loyalty to His Majesty exist as much in the case of every citizen of this vast Empire whether he is a Prince or a pauper and they are not the exclusive privileges of the Princes. Any theories based about fundamental laws on this sense of loyalty and allegiance to the Crown are entirely unfounded so far as the political capacity of the Crown is concerned.

The third fallacy of the writer is contained in the following sentence: "The subjects of Indian States according to the theory and tradition of Indian monarchy cannot claim or enjoy any rights incon-

sistent with the power and position of the rulers." We question why? If the Princes though dependent vassals can claim co-operation with the Paramount Power in foreign policies and matters of joint interest why should the subjects be debarred from claiming association with the Government of the States and a determining voice in the administration of these States? The writer further observes that the extent of the ultimate authority that can be transferred to the subjects of His Majesty is limited only by the pleasure of His Majesty as expressed through an Act of Parliament." We are relieved to find that so far at least as British Indians are concerned this learned writer does not vest the entire authority in His Majesty and leaves it solely to the pleasure of His Majesty. He feels the necessity of an Act of Parliament which we may take as tantamount to saying that it is Parliament which can transfer its control from their agents to the agents of the people. But curiously enough we find this writer making the following preposterous statement. "In the case of the subjects of the Indian Princes there is the further limitation imposed by the guaranteed rights and privileges of the rulers which cannot be curtailed in certain respects even by His Majesty and the ultimate relaxation of which can only spring from generosity on the part of the Princes themselves." When analysed this statement leads to the following conclusions: (1) That Parliament has no right to curtail in certain respect the rights and privileges of the rulers; (2) that His Majesty even has no such right; and (3) that the emancipation of the Indian States' subjects from political thralldom depends wholly and solely upon the generosity of the Princes. If really this were the case the subjects of Indian States shall have to remain in perpetual servitude till doomsday. We do not know whether to admire the political sagacity of this disingenuous writer or to pity his ignorance about treaties and engagements. The sole foundation of wild statements is the so-called guaranteed rights secured by treaties and engagements of these Princes. We seriously doubt whether the writer has given any thought to the treaties and engagements which guarantee the rights and privileges of the Princes. We will recommend for the edification of this writer a synopsis of the treaties and

engagements concluded with the important Princes and Chiefs in India who are the members of the Chamber of Princes. We can without fear of contradiction assert that not a single treaty warrants the statements which the writer has made. The British Government has the ultimate responsibility to secure the welfare of the people committed to the charge of the Indian Princes. Lord Reading has emphatically stated this. Previous Governors General, acting under the advice of the responsible ministers of Parliament, have unequivocally laid down this principle. Many treaties have expressly imposed the obligations of maintaining good government in their States. Would the writer enlighten us by pointing out to any authority which guarantees to Indian Princes "the divine right to misrule?" If the treaties contain an obligation to maintain good government who is to look to the discharge of this responsibility if the Princes fail to do so? Is it not the duty of Parliament acting through its agents to enforce these obligations? Again if there is misrule, even if there be no specific engagement or treaty right, have not the suzerain power taken remedial measures for the welfare of the people and deposed or removed the ruler or forced him to abdicate? Furthermore we fail to see what the writer means by guaranteed rights and privileges. He has in one place stated them to be the right of protection, hereditary succession, non-interference in internal affairs and fiscal concession where necessary.

If we however examine these alleged rights we have to state that the right of protection carries with it the corresponding obligation of maintaining good government in the State. It does not mean unbridled license to misrule. The people of an Indian State cannot rise in revolt against the ruler for his misrule and oppression. It is the birthright of every people to remove a ruler who revolts against the laws of the State. But as the British Government has taken over the duty of protecting the Princes and their dynasties the subjects cannot exercise this birthright of theirs. Lord Cranbrook, in one place, clearly stated that the price of protection is the obligation to maintain good government in the State. His Lordship observed, "the absolute security against internal

revolt which is now enjoyed by the native rulers enjoins upon them obligations towards their subjects which they cannot be allowed to disregard." So the first guaranteed right is burdened with a heavy obligation. The second right which the writer mentioned is that of hereditary succession. But this has also a qualifying limitation that the successor must be a deserving person. This cannot be claimed in an unqualified manner. The third right namely of non-interference in internal affairs does not at all exist. The suzerain power, times out of number, have reiterated the fact that they have a right to interfere in the interest of good government. Out of sheer expediency, out of a desire to placate the Indian Princes and out of a policy to obsess the mind of the Princes from feeling the humiliation of subjection and deprivation of military power, frequent interference is avoided by the suzerain power. But in all cases wherever there is misrule or depravity of the ruler or prejudice to Imperial interest or defiance or dishonour of the agents of Parliament interference has taken place as a matter of course. The fourth right namely of fiscal concessions and compensations is not yet recognized. The policy of the British Indian Government relating to the commercial services, to the monopolies of salt, excise, opium and exchange and the levy of customs duties shows beyond a shadow of doubt that this so-called guaranteed right is not at all conceded.

It will thus appear that there are really no such rights as the writer believes to exist and that they are not only relaxed but curtailed, modified, abrogated and rescinded wherever there is an occasion to do so. And this violation of these so-called rights has been invariably at the hands of the agents of Parliament. We are therefore simply amazed to see that the writer has made such an untenable claim that even His Majesty (it is to be remembered that the writer denies this right to Parliament) cannot bring about any relaxation. We would pointedly ask the writer, who is a new apostle of undiminished autocracy, whether there is anything to prevent the British Parliament from advising the Indian Princes to follow the ideal of the Proclamation of 1917. We need not remind the writer that advice means command so far as the Indian Princes are concerned. If Parliament is so

disposed this policy would be forced upon the Indian Princes by direct and indirect methods. If without any right whatsoever based either on treaty or engagement the Princes are invited to joint consultations to the League of Nations, to the Imperial War Cabinet, if they are allowed to assemble together and permitted to form an institution under official recognition as the Chamber of Princes and if they are decorated with honours and insignia as respectable citizens of this Empire what would prevent the same Parliament from requiring the Princes to co-operate with it in realising the goal of responsible government in India? Is not this as necessary for the good government of the subjects of Indian States? Would this not be included in the scope of the obligations of the Princes? Is this not required by the sense of real loyalty? Is this not in consonance with the traditions of the sovereign Parliament? We, therefore, emphatically state that the writer is labouring under hallucinations about the so-called guaranteed rights and privileges of the Indian Princes.

The fourth fallacy of the writer is about the drawing up of a strange covenant which he wants for embodying the obligations which the Crown is prepared to recognize as binding in relation to the Princes. As a matter of fact the Government of India Act has laid down expressly these obligations. This covenant is to be based upon treaties and engagements and it is to evolve out working principles. The covenant is to be prepared in consultation with a small committee of the Indian Princes consisting of some 6 to 10 members with the Viceroy to represent the Crown. This covenant evidencing the expression of the joint will of His Majesty and the Princes is to be binding upon India as a whole. We cannot think that the writer is ignorant of the definition of the word India which includes British India and Indian India. So this covenant is to be binding upon British India. The writer further develops his scheme by stating that the covenant will be binding upon Parliament. The writer however displays a lamentable ignorance and bewilderment in the following sentence: "This covenant will be binding upon Parliament. This in no way detracts from the power of Parliament. Parlia-

ment in determining the future stages of the transfer of responsibility to the people of British India is bound to have regard to this covenant. No Act of Parliament, much less an Act of Indian Legislature, can go against the covenant. It would be competent only for His Majesty and the Princes to revise this covenant." Nothing could be more absurd and preposterous than this covenant. We fail to understand if no Act of Parliament can go against the covenant where is the authority left for Parliament and what is the meaning in saying in the same breath that it in no way detracts from the powers of Parliament? We cannot conceive if the writer has any definite ideas as to how Parliament can exercise its powers when they are circumscribed by the limitation that it has no power to go behind the same. The covenant is to relate to the guaranteed rights of protection, hereditary succession, non-interference in internal affairs and fiscal concessions and compensations. Except the two items of internal interference and hereditary succession the other two have got a direct bearing upon British India. Protection touches the question of defence and incidentally the control over the British Indian army. The question of fiscal concessions and compensations arises from matters of joint concern such as customs, commercial services, exchange, opium, salt and excise. Now if this covenant is to be acted upon it means that in all questions relating to defence and matters of joint concern the will of the Princes and the will of His Majesty (not as a part of the trinity of Parliament) will be binding not only on British India but also upon Parliament and the agents of Parliament. And as this covenant is to be drawn up by six or ten treaty Princes and His Majesty acting without the advice of constitutional advisers and behind the back of Parliament the destinies of British India would for all time be at the mercy of these Indian autocrats. "And is not this arrangement inconsistent with the growth of Indian polity?" Was such a contingency ever contemplated by any rational being in India? Even the mother of Parliaments—the sovereign authority of the British Empire would be entirely helpless in giving any relief not only to Indian States' subjects but to subjects of British India. The existence of such a covenant would establish permanently in Indian India an

Empire consisting of one-third of India dominated by half a dozen Indian Princes and His Majesty acting independently of Parliament in an irresponsible manner; and British India, even if dominion status is granted, would be under the control of ministers responsible to Indian Legislature and working under a Governor General responsible to British Parliament. Such a covenant would usher into existence two Empires in India, one irresponsible of Indian India, other responsible of British India and this responsible Empire is to be under the domination of this irresponsible Government. Nothing but frenzied imagination could have propounded such an absurd, illogical, dangerous and suicidal scheme.

The fifth fallacy is about the creation of a supreme judicial tribunal to decide if an act or order of the Indian or Provincial Government is repugnant to the covenant. The composition of this tribunal discloses the same inordinate desire for autocratic existence as is betrayed in the creation of the covenant. The judges are to be appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Committee of the Princes. The writer wants the nominees of the Princes to sit upon this tribunal and to decide matters affecting British India. If the writer had suggested that such a tribunal should be the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council it would have conveyed some sense. The writer must be presumed to be aware that in all self-governing dominions the constitution creates the Supreme Council. The writer is not pleased to trust even such a Court. We put it to him if it is fair that the Princes should have the right to nominate their own judges when they are called upon to decide matters affecting Indian India and British India? Decency required that the writer should not have disclosed such perverse mentality in making this suggestion.

The sixth fallacy is about the creation of an Appellate Court called 'His Majesty in his Princes' Council.' The procedure is to be of a political character in this Court of Appeal and the Council is to sit in London. The people of Great Britain throughout these years and even the self-governing dominions, under this Empire look upon the Privy Council as the final Court of appeal. The dominions, although they are striving for greatest independence in internal affairs, have not yet entered

any protest against this time-honoured and sacred institution of the Privy Council. But this writer wants to create a rival institution to that of the Privy Council composed of the luminaries of the Indian autocracy. We put it to the writer, even if his scheme is accepted, whether there is one out of the seven hundred Indian Princes who can be a near approach even to a provincial District Judge in British India—leave aside the High Court and the Privy Council Judges. We pity the gross ignorance of the writer about the competency of the Indian Princes and about the complexity of the questions which such a tribunal would be called upon to decide. The writer also seems to be quite a stranger to the ordinary canons of Jurisprudence that a judge should be as far as possible unconnected with the parties concerned. If the Indian Princes desire their nominees on this tribunal or in this Court of Appeal why should British India be denied this privilege? Special pleading could not have been more reprehensible than it is apparent in this wild suggestion of this writer.

The writer of the article seems to have taken his cue from Sir Leslie Scott's scheme which, however, stands condemned as it was abruptly abandoned by the Princes at the eleventh hour before the Butler Committee. But the present writer has gone one better and has tried to improve upon that scheme which was styled wild and preposterous by a writer in the *Manchester Guardian*. Sir Leslie Scott however had some regard for Parliament and did not like to throw it overboard. He had not the courage to cast to the winds the constitution given to India by Parliament. Sir Leslie suggested the Constitution of the Viceroy in Indian States' Council. The present writer goes a step further and wants His Majesty and the Princes to draw up the covenant. Both Sir Leslie Scott and the present writer have studiously abstained from saying whether the Viceroy is to be a different person from that of the Governor General. We would ask the writer whether the office of a Viceroy as distinct from the Governor General is recognised in the Indian Constitution? "The Viceroy in Indian States' Council" admitted some new light into the secret conclave of this body. It was suggested that there were to be two Englishmen and the head of the political department on this Coun-

cil. This clearly shows that it was not to be divorced completely from the Government of India. The present writer imbued with autocratic instincts wants none but the majority of the Princes to decide the fate of Indian India and British India. Similarly Sir Leslie Scott had designed that in matters of common concern there was to be a Union Council consisting of the Viceroy in Indian States' Council and the Governor General. This writer is not pleased even to take the Governor General into confidence even in matters affecting defence and the administration of joint interests. The Princes and His Majesty are to be the sole arbitrators; neither the Indian Legislature nor the Parliament has to do anything under this fantastic scheme. Sir Leslie Scott's Supreme Court was to consist of a Chief Justice and two other Judges selected from the best men in Great Britain. But the writer is not willing to trust even best men in Great Britain but men only of the choice of these blessed Princes. Sir Leslie Scott provided an appeal to the Privy Council; the present writer discards this idea and wants the creation of a Court composed of His Majesty and three Princes. In fact this writer has the audacity to out-Herod Herod. We however find to our utter dismay the perverse mentality of this writer. Sir Leslie Scott was the professional Counsel of the Indian Princes. That he was retained at a fabulous cost is a matter between him and the Princes. But as a paid adviser he was giving expression to the wishes of the Princes under a constitutional garb and he was only doing his duty. We do not know whether Professor Sapre is writing under any inspiration. If he has *suo motu* taken up this cause of the Indian Princes it shows a lamentable lack of the knowledge of Indian history, a complete absence of constitutional instinct and gross ignorance of the basic principles of the English constitution. We would ask him whether under the shadow of His Majesty-in-Princes'-Council, there is the slightest chance of any self-governing institution thriving in British India? That the writer should betray such a bitter antagonism towards national demand in British India and national aspirations is simply amazing. That such views devoid of any political insight or broad statesmanship should

have emanated from a learned professor is anything but creditable to him.

Regarding fiscal relations with British India it is no doubt true that the Indian States are in the vortex of economic forces, policies pursued by the Government of India have prejudicially affected the Indian States. Welded then to a policy of free trade the Paramount Power brought diplomatic pressure to bear upon the Indian States and prevailed upon them to abolish all customs duties and remove Tariff barriers. Similarly manufacture of salt was required to be stopped in furtherance of the interest of the Paramount Power. With a view to bring uniformity and to exploit to the full the revenue, the administration of excise in Indian States was taken over by the Government of India on a farming system. With the same object mints were closed. Railways, Post and Telegraphs were introduced into the States; various concessions were made by the States for the passage of railways through their territories. As a result Indian States have suffered heavily. They are indirectly contributing to the Exchequer of British India. It is however necessary to remember that all these damaging consequences were caused when the Agents of the Crown were governing British India in an irresponsible manner. We now find that the free trade policy is abandoned in the interest of India as a whole and protective customs duties have been levied which yield an annual income of nearly fifty crores to the British Indian Government. The subjects of Indian States who consume these duty-paid goods are indirectly paying a proportionate burden of this taxation. The same has been the case with the profits of the commercial services and monopolies of exchange, opium, salt and excise. It does not require much elaborate treatment or any reference to Irish history to prove this fact. The real question is in what manner equitable relief can be given to the Indian States' people for this indirect taxation? What provision can be made in the constitution of British India to safeguard the interest of the Indian States when policies regarding these matters of common interest are initiated and followed by the Paramount Power? A committee has now been appointed which is considering this very question. It would be premature

to forecast the views of this committee. Suggestions have been made previously to bring into existence a machinery by which the two parts of India, namely, Indian India and British India can be constitutionally brought together, to discuss and determine policies bearing on matters of common concern in an effective manner. The writer seems to overlook the fact that the Montford Report contains a very valuable suggestion in para 311 of the Report. Other persons have proposed representation of the Indian States in the Central Legislature. This is however very debatable and very difficult in actual working. Indian States so far as their internal administration is concerned are entirely independent and the Central Legislature in British India cannot legislate for them about municipal laws or even about local taxation. The writer of the article has suggested the urgency of the real federal constitution for India. The Indian Princes have been talking a good deal about federation latterly. But as observed in the Nehru Committee Report they do not seem to understand the full implications of a federal constitution. The federation of the autonomous units in the shape of British Indian Provinces and of the autocratic units of Indian States would be an organisation most incongruous in its nature and impossible of harmonious working. Besides it would be entirely opposed to the cardinal principles of federation. A federation postulates two essential conditions: (1) grouping together of various units and (2) of the various people inhabiting these units. And it is for this reason that in many of the federal constitutions now functioning, there is one Chamber representing the units and a second Chamber representing the people of all these units. It would further be necessary that all these seven hundred scattered States shall have to be grouped together, each group being nearly equal in size, importance and population to a unit in British India. Are the Princes therefore willing to enfranchise their people and raise their position to that of the citizens of British India? Are they willing to form themselves voluntarily into such groups? Not a single one of them has shown his willingness to accept these two conditions.

The writer of the article also seems to ignore the essential requisites of a federation. His sug-

gestion is that in the Upper House in British India a representation should be given either to the autocratic rulers or to their nominees, namely, their Diwans. We put it to this writer whether the autocrat of any Indian State or the creature of his sweet will, namely, his Diwan can pretend to represent the people of his State? With the experience which the writer must have of the autocratic rulers of Indian States and their still more autocratic, perverse and narrow-minded Diwans, it is amazing, nay ridiculous, that he should make a suggestion that in the federal constitution of India these luminaries of Indian States should be permitted to represent the whole State meaning thereby the people of the States. It is doubtful whether in a federal democratic constitution these autocrats can adequately represent even their blessed selves. We ask the writer whether the ruler of any State in India represents his people. Does any ruler recognise the constitutional existence of his own people? This suggestion of the writer is in keeping with his fantastic political dogmas criticised above. The climax of the wisdom of this writer and his political shrewdness is betrayed in the following observation: "The federal Legislature will of course work within the frame-work of the fundamental convention." When it is remembered that the writer proposes that the convention is to be drawn up only by the Crown and by half a dozen Indian despots and that it is to be binding upon the Parliament and as the Indian Legislature is not to be given any power to go against it, we ask the writer, whether in view of this reservation, the federal constitution can have any freedom of action? In plain words this suggestion means that the Crown in Princes' Council shall for all time to come control the fiscal and economic policies of British India and Indian India. Whether to admire the egregious mentality of the writer or his perverse antagonism to constitutional development we leave it for British Indian people to judge. We ask any sane man whether these novel suggestions of the writer would in the remotest degree help the progress of this country as a whole and enable to achieve an honourable position in the Commonwealth of the British Empire?

THE BUTLER COMMITTEE'S REPORT : A SYMPOSIUM

Showing How Their Proposals are Unsympathetic, Unconstitutional, Illegal, Unhistorical and Anti-Indian.

VIEWS OF EMINENT INDIAN ADMINISTRATORS

I. SIR M. VISVESVARAYA (*Ex-Dewan, Mysore State*).

FUTURE RELATIONS WITH CROWN.

A number of Princes asked that they should have direct relations with the Crown. The Butler Committee accept and confirm this claim.

The Princes above referred to asked for some form of constitutional procedure to regulate their future relations with the Paramount Power. The Committee consider there is no real measure of agreement among the Princes. In the Committee's opinion, such questions as arise from time to time might be settled by Departmental Standing Committees and when ordinary Committees fail to agree, by other Committees more formally constituted. But the ultimate decision must rest with the Viceroy or the Secretary of State.

The Committee proceed to add that in case a Dominion form of Government should be constituted in India, the Princes should not be transferred, without their own agreement, to a relationship with that Government. The Committee are apparently opposed to such a prospect for they do not say how they would deal with the cases of Princes that do desire to retain their present relations with the Government of India after it becomes responsible to the Indian Legislature.

FINANCIAL RELATIONS.

With regard to financial and economic relations between British India and the States, the Committee recommend that an expert body be appointed to enquire into the claims of the States to share in the customs revenue and at the same time also into the adequacy of their contribution to the Imperial revenues. They lay down no general principles but over that all questions relating to salt, opium, excise and other similar financial claims can

be settled on the advice of Committees to be constituted by the Viceroy.

EFFECT ON THE INDIAN STATES.

The Princes have protested against indiscriminate interference in their internal affairs. But the Committee claim that they have ascertained the views of the Princes as a body and consider that such interference is unavoidable by the very nature of the position of the Paramount Power. "Paramountcy," they say, "must be paramount." The States' people, on the other hand, welcome interference of the Paramount Power in cases of misrule though they would like to see this done by a Government which is maintained under a popular constitution. They desire to be under the future Dominion Government because, under democratic auspices, the way for transforming their States into constitutional monarchies would be easier. Although the Committee ignore that there should be such a thing as rights or interests for the people of the States, the more fair-minded of the Princes, recognising that autocracy cannot long live side by side with democracy, are willing to extend the liberties of their people. Some have also expressed a willingness to join the future Government of India on a Federal basis.

The Committee object to entrusting a Member of the Government of India with the Indian States' portfolio because they say he will be overruled by his colleagues. The entire Cabinet will, in the nature of things, be the custodian of the interests of every section of the population; and if in a Federal Constitution the Members of the Cabinet who hold the Indian States' portfolio are selected from among those acceptable to the representatives of the States in the Central Legislature, the States may be sure of a fair deal.

THE POLICY OF THE REPORT.

Obviously the policy of the Committee is against the consummation of a United India. They indeed admit that great changes have taken place within the past twenty years and that "a new spirit is abroad," but they show no inclination to take advantage of either to advance the cause of the people. In the Committee's statements there is no hint of a future for the Indian States' people. *Their proposals are unsympathetic, unhistorical and hardly constitutional or legal.* The Committee make no striking or original recommendations. There is no modern conception in their outlook, certainly nothing to inspire trust or hope. Thirty years ago, such a report might have passed for a sound political document. To-day it is nothing more than an anachronism.

II. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SARPÉ (*Ex-Law Member, Government of India*).

As a restatement of the relations between the Indian States and the Paramount Power, I do not think that the Butler Committee Report adds substantially to our knowledge. The Committee quotes, apparently with approval, from the famous letter of Lord Reading to His Exalted Highness the Nizam and then they sum up the whole position in a few words, "Paramountcy must remain Paramount."

This statement must give plenty of food for reflection to those who have been accustomed to emphasising their internal sovereignty. The implications of this doctrine are much more far reaching and more elusive of close analysis than what is suggested by a superficial view.

As a corollary of this proposition the committee lay it down that "the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its control, for instance, an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature." The Committee further develop this idea and refer to the grave apprehension of the Princes on this score, and record their strong opinion that in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred, without their own agreement to a relationship with

a new Government in British India, responsible to the Indian Legislature."

SIR LESLIE SCOTT'S VIEWS.

In one word, the views of Sir Leslie Scott, as disclosed in the *Law Quarterly Review*, last year, have substantially prevailed with the Committee. Constitutionally this doctrine overlooks the difference between the paramountcy of the Paramount Power, and the form of Government which that Power may establish in India.

Politically it is the negation of India's claim to the status of a Dominion and it is by no means hazardous to say that it probably foreshadows the ultimate principle on which the Simon Commission will build up their fabric. In actual practice, it will mean the apotheosis of the Political Department of the Government of India, for the Committee do not favour the proposal for the addition of a Political Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council because "the Princes attach great importance to direct relation with the Viceroy as representing the Crown, and in future the Viceroy, and not the Governor-General-in-Council as at present should be the agent for the Crown in all dealings with the Indian States."

THEORY AND PRACTICE.

The theory for which the Princes stood has, for the time being prevailed, but whether in actual practice their position will be stronger or better when they are in direct relations with the Viceroy, or to put it bluntly, under the tutelage of the Political Secretary, which consistently with this theory, will be all the stronger, is open to serious doubt.

Meanwhile approaching the question from the point of view of British India and its demand for Dominion Status, this new theory will be treated as something like the Chinese Wall in the way of India's march towards Dominion Status. It would have been quite a different thing if the Committee had proceeded to discuss the question as to how to readjust the relation of Indian India with a self-governing British India, but this, notwithstanding all the eloquence wasted in certain quarters on the dream of a federated India, the Committee have not permitted themselves to discuss.

THE BIG ISSUE.

This Report will be judged not by its recommendations on individual issues but by its recommendation on the big constitutional issue, and from that point of view, I can only say that it creates a division between British India and Indian India all the more injurious to both because it almost threatens to be permanent.

III. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR (*Ex-Member, Madras Government*).

As was anticipated by most of those who had paid any attention to the subject and to the terms of reference to the Committee, none of the proposals made for the construction of a new and elaborate machinery for the future regulation of the relationship between the Indian States and the British India has been dealt with by the Butler Committee. To put it shortly, the *status quo ante* has been preserved with regard to the relationship between the princes and the Paramount Power. A few processful changes have been indicated and the most important recommendation is that the Viceroy and not the Governor-General-in-Council should be the Agent of the Crown in its relation with the Princes. From the point of view of British India, attention has to be concentrated on the significant conclusion arrived at by the Committee that the relationship between the paramount power and the princes should not be transferred without the agreement of the latter to the new Government responsible to the Indian Legislature. At the same time the Committee do not feel competent to deal with the question of constitutional reforms in the Indian States; and have been extremely non-committal in their statement. It is not much use to say that the Committee's imagination is affected by the stirrings of a new life if those stirrings are not translated into action in the States by any machinery devised for the purpose, even though the machinery is one of joint consultation.

Without a scrutiny of the full report, it is impossible to say how far and if the recommendations of the Committee are calculated to put a break upon the political aspirations of British India.

The Butler Committee has come and gone and it may be said merely to have crossed the t's and

dotted the i's of the present political practice. It may also be noticed that the theory as a nexus between His Majesty the King as apart from the Parliament and the princes on which so much insistence was laid by Sir Leslie Scott has not been encouraged by the Committee.

It is up to the leaders of British India and to the Princes and representatives of the people in Indian States to come together and arrive at conclusions beneficial to all alike and without injustice to any one of the parties. It is hoped that the princes will now realise that any progress in any direction can only be achieved by co-operation with the people of their own States and representatives of the British India.

IV. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AYYAR (*Ex-Member, Madras Government*).

The impression left on my mind is that the Butler Committee's Report will fail to give satisfaction to the Indian Princes or to the people of British India. In so far as it lays down the paramountcy of the British Government and the right and duty of the paramount power to intervene in the interests of the States and their subjects, and the whole of India, the decision may not be welcome to the Princes but would be regarded as satisfactory by others.

The reasons given by the Committee against the addition of a political member to the Executive Council of the Viceroy are unconvincing. The main reason is that such an addition would not gratify the princes who hanker after direct relations with the Crown. It is also urged that the appointment of a political member would leave the States in a large minority in the voting power of the Council. So long as the conduct of the political relations of the Government of India is not transferred to a responsible Government, the fact that a political member would be in a minority in the Executive Council is not of such consequence. The arrangement proposed by the Committee apparently contemplates for all time a scheme under which British India and the Indian States would be entirely separate. Consistently with this view, the Committee advice that the Governor-General-in-Council should

cease to represent the Crown, and be replaced by the Viceroy in all dealings with the Indian States. This is certainly a retrograde recommendation and though put forward with the object of making a concession to the sentiments of the Princes, it is calculated to drive a wedge between British India and the Indian States and is not likely to promote the chances of an eventual coalition.

The agency proposed by the Committee for dealing with political questions arising between the Government of British India and the States is a specially recruited political Secretariat. Apparently the intention is to exclude Indians from this department of the Secretariat. Apart from the objections

to the probable exclusion of Indians from this Secretariat, it is a great mistake to suppose that the political department of the Government of India requires exclusive training in the political department. While maintaining the delusion of the Princes about direct relations with the Crown, the Committee's proposal will only tend to strengthen the unseen power of the bureaucracy behind the shadow of the Viceroy.

The opinion of the Committee that the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes should not be transferred without the agreement of the latter to a responsible government in British India is constitutionally unsound and will operate as a barrier to the consolidation of India.

CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS

IN THE NAME OF NATIONALISM

BY

MR. AHMAD SHAFI.

In the *Hindustan Review* for the quarter for January-March, 1929, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal while writing on "Dominion Status *versus* Independence" has made a statement which casts an uncalled for reflection on the purity of the patriotic sentiments of the responsible sections of the Muslims in India. I am not concerned with the main argument of his article but I record my strong disapproval of the way in which he unhesitatingly attributes to Muslims conduct treacherous to India in case of (God forbid) "a fresh spell of foreign political domination which is more likely to be Asiatic than European." In fairness to him I quote the passage in which charge is levelled at the Muslims. He is right in saying that any attempt to break up the existing political order by force can only end in disaster, and while he forecasts what sort of authority might replace the "present British overlordship" in case a mass revolt succeeds, he suggests, as one of the alternatives, that "the attempt to replace the present British authority in the country by physical force may even result in a fresh spell

of foreign political domination which is more likely to be Asiatic than European. And Swaraj in that case will mean neither Hindu Raj, such as Hindu communalists may possibly dream of, nor the Raj of the composite Indian people, which is the dream of the Indian democrat, but a Muslim Raj with a foreign Muhammadan potentate at its head, who will be able to strengthen and entrench his position by exploiting the forces of Muslim communalism in the country." It will be observed that as usual the sting is in the tail. It is exactly the statements of this nature which are calculated to undo all the attempts which during the last decade or so some influential Muslim public men have made to disabuse the minds of their co-religionists from any suspicions, no doubt due to insufficient knowledge of its aims and objects, which the Muslims in India entertained against the activities and propaganda of the national institution like the Indian National Congress. Mr. Pal may have forgotten the days when the Muslims almost in a body shunned the Congress as an act of political pury and he perhaps

does not know the uphill struggle which men like Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Maulana Mohammad Ali, and Maulana Yakub Haasan and a host of others, and publicists like Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and a swarm of other journalists who followed in his wake, had to make to educate the Mussalmans to feelings of sympathy with national activities leading to active co-operation in the work of national uplift. Apart from the merits or demerits of their conduct during the fateful days of non-co-operation the fact cannot be gainsaid that once the Mussalmans were convinced of the rightness of the course of action planned for them they stunted no sacrifice and bore all the suffering which fell to their lot like men. And if today the attitude of the vast majority of the community is apathetic, if not actively antipathetic, to the call of the Congress the effect can be directly traced to the causes which have their genesis among other things in the statements bearing mental affinity to the one made by Mr. Pal which I have quoted above.

It may be asked why should a Mussalman take exception to an innocent expression of views of this nature. The explanation is simple to state. The suggestion implied in this statement betrays a basic distrust of the patriotic sentiments of Mussalmans. It shows that the professions of Mussalmans that they are prepared to suffer in the service of their country have no more value than mere lip sympathy. It is intended to prove that a Mussalman will not be slow in changing his allegiance if he will see the chance of having at the head of Government of the country a "foreign Muhammadan potentate." Nor is this all. The Mussalmans have never made a secret of their extra-territorial sympathies with Mussalman kingdoms in Asia or Africa. They have always resented the interference of European powers in the affairs of these kingdoms, and have not failed to give expression to these feelings of resentment in unmistakable terms. Now, to suggest, in however subtle a manner—the more subtle the manner of suggestion the more mischievous it is—that the Mussalman in India will help a foreign Muhammadan potentate to strengthen and entrench his position in India is to warn the present overlords of India of the potential enemy within their camp. I hope Mr. Pal is intelligent enough to realize in what a plight he has contrived to place the Musal-

mans as a community. He may have done a service to the British authorities though they do not need his assistance in detecting their enemy and in preventing their activities, but he has done a distinct disservice to India by showing the Mussalmans how low an opinion one of the foremost nationalists in India holds about them.

I anticipate the retort. Mr. Pal has referred to "forces of Muslim communalism in the country" and not to the entire Mussalman community. But what are these forces of Muslim communalism, and who determines what constitutes Muslim communalism? We have seen the spectacle of men like Sir Abdur Rabim, Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah and Sir Ali Inam being called in their respective turn communalists, while their Hindu compatriots have found themselves at home on the platforms of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress equally well. The transition from one platform to the other has not even been noticed and the inconsistency of their profession with action has been conveniently ignored or excused.

When Mr. Pal referred to the impossibility of indigenous Hindu Raj and referred to the possibility of foreign domination why did he not think that a Nepalese potentate might be able to strengthen or entrench his position in India by exploiting the forces of Hindu communalism? Is it because he thinks that a Hindu potentate will establish a national Government in India? Or is it that Hindu Communalism is synonymous with Indian Nationalism? The proposition is so absurd that it has to be stated to be rejected. The only saving factor in the situation is this. Luckily such stuff does not reach an average Mussalman but while a Mussalman remains unaffected by what is being said about him a Hindu takes it to be a gospel truth, coming as it does from such a responsible person as Mr. Pal, and thinks, acts and behaves towards a Mussalman accordingly. In this simple fact lies the irony of the situation, and I hope the publicist of Mr. Pal's discrimination will realise its import.

In the same issue of the 'Hindustan Review' on page 24 another notable son of Mother India—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—says that he returned to India from his recent travel in Eastern Europe

"with the conviction, that unless the communal problem is solved, solved freely, frankly and courageously there is no hope, and there can be no hope for us in the near future. We have got therefore to apply ourselves to that problem." What a contrast these words of wisdom born of ripe experience offer to the nature of the statement made by Mr. Pal which forms the subject of this article. It is only fair to Mr. Pal to quote here what he says in the earlier part of his article in the 'Hindustan Review.' He says that "India is really not a country but a continent. We are not, honestly speaking, *one people* (italics are his) but a *conglomeration of many peoples* (italics are mine). It is no use denying these obvious actualities. The unity of the new Indian nation evolu-

ing before our eyes will never be homogeneous but only a federal unity." This is exactly what the Musalman Communalist will say in defence of his communalism. Proceeds Mr. Pal "The building up of an Indian federation will need both time and laborious preparatory discipline, intellectual and social." He is right but he has got to produce a more convincing proof than is afforded by his article from which I have quoted that he has in any way subjected himself to the preparatory disciplines prescribed by him in so far at least as the Musalmans are concerned. Sad to relate he is not alone in this plight, and yet such stuff is allowed to be said in the name of nationalism and finds currency unchallenged, unchecked and uncurbed.

SHORT POEMS

BY

LELAND J. BERRY.

HEAVEN'S FLOWER.

O! God made a flower.
 Lovely to see,
 And when she was finished
 He gave her to me.
 A crown of dark hair
 God wove for her head,
 Gave her a lily-throat
 And wee lips of red.
 For teeth, gave her sea-pearls;
 And the breast of a dove;
 Lips made for kisses,
 Eyes made for love!
 A soul shaped from laughter
 A heart pure and strong,
 A voice rich with glory
 Each whisper a song!
 Radiant with kindness
 And sweet purity,

Dear God heard me praying
 And gave her to me!

THE SILENT CHORDS.

Across the ivory keys my fingers strayed
 In search of song; the tune I played
 Was some old song, all wild and high,
 You used to sing to me in days gone by.
 By themselves these keys could not achieve
 The lovely tunes my reverent fingers weave,
 As mute and silently I wait apart
 Needing your love-touch on my throbbing heart
 To burst the silence of its endless night
 And bathe my soul in new and glorious light
 For I, without you, cannot find the ways
 Where Love brings gladness to Life's ways;
 Mutely, like these keys, I wait day-long
 Until your voice shall waken all my life to
 song!

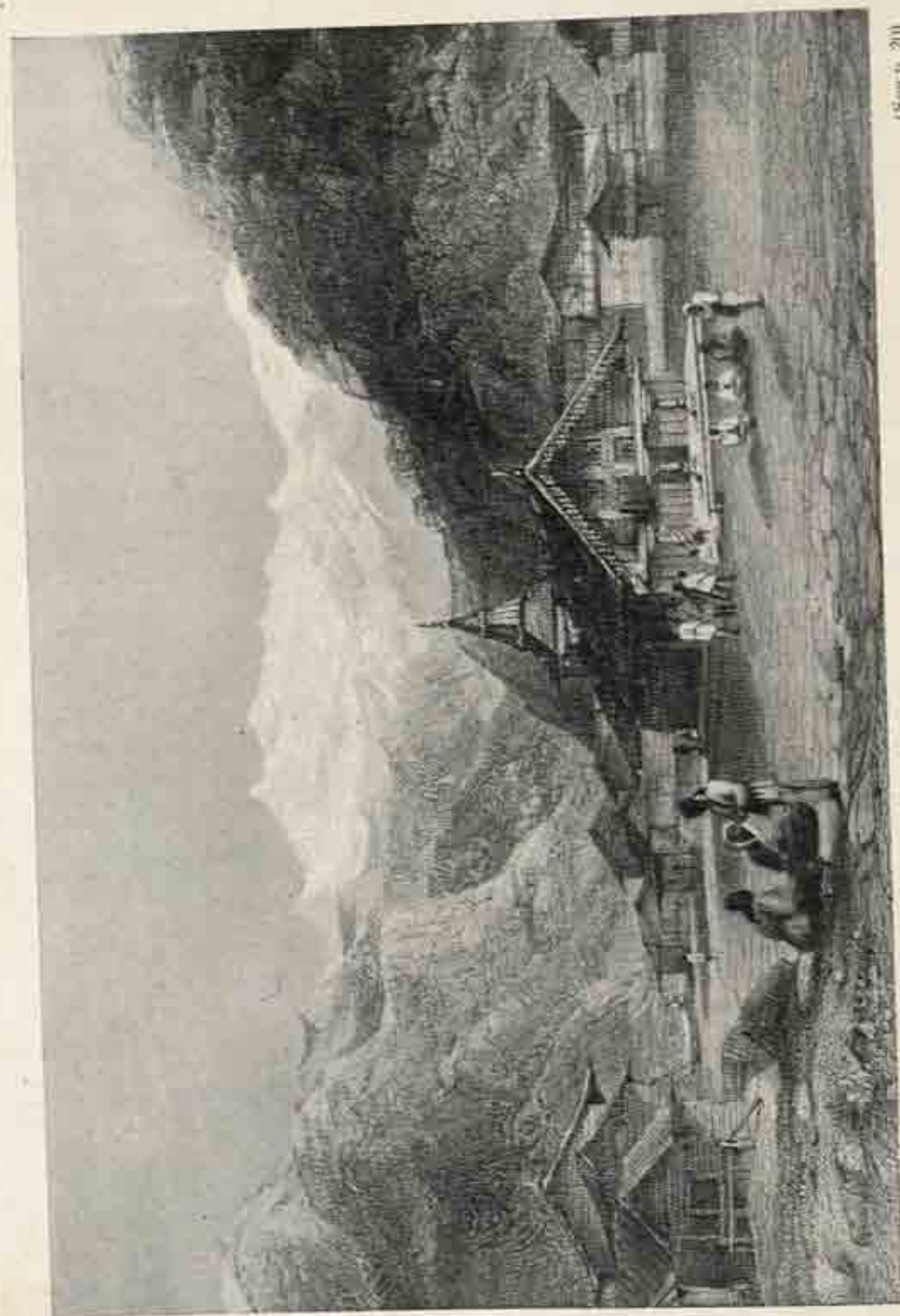
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Frontispiece.

SIMPLE LIFE IN THE HIMALAYAS

(See p. 20)

The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and poetical—among the educated classes of India.—“Truth” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind. The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the “Review of Reviews,” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the “Nineteenth Century” or the “Fortnightly Review.”—“United Empire” (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London).

The Hindustan Review

FOUNDED
1900

BY
Sachchidananda Sinha

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THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW: THIRTY YEARS AFTER

BY

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-law*

Amongst so short-lived a people as the present-day educated Indians, it falls to the lot of few publicists to survey, after a lapse of thirty years, the record of periodicals founded by them. It is, therefore, a source of gratification to me that I am privileged to introduce the new monthly series of the *Hindustan Review*, three decades after I edited its first issue. The forerunner of this periodical was ushered into existence as the *Kayastha Samachar*, in July, 1899, by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who was then Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala College, Allahabad, and who has long since made his mark as a distinguished publicist, as the editor of the *Modern Review*, which he founded here in 1907, but which was removed later to Calcutta. Mr. Chatterjee—as befitting a veteran educationist—conducted the *Samachar*, which was then the College organ, as a high-class educational magazine, but owing to the pressure of his duties as the Principal of the College, he had to sever his connection with it as editor, at the end of

the first year, ending in June, 1900. I was then requested by the then President of the Board of the Trustees of the institution to conduct it in succession to Mr. Chatterjee. I, however, stipulated that I should be given a free hand to conduct it not as an educational magazine, but as a general record and review of Indian progress in all spheres of activities. According to this arrangement, I brought out the first issue of a new series in July, 1900, in which the place of honour was assigned (not undeservedly) to a political article on “Sir Antony MacDonnell and the United Provinces” from the pen of a rising young publicist, Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru—he was not even “Dr.” at the time—which was followed by a literary contribution of great merit by that eminent lawyer and litterateur—the late Dr. Satish Chandra Bannerji, Premchand Roychand scholar, whose premature death, in 1915, was a most irreparable loss to scholarship and legal learning. There were other good contributions, and also some editorials

Strange as it may sound today, there was not in these provinces, at that time, any Indo-English newspaper or periodical except one, the *Advocate* of Lucknow, which used to be ably conducted by a well-known Congressman and publicist—the late Ganga Prasad Varma. The result was that though but a monthly—and that too with a communal nomenclature—the *Sama-char* came to supply immediately a long-felt want in these provinces, in particular, and in Upper India in general, of an organ of Indian public opinion as then voiced by the Congress. The first number, though very hastily put together and not well-got-up either, was accorded an enthusiastic welcome in the press of the country, which was beyond my most sanguine expectations. The *Tribune* of Lahore—then as now the foremost organ of Indian public opinion in the Punjab—enthused over it in a long leading article headed “From the Caste Unit to the National Whole.” The late Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, in the *Bengalee*, was equally enthusiastic and complimentary, while the leading organs of Indian public opinion, in the various provinces, vied with one another in their appreciation of each succeeding number, and it was followed in due course by very flattering notices in the leading Anglo-Indian journals, notably the *Pioneer*. Thus in less than two years, the *Sama-char* had on its list of contributors almost all the distinguished writers and eminent publicists in the country at the time, and a few months before Lord Curzon's Delhi Darbar of 1903, it received to that ceremonial an invitation, being the only monthly invited amongst the many dailies and weeklies. This recognition it had fully earned by reason of its high position in the press of the country, as an exponent of

sound and progressive Indian public opinion. In appreciation of this acknowledgment by the Government, the Trustees of the College agreed to my proposal to confer upon it the appropriate and comprehensive designation of the *Hindustan Review*, under which it first appeared in January, 1903, and which it has borne since. A year later they transferred to me its goodwill and all proprietary rights in it.

Since July, 1900, the *Review* continued to be issued from Allahabad till the middle of 1921, when on my appointment as a Member of the Governor's Executive Council in Behar and Orissa, I was called upon to sever my editorial connection with this periodical. Long before that time it had come to be acknowledged, even in Europe and America, as one of the leading periodicals in English, and many European and American books on India had expressed their appreciation of it to that effect. I could not, therefore, make up my mind to stop it, and as no one was willing here to take it over, it was decided to remove it to Calcutta and to place it under the control of Mr. K. C. Mahindra, B. A. Cantab of the firm of Messrs. Martin and Co., of that city. Mr. Mahindra, who was an exceptionally qualified gentleman for the task, did his best to keep it up as a monthly but, with his very heavy duties and many engagements, he found it difficult to do so, at the end of the first year. The choice then lay between keeping up the *Review* as a quarterly and stopping it, and naturally the lesser of the two undesirable courses was adopted; and with its issue of October, 1922, it was converted into a quarterly, in which form it continued to appear till last month (June, 1929), when it completed its three hundredth number. The reading public in this country cannot be sufficiently grateful

to Mr. Mahindra for the talent, energy and time he so ungrudgingly gave to the conducting of the *Hindustan Review*, as a labour of love, from 1921 to 1928. But for his so patriotically coming to its rescue, the *Review* must have ceased to exist long before now. Since the expiry of my term of office as a Member of the Behar and Orissa Government, in 1926, I was anxious to give the *Review* another lease of life as a monthly at the place of its birth and growth—Allahabad—and accordingly it was removed here in January of the current year, and appeared as a quarterly till the last month. With the present number, however, it is reconverted into a monthly, and I have now the privilege of having associated with me in its conduct a highly cultured gentleman—Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, Barrister-at-Law, the eldest son of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—the first contributor (as stated above) to the first number of this periodical in July, 1900. I am also receiving valuable co-operation from Mr. Prem Sohan Lal Verma, M.A., B. Sc., LL.B., the author of a highly suggestive book entitled *The Coming Renaissance*. I have no doubt the reading public in the country will accord to Mr. Sapru and Mr. Verma that large measure of confidence and co-operation, which it always generously extended to me, during the nearly a quarter of a century, when I conducted the *Hindustan Review* almost single-handed.

II

Recalling to my mind some of the incidents of the last thirty years, during which I have been intimately connected as the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, with many phases in the public life of the country, I am struck with the remarkable progress which India has made during this period. In 1900—as against not the dozens and scores but the hundreds who

now represent the people in the central and the provincial legislatures—many of them most worthily, with such consummate ability as would do credit to the members of the House of Commons itself—the whole of British India was represented in the then Imperial Legislative Council by but *four* members, all practically elected but technically still “nominated,” being nominees of the Governor-General, each representing the non-official members of the legislative councils of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Bombay and Madras. These four provincial legislative councils—which were the only ones in existence—had a few more members, but they too were technically nominees of the Governors and the Lieutenant-Governors of these four provinces. The system which then obtained was under Lord Cross’s Act, passed by Parliament in 1892. The Morley-Minto reforms did not come into force for another ten years. Responsible Government, as a political term applied with reference to India, was unheard of and was beyond the mental horizon of even the most advanced politicians of that time. Nor was “Swaraj” better known or better understood. Till many years later, in fact, it was taken by the Executive to be synonymous with sedition, while any reference to “independence” or the complete severance of India’s connection with the rest of the British Commonwealth, as an element of practical politics, would have given the shock of his life even to so advanced a public man and publicist as, say, the late Mr. Tilak. Mr. Gandhi was practically unknown at the time, though he had attended the Calcutta session of the National Congress, held in 1901, under the presidentship of Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw Wacha, and non-co-operation as a measure of practical politics was beyond the remotest ken of even the most advanced

politicians. Many of those who are now taking a prominent part in the public life of the country, especially in Congress circles, were either unborn, or just born and were being rocked in the cradle, or were at school. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru—now in the running for the presidentship of the Congress—was then about ten years old, while his revered father, Pandit Motilal Nehru—the veteran leader now of the Congress party in the country and in the Assembly—could only by courtesy be regarded as a public man, and that too of the most moderate school. Even so late as 1907, when he presided over the first session of the United Provinces Conference at Allahabad—dressed (in the hottest weather) in the then fashionable, braided dark grey morning coat, fancy striped trousers and patent-leather boots, sweltering, sweating and all the time wiping his face constantly, melting as he was with profuse perspiration—he made a slashing and vigorous attack on the then exponents of, what was called, the “extremist” school. No one who knew him at the time could ever conceive the Pandit Motilal of those days developing into the *khaddarelal* protagonist of the “independence” party of today.

As for the proceedings of the then Councils, the less said the better. There were, of course, at the time, no Presidents—non-official or even official—other than the head of the administration of the country or the province, and the speakers had to be constantly “my lord-ing” “your excellencying” or “your honouring” them, on pain of incurring their displeasure and also being charged with bad manners. You had to read out your speeches sitting. The Viceroy—as did Lord Curzon on many of the occasions when I was present, in the Imperial Legislature, as a sight-seer—might thump the table violently or even stamp his foot in rage, when giving point

and emphasis to the manuscript eloquence which he was inflicting, but not so the poor non-official member, who was expected to be on his best behaviour and to address the Sovereign's august representative with bated breath and in downright whispering humbleness. Once (in 1900) when Mr. Sapru and I attended a meeting of the provincial legislative council, here at Allahabad, on the occasion of a debate on the Tenancy Bill, we witnessed a scene which neither of us has forgotten or can forget. The opposition to the Government Bill was being led by a patriotic and independent-spirited zamindar (the late Rai Bahadur Nehal Chand) who had prepared a searching criticism of it, which he had begun to read out. This was highly annoying to the President, who was none other than the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner rolled into one—the late Sir Antony (afterwards Lord) MacDonnell. Even before the speaker had come to the main part of his address, Sir Antony lost patience with him and, in fact, lost his temper completely, with the result that he began to shout at the top of his voice—“No, no, no, Nehal Chand, this will *not* do. Either withdraw what you have said or I shall get all of it expunged from the proceedings. Do you withdraw it or not?” The poor speaker had no alternative but to give in and his remarks so objected to—without the least justification—were, I believe, omitted from the report of the proceedings. On another occasion Sir Antony came into open conflict with the late Pandit Bishambhar Nath—long one of the acknowledged leaders of the *vakil* section of the High Court Bar—but he failed in browbeating that learned lawyer, who possessed rich and rare gifts in advocacy and managed to beat Sir Antony on his own ground. Even some years later, Lord Curzon not unoften attempted to hector, if not bully, his non-

official Indian colleagues into submission in various ways, and he tried this game even with Mr. Gokhale, but gave it up so far as he (Mr. Gokhale) was concerned, as he found it to his cost that the great Indian leader was not inclined to take it lying low. I was present at one of these memorable scenes between Lord Curzon and Mr. Gokhale, in the Calcutta Council Chamber, in the course of one of the debates on the Universities Bill. Now the mere recalling of these few facts—picked up at random from my recollections—will show the vast and varied changes for the better which have come over our public affairs, during the last twenty years, especially since the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921. Instead of the rather demoralizing and subservience-breathing atmosphere in which public activities had then to be carried on—as if it were on sufferance—we have now our Assembly and the provincial councils, with a majority of elected representatives of the people in each of them, in which the popular spokesmen work on equal terms with the members of Government, under the guidance of elected Indian Presidents, the most notable of whom is my esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, who by his remarkable ability, intense devotion to duty, commendable courage and rare independence, has exalted the dignity of the great office which he so well adorns, and has thereby added a memorable and an enduring chapter to the history of Indian progress in the twentieth century.

In fact, howsoever dissatisfied we may be—and not perhaps unjustly—with our present position in the British Commonwealth and the gloomy prospects, just at present, of constitutional progress leading, in the near future, to the establishment of Dominion Status or Responsible Government (to me both these are synonymous terms), that should not blind us to

the fact that during the years of the twentieth century India has achieved a most notable progress in many respects and that too in various spheres of activities—spiritual, moral, political, educational and economic. Much—very much—no doubt, yet remains to be achieved by us, much leeway has yet got to be made up before we can expect to reach the destined goal, and much greater patriotism will have to be evoked and a much larger measure of self-sacrifice incurred, than have been so far, before we may reasonably expect, not only to achieve success in our efforts, but to place the new political institutions on a stable basis—for history abounds in examples which prove that it is easier to conquer but most difficult to retain possession. Nevertheless the advance made by our country during the lifetime of the *Hindustan Review* has been notable and sufficiently stable in many directions, and it may safely be hoped that if the country is not driven by the Government's policy, or force of circumstances now unforeseen, into violent upheavals, if internal peace remains undisturbed and communal relations are slowly improved, we may look forward to progressing at even swifter strides in time to come, on the road to Dominion Status.

III

It would be needless affectation were I to withhold from the *Hindustan Review* its due, for the good work it has done during the fairly long period of thirty years, in popularizing sound political ideas, disseminating healthy opinions on current controversies, stimulating culture through the medium of its Literary Supplement, and contributing generally towards India's advancement by methods which are associated with high-class periodicals, journals and newspapers. It is a truism that the

Indian press is an exotic, that it is still fettered with many handicaps, and labours under many disadvantages. But with all these limitations, it has made remarkable progress during the present century—in spite of the pernicious effects on it of the baneful Press Act, which was in force from 1910 till its repeal in 1922. The *Hindustan Review* may justly claim that, during the thirty years of its existence, it has materially contributed to healthy progress in the country. Its contributors have been the most able and most distinguished Indian publicists. It is no reflection on any of our esteemed contemporaries in the periodical press of India to state the fact that this *Review* alone can claim to have published articles, especially written for it, by such great and distinguished leaders of the national movement as Dadabhai Naoroji, Allan O. Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee and several others who have been most prominent, during the last three decades, in our public activities. The policy of the new monthly series will be as heretofore—to give fair play to all, and to offer a forum for the expression of views from all points of view, by the leading exponents of various shades of opinion, with the reservation of the editorial pages for such comments as may represent the policy of the conductors of the *Hindustan Review*. The editorial policy will be, in future as in the past, what may be called Independent Nationalist—namely Nationalist, but not necessarily

identified with any of the various Nationalist parties. In the present political situation in the country, when almost every political party has an organ of its own, there is all the greater need than at any time past for non-party Nationalist organs—especially amongst periodicals—to synthesise the seeming divergencies of conflicting opinion, and to focus and reflect the essential Nationalist ideas of India to the world outside. The conductors of the *Hindustan Review* believe that with its very great political and literary traditions, this periodical is likely to prove itself pre-eminently fitted—though it be the proverbial fly on the wheel of Indian progress—to advance the cause of the country. Nerved by this conviction, they are launching today a new series, as a monthly, of this old-established and high-class periodical, in the fulness of hope that it will continue to supply a want of the reading public in the country. They are aware of the many rocks ahead, they are not unmindful of the shoals and pitfalls that may lie in their way, but they have embarked upon their venture drawing their inspiration from the memorable words of Browning:—

The best is yet to be
The last of life, for which the first was made.
Our Times are in His Hand,
Who saith 'A whole I planned,'
Youth shows but half, trust God :
See all, nor be afraid !

THE NEED FOR SYNTHESIS IN INDIAN POLITICS

BY

MR. S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.C.

There is not only profound humility, but profound wisdom in the saying that "God fulfils himself in many ways." It is as true of politics, as of any other sphere of public life. But we are all so fond of our own pet prescriptions and patent remedies that we would rather have failure or indifferent success, by solely pursuing those remedies, rather than have success, by recognising our limitations, and cooperating with others working for the same end. The time has arrived when Indian politicians, leaders and workers alike, must recognise the great need for synthesis in our work for Swaraj.

It is admitted on all hands that the position of India as a vassal under Great Britain is intolerable. It is also common ground that India must obtain her freedom, whether of the restricted kind, *viz.*, Dominion Status, or whether of the unrestricted kind, *viz.*, complete National Independence. There are only three ways known to history and human experience of attaining this—(i) Secret violent revolution which is bound to be futile, (ii) Open war, which is at present impossible, and against the creed of the Indian National Congress, (iii) Organising the people for freedom, in all legitimate and peaceful ways, which is the only method open to us.

The foundation for such organisation is nation-wide, continuous, and intensive propaganda among the people to create the divine discontent with their existing political state, and the thirst for Swaraj.

This propaganda is absolutely necessary. It is not being done today on anything like an adequate scale. All the political parties in India, except the allies of the Bureaucracy, can jointly work on this basis. For this purpose we want well-informed, cultured, bold, honest and patriotic propagandists with the power of expression in Hindi or in one or other of the Indian languages. Such propagandists exist here and there today; but they are not organised; more than that they have no means of subsistence.

There must be public funds forthcoming, to maintain them above want. If these propagandists confine themselves as they well may, to propagate the Swaraj ideal, the need for the same, and the peaceful methods of obtaining the same, all parties can and should unite and make a synthesis of this work.

Then, there is that part of national work which has come to be known as the constructive programme of the Congress. First, there is Khaddar and Swadeshi, which may be taken to connote general economic freedom, and industrial prosperity for the country. Prohibition of alcohol and drugs ranks next in the constructive programme. It can be achieved completely only under a Swaraj Government and then too after a brief struggle. But the creation and organisation of public opinion today for that, is a means of strengthening our people in the fight for Swaraj. Next is the question of communal unity, including the removal of untouchability. I

am not now dealing with communal settlements or understandings. I am rather dealing with educating our people to think, speak and act in terms of the Nation, and not in terms of communities, castes, or classes, at least so far as public affairs are concerned. Until this education is complete, Swaraj is either unattainable, or, if attained, will taste like dead-sea fruit. The removal of untouchability in the sense of giving equal rights and opportunities to the members of the so-called depressed classes, is a condition precedent for Hindu society to play its rightful part either in India aspiring for freedom, or in free India.

All the above are items of constructive nation-building work, on which all parties, except those who want to perpetuate the present alien irresponsible rule, can and ought to unite. I plead therefore very earnestly that, apart from other differences, the nation's energies ought to be harnessed for this great work, by the leading political parties synthesising their activities, in these directions.

So far, I have dealt with educative and preparatory work. I desire now to deal with the definite ways of organising our people. Our people, besides labouring under the greatest grievance, *viz.*, the loss of their freedom, labour also under several smaller grievances of a local character, either administrative, legislative, or financial. It is our job to find out these grievances, to organise the people for the redress of these grievances by self-reliant methods, and to lead them to victory, wherever possible. Bardoli has led the way in this direction, as Tanjore had led earlier in Madras. For a nation like ours, demoralised by decades of slavery, even small successes like these will increase the morale of our people. It will correspondingly reduce

the morale of the Bureaucracy. This is all to the good.

The fight for Swaraj can never be conducted to success, without the active and continuous cooperation of the millions of peasants and workers in this country. To them it must be made clear, that the absence of Swaraj has meant for them chronic poverty, ignorance of their children, disease, infantile mortality, and a general stunting of their growth. It should also be made clear to them that the Swaraj we work for is not, to use Deshabandhu's words, "Swaraj for the two per cent who have, but Swaraj for the ninety-eight per cent who have not." Such democratic Swaraj will mean for them, the right to fix minimum wages and maximum hours, to demand and get unemployment benefits, old-age pensions, maternity benefits, adequate medical treatment, decent housing conditions and education for their children. This education of the workers and peasants can and ought to be done, with a view to enable them to get their grievances redressed now and here, wherever possible, and also to enable them to take their rightful place in the struggle for Swaraj.

Besides and more important than all these, there is the need for organising our people specifically for political purposes. The Indian National Congress has been doing this work for the last 42 years, and it represents the work of the best brains and the best hearts of India during that period. It is open to all Indians who believe in self-help and have no faith in methods of mendicancy to join the Congress. I think the time has arrived when the Khaddar franchise should be removed. On all these items, then it is open to all political parties to join and work together, without dissipating their energies, not unoften in mutually destructive directions. Even those who do not join the Congress can and ought

to work with the Congress. The Congress also should make it easy for them to do so.

Then, there remains the methods of the capture of all existing political institutions in the country, open to election, including Local Bodies and Legislatures, and using them, with all their limitations, as weapons in the fight for Swaraj. I am absolutely convinced that they can be so used, provided but only provided, that all the political parties in the country coalesce and offer stout opposition to the Bureaucracy and its allies. I am not vain or foolish enough to claim that Local Bodies and Legislatures alone will get us Swaraj. But I am also convinced that no other single item of work is going to get us Swaraj by itself. Let us have the humility and the wisdom to know and to act in the faith that Swaraj will come to us in more ways than one, provided we work earnestly for it.

I know something of revolutions in other countries and how their leaders work. It will be the height of folly, if the most extreme of national workers in the country leave these bodies to be exploited by reactionaries. Unfortunately, however, the Council-boycott mentality still prevails in Congress circles, and those of us who take to the exacting and often thankless work for the nation in the Legislatures and the Local Bodies are looked down upon as political untouchables. It is time that this mentality should cease, or we

should part company. I trust it will not be the latter.

On every single item of national work I have mentioned above, the Legislatures and the Local Bodies, after the advent of Congressmen therein, have helped and can help. Whether it is Khaddar, Prohibition, or the removal of untouchability, or organising local grievances, or general political propaganda, they have done their part, and they will do it. But I am very keen that such work done inside the Legislatures should be synthesised with the national work outside with a view to coordinate them, and, more than that with a view that at a crisis all the national forces may march together. This can easily be done provided suspicion is removed on both sides. Unless this is done by the Congress recognising Council work as part of its legitimate activities, but leaving it to be managed by the experts in the line, on the basis of Provincial autonomy, I see grave dangers ahead.

I attach great importance to foreign propaganda for Indian freedom in America and Europe, and to the forming of a pan-Asian federation. This is also a line of activity on which all parties can and ought to unite.

God grant that Indian political parties and their leaders may learn before it is too late the supreme need for synthesis in Indian political life to-day.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AFTER NINE YEARS

BY

K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A., B.L.

Never since the fateful Treaty of Versailles when the League of Nations* was embodied in it to "promote international co-operation" were the fortunes of the League so low as today. The small nations had already refused to place any reliance on this "Big Few's" Weapon; the Director of the seventh session of the International Labour Conference had to say in disgust that the League can only "remain a back-water of the stream of international life"; charges and threats of withdrawal have been levelled at it by many of the Eastern powers; and mutual suspicion is still characterizing the discussions regarding disarmament and the first preparatory step thereof.

ROUTINE WORK.

The ninth Assembly opened under the atmosphere of Kellogg's multilateral pact. This "grand moral gesture" from the trans-Atlantic State is still to be made consistent "with the arrangements devised to render war difficult"; and it has yet to "infuse a practical spirit into the elaboration of more perfect external arrangements for the future."[†]

M. Zahle of Denmark was elected President by 44 out of 52 votes and M. Adatchi, M. Briand, Herr Muller, Lord Cushendun, Mr. Mackenzie King, and Doctor Seipel (Austria) were elected Vice-Presidents of the League. Spain's re-

turn to the League is a singularly happy event and the co-operation of non-member States as U.S.A., Russia, and Turkey in different branches of League activity is a healthy sign. The Chinese delegation was debarred from standing again for the non-permanent seat since she did not get the two-third majority per Art. III of the League Council Reorganization Rules. Not a moment was lost by the Chinese Delegation at Geneva to wire to China to withdraw from the League as a protest.

THE WORK OF SIX COMMITTEES.

The lack of interest in the affairs of the League was clearly demonstrated by the paucity of names coming up to speak on the Secretary-General's annual report. The work of the Assembly can be understood properly only if the allocation of work to the six committees is borne in mind.

I	Committee deals with	Legal Questions
II	" "	Economic and Financial matters
III	" "	Peace and Disarmament proposals
IV	" "	The Budget of the League
V	" "	Humanitarian topics
and VI	" "	Political Questions and Mandates

*For an exhaustive discussion of the Covenant *vide* the present writer's article in the "Hindustan Review," November-December, 1919.

†The "Fortnightly Review," September, 1928, p. 300.

TOWARDS DISARMAMENT?

Nowhere else is the progress so low as in this crucial test of the big powers' sincerity. A careful study of this year's discussions at Geneva discloses three distinct points of view in the manner of approaching the problem. Early enough the German Delegate declared that disarmament of Germany should be followed by the disarmament of "*other nations*" (*italics mine*) as provided in the Treaty of Versailles." Herr Muller was very disappointed at the slow progress of disarmament in other countries. Out comes M. Briand with a fling at Russia and an attack on Germany. He denied that armaments had increased since the League's creation; the only country which had increased is the "abominable" Russia and Germany with her army of 100,000 and "an immense reserve of men fit to join colours" is still a dangerous power. Even the Geneva atmosphere could not make amends for this *most ill-advised bellicose outburst of M. Briand*. The echo was answered in Germany by the "*Deutsche Zeitung*" which characterized this speech as a "box on the ears" of Germany. The Frenchman's "deplorable distrust of Germany's sincerity and will for peace" was not at all the atmosphere conducive to the early convening of the Disarmament Conference. Great Britain under Lord Cushendun (the absence of Cecil and Chamberlain was deplorable for the view-point of Great Britain) had had her hands too busy with a widely distrusted "Anglo-French naval agreement." Great Britain could not do anything striking to solve the Rhineland Evacuation Problem which directly concerned Germany and France. The speech of Lord Cushendun that large reductions have been made in the British army, navy, and air force could not carry conviction; and Herr Muller was more inclined to lay stress on the

"inter-allied double-dealing in the matter of disarmament."

M. LONDON'S VAIN ATTEMPTS.

In such a surcharged atmosphere of deep distrust and varying lines of approach, M. London, the chairman of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission proposed to ask France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and U.S.A. to attend a private meeting to arrive at certain preliminary agreements between the great naval powers. This was not at all acceptable to Lord Cushendun; and the British delegation was against any premature conferences "without preliminary agreements on principles."

The third committee after a protracted debate on the Franco-German proposals for an urgent appeal to all Governments to reconcile their differences as regards disarmament, appointed a drafting committee to draw up a resolution on these proposals. The final draft was passed by the committee, and the Assembly, on September 25th, adopted the resolution after a long discussion. According to it the chairman of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission should keep in contact with the Governments concerned so that he may be able (i) to know the progress of their negotiations, and (ii) be able to convene the Preparatory Commission at the end of 1928 or the beginning of 1929. Germany and Hungary abstained from voting as they wanted to protest against the *delay* involved in the Resolution.

The League Council has instructed the Secretary-General to communicate the model draft of treaties for peaceful settlement of international disputes even to non-members. The council has adopted another resolution requesting all nations to come to an understanding through private negotiations so as to permit the successful meeting of the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament.

The Secretary-General is to call another meeting of the committee of supervisors of private manufacture of arms, munitions, and implements of War before the next meeting of the Council.

WORK OF OTHER COMMITTEES.

In the fifth committee the Italian member dilated on the increase in the production of opium. The Indian delegate struck the note of sacrifice made by India in the control of opium. Mr. Mullick (India) put a legitimate plea in the second committee for India's rights to adjust her tariffs to her best advantage. In the fifth committee the employment of women police was pronounced a success in England and Australia. The interchange of medical officers was welcomed by India with its malaria and shocking figures of child-mortality. The Persian delegation created a stir in the VI committee by its allegations against Irak.

INDIA'S DISPROPORTIONATE CONTRIBUTION.

That the League Budget shows an alarming increase of expenditure was effectively pointed out by Lord Lytton; and the League should remember that India did vote against the Budget along with New Zealand. The estimated expenditure for 1929 is greater than that for 1928 by 1,537,427, gold francs. By the agreement of 15th September, 1921, India paid more than two-thirds of

Britain's quota, about double of Canada's, and nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of "golden" Australia. A slight reduction was made in 1926 by bringing down India's contribution to 56 units from 65. Italy and Japan contribute 60 units *while dependent Indian delegation still led by a non-Indian* has to pay 56. As Lord Lytton put it, *is it worth the while?* Persistent and more effective steps should be taken by the Indian Government to bring down India's contribution and delimit the maximum expenditure of the League.

THE LEAGUE ON THE WANE.

The most optimistic student of the League, since its disappointing career from 1922, has sufficient reasons to charge the Big West—European Powers with lukewarmness. Even the "Times" with its special pleading for Britain's interest in the League could not defend "her tactics" at Geneva which "fails" to meet American opinion. Of the nine States outside the League, Russia is nowhere near entry and U.S.A. has a characteristic habit of splendid isolation to keep it off West-European tangle. The Eastern powers are convinced of the *European* character of the League; the smaller nations have left it as the Big Few's "rattle"; and pacts and conclaves are driving the fast adherents to the camp of deep discontents. *Is not the League on the Wane?*

THE INDIAN PEASANT IN HISTORY*

BY

W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Retired*)

What I have to say this afternoon arises directly out of the report of the Royal Commission on Indian agriculture; but I do not intend to summarise that rather formidable document, still less to criticise it in detail.

As for a summary, the report presents more than 600 important conclusions; and any attempt to compress them into half an hour or so would necessarily be unfruitful. As for detailed criticism, my view is that at the present juncture it is likely to do more harm than good. The outstanding feature of the report is its insistence on the need for a co-ordinated policy of rural reconstruction, a mass attack on the causes of poverty, waste, and inefficiency. All the specific conclusions, important as they are, are by comparison matters of detail; and those who accept, as I unreservedly accept, this fundamental recommendation, will do more good by uniting to press for early and effective action, than by insisting on their individual views on this topic or on that.

The criticisms that have been appearing in India during the last few months show what I mean. You find, as a rule, a sentence, or even an entire paragraph, testifying to the excellence of the Report as a whole; and the rest of the article consists of vigorous destructive criticism of some particular set of recommendations. An excellent report, says one critic, but it's all wrong about the cattle. An admirable report,

says another, but it's all wrong about the colleges. Others attack the proposed scheme of finance, or the organisation for research, or any one of a dozen different topics, each of them important, but all of them subordinate to the main issue; and in point of fact we have a revival of the time-honoured Asiatic practice of stoning an offender to death. Two or three stones may not hurt very much, but in the end the victim succumbs to the multitude of missiles. I confess that, like other critics, I have a few stones ready to my hand, but I have not come here to display my marksmanship in public. It is much better, I suggest, to leave the necessary detailed criticism to the keen brains of the administrators who have to translate the new policy into fact; the best service we others can do is to concentrate attention on the need for prompt and effective action, instead of providing excuses for the people who want to do nothing, or the more dangerous enemies who want to do nothing but talk.

The question to which I wish to invite your attention today is one with which the Commission was not required to deal. Why was this Commission wanted at all? How has this urgent need for rural reconstruction arisen? Why is it necessary to mobilise all the forces of India in order to get the peasants to do what you and I would only be too glad to do if we had the chance—make a little more money, and live rather better than we do at present? That is not a

*Paper read before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts.

normal state of affairs. You will not find it, for instance, in other parts of the Empire; and I well remember how the difference struck me when I paid a visit to Australia about thirty years ago. In India I had left the departments trying, not very successfully, to hustle the agriculturists; in Australia I found the agriculturists hustling the departments, and with a substantial measure of success. What are the causes of this difference in attitude?

An inquiry of this kind is worth making. At the beginning of a long and arduous campaign, such as the Commission urges, it is well to learn all you can about the enemy—not merely the positions he occupies at the moment, but how he has reached those positions, how they are connected with his base, and what hidden reserves, or hidden weaknesses, lie behind. It may fairly be said that most of the mistakes we made in India a hundred years or so ago are due to our ignorance of what had gone before; and now at the outset of this new enterprise, it is well to try to eliminate that particular cause of inefficiency.

If you look through the literature of the last century you will find that various theories, or guesses, have been put forward to account for the distinctive mental attitude of Indian peasants in the mass. The oldest, and simplest, of these theories is that the peasant was made that way; but the world has passed the stage where such theories of special creation had to be taken seriously, and it is enough to point out that this view is contradicted by the facts. Indian peasants, as I have known them, are neither placid nor contented. They grumble at least as much as we do, and, like the rest of us, they have their ideals of a better life; but they have also what it is the fashion just now to call

an inhibition, which prevents those ideals from being translated effectively into action, and the question is how this inhibition has come into existence.

A common theory is that it is all the fault of the climate. The answer to that theory is that the climates of India are of all sorts. Every authority, from the *Imperial Gazetteer* down to the latest six-penny handbook, insists on the diversity; and for my part I find it hard to understand how all these different climates can have produced a uniform effect. Let us remember, too, that our predecessors were accustomed to explain differences inside India by these same differences of climate. When, for instance, Akbar's historiographer royal wanted to explain why there was so much more sedition in Bengal than in Agra, he found a simple and convincing explanation in the peculiarities of the Bengal climate, which notoriously bred sedition. I do not say he was right, as to either the fact or its explanation; but I think his reasoning was rather less unscientific than the theory that a uniform result can be attributed to such a heterogeneous entity as the Indian climate. We may agree that over large portions of India the natural conditions are unfavourable to continuous effort. That fact undoubtedly increases the difficulty of rural reconstruction, but it cannot by itself explain why reconstruction is required.

Another theory is that the peculiarities of the peasant's mentality are entirely the result of his diet. Of course, Buckle is out of fashion nowadays; but some recent scientific work in India suggests that there may possibly be something in this view. In some parts of the country, particularly the rice-eating tracts, it is quite possible for a man to eat too much and yet starve; he

may get more calories of energy than he needs, and yet get too little protein to maintain his body in reasonable vigour. That kind of deficiency would go some way towards explaining the phenomena we are considering; but it would not help us in the North, where the ordinary diet of cereals and pulses is well-balanced, and will keep a man in vigorous health, if only he gets enough of it. If peasants in the North are underfed, as some of them are, it is part of the problem of poverty, not its primary cause; they eat as much as they can get, and what is wanted is to convince them that they can get more, if they set to work in the right way.

It seems to me, then, that these physical and physiological theories do not carry us far. As against them, I suggest that the main cause of the distinctive mentality of Indian peasants is to be found in the human environment, in the régime to which they have been subjected during the historical period. A survey of that régime shows that it was precisely of the kind which an expert psychologist might prescribe in order to produce the mentality which now exists. It enforced and stereotyped a very low standard of living; it penalised all enterprise; it denied all reward to the peasants; and it offered rewards of almost unbounded magnitude to the men who could exploit the peasants with success. Let us see how this régime operated through the centuries.

We first meet the Indian peasant in the Dharma, the Sacred Law of Hinduism. His position there was simple. We read little or nothing about rights; but we find that the peasant's duty was twofold—to cultivate the land, and to pay a share of the produce to the King. That fact is important. Right into the nineteenth century the idea persisted that cultivation was a duty to God and to the State, not a right to which the peasant was entitled;

and probably the old idea still lingers in some of the backward parts of the country.

We have no records to tell us how this Sacred Law worked in practice; but obviously the essential question was the amount of the share claimed by the King as his revenue. If it amounted to a rackrent, leaving the peasant nothing to hope for, we have substantially the régime I have described; if it left the peasant a reasonable reward for effort, the conditions necessary for progress may have existed in the Hindu period. I do not know which alternative is true for this period as a whole, but there are signs that the King's share tended to increase as time went on, and that it came, at any rate, very near the danger point.

In the earliest text the share which might be claimed by the King varies from a sixth to a tenth or a twelfth. This is quite a reasonable proportion, though higher than that is now considered proper. Presently, however, we find the smaller figures disappear, and the former maximum becomes the standard. Then we read of "what is called a sixth"; and a commentator explains, in language which almost recalls the methods of Somerset House, that the phrase "a sixth" includes a third. We may take it then that Hindu kings eventually claimed about a third of the peasant's produce; and we know that until quite recently the claim in Hindu Rajputana ranged from a third to a half.

It is impossible to speak with precision as to what constituted a rackrent in those early days, but it is safe to say that a third was dangerously near, and that a half left the peasant practically nothing but a bare subsistence. It is quite possible, then, that rackrenting prevailed in Hindu times, extensively if not universally but there is too little evidence to justify a conclusion; all that can be said is that it is dangerous to take the figures given

by text-writers such as Manu as an accurate presentation of the practice of the later period.

We are on firmer ground when we come to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the period of Muslim rule began. The religious law of the Muslim conquerors recognised, if it did not formally prescribe, a régime of rackrenting. Under that law the conqueror had a perfectly free hand, and it was open to him to dispossess unbelievers, and distribute their land among his Muslim followers; but if he left the unbelievers in possession, as was done in India, the idea was that the profits of agriculture should ensure to Muslims and not to Hindus. The conqueror claimed a share of the produce, just as Hindu kings claimed a share, but there was no arithmetical limitation, such as is found in Hindu Law, and may have been effective in Hindu practice. The only limit recognised by Muslim jurists was the task of driving the people of the land; and in practice that means rackrenting. So long as the peasants did not rebel or abscond, it was lawful to take all they could be made to pay.

This legal theory is by no means unimportant. It is true that in India many Muslim rulers ignored Islamic law in their administration; but any Muslim who wanted to rackrent could do so with a clear conscience, a thing which counts in practice. Further, there was no possibility of religious opposition to rackrenting, such as occurred in some parts of Europe. In India the religion of the rulers was on the rackrenter's side. Practice, however, is more important than theory, and the practical question is, how Indian peasants in fact fared under Muslim rule.

Here the authorities we possess require rather careful handling. We have glowing accounts of the work of a few agrarian reformers, great Kings like Sher Shah or

Akbar, sagacious Ministers like Todar Mal in the North or Murshid Quli in the Deccan, men who tried to treat the peasants equitably, and confine the claims on them within reasonable limits. The work of these men naturally receives prominence in modern text-books; and the ordinary reader is apt to conclude that care for the peasant was a feature of the period taken as a whole. This was certainly not the case. Measured either by time or by area, these prominent events are mere episodes; when you reckon them up they account altogether for perhaps less than fifty years out of the six centuries of Muslim rule; and for the great bulk of the period the fortunes of the peasants were in the hands, not of great kings or sagacious ministers, but of a multitude of intermediaries, each man intent only on filling his pockets, and precluded, as I shall show, from doing anything in the way of permanent improvement. These intermediaries are the key to the agrarian history of the period; they were of various types, but the two figures which stand out decisively are the revenue-assignee and the revenue-farmer.

An assignee was usually one of the officers of the kingdom, and as such entitled to a salary defined in cash; but instead of being paid from the treasury, he was given what was called a *jagir*, that is to say, a district which was estimated to yield the amount of his salary as land-revenue; and it was his business to assess and collect the revenue from the peasants so as to obtain the promised salary, while it was his obvious interest to make the assignment yield more.

It is quite safe to say that the *jagir*, or assignment, was the most important agrarian institution of the Muslim period in India. You meet it all over the North and almost all over the Deccan and Gujarat. One or two rulers tried to do without

it for a time, but it always came back; and ordinarily more than three-quarters of the country was in the hands of assignees, who must thus be regarded as the peasants' real masters. What was the attitude of these masters?

To begin with, habits of luxury and extravagance prevailed among the ruling classes almost throughout the Muslim period. There was therefore constant and urgent need of money, which the peasants had to find. At the same time, there was an intense desire to accumulate large fortunes, and these, too, had to be provided by the peasants. To outshine your fellows in your lifetime by your hoards of cash and jewels; these were the chief social ambitions of the class from which the assignees were drawn.

In theory, two courses were open for their realisation. A man might set to work to develop his assignment, investing capital, encouraging the peasants to improve their production, waiting some little time for the result, and eventually enjoying a steadily increasing income drawn from the increasing prosperity of the peasants. That course was definitely ruled out by uncertainty of tenure. An assignee might be shifted every year, or he might be able to retain his holding for some time; but he never knew from day to day what his fate might be. The struggle for productive assignments was very keen; to invest capital, or leave resources in the peasants' pockets, would have merely been to invite other claimants to come forward. The only prudent course was to squeeze your assignment dry, and then set to work to get transferred to one which still held a little money. That was the ordinary state of affairs throughout the Muslim period.

Now let us look at the other figure, the revenue-farmer. Perhaps you will

say that there is not too much room for him, with so much of the country held in assignment; but assignees commonly farmed out the revenue to which they were entitled, so that farmers were numerous. Again, when land was reserved for the royal treasury, the officials often either let it in farm, or took the farm themselves; in either case, there was someone besides the treasury looking for an immediate profit. The characteristic of all these farms was their short duration. A year was the ordinary period; and three years is the longest I have read of up to the eighteenth century. Obviously, then, no farmer could dream of carrying out a policy of development; like the assignee, the farmer was bound by the conditions of his tenure to squeeze the country dry.

Again, it must be remembered that competition for these revenue-farms was usually keen. Farming was a regular business or profession; and success in the face of competition depended on ability, first to obtain a district with some money in it, next to extract that money out of it, and lastly to keep other competitors away until the mine was nearly worked out. All this involved the existence of some very undesirable classes, spies and informers, touts to push the farmer's interests, and "wreckers," as they were aptly called to discredit his competitors. The final result was a large number of experts, who depended for their livelihood on gathering in every penny that the country could be made to yield. In essentials, then, there was little to choose between farmer and assignee.

In one respect, however, there was an important difference. The farmer's person was pledged for the fulfilment of his contract, and the penalties for failure were drastic. There are records of defaulters being flayed; but this

measure was, I think, quite exceptional. Something more gradual was preferred, and an ordinary method was to keep the defaulter in prison, and flog him or torture him with rack and pincers, two or three times a week, until he either found the money or died of his wounds. If the farmers stripped the country clean, they often had a very strong motive for doing so; it was flog, or be flogged.

Ordinarily, then, the peasants' masters must have had the will to rackrent; they also had the power. You will remember that production and payment of revenue constituted a duty to the State; and flogging was a prescribed penalty for peasants who failed in that duty. Further, the practice was to sell the wives and children of defaulting peasants as slaves. With these powers at their disposal, assignees and farmers were in a strong position; peasants could rebel, or abscond, but short of such action they were helpless.

Perhaps the best illustration of the position, as it had developed, in what some people like to think of as the golden age of Shahjahan, is the argument which Francois Bernier put into the mouths of the assignees and farmers, with some of whom he was on familiar terms. "Why," he makes them ask, "should the neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our minds? And why should we expend our own money and time to render it fruitful? We may be deprived of it in a single moment, and our exertions would benefit neither ourselves nor our children. Let us draw from the soil all the money we can, though the peasant should starve or abscond, and we should leave it, when commanded to quit, a dreary wilderness." To that argument there was no effective answer.

Such, in bare outline, was the régime under which the mass of the peasants

lived and worked in Muslim India. The question naturally arises whether things were better in those parts of the country where Muslims did not rule. Here precise information is wanting; but there are signs that in the north and centre of India things were sometimes rather better in the Hindu States, because peasants sometimes sought a refuge there when oppression became intolerable. In the South, on the other hand, we know that over large areas farming prevailed in the worst possible form, the farms being auctioned yearly; and with that system it seems to me that rackrenting must have been inevitable.

One other factor in the situation must be noticed. The idea that the farmer or assignee should be content with a specified share of the peasant's produce did not wholly disappear. The recognised share ranged usually between a third and a half, that is to say, at or beyond the danger-point; but in addition to the basic claim, there were traditional supplementary demands, which in the aggregate made a substantial addition to the burden. Everybody concerned in the assessment or collection of the revenue wanted something for himself, "the tenth and the half-tenth," "the one per cent," and the "two per cent," the fee for measuring the land, the fee for estimating the produce, and all the other traditional items which we hear of only in the records of unsuccessful attempts to prohibit them or regulate their amount; and these supplementary exactions must have operated to produce a clean sweep of everything the peasants were known to have in their possession. The régime under which the bulk of the Indian peasants lived during six centuries may be described briefly as rackrenting, under the whip.

The essential features of this régime may be summarised as follows. In the

first place, no constructive policy of development was possible. The idea of development was indeed present, at any rate, from the fourteenth century onwards. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, the old soldier-king, held that governors and collectors could make or mar the kingdom; and he insisted on their duty to strive for steady extension of cultivation, with a gradual rise in revenue, not for such an immediate enhancement as should ruin the country. His doctrine, however, had no effective force, and his brilliant but eccentric son devastated a large area merely by the severity of his assessments, which drove the peasants into rebellion. In later periods, also, we meet similar ideas from time to time, but they scarcely ever came to fruition; the needs of the moment were usually too pressing for anyone to think about the future.

In the second place, there was no chance of a rise in the peasants' standard of living. No peasant could dare to be seen spending money, for that would mean increased demands by his masters. It was much better to bury money than to spend it.

In the third place, the life of a peasant had, at the best, very few attractions. It was much better to be a parasite than a producer; the parasite carried the whip, the producer must expect to feel it.

The essence of the whole agrarian system was thus a barren struggle to divide, instead of a concerted effort to increase, the produce of the country. The peasant tried, sometimes successfully, to hide his gains; his masters tried to discover and appropriate them. It seems to me to be beyond dispute that such a régime, prolonged through the centuries, would of itself suffice to produce the type of peasant which the earliest British administrators found in India, not much more than a century ago.

The history of the short intervening period is too well-known to require recapitulation, but it may be well to recall that for some time English administrators tried to work the system which they found in operation, and that the change was gradual. The whip was very soon discarded, but the nineteenth century was well advanced before the practice of rack-renting was formally condemned; it has not yet entirely disappeared, but for some time now the bulk of the peasants have been in a position to retain a portion of any profits they may make, and to spend them without the old anxiety as to the result. That is the central fact of the agrarian situation of today. Just three centuries ago, some English merchants in India wrote that what was wanted for the recovery of the country was to "give the people leave to lift up their heads in one year's vacancy from oppression." It would not be true to claim that oppression no longer exists, but it may fairly be said that now, for the first time for six centuries, and possibly for sixteen, the peasants have been given a chance of lifting up their heads.

It has seemed to me worth while to bring this view forward at the present juncture. The Indian administration, in the midst of its heavy preoccupations, has been called on to undertake a new and arduous enterprise; let us try to concentrate attention on the fact that the enterprise, though arduous, is by no means desperate. As I read the story of the past, it carries a message of encouragement and hope for the future. Recall for a moment the various theories I have enumerated as to the causes of the present situation. If we held that the peasants' apathy is the result of a special creation, we should have to admit that the only logical remedy is to scrap the peasants, and create new ones.

in their place. If we held that the situation is due wholly to the climate, logically we should have to set to work to juggle with the ecliptic, in an attempt to shift the Antarctic ice-cap. Even if we held that diet is the primary factor, we should have to begin by attempting to change the thing which all social reformers know to be the most difficult to change from above.

On the view I have put forward, the task before the Indian administration is less arduous, though I do not say that it is easy or simple. It has to deal with the residual effects of causes which have now almost ceased to operate. They operated in any case long enough to produce a situation of the greatest difficulty, an ever-thickening crust of apathy and hopelessness, formed over the entire

country; but the crust has now ceased to thicken, and in places, particularly in the Punjab, it is obviously wearing thin. There is now scope for work which would have been hopeless half a century ago, and would probably have been premature even when Lord Curzon initiated the policy of which the Linlithgow Report is the direct outcome. There is now a reasonable hope that a concerted and sustained effort, such as the Report advises, may break up the crust once for all, may liberate the stores of energy which are now dormant, and may convince the peasants in the mass that it is worth their while to strive for the ideals they have never wholly lost. That, as it seems to me, is the message of the past.

SIMPLE LIFE IN THE HIMALAYAS

ALONE — BUT CONTENTED—SUPPING OFF BEAR STEAK—
CATS FOR COMPANIONSHIP

BY

CAPTAIN GEORGE CECIL (*Paris, France*)

THE ESCAPE FROM CIVILIZATION.

One may lead the simple life on many a mountain side; but its simplest aspect is that with which the Himalayas provides the white hermit. For, amongst the pine trees, rhododendrons and gigantic tree-ferns, there are untrodden paths visited only by monkeys, and by an occasional beast of prey. Such wilds are high up, many a "march" from the tea-growing district, and not far off the eternal snows. A stunted "hill man," with a bundle of freshly-cut branches across his sturdy shoulder, or a Buddhist

priest, twirling a "praying-wheel," sometimes is to be seen. Every now and then a pedlar, toiling under the weight of his wares, may be encountered; and, hoping to sell uncut tourquoises, silver anklets, looking-glasses framed in gold foil and other treasures to the *sahib* who dwells all by himself, he cheerfully spreads out the entire stock. Yet, one may live—or vegetate—for a week at a time without seeing a human being, except the native factotum who cooks and makes himself generally useful. An Indian "Friday"

Those who do not care to exist too far away from Darjeeling, where there are shops, an English doctor, a club and other evidences of civilisation, had best not hanker after the simple life as led by hermits who are not particular. But he who is anxious to escape from the world for a period, to read books, or to write them, and to breathe the fresh mountain air, is none too badly off on the heights. And the scenery is entrancing beyond description—all mountain, gorge and virgin forest.

THE INDISPENSABLE "FRIDAY."

Houses (fit to be inhabited by the least exacting white man) are unknown in the upper altitudes of the Himalayas. A large tent, however, serves as a living-room, and, by raising the flaps, the necessary amount of light and air gladdens the inmate. A smaller tent makes a bedroom, ablutions being performed in the neighbouring streamlet, a convenient waterfall in miniature providing a shower bath Once a week, "Friday" descends upon Darjeeling, returning, two days later, with biscuits, tinned delicacies, oranges, bananas, potatoes, bread—which is none too fresh—and any letters and newspapers which may have arrived for the *sahib*, who, during the attendant's absence, does his own cooking. The journey to Shopland takes but eight hours, since the going is all downhill: climbing some thirty-five miles of rough-mountain paths is a very different business. Besides, the messenger carries a heavy load

"Friday's" return is celebrated by a good dinner, tinned bacon, toast, banana fritters, cheese and butter figuring in the anchorite's *menu*. The (many-days-old) newspapers are read, as well as letters asking if one is mad to prefer the life of a hermit to dancing the Charleston Another cigar, a look at the "snows," which, under an Indian moon, take on a new beauty, a little walk in the forest, and to bed. A profitable evening.

THAT UNFORGETTABLE SUNRISE.

Up with the *buhl-buhl*, to see the snowy mountain tops change from a delicate white to pale rose, with alternating tints of faint carmine and vivid pink, each to vanish as the intense blue of the Indian sky asserts itself. *Minas*, which (like parrots) learn to talk, noisily quarrel in the huge, centuries-old trees; baboons, quitting their leafy retreat, watch the hermit as he splashes in the running stream. *Jhural* (long-horned mountain sheep) leap from rock to rock in search of grass, which is scarce near the "snow line," whence the animals have wandered. Sportsmen from "the plains," as the low-lying part of India is termed, shoot them; every "hot weather" British officer on leave craves to possess their horns. The wily *Jhural* takes considerable stalking.

The routine of the simple Himalayan life may be varied by the slaying of a bear. Villagers from afar have brought word that the beast has been tracked to its cave and that the entrance will remain closed pending the *sahib's* pleasure. An hour's ride on a hill pony, and the little village is reached, the "headman" and his relations loudly welcoming the stranger with the rifle. A fire is kindled; the stone at the entrance to the cave is rolled away; lighted branches are hurled through the aperture; the prisoner, furious at being disturbed, lumbers out. He does not lumber far; a bullet in a vital spot lays him low, and provides the slayer with bear steak for supper. The villagers rejoice exceedingly.

Though cut off from the world and its drawbacks, the simple lifer does not lack companions, since he merely has to keep cats, procurable from Darjeeling. The "hill" grimalkin, furry, playful, affectionate, handsome and generally prepossessing, is the pick of Indian mousers. None are more delectable.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN INDIA

BY

POLITICUS

It is symptomatic of the political criticism of the day that while the (London) *Times* calls Mr. Sarma's *Towards Swaraj** as the statement of the case of the extreme Nationalist party in India, which it says is now displaced by the Communists, some of the radical papers in India consider the proposals reactionary. The divergence of views cannot be stronger. When criticism is made on an author from such different poles, it may safely be predicted that the author has something to say on his behalf. Those who know Mr. Sarma will never convict him of communism or of reactionarism. He is neither the one nor the other. He was brought under the old school of Liberal politicians in England and India and takes a view of human things far different from the modern. The political developments of the last few years have taken a shape to which the Manchester school can have nothing but horror. A confirmed free trader, whose watchword is peace, retrenchment and reform, he has adopted a political philosophy which looks askance at the modern developments of State as an instrument for the equalisation of wealth among the producing and distributing agents. He does not believe that it is the function of the State to concern itself with any other object than to preserve peace, to administer justice between man and man and to protect the country from invasion from without. That was the slogan of the Mid-Victorian Radicals. Mr. Sarma is steeped in the prejudices of the school and nothing can therefore, be farther from his mind than to woo communism or reactionarism.

The most distinctive feature of the book is the profound disbelief of the author in modern democracy with its concomitant of universal suffrage. The value of the franchise is as yet not widely realised and till that is done there is no use conferring it upon the masses. Apart from the question of

universal suffrage, with the appalling ignorance and poverty of over ninety per cent of our countrymen, being too large an order at the present stage of our evolution, he is deeply convinced that a proper reading of history shows that a parliamentary democracy consisting of the intellectual aristocracy of every age is better suited to secure the national end than an uninstructed mob inflamed by political passions. Universal suffrage is even in Britain in an experimental stage, though it is a *fait accompli*. A restricted franchise conferred upon men who have a stake in the country, such stake being defined by their tax-paying capacity or membership in labour organisations, is what Mr. Sarma recommends for the immediate future. The problem of minority representation, therefore, he seeks to solve by the continuance of the second chamber which will be representative of the classes which have failed to secure representation in an adequate manner in the general electorates. This he does not suggest as a final solution of the problem but only as a means to the end. The arrant communalist who swears by special electorates cannot both have the rights of democracy and be freed from the risks of it. If a special concession is to be shown to them, let it be by conferring upon them the right to legislate but not through representation by election but by nomination to a segregated camp. The Council of Elders will, according to Mr. Sarma, contain men who cannot come by the open door of election. If the Nehru Report will not satisfy communal Mahomedans, we do not know of a better method than the one Mr. Sarma recommends. His own proposals appear to have been in print before the Nehru proposals were published and perhaps further reflections will show him that they are only second best and can be adopted only when the recommendations of the Nehru Report are completely thrown overboard.

**Towards Swaraj*: By S. K. Sarma, B.A., B.L. (M. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, Law Publisher, Triplicane, Madras) 1929.

But the essence of Mr. Sarma's scheme does not consist in the franchise proposals or the division of functions, but in the definite recommendation that he makes towards the centralisation of public finance and the constitution of a department of tax administration for all India. That is the kernel of his theme. And in this he rightly says that he expects very few supporters. Mr. Sarma's right to the suggestion he has made none can dispute. He has been a close student of Indian finance for over thirty years and the Government of India sent him on a delegation to England to give evidence before the Barington-Smith Committee in 1919. The germ of his proposals are contained in the long and interesting memorandum that he placed before the Taxation Enquiry Committee in 1924. They have been received with considerable misgivings by those who have been pleading for decentralisation all these years, which has culminated in the Montford reforms. What is the use of provincial autonomy without financial autonomy, ask his critics and the Montford Scheme was intended to give the answer. Lord Meston attempted to give it shape. But now who has inside knowledge of the working of the financial proposals under the Reforms can be satisfied with it. Bengal is not satisfied with it, nor Bombay. The smaller provinces are anxious to preserve the benefit secured to them by the extinction of the provincial contributions. In his chapter on "The financial impasse," Mr. Sarma attacks with deliberation not only the Meston Scheme but postulates the difficulty of arriving at a solution which may satisfy all parties. We would commend our readers to a careful study of the chapters dealing with the subject in Mr. Sarma's book.

Mr. Sarma has been happy in securing support to his thesis from Mr. Layton, the Financial Adviser to the Simon Commission. No doubt on the eve of his departure from India, Mr. Layton disclaimed all idea of reverting to the "doles systems," reversion to which his scheme placed before the Central and Provincial Committees seemed to suggest. That was in reply to the criticisms made in the Press. But he made two important propositions of considerable financial integrity which cannot be overlooked. He stated that "we cannot accept the conception of the present provinces of British India as suitable self-contained fiscal

units entitled to all the revenues arising in them—subject only to a proportionate contribution to the central budget." He suggested as a result therefore the constitution of a National Fund out of the savings of the central revenue and more largely out of the proceeds of new taxation which were all to be under the Central Government. Mr. Layton seems to endorse the statement of Mr. Sarma: "A vivid system of centralised responsible administration will therefore prove a more efficacious antidote to waste and extravagance than provincial financial autonomy. No scheme which fails to take note of the varying conditions of economic growth of the country can possibly succeed in establishing an equitable system of taxation and it would be difficult to allocate revenues equitably in the present conditions of the different provinces." The chief consideration which has, more than these things, weighed with him in reverting to centralised finance is the fact that the Central Government is also to be responsible to the people. He envisages a stage when the Central Government will be completely responsible to the people, in which event the revenues will be managed by a ministry amenable to and controlled by the legislature. It does not appear as though that the Simon Commission will lead to the introduction of responsible government in the Central Government. If they do not, we shall have lost the advantages of decentralised financial administration without joining the benefits of a unitary system in a responsible government.

Mr. Sarma is an incurable optimist. He seems to think that the next stage in our constitutional revolution must be towards a unitary system, the several provinces being reduced to the position of mere administrative agencies, their autonomy being limited to law and order, local self-government and certain subjects which do not carry heavy financial commitments. In this the only Indian politician of note who approximates to his views is Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar who has put forward a passionate plea for a unitary type as opposed to a federal type of administration. It would seem as though even here his views may ultimately prevail. Provincial autonomy under the conditions which Mr. Layton's scheme, if fully developed, may involve, will be a close approximation to Mr. Sarma's scheme ably developed in his book. It may perhaps be

wiser to reconstruct a department of tax administration without political bias and prejudices much earlier than we may be forced to in the long run. The Civil Service now is more a political instrument than a tax-collecting agency. With the development of responsible government there must be a definite cleavage between the legislature that lays down the policy and the Services that carry it out. Mr. Sarma asks us to beware lest we be too late and in passages of striking eloquence he deals with the problem of the Services in a firm and far-seeing manner.

We have no space to deal with the other topics elaborately dealt with in this book. The problem of Native States, the problem

of Defence and the Administration of Justice, are elaborately discussed and his views are stated clearly and forcibly. In fact, there is not a subject which is not dealt with by the author in his own inimitable way. We have great pleasure in commending this book to the readers of the *Hindustan Review*, for whether one may agree with Mr. Sarma or not, on all points, there can be no gainsaying that this book, *Towards Swaraj*, is a thoughtful and thought-provoking contribution to the solution of the problem of the constitutional development of India on lines of responsible government. The author is an experienced publicist who is closely in touch with our public affairs and his treatment of the subject is, therefore, on the whole, sound and suggestive.

PROHIBITION : A NATIONAL ISSUE

BY

MR. S. G. WARTY, M.A. (*Hon. Secretary to the Indian Institute of Political and Social Science, Bombay*)

Will Prohibition come in our time? Will it be an accomplished fact in India within the next twenty years at least? That the movement is gathering force cannot be doubted. Yet one cannot feel sure that the diffused character of our efforts and the considerable waste of energy involved in fighting the battle separately in each province on the provincial platform will lead us on to the goal within any measurable period of time.

Regarding the principle of prohibition itself, there does not exist any practical difference of opinion. All communities in the country except the Anglo-Indian community would welcome it. Even as regards the Anglo-Indian community, the Christian missionaries are entirely with us and are even prominently fighting the battle for us in a disinterested manner. So far as Government

are concerned, Prohibition *if practicable* would be acceptable to them. The disagreement between Government and the public,—if it should arise and it does arise, is as regards the right meaning of the words "*if practicable*."

Prohibition then being accepted as the goal, one vital question calls for full discussion. Should prohibition be adopted for the country as a whole or should it be allowed to come in slowly province by province? In other words, should it be left to the Provincial Governments to take action in the matter individually and independently of the Government of India or should the Government of India themselves treat prohibition as a national question, declare their acceptance of the goal and lay down a national policy and programme to be carried out simultaneously in all the provinces and throughout the country? Which will be the more desir-

able, the more effective and the easier course to follow? This is the first and the most outstanding question demanding discussion in prohibition politics. Incidentally another question would also arise, "should prohibition be reached by degrees and stages, by having recourse to various devices such as rationing and local option, or should it be adopted immediately and all at once?"

On the decisions that we take in regard to these questions, will depend the future of prohibition in India. The position at the present date is this. The Government of India have completely divested themselves of any responsibility in regard to a policy of prohibition. In their opinion, the Excise Departments and the Excise revenue are now provincial concerns under the popular control of Ministers and the question of prohibition may therefore better be left to the option of the Province. It is so now, and each province may if it chooses adopt prohibition. Thus Bombay has adopted Prohibition as its goal and Madras also followed suit. To what extent these provinces have progressed in the direction of that goal may form subjects of separate discussion. But the essence of the whole situation at present is that Prohibition, if it should come at all, should come through the provinces and that the Government of India hold aloof and are even silent.

In these circumstances, I cannot but think that our efforts in the cause of prohibition are being largely wasted. Prohibition is and ought to be a national issue, and only when treated as such will it be really practicable and more easily reached. The Public and Government have both to recognise this fact very clearly. Until this fact is realized and until the programme and direction of our efforts are modified in due recognition of this fact, the fate of prohibition in India would be hanging in the balance. Let

me proceed to show how this would happen.

A policy of total prohibition necessarily means the loss of present excise revenue in the provinces, and of customs revenue on imported liquors to the Central exchequer as well as extra cost of Preventive staff. So far as the Excise and Customs revenues are concerned, these will have to be given up in any case; but the extra cost of preventive staff can be minimised by various means. Now if each province takes action in this matter independently and piece-meal, it will entail much more expenditure in regard to extra cost than if the Government of India took action for the country as a whole. In the latter case, no steps will be required to guard against the smuggling of liquor from one province into another. Therefore with a view to economise the cost of prohibition and to make its adoption as easily practicable as possible, the Government of India themselves should take the initiative in this matter and bring about prohibition simultaneously in all provinces, instead of leaving the matter to the option of each province.

It has often been asserted that the cost of prohibition in India would be prohibitive. But under a national scheme, there is no reason why it should be so. Though it is difficult to estimate correctly the cost of prohibition in India under a national scheme, an idea can be had from the cost to the United States of America whose experience shows that a bold forward policy of prohibition has really nothing to fear from embarrassment. The following quotations from the article on "Prohibition" in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (13th edition, 1926, Vol. 31, page 233) give the figures in regard to the United States:—

"The Federal Budget for 1925-26 carried a total of \$21,940,529 for prohibition enforcement which included

\$12,634,000 for the coast guard excluding the cost to the States, which in most cases is more than off-set by fines collected, which indeed in some instances are a source of revenue to the States, and excluding the expenditure of the Department of Justice on account of the Volstead Act which of course cannot be segregated in the general appropriation for the Department of Justice, it is estimated that the total expenditure on account of the Prohibition Law by the Federal Government for the fiscal year 1925-26, will be a little more than \$19,300,000." The same article further states that the most conservative estimate of the direct economic benefits of prohibition in dollars and cents, is much greater than the net cost of present enforcement plus the loss of revenue from the Federal taxation of the liquor traffic at its highest level in pre-prohibition days. In India which is a smaller country than the United States and has an inconsiderable drinking population compared with the latter, and where religious sentiments besides are against drinking, the total annual cost of prohibition enforcement would be much less than in the United States, i.e., less than Rs. 5½ crores.

Then again, the resources of the Government of India in finding new means of revenue to make up the loss of excise and customs revenue on liquor and to meet the cost of enforcement, are undoubtedly superior to those of the Provincial Governments. This is a fact which has long been known, and the latest testimony thereto comes from Mr. Layton, Financial Advisor to the Simon Commission who in his short note on the "Financial Relations between the Central and Provincial Governments" stresses this point with great emphasis. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments may in due consultation with one another together settle upon a programme of new taxation, provincial and imperial, the im-

perial of course proving more substantial of the two.

Apart from these financial considerations there are other important reasons why a national scheme by the Government of India can only be carried out so as to make prohibition truly effective. There are numerous Indian States scattered throughout the country over whose excise policy it would be necessary to have control. Such control can be exercised effectively only by the Government of India and not by the Provincial Governments. Similarly, even if a Provincial Government starts on a policy of prohibition independently, the help of the Government of India will have to be invoked in any case, because no prohibition can be effective unless and until the imports of foreign liquor are controlled, and this is a matter regarding which the Government of India alone are competent to take action.

The conclusions arrived at above will be fortified by our experiences regarding the enforcement of a policy of prohibition adopted by the Government of Bombay. Soon after the Montford Reforms were introduced, the Bombay Government through their Minister of Excise accepted prohibition as their goal to be reached within a period of 20 years by a policy of continuous rationing of country liquor throughout the period. The experiment continued for five years continuously, and showed great reduction in the consumption of country liquor. There was some loss of revenue but it was nothing compared to the reduced consumption. Even the consumption of foreign liquor for the first three years of the experiment showed a decline. Thereafter, the consumption of foreign liquor showed a steady increase but yet falling far short of the reduction attained in the consumption of country liquor. But anyhow, this gave an excuse and a handle to the Com-

missioner of Excise to pick up a row in his official communications and administration reports against the policy of rationing and prohibition as a whole. His cry was gleefully adopted by the Anglo-Indian Press and until today a continuous propaganda against prohibition is being carried out.

So long as the Ministers were strong enough, rationing continued unchecked. But the shuffling and reshuffling of portfolios owing to the very frequent changes in the personnel of the Ministry, gave opportunities to the bureaucracy to meddle with previous decisions and the result was that after six years of continuous rationing, it was completely suspended throughout the Presidency proper, with of course the usual pious declaration that the goal of prohibition has not been given up by Government. The reasons given for this step were that the rationing of country liquor has encouraged the consumption of foreign liquor, that crime has increased vastly in all parts of the Presidency and lastly the estimated cost of preventive staff for the enforcement of complete prohibition was quite prohibitive.

Thus in every province, if it should adopt prohibition independently of other provinces, the cost of enforcement and preventive staff is bound to be considerable; similarly, unless foreign liquor was also rationed, the rationing of country liquor would not prove completely effective. But the greatest difficulty comes from the Excise Department. This Department fights for its very existence, and naturally enough. Under a policy of complete prohibition, this Department would be wiped out of existence. It therefore presents the greatest obstacles in the way of prohibition. It is ever busy in showing that illicit distillation has increased vastly and that the number of crimes has grown immeasurably. In Bombay for example there are confidential circulars from the

Superintendents to the Excise Inspectors that the latter must report at least a certain number of cases every month and that if they did not they would be reported as incompetent to the Commissioner. The Excise Inspectors in their turn, betake themselves to the easy device of splitting cases and sometimes even manufacturing them with a view to multiply them and swell the number. In this manner, the number of crimes reported is artificially increased and then the declaration goes forth that owing to the policy of continuous rationing, crime has vastly increased and the cry is taken up by the Anglo-Indian Press and carried to the four winds as through the Megaphone.

In these circumstances, it would be next to impossible to follow out a continuous policy of prohibition in Provinces. Only when it is completely beyond the power of the Excise Department, to influence the policy of Government in this respect, has that policy any chance of succeeding to the end. But even supposing that the battle is won in one province, it has to be fought over again in another province and so on in other provinces. Therefore to proceed through the provinces is altogether a wrong process. It not only requires unnecessary multiplication of efforts by reason of the battle having to be fought out independently and separately in each province, it would more often fail than succeed because of the very weight of the obstacles to be encountered. *Prohibition therefore ought to be fought out as a national issue.* The efforts of the whole country should be concentrated on persuading, urging or compelling the Government of India to adopt it as a national policy. Only then can we hope to attain prohibition within a measurable period of time.

The question whether prohibition should come by degrees and stages or should be reached immediately and all at

once is one of minor importance. Moral enthusiasts demand prohibition immediately, now and here. The practically-minded people consider that it should better come by stages without causing intolerable dislocation to our previous engagements and existing arrangements. In the latter case, the usual methods adopted are rationing and local option

and these are effective enough. There is practically a consensus of opinion that 20 years should be the period within which in any case complete prohibition should be attained. This is an adequately long period for the adjustment of the finances, and for the due discharge of obligations to the various interests concerned.

INDIA THROUGH THE AGES: V.—WHAT THE BRITISH HAVE DONE IN INDIA

BY

DR. SIR JADUNATH SIRCAR, KT., C.LE.

The Portuguese were the first among the Europeans to settle in India. They have enriched Indian vocabulary and medical science to some extent; their descendants (usually of mixed breed) spread through all the provinces of India and were a noticeable element of the population in the Mughal age. But the Portuguese as rulers created a strong feeling of repulsion in the Indian mind, by their cruelty, their religious bigotry such as the conversion of the temples of Santi-Durga into Christian churches,—their establishment of the inquisition at Goa, and their rapid moral decline. The Indian territory under their rule was very small in area and situated in an obscure and rather inaccessible corner of the peninsula. Hence the influence of the Portuguese on Indian life and thought has been negligible.

The modernization of India is the work of the English, and it has affected the entire Indian continent.

The Europeans have struck the undefended seaboard of India. The sole

condition of their power is naval supremacy, and their hold on India can be maintained only by a regular flow of reinforcements from their distant homeland in every generation. Thus, unlike the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Scythians, Pathans and Mughals, the English have not made India their home, they must ever be sojourners in this land and keep up a constant intercourse with their European home in the form of the double stream of incoming recruits and home-returning veterans. Their rise and fall depend not on what happens in India, but on the military and political position of their mother country, which is the central powerhouse of their far-flung empire.

In many respects the English have continued, but in a more thorough fashion and over a much wider area of India, the work begun by the Mughal Empire, and in some others they have introduced new forces which were unknown in the Mughal age. The English influence on Indian life and thought, which is still working and still very far from its completion, is

comparable only to the ancient Aryan stimulus, in its intensity and its all-pervasive character.

(i) The first gift of the English to India is universal peace, or freedom from foreign invasion and internal disorder. How valuable peace is for national growth can be best understood by contrast if we study the history of Western India before 1817 or of the Punjab in the 18th century. The British Indian Empire extends over the whole of India as well as the neighbouring lands east and west of it. A peace so profound and spread over such an extensive territory had never before been seen in India. The English have completed and carried to perfection the task undertaken by Akbar, but reversed by the anarchy that followed the dissolution of the Mughal Empire after Nadir Shah's invasion.

(ii) Secondly, the English have restored our contact with the outer world. The Mughals had communicated by sea with Persia and Arabia, Zanzibar and the Abyssinian Coast, the Malay Peninsula and Java, and by land with Central Asia. But even this limited range of intercourse had been interrupted by the decline of the Mughal Empire, when Persia and Arabia, Bukhara and Khurasan ceased to send their adventurers and traders to India.

The English have admitted us to the entire outside world,—not only in Asia, but in all other continents as well,—and they have admitted the rest of the world to us, in a degree not dreamt of under Muslim rule. India has now been switched on to the main currents of the great moving world outside, and made to vibrate with every economic or cultural change there. An isolated life is no longer possible even for our remotest villages. A medicinal

discovery in Paris or Toronto becomes available in India in two months. A poor harvest in Poland or Canada makes people in Lyallpur starve by sending up the price of wheat. The telegraph, railway and newspapers have completed the suction of India into the whirlpool of world movements of every kind. We cannot now sit down self-contained, secluded within our natural barriers.

(iii) And not only have these modern agencies connected us with the outer world more extensively and fully than ever before, but joined by the uniformity of administrative system, which characterises the British age, they have also been tending to fuse the various races and creeds of India into one homogeneous people and to bring about social equality and community of life and thought, which are the basis of nationality. The process has just begun, though its completion is yet far off.

(iv) Fourthly, the direct action of the state and even more than that the indirect example of the English people have infused a spirit of progress into the Indians. Our best thinkers are no longer content with adoring the wisdom of our Vedic ancestors, they feel an eternal discontent with things as they are and translate that discontent into action by trying to make our state and religion, education and industry, life and thought better and still better. Our most effective leaders do not repeat the pessimism of pre-British days by despising the moderns as a race of degenerate pigmies and sighing for the return of the golden age of the far-off past (*Satya Yuga*). Their gaze is fixed forward. We have now accepted the principle of progress in practice, even when we profess on our lips to reject it and worship our old indigenous institutions and ideas.

One effect of this attitude of mind on the part of our rulers and wiser

leaders is the increased efficiency and purity of the administration and the various agencies of social service, by conscious persistent effort. To take one instance only, official bribery was admitted to be immoral even in Mughal times, and yet almost all the officials practised it and no edict of the emperor could stop it. The English in the days of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis, took over the rotten remnant of the Mughal administration, and set about reforming it. Their strength lay not only in the solid phalanx of absolutely honest and dependable English officers (after deducting a small number of corrupt or weak ones),—but also in their perseverance and activity, their long-thought-out plans and ceaseless continuity of exertion for purifying the administration. The removal of this abuse has been possible because it has not been dependent on the personality of this governor or that, but has been adopted as the policy and pursued as a generally desired thing by the entire European society in India—both official and non-official. The public have cordially helped the State in purifying the administration.

In fact, modern European civilisation contains within itself a spirit of self-criticism and a perennial desire for reform by voluntary effort. The shock of foreign conquest or the screech of a foreign prophet is not required to waken the nation to a sense of the moral canker that is eating into its vitals. The people are too self-conscious to forget the malady in their body politic. It is daily proclaimed to them from the press and the pulpit.

THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE.

The greatest gift of the English, after universal peace and modernisation of society—and indeed the direct result of these two forces,—is the Renaissance which marked our 19th century. Mo-

dern India owes everything to it. This Renaissance was at first an intellectual awakening and influenced our literature, education, thought, and art; but in the next generation it became a moral force and reformed our society and religion. Still later, in the third generation from its commencement it has led to the beginning of the economic modernisation of India.

When the English power first asserted itself in India in the middle of the 18th century, the country had reached the lowest point of moral decay and political weakness. Northern India had enjoyed a fairly long spell of peace and growth of wealth during the 160 years of stable rule under the Mughal emperors from 1570 to 1730. But thereafter material prosperity had been destroyed, the population thinned, trade and communication interrupted, and culture thrown backwards, by incessant warfare among small States, or between rival claimants to the throne, and the incursions of predatory bands that took advantage of the anarchy and administrative weakness following the eclipse of the great empire of Delhi. Over the Mysore plateau and the Madras Karnatak, the fall of the Vijayanagar empire (1565) had let loose the dogs of civil war and rapine. After 1687, the dissolution of the sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda—which had maintained peace and order in these parts for about a hundred years—left this country a prey to four sets of contending but weak authorities,—the representatives of the old Hindu rulers, the now masterless vassals and captains of Bijapur and Golkonda, the Mughal conqueror (who claimed to be their heir-at-law), and the Maratha intruders. The economic desolation caused by these forces is graphically described in the old Factory Records of Madras and the Memoirs of the Founder of Pondicherry.

In the next century, i.e., the eighteenth, began the succession wars in the families of the Nizam and the Nawab of Arcot, which ravaged this unhappy land for a generation.

On the western side of the Deccan, the downfall, first of the Bahmani Empire (c. 1526) and then of its successor, the monarchy of Ahmadnagar (c. 1600), caused local aspirants to kingship to fight out their ceaseless wars of ambition throughout the first half of the 17th century, while in the second half of that century, the rise of the Marathas and then the Mughal-Maratha struggle denied peace and quiet to the troubled country till the rise of the Peshwas (c. 1730).

Northern India became a scene of plunder and slaughter after the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1748), and this anarchy ceased only with Lord Lake's victorious entrance into Delhi in 1803.

Bengal had greatly prospered under the Mughal peace from the reign of Jahangir (when the last remnant of Pathan power and the refractory independent zamindars were crushed by the Delhi forces) to the battle of Plassey (1757). But that battle had encouraged upcountry robber-bands, calling themselves *Sannyasis* or *fakirs*, to flock to the province which was supposed to be masterless after the fall of its old Nawabs. It taxed all the energy and organising genius of Warren Hastings to stamp out the Sannyasi pest, but he succeeded in the end.

In fact, the unsettled condition of the country and the decay of normal civilised life among the people can be best judged from the fact that just before Wellesley imposed British suzerainty over the country, i.e., at the end of the 18th century, there were a million mercenary soldiers

seeking employment at any Indian Court that would hire them. These men had no loyalty, no local patriotism, no discipline. The ruin of agriculture and trade over most parts of India as the result of the disintegration of the Mughal empire, drove all strong and ambitious men to seek their livelihood by flocking to the profession of soldiers of fortune or to that of robbers.

Thus it happened that in the middle years of the 18th century, Mughal civilisation, which had done so much good to India from the reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb, was like a spent bullet; all its life and vigour were gone. This rottenness at the core of Indian society first made itself felt in the form of military and political weakness. The country could not defend itself; royalty was hopelessly depraved and imbecile; the nobles were selfish and short-sighted; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion, literature, art and even true religion perished.

Just at this time the West struck India with irresistible impact, though its full force was concealed for one generation, namely, the period from Clive to Cornwallis. Then followed what we may rightly call the dark age of modern India; the period extending from Cornwallis to Bentinck (or roughly 1790 to 1830), during which the old order was dead, but the new had not yet begun, and nobody could foresee what shape the life and thought of India to come would take.

In the interests of efficiency and public good, the Indians were totally excluded from the public service, the command of the army, and the control of education. The future seemed hopelessly dark to the great-grandsons of Aurangzeb's generals and ministers, poets and scholars who found themselves reduced to obscurity and unemployment in the early British administration.

But the destruction of the old order which took place under Warren Hastings and Cornwallis was a necessary process before the new order could come into being. It was a painful, but indispensable operation, like the burning of the stubble on the reaped field, as a preparation for the next crop. To the English destroyer of the old order in India, we might truly apply the words of Kalidas.

"Holy father! this curse of yours is really a blessing in disguise. When the fire burns a cultivated field it makes it the more fertile for sending up shoots from seeds sown." (Raghuvamsam ix.)

I, therefore, prefer to call it the "seed time of New India."

At the end of this period, *i.e.*, in Lord William Bentinck's time, we find Indians again beginning to take an honourable and responsible part in guiding their countrymen's thoughts, shaping the national life, and conducting the country's government. But these were Indians of a new breed; they drew their inspiration and their strength not from the East but from the West. They had acquired English learning and had thus properly equipped themselves for the work of the modern age. They were the first fruits of the Indian Renaissance and their prophet was Ram Mohan Roy, whose life (1774—1833) exactly bridges this dark age in the history of modern India.

ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The history of the Indian Renaissance is profoundly interesting and deserves a detailed treatment. It began with our study of English literature and modern philosophy and science from books written in the English language. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Indian to write books in English and he visited England. The beginnings of English education can be traced even earlier than his time, but the knowledge of English acquired by his predecessors,—whether in Bengal or

in Madras,—was limited to the requirements of clerks and interpreters serving English masters, it was not pursued as an instrument of culture by our entire literate class. As early as 1790 we find an appeal published in a Calcutta paper by a Bengali gentleman inviting some European to write a grammar of the English language for the benefit of the Bengali people.

But from 1810 onwards we find English education, at first of the school standard, spreading throughout Bengal, thanks to the efforts of the Christian missions. Two external causes contributed to this development of schools:

(i) Lord Wellesley's conquests not only established British paramountcy and gave internal peace to India, but extended the English dominion throughout that ancient home of civilisation, the Gangetic valley up to Delhi.

(ii) The missionaries were allowed by the Marquis of Hastings to carry on their propaganda in British territory instead of being confined to the Danish settlement of Serampur, as they had been by the East India Company's orders up to 1810.

The College of Fort William, which the far-sighted Wellesley had founded in 1800, though it was soon afterwards starved and curtailed, gave a great impetus to English education, by bringing European officer-students and Indian teachers together, and compelling each to learn the language of the other. This college, however, did not tend to diffuse the knowledge of English among our countrymen. Up to Lord William Bentinck's time (1835) it was held by Government that European philosophy and science should be taught to the Indians by translation into Sanskrit and Arabic, and not through the medium of English.

But long before that date the people had taken their destiny into their own

hands and begun to flock to the English schools started by the missionaries and by a few enlightened Indians. English education was not a gift of the E. I. Company's government, though some financial aid was given to it by the State from 1835 onwards. Previous to that date all the expenses of the schools had been borne by the pupils, the missionaries, or Indian donors and English subscribers. As late as 1850, nearly 47 per cent of the total educational expenditure in Bengal was met from the pupils' fees and private subscriptions.

The passion of young Bengal to study English literature, even before Lord William Bentinck opened the subordinate civil service to them in 1834, is well illustrated by Sir Charles Trevelyan.

"On the opening of the Hughli College, in August, 1836, students of English flocked to it in such numbers as to render the organization and classification of them a matter of difficulty. Twelve hundred names were entered on the books of this department of the college within three days... There appears to be no limit to the number of scholars except that of the number of teachers whom the Committee [of public instruction] is able to provide. Notwithstanding the extraordinary concourse of English students at Hughli, the demand was so little exhausted, that when an auxiliary school was lately opened within two miles of the college, the English department of it was instantly filled and numerous applicants were sent away unsatisfied." ["On the

Education of the People of India," 1836 p. 82.]

He continues: "The curiosity of the people is thoroughly roused, and the passion for English knowledge has penetrated the most obscure, and extended to the most remote parts of India. The steam boats, passing up and down the Ganges, are boarded by native boys, begging not for money but for books.... Some English gentlemen coming to Calcutta were astonished at the eagerness with which they were pressed for books by a troop of boys, who boarded the steamer from an obscure place called Kumarkhali [120 miles north of Calcutta].... The gentlemen at last hit upon the expedient of cutting up an old *Quarterly Review*, and distributing the articles among them" (p. 167).

From 1835, when Government adopted the policy of giving State aid and supervision to schools teaching English in preference to those teaching Oriental classical languages, English schools multiplied very quickly, their number was trebled in Bengal in the next five years (1836-40). Another impetus was given to the movement by Sir Henry Hardinge, who, on 10th October, 1844, issued a resolution announcing that in future preference would be given, in first appointments, to candidates educated in the Government English schools. Ten years rolled by, and then our educational edifice was crowned by the establishment of a University on the model of the London University in each of our three Presidencies,—as ordered in the Despatch of 1854 and passed by legislation in 1857.

A STUDY OF BIRTH-CONTROL

BY

Late MRS. LUCY M. PEARCE*

- I. IS BIRTH-CONTROL NECESSARY?
- II. BIRTH-CONTROL *versus* SOCIALISM.
- III. KARMA AND OVER-POPULATION.
- IV. INDIA'S SOCIALISTIC SOLUTION.

I

Birth-control is being seriously discussed now, even in India. And one cannot help wondering whether such a thing is at all in accord with the spirit of India.

It is being discussed now in two connections, one of which affects India with immediate insistence. The question of birth-control has arisen with regard to over-population. For it, since the days of Malthus, this has been a suggested remedy.

But is it one which the real culture of India will tolerate? To start with, are any but quack methods, advertized in newspapers, dangerous in the extreme, known as yet in India, in connection with birth-control? In America, it is said, matters stand differently now, safe and sure methods of contraception being widely practised. In England also, this is said to be the case. But is it so in India?

Even if it is, is India going to approve it?

For there is another remedy—support of all the children by the State. Is not Socialism in harmony with the system of life and government which has prevailed throughout the villages of India down the ages? Is not this far more in accord with the genius of India?

The question of birth-control has arisen in America in connection with

another economic problem, which is also a social problem—and as such vitally concerns India too, and raises several fascinatingly interesting and romantic ideas, the question of trial or companionate marriage.

Now, I am quite aware, that after so many centuries of monarchical and oligarchical rule, of the prevalence of the *purdah* system, of marriages arranged by parents often without the two parties having even seen one another for a moment, of child or infant-marriage, all these new ideas sound very revolutionary in India. But I am not so sure that they are such new ideas after all. I should not be at all surprised if it is some day found out that in the old times which are so ancient that they have been completely forgotten, and all record of them lost, all these "new" things existed. Some of them certainly were provided for in that ancient country where some pre-marital sex-experience was held to be the necessary and right thing for *girls*! Some knowledge or rough actual experience of what wifehood meant was considered essential before that condition was entered upon permanently.

This leads us on to the question of trial or companionate marriage with a vengeance! And we know that there were several kinds of marriage prevailing in India—I think there were eight different kinds,—one of which required no ceremony at all.

*[It is our sad duty to note that the talented writer of this article passed away to the other world while her precious contribution was under publication. She was the Principal of the local Montessori Theosophical School, and her premature demise marks the end of a highly useful life which was dedicated to the country of her adoption. As a theosophist she believed in the continuity of life beyond death and we trust her spirit will always commune from the other world with her noble work left here which will certainly outlive her. Ed.]

Most of the world's ideas were started in India, but the world doesn't know it because it happened so long ago. As a matter of fact probably every possible kind of "new" social custom which will or can be suggested for adoption during the lifetime of our race, while India remains as its Motherland, will be found to have existed somewhere in India. This has been the country of archetypes for the Race. At some time or other every custom has prevailed here which ought to prevail at any time in the Race's course. Traces of them are found in all sorts of odd corners. Most things indeed have been done in India.

Modern systems of education, for instance, are found to be not so new after all. India receives them as well-trying old friends, with open arms,—often in despite of the European Inspectors! or without very much encouragement from them. The Montessori and the Dalton systems are cases in point.

"Trial" and "companionate" marriages are not the same thing. The trial marriage is frankly "trial." People who cannot get to know each other well enough in any other way—and some say: "Who can?"—live together for a year or two in order to try whether they can do so harmoniously. They usually practise birth-control so as not to have children during the trial period.

"Companionate" marriage sets out to be permanent, if possible, though not setting out to have a family until that permanency is firmly assured. Hence, in this relationship also, birth-control is practised.

But even if children were born during the trial or companionate period of such marriages, it is a question whether things would really be any worse for them than they are now when there is not only so much poverty, but so many quarrels and

all sorts of unseemly happenings in their homes. Such things would be avoided if people experimented in living together, before they got married for life, not afterwards, so that they could get to know one another thoroughly beforehand. If they were free to separate, they would probably never part. And if they did, they would not have been so terribly unhappy. The unhappiness which is the profanation of so many marriages now, would not profane marriage to anything like the same extent, if separation were known to be possible and perfectly respectable. It is the feeling of bondage, of inevitability, of permanency, which makes unhappiness, if it does come about, so harrowing. The children suffer bitterly and carry the scars of that suffering in their minds and hearts for the whole of their lives.

If trial and companionate marriages were entered into without birth-control, and children were born, even if their parents did separate very soon, these children could be provided for quite as well as children are now. In India they could be supported and brought up in joint families. But better still would it be if they were supported by the State. Because then the State would have to see to it that they were born into healthy conditions. And then we should soon see child-marriage abolished! with many other abuses which are allowed to wreck children's lives. I believe India will jump to the idea—as her own,—as the idea of a country which is truly the "Mother" country, a nation which puts child-welfare before all else.

And when India is free, as a respected co-partner in the Empire, her ideas will have some weight in the affairs of the world as a whole. And then the world will know that most of its ideas were born in India, and found here their natural soil and took root again when they were brought back.

II

I do not think India will have need of birth-control. I do not think she will find it a congenial expedient, and I think when she is free, she will not find it necessary. When India manages her own internal affairs, I believe State Socialism will rapidly come about. Socialism is congenial to the genius of India. (And birth-control will die a natural death throughout the world.)

In America at present Socialism has been rejected. But they have found there that it is a choice between Socialism or birth-control. The same thing is being found out in England. France is being besought to give up birth-control. What are other countries going to do about it? And what example is India going to set? India the Motherland, with the Watchword of the nations on Her lips to give!

Birth-control is sheer waste of vital energy. Call it by whatever pretty names we may, that is just what it is. It means utter weakening of the entire nature, physical, moral, mental and spiritual. There is no getting away from that fact. Is India, justly famed as a far more spiritual nation than any other in the world, going to admit this thing or tolerate it? Are Indian women going to allow it among them? I do not believe for one moment that they will.

Birth-control is *not* necessary. Neither the world nor India are really over-populated at all. What is necessary is division of labour, that all work shall be productive of essential things, that *food* for the children shall be the *first* thing produced—before any fancy manufactures from other countries should be learnt,—and that everyone shall have an equal income to live upon.

Bernard Shaw, in his latest masterly book on Socialism, shows all this very clearly. He shows that it is not true that

the "world is too small to produce food enough for all the people in it." He says:

"What is true is that the more civilized people there are in the world the poorer most of them are relatively; but the plain cause of this is that the wealth they produce and the leisure they provide for are so unequally divided between them that at least half of them are living parasitically on the other half instead of producing maintenance for themselves...."

"Instead of too many people in the world there are too many idlers, and much too many workers wasting their time in attending on idlers. Get rid of the idlers, and set these workers to useful work, and we shall hear no more for a long time yet about the world being overcrowded. Nature has a way with her in these matters."

By "get rid of the idlers" he means set them to three or four hours' productive work every day. He continues to explain:

"Whether an increase of population will make the country richer or poorer depends, not on the natural fruitfulness of the earth, but on whether the additional people are set to do useful work or not. If they are, then the country will be richer. If, however, the additional people are set to work unproductively for the property owners as servants, or armed guardians of the rights of property, or in any of the other callings or professions to minister only to the owners, then the country will be poorer, though the property owners may become richer, the display of diamonds and fine dresses and cars much more splendid."

India never has believed in any divine rights of property. Shaw explains further:

"In the natural course of things the more people there are in a country the richer it ought to be, because of the advantage of the division of labor. Division of labor means that instead of every man having to do work for himself like Robinson Crusoe, the different sorts of work are done by different sets of men, who become very quick and skilful at their job by doing nothing else. Also their work can be directed by others who give their whole

minds to directing it. The time saved in this way can be used in making machinery, roads, and all sorts of contrivances for saving more time and labor later on. That is how twenty workers can produce much more than twice what ten can produce, and a hundred much more than five times what twenty can produce. If wealth

and the labor of producing it were equally shared, a population of a hundred would be much better off than a population of ten, and so on up to modern populations of millions, which ought to be enormously better off than the old communities of thousands."

(To be continued)

MISS KATHERINE MAYO'S LATEST PRODUCTION *

BY

MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

"Now, it is not good for the Christian's health to hustle the Aryan brown.

For the Christian smiles and the Aryan smiles, and he weareth the Christian down;

And the end of the fight is a tombstone white, with the name of the late deceased.

And the epitaph reads: 'A fool lies here who tried to hustle the East.'"

Rudyard Kipling: *The Naulakha*.

Until we read Miss Katherine Mayo's *Slaves of the Gods*, we had been under the impression that she had exhausted all the available stock of her invective in writing her previous book, "*Mother India*." We now perceive that we had done that worthy lady considerable injustice and that we had very much under-rated her capacity for mischief and vilification. The mistake we made was in imagining that that book contained her quintessence, that it was her master-piece; and that, having written it and having fulfilled her life's mission she would not care to meddle again in our affairs; that in future, at all events, she would let us well alone. We thought that she had earned sufficient notoriety to last two, or even three, lives and that, judged by the ordinary standards, her craving for the applause of the gallery would have been satisfied. But we forgot that that good lady should not have been judged by ordinary standards. We forgot, in other words, that she is, in the first place, an American, in the second, an American woman, and, in the third, herself. All these factors put together should have precluded

anybody from taking her to be a normal human being. Her abnormality, it will be seen, is at least three deep; and an apology is due to her for the strange lapse in our judgment. Miss Mayo has taught us a lesson; and henceforth we shall not, we assure her, set *any* limit to her genius for evil. Her *Mother India* was, in all conscience, bad enough. But she has gone one better in her *Slaves of the Gods*, and has thereby shown us that the springs of her venom have not gone dry, — at any rate, not yet; and so we expect a third book from her in which she will, we hope, surpass even her previous feats. God grant that she may!

II

Miss Mayo has done no less than throw a challenge to the Hindus and to the Hindu religion; and she has at her back nearly the whole of the peoples of America and England. Let us not be deceived. Miss Mayo and her supporters are in earnest; they would not, if only it were feasible, stick at anything to "wipe us off the face of the earth," in the celebrated phrase of one of the arch-enemies of India, *The New Statesman*. It is not as if, in the inspiration of the moment, Miss Mayo had written one book, *Mother India*, and, the inspiration over, had rested on her oars ever since. She has *not* done that. The issues, in her opinion, are tremendous; and she is not the person to let the grass grow under her feet. She has, therefore, returned to the attack, as a dog returneth to its vomit, and she has returned

* *Slaves of the Gods*. By Miss Katherine Mayo. (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London), 1929.

to it with, if possible, treble the original force. We congratulate Miss Katherine Mayo. She has, unlike most of us, a mission in life; and though that mission, both in its origin and in its development, is utterly despicable, it is a mission nonetheless on the principle laid down by Mr. Macey in *Silas Marner*: "And you're a doctor, I reckon, though you're only a cow-doctor for a fly's a fly, though it be only a horse-fly." And a mission, obviously, is a mission, though it may stink to heaven. Miss Mayo, we repeat, is out,—as are her supporters—to crush us, Hindus, and our religion. It has been said that we must needs love the highest when we see it. But, it appears, Miss Mayo *hates* the highest when *she* sees it. For, if there is anything higher than the Hindu religion, we have yet to hear its name. This may be a revelation to her and her friends, like Dr. Whitehead, the ex-Lord Bishop of Madras, whom she brings forward and on the very first page of her book, as her stoutest champion, as her greatest protagonist. The reverend gentleman, in the course of a letter to Miss Mayo, says: "We in the West have the inestimable advantage of a religion that stands for purity and righteousness" (p. 13): the implication, of course, being that Hinduism is not only not so great a religion as Christianity, but that it is so far below it that it actually *sanctions* impurity and unrighteousness. We could retort if we wanted, but we forbear as our religion enjoins tolerance on its adherents. And, as for the reverend doctor, he ought to have known better. Enjoying, as he says he does, the "inestimable advantage" of his religion, he should have been careful not to throw a stone at ours. Christianity, we are sure, does not, any more than does Hinduism advocate vilification of other religions. Jesus Christ said to his apostles: "Go ye forth and spread my gospel among others," but he did not, as far as we know, say: "Go ye forth and spread my gospel among others by reviling other faiths." But, of course, it is open to Dr. Whitehead to reply: "I know more, infinitely more of Jesus Christ's teachings than can a non-Christian."

Miss Mayo's book, then, reeks with the missionary spirit. She writes, commenting on the Bishop's so-called criticism:—

"If there were still more emissaries of the Christian religion who displayed his undivided purpose, his brilliant carelessness of the possible personal consequences of loyalty to

his colours, his certainty of the supreme value of the faith he declares, the definite harvest of Christianity in India might not be so largely limited to the outcaste" (p. 15). Is not the cat out of the bag at last? So that it will be seen that *one* purpose at least of her book is to make converts of us all: The learned doctor says further: "The view I took was that the evils you describe, are deeply rooted in the Hindu religion and that my business as a Christian missionary was to lay the axe to the root of the tree rather than to deal with the fruits. But I am not sure that I was right . . ." (p. 13). We hasten to assure him that he was never so wrong in all his life. He continues: "Take the case of sexual morality. I do not think that the peoples of the West are by nature purer than the peoples of India . . ." Now, now, now, why this *expressive* modesty? But we shall be bolder, and inform Dr. Whitehead that we are *convinced* that the peoples of the West are by nature *much less pure* than the peoples of India; and that anybody, not a congenital idiot, knows it for himself. Take the Hyde Park scandals in England—Hyde Park where no man or woman that values his or her reputation may go after dusk, for the whole Park, after a certain hour in the evening, is one spacious, open-air brothel: a regular sexual pandemonium. Take the innumerable divorce court proceedings, now shut out by legislation from public view. Take the recently introduced "companionate" or experimental marriages in America. Read Mr. Upton Sinclair's and Mr. Sinclair Lewis' books (as regards America); and Mr. Aldous Huxley's (as regards England). In Mr. Huxley's latest Novel, *Point Counter Point*, he writes of one of his characters: "The ideal was to live, emotionally and socially speaking, from hand to mouth, —without plans, without a status, in good company of one's own daily choosing, not the choosing of others or of some dead self. 'Sleeping around'—that was how he had heard a young American girl describe the amorous side of the ideal life, as lived in Hollywood" (p. 445). What a delicious and mouth-filling phrase this "sleeping around"! It is more imposing even than Humpty Dumpty's "Impenetrability!" Well done, Hollywood! Well done, America! Thou art very civilized indeed! Take, again, the theme of Miss Radclyffe Hall's proscribed book, *The Well of Loneliness* and of Mr. Compton Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women*;

the theme which is euphemistically called "Lesbian Love." It almost looks, indeed, as if, in the West, large numbers of women can live without love of one sort or another: heterosexual or homosexual. Or read that other recently proscribed novel *Sleeveless Errand* by Norah James and see for yourself what life in the West stands for.

In the teeth of all this, however, Miss Mayo has the audacity to write, in her last chapter of *Slaves of the Gods*, dedicated to the "Women of India," "Few would presume to offer our Western performance as a model for you to copy. The liberty afforded to American women, for example, is as great as is your thralldom; but although the large majority of American women honour that liberty as a commitment loyally to serve the family and the society of which they are a part, some neglect the privilege and some selfishly, thoughtlessly and flagrantly abuse it. Of these last you chiefly hear" (p. 212). In other words, only an infinitesimal minority of American women are immoral—such an infinitesimal minority, indeed, that it hardly counts at all. Whereas, of course, among the Hindus, to find *one* virtuous man or woman is a feat compared to which the labours of Hercules are as nothing! "O the pity of it, Iago! the pity of it!" It is thus evident that Miss Mayo woefully lacks sense of humour. Whom, in fact, does she intend to take in by such statements? Certainly not the Hindus. We are not so gullible. Mayo-fed as they are, the vast majority of the Westerners may be deceived into thinking that her wares are genuine: We know what spurious articles they are. Miss Mayo, first and last, has done us considerable injustice. But by far the greatest injustice that even she has done us is in her taking us to be so many unmitigated fools. We are not, as it happens; and we can see through her game, as perhaps she herself does not.

III

Slaves of the Gods boasts, as did its predecessor, of being "heavily documented." Certainly, there are in it plenty of quotations. Nearly half the book is occupied with them; and they have been gathered from the most heterogeneous sources. All, in fact, is fish that comes to Miss Mayo's wide net. Now, at the very outset, we have a criticism to make. This second book of

hers contains twelve "stories," which, however, she assures us, are not "stories," though cast in story-form, but facts that actually occurred, that took place in cold blood, as it were. "The twelve little narratives that make this little book are records of fact," she says (p. 219). And, on the page opposite the commencement of every story, a paragraph is affixed, beginning with the words: "This narrative is taken from real life." Moreover, the publishers take particular care to inform us on the wrapper: "Dramatic and forceful, incredible almost, as these twelve records appear, yet each one of them is taken from real life and each has been carefully verified." We may, of course, start by asking: "When are 'stories' not 'stories'? When is a thing *not* itself? When is Hamlet *not* the Prince of Denmark?" But we shall not do so. Miss Mayo is not a literary figure, however much she may fancy herself to be one, and we must not subject her to literary tests: it would be monstrously unfair to do so. Remembering that she is a woman, we must be chivalrous even with her and not drive her into a tight corner.

But, then, if what is avowedly written in "fiction-form" is not really "fiction" but the most undisputed history, why did she have recourse to it? What call was there for her to do so? She goes so far as to say, "the names assigned to the characters in the narrative are substitutes for those actually borne by the persons concerned." So that, one sees, she allows no doubt to linger in our minds about the authenticity of her book. But, in that case, why this round-aboutness? Why not be more honest and write the "facts" as "facts"? It will be seen that Miss Mayo gives room for suspicion on the very threshold of her book, so to speak. She is, we grant, undoubtedly clever. But she spoils her case by being too much so; and thus, all unconsciously, tips the fat into the fire. For, when either what is actually a fact goes out into the world, at the express instance of the author, as fiction, or when what avowedly is fiction turns out, at the author's belated hint, to be nothing else but fact, then, what, in common parlance, is called a "lie" is the result. And thus Miss Mayo's first lie appears at the very opening of her book.

Secondly, these twelve "stories" are made to be enacted from the extreme north

to the extreme south: that is to say, Miss Mayo takes all India to be in her jurisdiction. There is, however, nothing inherently unbelievable in this. Given plenty of time, one can accomplish the feat. But, then, Miss Mayo is known to have stayed in India for only a period of *three months*. How then, in such a short space of time, has she become so familiar with the whole length and breadth of our country? Of course, having been born as an American may have had something to do with it. But even on this assumption her feat remains inexplicable. Within a bare three-months' stay, can anyone know what takes place in every nook and corner of any country—not to speak of India? Is Miss Mayo prepared to come forward and affirm that she knows India as much as she pretends to? She may: she is brazen enough to make any statement, be it ever so wild or reckless. In the course of her last chapter, "To the Women of India," she writes: "The twelve little narratives that make this book are records of fact. Perhaps few or none of you can, from your own experience or observation, parallel them all; for few of you are acquainted with more than one section of your country. But not one record will fail of recognition in its own part and social division of India" (p. 219). That is to say, this woman, who stayed only for three months in India, knows all "parts" and "social divisions," whereas, of course, "few or none of you (*i.e.*, the Hindus) can parallel them all." How exquisite! What beautiful condescension! What wonderful versatility! And, moreover, remember that out of these three months, she spent days and days in visiting hospitals and in collecting her celebrated "documents!" Miss Mayo, surely, asks too much of human credulity.

Thirdly, there are some Hindustani sentences in her book: not stray words, but whole sentences. Perhaps, in the intervals of touring and hospital-inspecting, she had been undergoing private tuition in that tongue! Or, maybe, when she left these shores, she took along with her a Hindustani *munshi* to teach her the language in America in the intervals of her story-spinning! Anything, indeed, is possible: she is a Westerner, and an American at that, is she not?

Fourthly, she seems to have got hold of an almost frightening amount of material

to damn our cause with, to shatter our case, to blow it up into smithereens. She quotes from the debates in the Legislative Assembly and Council of State, from many Indian periodicals, from the Census Report, from the "Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928," from an address delivered by someone in a South Indian temple, and from various other sources. She does not reject anything, however mean and contemptible, so long as it comes handy to her: all is grist to her mill. She seems, then, to have consulted the whole extant literature on Indian problems. And that, too, while residing in far-off America! It must strike anyone as a frank impossibility. How was it done?

Our explanation is this: it can, of course, be, at best, but a guess. Some official, or group of officials, must have been at the back of all this. They must have done the entire business except that of the actual writing: which, in the humility of their hearts, they entrusted to the graceful pen of Miss Katherine Mayo. This is our very firm conviction. It is true that she has, time and again, denied that her work was actuated by any political motive. Fortunately, however, it is not incumbent on us to take her word as gospel truth.

We referred, in passing, to Miss Mayo's persistent declaration that her narratives, though written in fiction form, are records of fact. A question crops up immediately. She has quoted vastly, and from several sources, to show her readers that whatever happened in her stories was, as matters exist, likely enough to have happened. Our point is that, having taken so much trouble, she ought to have taken slightly more, and informed us, when, and at which place, those incidents occurred. "'In what year of our Lord?' asked my Uncle Toby." Considering her otherwise meticulous accuracy, it is what one would have expected. As it is, she is nearly convincing, but not quite: and this makes all the difference.

If, however, she herself was not present at the time, and the place, of occurrence of her stories (which, mind you, are nothing but "records of fact"), then she must, as an alternative, have heard of them from someone who was present on the scene. In that case, she might,—considering her extraordinary passion for accuracy,—very well have obliged us by disclosing the name and address of that person, living or dead.

One more "authority," among her galaxy of "authorities," would not, we imagine, have overweighted her book to any appreciable extent. But she does not so oblige us. What can be the reason? Simply this, that the incidents she narrates never did happen. The persons that, according to her, took part in them never lived this side of time! they are but what Swinburne called "daughters of dreams and of stories." Her narratives, therefore, are not, as she alleges, "records of fact," but the most flagrant fiction. The matter with Miss Mayo, in short, is this: she protesteth too much.

We must now conclude. Let knowledge grow from more to more, but more of reverence in us dwell—so sang Tennyson. But Miss Mayo, it is obvious, would like to be allowed to substitute "impudence" for "reverence," for she has nothing of our poet's spirit. She is one huge mass of scandal-mongering, nothing more. All the same,—being the limp rags that we are, which no buckram can stiffen, as Mr. Kipling would put it,—we could have tolerated her if the scandals she reports to a sympathetic British and American audience, were true, or were even partially true. But beyond a shadow of doubt, she has failed in the case she has tried to make out—failed from beginning to end: failed in the uptake as well as the downward trend: wrong in essence and in application. She may convince Westerners, but we, being nearer home, know the utter falsity of her statements. It is, indeed, more easy to convince them than us. By the very nature of their being, they are ever ready to believe anything written to the detriment of Hindu India. It is to their interest that they should so believe. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand that the Westerners, or the most of them, should take Miss Mayo at her word. We have, however, tried to show in this article that, for all the fan-faronade of trumpets with which her book has been ushered in it is, not to mince matters, a tissue of statements—unfounded, unwarranted and even barefaced terminological inexactitudes.

Miss Mayo may choose to imagine that she has, at one stroke of her pen, demolished our religion, our customs, our whole civili-

sation, in fact. But, then, why has she been at so much pains? If the Hindus are, as she says, "mannikins, not men" (p. 31); if, as the *New Statesman* in the course of a review of *Mother India* averred, we are so weak and debilitated that, if the course of evolution and natural selection were to have unimpair-ed sway, we should be "wiped off the face of the earth" in no time; if we are, according to the same oracle, so many "cow-dung-eating sexual debauchees of the plains"; then why, in the name of common-sense, have they put themselves to so much trouble to shatter an already tottering people and civilisation? Because, we submit, *sotto voce*, they do not believe a word of what they say. It is all so much windy rhetoric: so much "sound and fury, signifying nothing": in reality, they are afraid,—afraid of the destruction of their own culture and civilisation. Ever since the Great War these have received a rude shock—in proof of which one may read the article on the subject in the June number of the *Nineteenth Century*. We may, indeed, apply to Miss Mayo the words of Mr. Wells in regard to Mr. Belloc: "He has thrown ordinary courtesy and good manners to the winds because only in that way can he hope for a controversial advantage over me. This disconcerting pose is part of his attack. That is why I am obliged to discuss it here. Upon many points the attack is almost pure pose; there is no tangible argument at all. It is very important to note that and bear that in mind. It has to be borne in mind when Mr. Belloc is accused of inordinate vanity or of not knowing his place in the world. I doubt even if he is really very vain. I realised long ago that his apparent arrogance is largely the self-protection of a fundamentally fearful man. He is a stout fellow in a funk. He is the sort of man who talks loud and fast for fear of hearing the otherside. There is a frightened thing at the heart of all this burly insolence. He has a faith to defend, and he is not sure of his defence. That mitigates much of his offence, even if it mitigates little of his offensiveness." (My italics. We need only substitute "Miss Mayo" for "Mr. Belloc" and female appellatives for the male, and the *raison d'être* of her books becomes at once apparent. She is, in short, a stout woman in a funk and her latest production is still-born.

A VERY ANCIENT INDIAN SEAL

BY

DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc.

Probably no more important archaeological discovery than that of the "Indus Valley Culture" has been made in the present century; the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the Sind Valley have pushed back the history of India by three thousand years, revealing in the second and third millennia B.C., or even earlier, the existence of a pre- and non-Aryan city civilisation hitherto unknown, except for occasional Vedic references to cities of the *Dasyus*. The culture is designated "chalcolithic," because both stone and copper implements were in use; in recent years the fundamental importance and wide distribution of this stage of culture, especially in Western Asia, has become increasingly apparent. Much that was discovered and imagined at this time has remained a part of the permanent inheritance of mankind. On the ancient city sites of the Indus Valley there have been unearthed remains of well-planned cities, with houses and temples of brick, gold and silver jewelry, sculpture in stone and terra cotta, woven cotton, silver and copper utensils, and painted pottery. But not the least remarkable of the objects excavated have been the square stamp seals of stone, faience, or ivory, which have been found in considerable numbers. These seals are intaglios, bearing various devices, usually (as in the case of the steatite example recently acquired and here illustrated) that of a bull and "crib," accompanied by a pictographic script which has not yet been deciphered, but is related to early or proto-Sumerian. At the back the seals are provided with a perforated boss, and as this boss cannot by itself

be easily grasped, it may be surmised that a tasseled cord was passed through the perforation to serve as a handle, as in the case of Chinese mirrors, or perhaps also for attachment to the belt or other part of the costume. It may be remarked that the bulls on these and on Sumerian seals have sometimes been called unicorns, but the appearance is simply a result of the profile view (in some examples both horns are to be seen) and there is no doubt as to the bovine character of the animal. Indeed, the hump and dewlap of the typical "Brahminy" bull of India are often clearly indicated; it is thought that this species was introduced into Mesopotamia from India at a very early date. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the seals are equally remarkable in technical accomplishment and in æsthetic quality. It is partly by means of the seals, correlated with similar finds on Mesopotamian sites, that the Indus Valley Culture has been approximately dated; seals of exactly the same kind and probably of Indian origin have been found on Mesopotamian sites. The Harappa seals are also stated by Professor Sayce to be "practically identical with the proto-Elamite 'tablettes de comptabilité,' discovered by de Morgan at Susa," and Professor von Bissing takes the same view. Dr. Langdon finds the Indus Valley script nearer to pre-Sumerian (fourth millennium B.C.) than to Sumerian proper; at the same time he regards it as the probable source of the later Indian Brahmi, usually regarded as of Semitic origin after 1000 B.C.

However this may be, there cannot be any doubt that the resemblances

between the Indus Valley culture and the Sumerian of lower Mesopotamia are very remarkable; a lengthy list of such analogies could be drawn up, not only as instanced above, but in the fields of religious (mainly non-Aryan) belief, and of decorative art. The designation "Indo-Sumerian" originally employed is now generally abandoned in favor of "Indus Valley," for it would be an exaggeration to say that anything like identity of race, still less a political unity, is indicated; but it would be equally impossible to account for all the analogies by mere trade relationship and, as recently remarked by Dr. Woolley, "it is safest, for the time being, to regard the two civilisations as offshoots from a common source which presumably lies somewhere between the

Indus and the Euphrates valleys," possibly in the hills of Baluchistan (where remains of the Indus Valley type have been unearthed and where, too, there still survives an "island" of Dravidian language isolated by surrounding areas where Aryan languages alone prevail). Our seal, recently acquired as a gift from Dr. Denman W. Ross, through the kindness of the late owner, Professor H. D. Griswold, was obtained in India, from a coin-dealer in the Punjab, about 1910 or 1912. Very few other examples are extant, other than those which have been recently excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India, and these, of course, will remain in India, so that the Museum may be considered fortunate in possessing a fine specimen.

TEACHINGS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*

BY

THE RT. HON'BLE SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C.

Upwards of four thousands years ago, one branch of the great Aryan race dwelt on the banks of the great rivers of Upper India. The resources of nature were sufficient to spare them much physical exercise, for they could easily obtain the simple things they wanted without much trouble. The silences of the forest, profound and solemn, enabled the great Rishis of old to obtain communion with nature of a kind to which we moderns were absolutely unaccustomed. During that intercourse with nature they obtained an insight into her secrets which in these days appeared to be simply marvellous. In particular the Indian mind, endowed with a gift for speculation, was fond of devoting itself to research in the metaphysical region.

Many schools of philosophy arose at that time, and they began to differ, and at last crystallised into schools with specific names. Every variety of opinion was represented. There were atheists, sceptics, materialists, idealists, and there were realists, similar to those of whom they heard in Western philosophy. The way in which they discovered those truths—for every one of them called himself only a discoverer—was not through the ordinary processes of reasoning, but by the employment of what was sometimes called in modern times the power of intuition.

ORIGIN OF THE VEDA.

I cannot say exactly how intuition differed from the positive methods of reasoning, in which such unbounded

*An address delivered at Witwatersrand University.

belief was placed today, but it was thought the Rishis, the sages of old in their communion with nature developed to a special degree the power of seeing and reading truths on the face of nature. Their discoveries were recorded not in books, but in the memories of their pupils. In time the book was called Veda, which meant knowledge. The Veda, therefore, being the record of the intuitional knowledge of the time, came to be considered a sacred book. What was contained in it, obtained in this extraordinary way, was regarded as infallible, and no man could set up any theory or propagate any lesson in philosophy unless he found some warrant for it in that sacred book.

Of course, there were those who rejected the authority of that scripture, as, for example, the Buddhists. About the same time, however, there were other schools, strictly basing themselves on that great authority, and they being called orthodox, came to be grouped under six heads. Only two of those schools had come down to our time—the two schools of Mimamsa—the science of exegesis.

The first of these two schools concerned itself with the ritual prescribed in the Veda and might therefore be dismissed, for it was concerned more or less with a degree of ceremonialism that had become thing of the past. The other branch of Mimamsa was known by the name of Vedanta, which meant the end or the last aim of the Veda, the final teachings as crystallised by the great masters.

FOUR POINTS OF AGREEMENT.

There were four points upon which all those orthodox systems were agreed and which formed the mental food upon which those philosophies were fed. The

first idea was the existence of the human soul. He used the word "human," for in the East even animals and the vegetable kingdom had souls. The soul of the ancients of India existed and was immortal.

In the next place the actions of each individual existed, as it were, and bore fruit in the endless cycle. Under the various motives and desires that actuated us we performed certain deeds. Those deeds had unseen effects that went on reproducing themselves in an endless cycle. That was the theory of Karma, which meant deed or action. There was no deed or action for which a man might be responsible but which must work out its consequences in his own life. That ruthless repetition of deeds and results had gone on always and was called Samsara. That word was so common in Indian literature that it had crept into English literature. It meant the repetition of lives on this planet. Each soul upon death was not extinguished, but was reborn to work out the consequences of its deeds in the birth that had closed. And so it went on in an endless cycle. This theory was called the theory of transmigration.

A WORLD OF PAIN.

The fourth idea was exceedingly important. This world, where we had got to be born and to die, to be born again and to die again, where we had done this from the beginning, and apparently without end as well, this world was, therefore, a world of pain. This pain must be got rid of. But how? It could never be got rid of unless the individual got somehow or other, out of the sway of that eternal cycle of birth and death. All those philosophies, therefore, had as their aim the instruction of man in the methods of liberating himself from that apparently endless cycles of birth and death. Each philosophy put

up its own method, and of those the method of the Vedanta had now become the most famous in India, and had much the largest following amongst the Hindu population.

The Vedanta itself had subdivided, and the subdivision that had reached the greatest reputation in the world was that connected with the names of Badarayana and Sankara. Badarayana wrote down the substance of this philosophy in the form of sutras. The most famous of the commentaries written on the book of Badarayana was written about the beginning of the Christian era by a great scholar, Sankara, who was in many ways an original philosopher, although he called himself merely a commentator. Sankara's theory was so rigid a type of monism that it was now considered among those who could judge as perhaps the most acute, and most severely logical type of monism extant. It is this monism with which I now propose to deal, to give some idea of the great philosophy of India. I am afraid I may not be always clear. Besides the extraordinary difficulty of the subject I labour under an additional difficulty. I have not studied philosophy in the schools. I picked it up as I went along in life.

SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

All consciousness, every effort or act of our consciousness, disclosed two parts, which seemed to be opposed to each other: the subjective element and the objective element, the perceiver and the perceived. The relation between subject and object had puzzled philosophers from the beginning of time. Various theories had been put forward, but Sankara rejected them all and built up one of his own.

Sankara said that both the subjective and the objective were real, agreeing with the realists to that extent. To him it was wrong to separate into two parts

what were united together as one act of consciousness. Sankara said that what we called the intellect of the consciousness and what we called the materiality of the objective world were only two different aspects of the same fact of human experience. To Sankara, therefore, the deep-lying reality which showed itself in consciousness both as subject and object was the fundamental substratum of the whole universe.

AT THE BACK OF ALL THINGS.

From the point of view of that substratum both subject and object would become objective. Therein lay the great secret. From the point of view of that great reality that lay at the back of all things, both our thoughts and the material world, both mind and matter, subject and object, consciousness and the things that appeared in our consciousness, all became objective or phenomenal. In the same way mind and matter, soul and matter were but reflections of that deep-lying reality.

It was that reality which was called in Indian literature Brahman. Of its nature nothing was known. Our minds were finite, Brahman was infinite. Our minds and the matter we conceived were both conditioned, limited; Brahman was unconditioned, Brahman had no limits. The space and time and causality within which our mind worked did not touch this Brahman. The words, therefore, that we used, the concepts that we formed the images which to us illustrated and embodied great truths could not picture to us the real nature of this Brahman. It was beyond words, indescribable, a thing of which we could not even form the remotest idea. It was purely within the region of metaphysics. Of it all that could be said was, "It is." It could only be described by negatives. The moment some positive quality was attributed to it it began to be limited.

ONLY THIS ONE REALITY.

There was nothing in this world but this one reality, this Brahman. We saw innumerable souls, we saw matter in countless forms, but they could only be in some shape or other, defaced, disfigured, deformed it might be, but they must be this Brahman and nothing else. The question was: If Brahman was indestructible, changeless, eternal, how did this phenomenon occur? Nobody knew. Nobody could know. But the human mind was a strange thing. It would not be content with that answer, so the philosophers said: "We do not know at all. It is Maya." It was some deception, some screen or veil that hid the truth from us, which we therefore could not see as it was, but which we were obliged to see through that medium that was our finite intellect.

Maya had therefore come to mean in a personified form some deceiving female deity, for according to the unanimous testimony of man in ancient times woman was ever the deceiver. Maya, then, of which the nature could not be defined because it partook of the nature of the fundamental reality and also of the nature of the phenomenal world was sometimes called the unreal and, sometimes the real, but most people called it the real unreal, the existent non-existent being non-being, because on the one side it hid the real nature of Brahman and on the other hand it enabled us in some way or another to catch a shadow of this Brahman. It therefore partook of the noumenal and the phenomenal. Undefinable Maya was the thing which had veiled from the gaze of man this infinite Brahman.

THE ESCAPE FROM PAIN.

Then we came to the innumerable individual souls. Maya must, therefore, be the person who somehow or other created these souls, divided up the indivisible Brahman into innumerable souls.

The next question was: If this Samsara or eternal birth and death had no beginning, had it an end? Could man shake himself free from this bondage and be restored to his original Brahmanhood, and escape this pain which was the inevitable concomitant of life upon earth? To this Sankara gave the answer in the affirmative. There were critics who applied the definition of pessimism to the Vedanta philosophy. Almost all Eastern philosophies started with the idea of pain, which was accompanied by that repeated birth and death, but they ended up by teaching how to get rid of that pain. Surely, therefore, pessimism was not the word to apply. This escape was represented as Moksha. But how could that liberation be reached?

By the action of that Maya the individual soul seemed to have lost sight of its original nature. It had only to know that nature somehow and then Maya disappeared, for Maya was only another word for cosmic ignorance. Getting rid of that ignorance meant getting the true knowledge. That was why in Sankara's philosophy the way of liberation was described as true knowledge. But that could not be obtained by the ordinary man. Only God's grace could give it. It was not knowledge of the ordinary type. It was not of the phenomenal world. It was something that had to come from the great beyond. If a man with his inmost being apprehended the doctrine that he was the real Brahman, he had obtained that knowledge.

DIFFERENTIATION OF WISDOM.

The Vedanta knowledge was superior to the ordinary metaphysics, to ordinary psychology, to ordinary religion, which was called lower knowledge. His people differentiated between the higher knowledge of the divine wisdom and the lower knowledge or the phenomenal wisdom. The whole of Vedanta was a vast system

built up in order to enable them to obtain if possible that higher wisdom—the recognition with their inmost being of the idea that they were Brahman. To obtain the fullest Moksha, the last stage of salvation, to the merit acquired by works and worship must be added the merit of knowing, of knowledge.

To some people to whom this grace of God did not come for its higher purpose, the common method of worshipping a limited or conditioned form of Brahman was permissible. Brahman might either be the undifferentiated, unconditioned, unlimited Brahman, that could not be described at all, or Brahman might be worshipped, be regarded in the light of a personal God. But Sankara would say that those who obtained liberation through that worship of a conditioned or personal God would obtain it only in the lower form. There was a still higher form of liberation that was only open to those who added to worship, to works, the superior merit of esoteric wisdom.

THE PERCEPTION OF BRAHMAN.

It was true to say that the world was Brahman; it was true to say that the individual soul was Brahman; but it would not be true to say that Brahman was the world, that Brahman was the individual soul. To those who knew logic it was perfectly clear. It was exceedingly difficult to employ the ordinary language of our logic and psychology in the description of the Brahman, of the higher metaphysics involved in Sankara's teaching.

It was a mistake to say that Sankara's philosophy was the cold worship of the abstract, which could not be worshipped—that it had no ethics in it at all, and even no possibility of ethics. The perception of Brahman was obtainable only to those who were pure in their hearts, who had done good deeds and avoided bad deeds, who had lived in the eye and under the fear of God, men who had first conquered everything that was low and base in them.

THE REPORT OF THE BUTLER COMMITTEE

BY

DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO

(*Ex-President, Indian States Subjects Conference*)

The Butler Report has met with a mixed reception both in India and in England. Long before its publication some of the Princes gave expression to their sense of disappointment at the probable results of the inquiry, and a perusal of the Report makes it quite clear that their anticipations were fully justified. The significant silence of the Indian Princes and their Dewans who were very vocal hitherto in condemnation of the British Indian politician is noteworthy and one may therefore safely conclude that their feeling is that they have lost all along the line. The inquiry was

held 'in camera' and the Committee denied itself, by a too narrow and unjustified interpretation of the terms of reference, the opportunity of hearing the views of the people of the Indian States on the important questions raised before the Committee. The Indian Press and the Indian public men never expected any fruitful results from this inquiry. The Report has also been denounced by eminent public men and the leading organs of public opinion in India as a deliberate attempt to drive a wedge between British India and Indian India and to make the question of evolving a

new Constitution for India even more difficult than it is. The only class of people who are pleased with the report are the British official and commercial classes in India, the Anglo-Indian Press and the British Press in England and retired Anglo-Indians like Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

THE THEORY OF PARAMOUNTCY.

In regard to the affairs of Indian States the theory of Paramountcy of the Crown, combined with usage and political practice had conferred on the Government of India an enormous power limited by its own discretion. In the words of Sir Sydney Low, "the Paramount Power was itself the judge of what it could do or could not do; it decided what it liked and its decisions were regarded as statements of the law which would override or cancel contractual obligations." Since the introduction of the Reforms, the Princes began to examine their own position and to resent these wide powers of intervention possessed by the Paramount Power and exercised through their agents, the political officers. They urged that their states are sovereign units except in so far as they have accepted derogations from their sovereignty by treaty, engagements or understandings with the representatives of the Crown.

POWERS OF INTERVENTION.

The main request of the Princes was, therefore, that the present powers of intervention established by treaty and political practice should be more clearly defined and that their political relations with the Paramount Power would be strictly limited by the terms of agreements and treaties entered into from time to time. They contended that the Paramount Power had no powers other than those expressly provided in treaties and agreements. They complained that there has been substantial infringement of their contractual rights, to which they submitted through weakness or ignorance, or a salutary respect for the Government of India and adduced voluminous evidence to illustrate their contentions.

PARAMOUNTCY IS PARAMOUNT.

The Butler Committee have refused the request of the Princes for a clearer definition of their position. They have re-affirmed the existing position with an even greater emphasis than that contained in the

previous pronouncements of Lord Minto and Lord Reading and other Viceroy's. The States are *sui generis* but they fall outside both International and Municipal Law and the Committee have held that it is impossible to define Paramountcy. They say "we have endeavoured, as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of paramountcy, and we have failed, as others before us have failed, to do so. The reason for such a failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." The Princes, have, therefore, entirely failed to achieve their main object and nobody in the States or in British India expected any other result though undoubtedly there are many important questions in which they have a genuine grievance. The discretion of the Paramount Power to interfere in the affairs of Indian States will continue to be as unlimited and as undefined as before and the report of the Committee has not improved the matter in the least in the direction desired by the Princes.

STATES PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE.

The attitude of the people of the Indian States in this matter is plain. They feel that in the present circumstances in the States where autocracy is rampant, the only safeguard for the protection of the subject is the intervention of the Paramount Power, however unwelcome it may be. Till Constitutional Government on a democratic model is introduced in the States, there is no other remedy against the autocracy of the Princes than a recourse to the Paramount Power. In the memorandum of the Indian State's People's Conference to the Butler Committee it was urged that what is needed is neither a wholesale repudiation of the Paramount Power's rights of interference as suggested by the Princes nor an unlimited charter to its agents for interference at will but a clear demarcation of a limited, defined, and strictly constitutional intervention. The deputation urged also the need for a constitutional agency for investigation of cases before actual intervention and put forward proposals for the

the establishment of Constitutional machinery. If the Princes had also put forward some such scheme it would perhaps have considered it. As it is they attempted to get rid of all control and it is only natural if after a perusal of the Report they have a feeling that perhaps the ropes have been tightened. The present system of control through Political Officers is out of date and no machinery to take its place would be satisfactory unless the right of the people of the States in all matters is definitely recognised. The autocracy of the Princes must be controlled either from above or from below. If the powers of the Paramount Power are to be curtailed it can only be done by the development of the democratic system in the States. The proposals of the Princes for relaxation of control would, if accepted, have still further increased their autocratic power. This is the feeling of the people of the States. As it is the Committee have not only entirely ignored the complaints brought forward against Political Officers and the Political Department but have commended the existing system.

CHANGE IN THE CONTROLLING AUTHORITY.

The change from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Viceroy as the controlling authority on behalf of the Crown in regard to matters pertaining to the States was put forward by the Princes and the Committee have recommended the change. They assert that it will have three distinct advantages. First it will gratify the Princes to have more direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy, secondly, it will relieve them of the feeling that cases affecting them may be decided by a body which has no special knowledge of them, may have interests in opposition to theirs, and may appear as a judge in its own cause; and thirdly, it will, in our opinion, lead to much happier relations between the States and British India, and so eventually make coalition easier. It is impossible to fully understand the reasons for the gratification of the Princes at this proposed change. If as is generally believed the Princes of India have put forward the proposal to prevent the Indian members of the Governor-General's Council from dealing with questions relating to the Indian States, they have done great injury to their own cause. The control of the Political Department would

become much stronger than it is now if the Viceroy is the sole authority in these matters and the change will in all likelihood prove to be a case of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The Political Secretary must necessarily be the only officer on whom the Viceroy must rely and it might be that he will uphold the doings of his political officers much more readily than otherwise. He will gain a more dominating position in all State affairs and however painstaking the Viceroy may be the real arbiter of affairs will be the Political Secretary.

THE STATES AND INDIAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

On the other hand Indian Members of the Governor-General's Council would bring a fresh mind to bear on the affairs of the States and have a certain amount of sympathy and respect for the rulers of the Indian States. It is more than possible that the proposal was made on grounds of sentiment in regard to official precedence but even this, I understand, has been modified in favour of the Princes a few years ago. Some of the rulers have been placed above the members of the Viceroy's Council in this matter and the Salute of 13 guns enjoyed by the members of Council has been withdrawn.

PRINCES' PREFERENCE FOR EUROPEANS.

It is commonly believed that the Indian Princes would prefer a European to an Indian, however eminent, just and patriotic the latter may be, to sit in judgment over them. They have an inordinate respect for any Dick, Tom or Harry and would prefer him to an Indian of the highest social standing. It has been stated that the Indian Princes raised objections to the entertainment of Indians in the Political Department and the proposals of the Butler Committee for the recruitment of a separate Political service from the British Universities has been designed to prevent the Indian element from getting into this service. Until the Indian Princes give up this kind of snobbery and learn to respect their own countrymen the situation is not hopeful. The Committee believes that the change will not throw much additional work on the Viceroy. This cannot be a fact. The Viceroy's position is already very irksome on account of his many onerous duties. The line of reform in this

matter is in the direction of relieving him of the political portfolio and entrusting it to a separate member of the Viceroy's Council rather than to make him supreme. The Viceroy should not be identified with any portfolio but should be placed in a position of detachment, so that he may be the final authority in all matters. The rejection of the proposal for the appointment of a Political Member is therefore to be regretted.

II

THE THEORY OF DIRECT RELATIONS.

THE STATES AND THE BRITISH PROVINCES.

The most mischievous part of the report is the suggestion made in para 58 and the undue emphasis laid on what Sir Sydney Low calls the basic fact of Indian politics. "There are two Indias: one is the India of the British provinces, the other the India of the protected States." Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues refer to the existence of the two Indias as if it is a new discovery that they have made, and the attempt made to keep these two parts of India as far apart as possible and to isolate the States from British India is obvious. The basic fact of the situation in India is not so much the existence of the two administrative systems, as the identity of interests between the people of British India and the people of Indian States. The people of both the Indias are already held together by immemorial ties and by a fundamental unity of thought and culture and race and civilisation, and they have the same social and economic problems. The National movement in British India is having its repercussions in the Indian States and the people of the Indian States have a desire to take their legitimate part in an all-India polity. These are really the fundamentals of the situation, which the Committee has ignored. For some time the British Imperialists, the Tory politicians and the British official and commercial classes in India and England have been exploiting the Indian Princes with a view to retard the National movement in India and the Butler Committee's Report has now come to their rescue. The Committee was appointed to report on the existing relations between

the States and the Paramount Power, and not to suggest what should be done with the Princes in the eventuality of a new Dominion Constitution for British India. It went out of its way, without giving an opportunity to the people of British India and the States who are vitally interested in the problem, to express its strong opinion that "in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the paramount power and the Princes the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new government in British India responsible to the Indian Legislature." I need not refer to the true constitutional position which has been so often discussed, nor assert that the Indian Princes should have no voice in the matter. The Indian States Committee were apparently anxious not so much as to improve the existing position of the Princes 'vis-a-vis' the paramount power and the Political Department, but to prevent future developments in the Indian Constitution by the inclusion of the Indian States therein. This opinion of the Committee accords with the wishes and sentiments of the enemies of India's freedom, who do not want India to attain the status of a self-governing Dominion. The "Daily Mail," the "Daily News," the "Morning Post," and other British papers are delighted at the prospect of utilising the Indian States against the Nationalist aspirations of India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer sees in the report a fitting instrument for keeping the British Indian politician in his proper place. It is, therefore, only natural that this part of the report should have been received with great jubilation by British interests both in this country and in England, who wish to maintain their dominant position in India. The true position is perhaps that indicated by the "Manchester Guardian." It says: "No lawyer can deny us the right to say to the Princes who entered into certain engagements with us because of our position as rulers of British India: 'The time is coming when we must hand over the rule of British India to its inhabitants. We give you notice now, so that you may make new engagements with our successors. We will help you as far as we can to get fair terms, but your future must depend chiefly on your success in securing the good-will of your subjects.' The Indian Princes will do well to follow this advice."

PARAMOUNT POWER AND THE PEOPLE.

The most important portion of the report relating to the duty of the Paramount Power to the people of the States has not received sufficient public attention. The paragraphs 49 and 50 contain a weighty pronouncement by the Committee in regard to popular demand by the people of the Indian States put forward in the Memorandum of the Indian States' People's Conference. It was contended by the deputation that the paramount power has not discharged its duty to the people of the States in securing good Government and if it has failed in the past, the Committee was bound to find out, whether the obligations laid on the princes for providing good Government to their people has been discharged by them, and also to suggest ways and means by which these responsibilities and obligations could be adequately fulfilled in the future.

MISRULE IN INDIAN STATES.

The Princes have always stood out for their autocracy and maintained that the Paramount Power had no business to suggest improvements in their internal administration as they are independent sovereigns. It was urged in the Memorandum that misrule on the part of a State which is upheld by the Paramount Power is misrule in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved and it was therefore not only the right but the duty of the British Government to see that the administration of the State in such a condition is reformed and gross abuses removed. This contention has been fully upheld. The pronouncement of the Committee on this matter, therefore, must be regarded as a victory to the people of the Indian States. The Committee have stated in unequivocal terms that "the guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy the legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to this result." In para 50 they declare that "the promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him, and to substitute another form of Government. If these attempts were due to misgovernment on the part of the Prince, protection would only be given on the conditions set out in

the preceding paragraph. If they were due, not to misgovernment but to a widespread popular demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain the rights, privileges and dignity of the Prince, but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince." This emphatic statement fully recognising the duty of the Paramount Power to suggest Constitutional changes in the system of Government in consonance with public opinion for the development of a democratic system under the hereditary ruler of the State is a step of great constitutional importance, the significance of which I trust the Princes will fully realise. They can no longer say that the Paramount Power has no right to suggest changes in the form of Government and that they should continue their autocracy unimpaired. It is, however, a matter for regret that the Committee has not permitted itself to enquire whether there is at the present moment this widespread popular demand for change in the form of Government in the States. Without making any enquiries whatever, they say that no such case for a change has yet arisen. If they had only acquainted themselves with the national movement in Indian India they would not have made this assertion. The National movement in Indian States has been gathering strength for several years and during the last year, the Hyderabad Political Conference, the Kathiawar Conference, the Mysore State Congress, the Rajputana States Peoples' Conference, the Zanjira States Peoples' Conference, the All-India States Peoples' Conference, the South Indian States Peoples' Conference, and various other peoples organisations in the States have spoken unequivocally on the subject and have demanded the establishment of Responsible Government in the States and have also advocated many radical reforms including the establishment of an independent judiciary. The Committee have commended the advice of H. E. the Viceroy for a fixed Privy purse, security of tenure in the Public Services and independent judiciary. In confirming themselves to these reforms the Committee have entirely failed to take note of the strong public opinion that has been formed in regard to many fundamental changes in the system of Government in the States. Nevertheless the recognition by the Committee of the duty of the Paramount Power to the people of

the States to back up the popular demand for a change in the present system of autocratic rule is a source of gratification to them.

FINANCIAL AND ECONOMICAL RELATIONS.

The recommendation of the Committee in regard to the financial and economic relations between British India and the States may now briefly be noticed. The Princes put forward a scheme for a States Council which was published in India and which was so severely criticised that they gave it up and have disowned it as unauthorised. They, however, presented again a similar scheme to the Committee based on a scheme of the European Association presented to the Indian Statutory Commission. This has been rightly rejected by the Committee.

The States Committee's recommendations for the appointment of Committees in matters of common concern to British India and the States and formal committees in cases of disagreement can never prove satisfactory and may even prove harmful. The ultimate solution can only be a regular constitutional machinery for the whole of India in which the people of the States are also assigned a definite place and an effective voice in all matters of common concern. The Committee have declared that schemes of a federal character are wholly premature and that the States have not as yet reached any real measure of agreement among themselves. This is true so far as the princes are concerned but federal schemes have now been under active discussion in various Conferences and congresses from time to time. It is also clear, however, that any other method of adjustment of the relations of the States to British India will not give satisfaction. A satisfactory scheme can only be devised by the co-operation of all the parties concerned, the Princes and the people of the Indian States and the people of British India and the Government of India will have to sit together for the purpose. In the meantime, it is not known whether the Princes are satisfied with the solution suggested in the Report. The representation of the people of the States and the State Governments in the Central Legislature as an interim arrangement limited to the discussion of subjects of common concern to British India and the States is a possible solution before a federal solution

is reached though attended with many difficulties. As regards specific proposals it is a matter for satisfaction that the Committee have recognised the claims of the States to a share in the Maritime Customs Revenue but they have tacked on to it also a recommendation that the States should make a contribution to Imperial burdens. The Princes perhaps never contemplated such a contribution but were merely looking forward to a share of the Revenue. It is to be hoped that the enquiry by the expert body would be open and the public and all other interests will be represented thereon. As regards other matters it is also satisfactory that the Committee have recommended a share of the profits in Savings Bank to the States when they are considerable. The recommendation of the Committee in regard to salt does not appear to be equitable but the subject needs further examination. The reason assigned, namely, that the Government of British India established a monopoly and is therefore entitled broadly to all the profits is not convincing. It is not possible to deal with all cases for adjustment and the subject may have to be thoroughly examined later on with a view to remove any soreness of feeling on the part of the Indian States that they are not properly treated by British India.

CONCLUSION.

The Indian Princes have been harping a great deal on their relations with the "Paramount Power." The Paramount Power means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General-in-Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain. The Princes must now realise that the ultimate authority is not the King-Emperor acting by himself but the British Parliament. The Princes have realised that the social structure of Parliament has radically changed and they did not and do not hesitate to rub shoulders with the many members of the Labour party, whom they did their best to conciliate. The Princes pin their faith on the average British working man and his wife who make the Parliament of Great Britain and hesitate to trust their own countrymen in an Indian Legislature. This attitude of the Princes is inexplicable. Will the Indian Princes take the advice

of Sir Malcolm Hailey that the future of the States depends not upon worn-out treaties and sanads but upon working with the present day progressive forces in British India and in their own States? Have they learnt the lesson of the Great War that autocracy as a system of Government is doomed and that "the world has been made safe for democracy" and will they adjust themselves in time to this world-wide movement for popular liberty? Would they shut their eyes to the fact that their safety lies not in isolating themselves from British India, relying upon the protection of the Crown, or would they take their legitimate part in the evolution of the political destiny of India as a whole. Would the Indian Princes at this critical juncture play into the hands of the enemy? Sir Leslie Scott who played so prominent a part in the presentation of their case to the Butler Committee has publicly stated that the Princes and the untouchables in India are in need of special protection from the Paramount Power. The Princes cannot be congratulated on the position assigned to them. I have been assured on high

authority that the statements made by Sir Leslie Scott in his now famous article in *The Law Quarterly Review* was not authorised by the Princes but it has not been repudiated by them as yet. Some of the Indian Princes are far-seeing and able statesmen who have taken part in the world movements of today and are imbued with a genuine love for their Mother-land. Will they rise equal to the occasion and influence their brethren of their order to shake off the spell of British Imperialism and work for a United India? No responsible British Indian politician has ever urged the disappearance of the Indian Princes, and it may emphatically be asserted that consistently with the maintenance of their order it is possible for British India and Indian India to be welded together into a common constitution. Let there be no misgiving on this matter. The desire of Nationalist India is that the Indian Princes should become constitutional sovereigns and that personal rule as a system of Government should be modified in the States by the introduction of the democratic principle.

THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA*

BY

MR. P. M. L. VERMA, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B.

(Author of *'The Coming Renaissance'*)

The Indian nationalist of today wants either complete dominion status for India within the ægis of the British Commonwealth, or else he wants complete independence for his country, that is, severance of connection from the British Empire. In either case he seeks to get rid of the foreign yoke, and supplant the alien bureaucracy with some kind of democratic government.

What form of democratic government shall we fix upon as our goal after the

period of struggle—may be a Revolution!—has been undergone, may appear to be a somewhat impractical question in the estimation of the hot-blooded youth, but as a matter of fact it is never futile to think and plan ahead. It is an oft-repeated saying: "A practical instrument of government is best forged at high pressure." But all that this truism implies is that in order to forge new constitutions or modify old constitutions it is for the so-called

*Based on the notes of a lecture delivered by the writer under the auspices of the S. D. College of Commerce, Cownpore, on February 3, 1929.]

practical politicians to prepare the world for a revolution and what does the history of all revolutions teach us? Revolutions in human history are brought about by gradual formation of public opinion or sentiment for the acceptance of some higher ideal or the rejection of some existing abuses in society. The revolutions supply us with the necessary sanction—'force'—to make the society realize the ideal. The first step is the Revolution in thought, and the essential requisite for achieving the first step is the existence of a deeply-stirring, powerful stimulus of an Ideal. No practical politician is worth his salt unless he has an Ideal to place before society. If by politics is meant the narrow, intriguing game of party politics, we should have no hesitation in declaring that that activity is simply misdirected and anti-social. That does not make you a 'practical politician'.

A truly practical politician whom you call the 'real statesman' is one who places before society an Ideal—a proper Ideal—and activity helps in preparing the society for a Revolution so as to more or less effect the realization of the Ideal. Now, where is that Ideal to come from? It has also to be conceived and planned out, and it is there that the work of the theoretical politician or arm-chair political philosopher whom you may call the 'sage' or the 'prophet', comes in. History tells us that revolutions come and go without improving the lot of humanity where no constructive planning has been done beforehand and all the activity is but superficial. It was an old, old story which would always repeat itself so long as the so-called 'practical politicians' refused to think until there was no time to think. We should, therefore, take this warning from history and remember that 'constitution is not a pudding which can be instantly prepared to order.'

Suppose, for instance, the foreign bureaucracy in India were to be succeeded by a native bureaucracy—the 'brown' for the 'white'—will it not need another revolution to set matters right? Why not then set to thinking now what actually we should want? Shall we have a second-rate imitation of western democracy which has exploded and failed miserably even in the lands of its birth, or shall we aim at something better and grander? The glorious vision of an Ideal Swarajya will carry inspiration to us as nothing else could. Then why not dream with the dreams of the future politician as to what the real Swarajya should mean to us, what form and constitution of government should we adopt when we set about putting our house in order!

The real issue, therefore, before the Indian nationalist is, and ought to be, whether he would be content with a second-rate imitation of the so-called 'modern democratic institutions' which have been tried in their birth-place and found wanting, or whether he considers these as a mere make-shift—since nothing better could be wrenched out of the hands of our alien masters—and that the real Indian constitution would be drafted after we have won our freedom and consolidated our position. Let us bear in mind that India has shown in the past her own special and remarkable genius in the field of constitution-making as well as in so many other directions of social organization and we cannot just adopt a purely western model and ignore for all time our great heritage from the past, nay more, our ingrained national temperament which is the product of the historical past.

It should be relevant here to mention just one more truism and it is that every country does possess some distinct national characteristics—a special national temperament—which we may call the

'national soul'. When we talk of national temperament, that includes all other things, for temperament is the product of environments. And as the national will expresses itself through its constitution, so the constitution must answer to the national temperament.

We have, thus, to see what kind of constitution would suit Indian temperament, and that would be the most stable and hence the ultimate future constitution. The constitution which ignores Indian temperament, Indian traditions, Indian ideals of civilization and culture cannot endure long. You may exhaust the whole list of rights declared in the constitutions of other countries, will that suffice? Before the so-called 'Democracy' was inaugurated in the West, it was considered to be the panacea of all ills of society under the then monarchical and oligarchical government regimes. But now Democracy has been whighed and found wanting. Are we going to be wiser from the experiences of the western democratic countries?

Now let us apply the two acid-tests to the Nehru Constitution Report and it would at once be clear to any impartial critic that it falls far short of satisfying the aforesaid criteria: In the first instance it does not take note of the Indian temperament, Indian tradition, etc.; secondly, it implants the Western democratic system wholesale—with all its abuses and shortcomings. It is an importation of the purely western brand. In fact, according to the authors themselves, it only represents the "greatest common measure of agreement possible" between all the heterogeneous elements which go to make up the body politic of the present day—I may say, Western-minded India. There may, indeed, be no gainsaying of the fact that it is a great achievement of practical politics for India, as it is today,

under the largest shadow of a reactionary and alien bureaucracy with its time-honoured motto of 'divide et impera' but, then, we need make no secret of it that it was only a temporary make-shift, at best a tentative scheme adopted for the purpose of putting up a nice, stage-managed show of a united front. And the moment we are free to have our own way, as masters of our home, the national conscience of India is bound to assert itself, and we shall have something totally different.

As, however, I should like to pass on to give some constructive outline of India's special Ideals and Schemes of social and political organization, which, as I submit, should appeal to the National Conscience, instead of trying to justify my criticism of the Nehru Constitution, I would content myself with quoting briefly from a criticism of the same from the masterly pen of an author of a rival scheme of Swarajya, Dr. Bhagavan Das:—* [Taken from the Introduction to "The Coming Renaissance" pp. xxxvii].

"The tendency, very naturally, after over half a century of study and absorption of Western ideas, has been to copy the West, and the framers of the Recommendations, accepted by the Conference, expressly say that they have followed Dominion models. Yet they also themselves say in their preliminary report, with reference to the parliamentary elections of England, that they are such as "make every intelligent person despair of democracy." But, all the same, as far as I can see, no measure has been provided by them, in the Constitution which they have recommended, which may be calculated to make the democracy, into which it is obviously intended to lead India fully, any more hopeful, any less desperate.

"Statesmen, politicians (professional, theoretical, practical, and other), journalists of note, professors of standing, lecturers, writers of text-books on politics and state-constitutions, novelists, too, and even Government officials of America and England, all today are raising loud outcries and making bitter complaints against the corruptions which prevail at elections, the very undemocratic results that are secured at and by these elections held and conducted in the name of democracy and popular representation, and the suborning of elected, legislators.* In view of all this, surely those who are burdened with the immense responsibility of suggesting a safe path of progress to India, should have diverted the most earnest, the closest, the longest attention to this very vital question, lest India should fall out of the frying-pan into the fire. But they have not; such is the hypnosis caused by the Western influence. And this is the more regrettable since the genius and the traditions of India have for long ages kept on record suggestions for its solution.

"The framers of the Recommendations say, at another place in their Report: "There is also no doubt that the power of wealth is great in the modern State," but "we are not called upon to advise on a new structure of society where the money power is not concentrated in the hands of a few." This may have been technically and verbally correct in their case, yet it is, I believe, generally recognized that, as said before, politics arise out of economics, in the broad sense, and that "democracy" in the West has arisen, against the other "cracies," mainly out of two causes, the economic dissatisfaction and distress of the many, canalised into mass action by the psychical indig-

nation and the intellectual abilities of a few; and the same causes, hurt to stomach and hurt to self-respect, are the great motives of India's struggle for Swaraj. But if this be so, then surely those who take up the far-reaching and all-embracing work of framing a Swaraj Constitution for their people and their country should surely deliberately embody in it provisions which would make economic equity more efficiently operative in the future than it has been in the past. In the present condition of the development of the sociological as well as the other sciences, there is no excuse for trying simply to 'muddle through' any how, for saying 'the distant scene I do not care to see; one step enough for me.' To say so is to abolish the need for thinking at all. One step at a time is obviously right for the 'actional' fool; but a thousand steps ahead is not too much for the "cognitional" eye to see; indeed it was made to look ahead, to take long-sighted views, to guard the feet from pitfalls and guide them safely to the distant goal. Besides taking cognizance of general world conditions, and of the general world need to regulate the relations and proportions of Capital and Labour, and of Public Property and Private Property, the thoughtful statesman who would deliberately frame a Swaraj Constitution for India, with the conscious purpose of making the lives of all sections of the people happier, must take special cognizance of the conditions peculiar to India. "To guard against misunderstanding, it should be added that every praise is due to the framers of the Recommendations for their hard work, and for the results obtained, which are excellent so far as they go. If better were not achieved, if what some regard

*[Bryce, in his *Modern Democracies*, records that he asked a U. S. American, "What sort of a legislature have you got?" and received the prompt reply, "As good as money can buy."]

as grave defects have been left in the vision of the goal, the presentation of the ideal to be kept before their mind by the people in their endeavour and progress towards Swaraj—that is the fault of the prevailing mental atmosphere and the total circumstances, over which the framers had no control."

(To be continued)

UNKNOWN

BY

Mr. H. HUKU, M. A.

Who can part us? We thought	And the cheer of thunder is a relic of a
When we met in the woods	dream—
With their riotous green	Of a faded dream—and our thoughts
And the echoes of the far off thunder	alas!
above.	Have grown between us, a world has
Who can part us? We thought	grown,
But the woods have paled and the leaves	A whole strange world, between two sad
are shed	lovers.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell; M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A—BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S DEFENCE OF INDIA*

At last an Englishman has come forward to defend "Mother India," against the unmerited strictures cast upon her by the American—Miss Mayo—in her notorious book miscalled *Mother India*. Had such a vigorous and convincing defence been produced by an Indian, it would have been truly a remarkable work; coming as it does, however, from the pen of a cultured Englishman, it is indubitably unique and deserves a very warm acknowledgment. It is inspired by a deep insight into Indian

* *An Englishman Defends Mother India*. By Prof. Ernest Wood. (Ganesh & Co., Madras) [1929.]

religious practices, customs, habits and character, the result of first-hand knowledge acquired by long residence, in intimate contact with the people in various parts of the country. This question—namely that of necessary qualification in an author for undertaking a work on Indian sociology, by reason of a long residence in the country and intimate personal relations with the Indians—is so vitally important, that we shall advert to it at some length, before passing to the book itself.

II.

It is doubtful whether one could find any Englishman better qualified than Professor Ernest Wood to make an accurate statement about life and conditions in India. He has travelled, studying human conditions, in more than thirty countries, in the course of four journeys round the world. His three visits to India cover a residence of more than thirteen years actually in the country. During the whole of his stay he lived among the Indian people, and spent various periods of time in different parts of the country, from extreme North to extreme South, from extreme East to extreme West—in all in no less than one hundred and fifty different towns and villages of India. He has been in the large towns, among the lawyers, educationists, doctors, merchants and officials. He has also been in the country, among the landowners and the villagers.

For eleven years he was engaged in very varied educational work, and for many of these years was in charge of a chain of thirty-seven schools and colleges scattered all over the country, several of which he was instrumental in founding, including two colleges attached to the Universities of Madras and Bombay. During the work he sometimes went out collecting funds for schools, in the course of which he often travelled for weeks together in a bullock cart, going from village to village, staying in the houses of the villagers, hearing their accounts of their lives, their difficulties, their successes and failures, their hopes and their practical philosophy.

For some time he was Head Master of a High School in South India, and afterwards for several years was Principal of a college in North India, where students were prepared for various university degrees. During these years he had also to deal in a

business way with many masons, bricklayers, carpenters and other workmen, and with traders and farmers. At the same time, he took keen interest and active part in the political aspirations of the people. He was the first to introduce Boy Scouting among the Indian boys, for soon after Baden-Powell's "Scouting for Boys" appeared, and while the Baden-Powell movement in India was closed to Indian boys, he induced some teachers to make a beginning with it, and a little later arranged for a trained man to come over from Ceylon to carry on that work properly. This grew into "The Indian Boy Scout's Association," of which he became a Provincial Commissioner. This was later absorbed into the recognised Baden-Powell movement when that was introduced into India for Indian boys. He was then invited to be a member of the Governor of Bombay's Scout Council.

In all this educational work, he had to do with both ancient and modern education, from the lowest grade, including girls' as well as boys' schools, right up to the colleges preparing students for university degrees. On the ancient side there were the studies in Sanskrit, a language which he had already studied in England before coming out to India. In this connection he received perhaps the greatest recognition which could be accorded, the title of Sattwikagraganya, from Shri Shankaracharya, the head of the Shivaganga Matha in Mysore, one of the four great monasteries established by the original Shankaracharya, long, long ago.

So far as political matters are touched upon in his book, Prof. Wood writes as an Englishman having the honour and the welfare of Britain at heart. In common with most Indians he desires the continued union of Britain and India. He sees the greatest danger to the future of that union in the aggressive activities of a certain type of his own countrymen, who, as Emerson put it, "so help him God, he will force his Island bye-laws down the throat of great countries like India."

III.

Such being the very high qualifications of the author, it is not at all surprising that he has succeeded in giving us at last a book which is an all-round picture of the real

Mother India—and not the counterfeit presentment offered by Miss Mayo. It is a book written with rare literary charm, so that there is never a dull page in it. It is a gripping book, for the reader is conscious that every word is born out of the first-hand experience of the author. It is a useful book, for its account of Indian life is classified into twenty-five chapters, each dealing with one feature of that life. It appeals to the eye as well as to the mind, for it is well printed in large clear type on good paper, and is neatly and strongly bound as a library edition, and is illustrated with sixty good pictures of Indian life. The illustrations are of exceptional interest, showing women at all stages of life, as girls, as brides, as mothers, men of various castes and occupations, babies and children, street scenes and village scenes, sports and industries.

The comprehensive scope of the book will appear from the headings of the chapters:—The family, Marriage, Motherhood, Child-birth, Childhood, Widowhood, Seclusion, Religion, Fate and Illusion, Indecency and Vice, Character and Manners, The Cow, Cruelty, Boys' Education, Girls' Education, Sanitation, Medicine, The Caste System, The Outcastes, The Princes, The Muhammadans, The Villages, Industries, Taxation and Expenditure, and the Reforms and the future. A well-compiled index makes the book useful for purposes of reference also.

Not only is thus the scope of the work comprehensive, but the treatment of the subjects is cogent and convincing. He demolishes all Miss Mayo's false generalisations effectively. As a sample we may refer to the American lady's statements that "the mother herself teaches self-abuse to both boys and girls," that "little in the popular code suggests self-restraint in any

direction, least of all sex relation," that, as a result, "the average male Hindu of 30 years, provided he has means to command his pleasure, is an old man; and from even to eight out of ten such males between the ages of 25 and 30 are impotent," that "the Indian girl, in common practice, looks for motherhood nine months after reaching puberty—or anywhere between the ages of 14 and 8," that "the latter age is extreme, although in some sections not exceptional; the former is well above the average" that "in the thousands of gynecological cases that I have treated and am still treating I have never found a woman who had not some form of venereal disease" (this last a quotation from a British lady doctor). All these foul accusations, as also her other equally vile calumnies, have been shaken to their very roots by Prof. Ernest Wood, who gives a wealth of quotations, in support of his view, from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Annie Besant, and a large number of other equally qualified publicists, fully conversant with Indian life and conditions, as against the *ex-cathedra* dicta of the cold-weather tourist from America. Written by a scholar there is about the book an innate spirit of fairness, while throughout the discussions of the many controversial topics, it is marked by soundness, sanity and sobriety which distinguish it from the false and vicious generalisations of the Mayo book. For these reasons Professor Ernest Woods' *An Englishman Defends Mother India* should make a very wide appeal not only to educated Indians but in all other circles where truth about India is prized in preference to malicious falsehood. As a true picture of Indian life and sociological conditions, Professor Woods' remarkable and unique work will deservedly take a very high rank in literature relating to modern India. It deserves an extensive circulation.

MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE, M. P. ON INDIA*

BY

DR. ANNIE BESANT

Major D. Graham Pole, M. P. who is an unwearying worker for Indian freedom, has issued a most useful little book on India. The title-page quotes from an important speech of the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay Mac Donald, M.P., delivered last year on July 2, when he was presiding at the British Commonwealth Labor Conference in London. He said: "I hope that, within a period of months rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our Nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within our Commonwealth. *I Refer to India.*"

These last four words are appropriately chosen as the title of Major Graham Pole's book. It may really be called a hand-book on India, and it has the advantage of being written by a man who, as the writer of the Foreword, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, says: "has during his frequent visits to India, lived in Indian homes, met Indian men and women in their natural and unconventional surroundings, and cultivated friendships with them, which have enabled him to see Indian life at its best and at its worst, to appreciate their point of view, and to understand their limitations and differences."

The atmosphere of the book is delightful, just because it is written by a man who loves India, as all do who understand her, but how rare is that understanding. And rare it must continue to be so long as foreigners see only the masculine half of the Nation and do not enter the temple of Indian womanhood, where dwells the Indian woman, the light of the home, the very spirit of India. The introduction begins with three lines from the pen of Rudyard Kipling:

An' I'm learnin' 'ere in London what the
ten-year soldier tells:
If you've 'eard the East a 'callin', you
won't never 'eed naught else.

Our author begins by endorsing these words. "India has a fascination all its own. To know it is to love it. It takes time to know its people. For boundless hospitality, for beauty of color, for unparalleled scenery, and loyal and lasting friendships, it cannot be equalled. . . . It has been my privilege to form with them some of the best friendships of my life, not only with men, but also with Indian women."

The volume, though small, is planned on a big scale. In its nineteen chapters it gives a strikingly accurate idea of India, and the "first impressions" of our visitor are graphically and pleasantly described. Like the sketch of a clever artist we feel that we are looking at a new life embodied in a form made by itself.

In the second chapter on "Some Indian Cities" we find ourselves in Delhi, and a painful note is struck for all who knew the beautiful Chandni Chowk as it was—the avenues of trees which made it a pleasant walk despite the sun, and rendered the houses and shops habitable in comfort; all the trees were cut down, the houses being thus exposed to the burning heat of a Delhi summer. The Teuton has a strange brutality in his revenge. Calcutta is cosmopolitan. Delhi is Indian. Madras, with its eight miles of beach and its beautiful suburb, Adyar, is characterized as obviously a Capital City; Bombay has "a wonderfully fine natural harbor, and a beauty unsurpassed". Allahabad, with its junction of two great rivers, one deep blue and one the color of mud, is "a wonderful and never-to-be forgotten sight". "Lucknow appeals anyone with imagination. It seems to be filled with statues and monuments in memory of the Indian mutiny. Surely it would be better to forget it all." Those who have heard Indians speak of the hideous, incredible, horrors of the suppres-

* *I Refer to India.*—By Major D. Graham Pole, M. P. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.) (1929)

sion of the Sepoy War will know how deep, how unhealed is the scar remaining. Lahore, Amritsar, Benares are all remembered, and sacred Saranath, where the Lord Buddha preached His first sermon. "The sense of peace there is marvellous. One can still feel the influence of that Mighty Presence, an influence that still remains long after one has left the actual place."

Chapter III deals with the Indian religions, and gives some exquisite quotations. From this, Chapter IV pelts us with statistics, useful to the student, and then we pass into politics, indicated by the title of Chapter V, "Promises and postponements". It is rather cruel to repeat now-days Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1857, immediately followed by Lord Lytton's terrible exposure, writing in 1878 to the Secretary of State for India, plainly stating that "we all know that these expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled." The present Viceroy, if he reads this chapter will learn why Indians do not trust the pledges of Britain. It is summed up in the fact, that while the British Government and its die-hards make Indian inability to defend India

a reason for denying them Self-Government, they prevent India from being able to fulfil this condition, though it has never been made a condition for the present Self-Governing Dominions. Chapter VI deals most effectively with Indian Nationalism, quoting from Mr. Mac Donald's *Government of India*. The remaining chapters deal with "India's Parliamentary Beginnings," "The Present Legislatures," "Dyarchy," "Alcohol, Opium and Salt," "Social Reform," "Education," "Women in India," "Hindu-Muslim Communal Differences," "Field, Factory, and Trade Union," "Indian States," "How India is Governed," "The Secretary of State," and "The Object of British Policy".

We have rarely read a book on India which gives so many relevant facts in so small a compass. It is an invaluable book to broadcast, to enlighten the British electors on the wrongs they are sanctioning, and the duties they are neglecting. India is rapidly becoming a second Ireland, with the additional danger of her immense population, whereas Ireland has but a handful. Little Ireland has won her Freedom. How long will Great India wait?

AN AMERICAN LADY UNDERSTANDS INDIA*

BY

MR. G. S. RAGHAVAN

India is the Mystic East: the land of snakes and tigers, *sadhus* and superstitions, tigers, Maharajahs and vice. It must be seen and written about; otherwise, there is no fun in being born a white man or woman. And they all do it. Miss Mayo did it. She came here, the lying jade, and wrote atrocious "muck", provoking many replies. Another American lady also visited India and she has jotted down her observations. *Understanding India* by Mrs. Gertrude Marvin Williams has an attractive appearance. Its very look promises interesting reading and one is not altogether disappointed. Apparently, the individual sketches which form the book

are designed as a reply to Miss Mayo's book, which should have been called, "Slander India." Miss Mayo came to this country in quest of sex-perversions; and she says she found them. Mrs. Williams, on the other hand, came as an honest enquirer, to extol nothing, to extenuate nothing; and she found plenty of material to feel thankful for. The contrast is not surprising; for, is it not true, as a great Frenchman says, that sojourners in a foreign land discover that which they most carry in their minds? In the sense of redeeming America rather than of apologising for this country, *Understanding India* was worth writing.

The authoress has done her work well, that is, as well as she might in a series of disjointed sketches collected under the same cover. Quite naturally, the style is uneven. There is a jerkiness of manner inseparable from a naive, feminine review of an Oriental Court scene succeeding as somewhat erudite historical disquisition and preceding a wistful description of a gathering of aborigines, which name more than its connotation excites interest. The restless touches of travel notes first surprise, then disconcert the reader. He objects to being shifted about whimsically and in bewildering confusion. His plight is particularly pathetic when faced with weird pictures in several of which he cannot recognise India. Probably he is not unfamiliar enough with the country to verify them. And so he can only sink into unprotesting quiescence when, again, the inquisitive tourist captures Nature and Art in amazing moods and colours. "I thrilled to the exotic strangeness of the scene" confesses Mrs. Williams in one place. She did, obviously. Besides, the exigencies of writing something readable influenced her in addition to the exhilaration accompanying such an achievement as seeing India all on her own, without aid, and still going back without the slightest molestation!

Miss Mayo came here to vilify Indians; Mrs. Williams did so as on a mission of pity. She came to "understand" and soothe suffering India with the gentle commiseration of a Sister of Mercy! Miss Mayo roused one to indignation; Mrs. Williams steeps one in pain! In Mrs. Williams' case there is no

disdain of colour; only on assumption of superiority which a natural sense of delicacy struggles hard to thwart or explain away. She gauges India with the measuring-rod she brought away with her. India's foibles are venial—presumably—if Europe and America suffer likewise. If the present conditions in India were at least reproduced in Western medievalism, then there is some hope for her! It is an attitude of patronage; supercilious, undoubtedly, but sought to be toned down with sympathy. It is irksome both to her and to the Indian who has so long been the butt of many fanciful representations.

Mrs. Williams is also somewhat unreasonable. Once she longs for a vision of "barbaric splendour." When she gets it, she craves for a sight of Westernised India. She gets it again and begins to marvel. The ultimate fact, of course, is that she has to produce an arresting picture. The result depends upon the genius of the painter. If the reproduction of the quaint English of a servant secures it, it must be done. There are Indians who write quite as good as English as Bernard Shaw and much less trash than Rudyard Kipling. Foreigners, among whom are decidedly the Indians, are the only hope of the English language, but that does not matter. A vivid portrayal of lumbering medievalism and ignorance is achieved by a simple process. Not to take advantage of it would be to have wasted time and energy in travelling to India. "Really and truly" India is a musty, old record and Mrs. Williams excuses her for being so!

THE LATE LORD HALDANE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY*

Lord Haldane completed his *Autobiography* before his death. It is a singularly detached and luminous history of a long and vigorous life, revealing a man whose variety of intellectual and social interests will come as a surprise to the general reader. With a humour that is only enhanced by his candid, analytical style, he discloses his thoughts and experiences from his ardent youth, through his laborious maturity, to the contemplative happiness of old age.

The story begins with the awakening of young Haldane's mind to the riches of philosophy and religion and presents his early years at the Bar, with his immense zest for the law, and the dramatic strokes of luck which his industry enabled him to turn to account. It shows how his ambition to further public causes led him to give up the certainties of professional success, and describes for the first time the delicate political bargaining by which he and Sir

Edward Grey, linked by a personal understanding, were secured at the last moment as members of the Campbell-Bannerman Cabinet of 1906.

Lord Haldane gives his own account of his reforms at the War Office and of the difficulties under which they were accomplished. Dispassionately and with great restraint he records and comments upon the uninformed ingratitude of the British nation in 1914: a nation's ingratitude for which one man—the Field-Marshal Commander-in-Chief—made more than honourable amends on Armistice night.

In later chapters Lord Haldane states the considerations of public policy, especially in regard to education, which induced him to throw in his lot with the Labour Party, and his letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is reproduced in full. For the first time is told the history of the first Labour Cabinet from the inside; and the analysis of its strength and weakness, the causes of its achievement and its defeat, is accompanied by a most interesting and important estimate of the first Labour Prime Minister of Britain.

In spite of his enormous industry and his philosophic aloofness of mind, Lord Haldane was a man of warm affections and varied friendships. In this book he tells, in a passage of singular beauty, the story of his life's romance—five weeks' perfect happiness and then a broken engagement. He knew all the great men of his time—men as different as Bismarck, Morley, Asquith, Balfour, Meredith, Parnell, Rosebery. He was among the "souls," but not of them. King Edward enjoyed his company, and he the King's. And his debt to one almost life-long friend in particular is here revealed for the first time.

Throughout the narrative the account of his spiritual and intellectual development is woven with the threads of a successful lawyer's and a working politician's life; and the concluding chapter sketches the growth of the philosophic and religious principles on which this practical idealist consistently moulded thought and action. The book is one of the great autobiographies in the English language.

BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES

RECENT LITERATURE OF ECONOMICS

Capital—By Karl Marx. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London W.C. 2) 1928.

The work under survey is an excellent translation of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, as edited by Engels in its revised and definitive form and published in 1890. Marx is the foremost among the writers who have influenced the course of world's history; and *Das Kapital* is often called the Bible of the working classes, who regard it as the most adequate statement of their present position and aspirations. It has shaped the worker's movement, and supplied to it a creed, a programme, and a will to revolt which is a menace to every government in the world. This psychology of revolt has got two components: firstly, an abiding and intense sense of injustice against the present social order; and secondly, a premonition of its impending destruction. By an economic

analysis based upon the misunderstood Ricardian theory of value, Marx showed how of the total social wealth co-operatively produced, the workers are allowed to enjoy only that part of it which is necessary for bare physical existence, (i.e., Iron Law of wages) the rest which is appropriated by an idle and unproductive class of capitalists (i.e., Theory of Surplus Value) cannot naturally be absorbed by the home market and is therefore, sought to be dumped in the foreign markets giving rise to predatory imperialism. Capitalism is, thus, shown to stand for the exploitation of the worker and the political bondage of the weaker nations. By a purely economic interpretation of historical movement, Marx had shown that capitalism is not the final shape, but merely a transitory phase of social institutions, and that it carries within itself the seed of its own destruction. In this part of the book, he displayed a knowledge of history equalled

in extent only by the founder of the original and opposite school of Political Economy, Adam Smith. Thus the book is exceedingly valuable to students of economic history.

The feeling that capitalism will destroy itself may well be an excuse for apathy, but it becomes a powerful urge towards revolutionary effort. The whole book is an ingenious appeal addressed as much to the passions as to the intellect. Its appeal will conceivably be irresistible to those to whom the present system has denied large opportunities of self-advancement. In spite of its faulty economics and narrow view of history the book deserves to be read by all students of advanced economics, if only to see in what direction their knowledge can be assailed and how it can be defended. It is only by demonstrating the futility of Marxian economics, that they can ever hope to convert the socialists, vain though the hope might be, to a point of view which would substitute for gospel of social antagonism one of mutual service. Books that have made history are few and far between, but Marx, *Das Kapital* is emphatically one of them. "Since the beginning of literature," says the *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, "few books have been written like the first volume of *Kapital*. It is premature to offer any definitive judgment on his work as revolutionary thinker and agitator, because that is still very far from completion. There need, however, be no hesitation in saying that he, incomparably more than any other man, has influenced the labour movement all over the world; his theories have in a thousand ways already penetrated the different strata of society." This great work has hitherto been available only in a somewhat unliteral translation made from the third German edition, which was not the final text. This new English version—which is exceedingly well-rendered—is based on the fourth and definitive edition, revised by Engels after Marx' death, and is the work of translators of outstanding reputation, who are also very competent Marxian scholars. The result is a rendering at once readable and scholarly, which should find a place in every library of books dealing with Economics.

The Economic Resources of the Empire.

Edited by T. Worswick. (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London W.C.2) 1928.

Mr. W. T. Worswick's *Economic Resources of the Empire* is a collection of exceedingly useful lectures on the economic position and problems of Great Britain, the self-governing Dominions, and India by men who had "personal and adequate knowledge of the countries of which they spoke." These lectures were arranged to be delivered at the time when the Imperial Conference met during the autumn of 1926, with a view to instructing the British people to realize what a great heritage they possessed in the Empire as an economic unit. The economic position and problem of each part of the Empire is considered in an admirable judicial temper. There is shadow of pessimism in the lecture on Great Britain. It is thought that Britain owed her industrial and commercial ascendancy to a lucky coincidence of circumstances in the nineteenth century which are no longer operative to the same extent. Her anxiety is how to maintain a growing population at the constantly rising level of comfort under the difficult and fiercely competitive conditions of the twentieth century. Emigration and settlement overseas, preferential treatment for British commerce within the Empire, and above all a determined application of the methods of efficient production are suggested as solution. How different are the problems and prospects of the Dominions! While Britain is in the grip of a terrible depression, the Dominions are rapidly going ahead. They have just begun the exploitation of the amazing resources with which Providence has endowed them. Finally there is India. In 1913 she occupied the sixth place among the trading nations of the world; to-day she does the fifth. During and since the war Britain has lost ground in the Indian market to Japan and the United States; but India is still Britain's best customer and is more important from this point of view than any other country, within or without the Empire. The development of railways opened up the internal market and the development of oceanic transport, since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, made it easily accessible. The trade between the years 1874 and 1900 was handicapped by the uncertainty of foreign exchange. With the exchange stabilized at 1s. 4d., foreign trade has remarkably expanded, which is shown in a diagram. The fluctuations in the prices of jute, cotton, tea, sheffac and piece goods are diagrammatically represented.

The index number of prices of the goods which India imports, has been higher than that of the goods she exports, but the price curves show a marked tendency to draw close together. The two lectures on India are among the best in the book. Throughout the book, there is explicit or implicit insistence on the necessity for a fuller measure of co-operation than has been possible hitherto among the different parts of the Empire. It is an excellent work and deserves to be carefully read, for it can scarcely fail to stir the imagination and broaden and outlook of the reader.

London Essays in Economics Edited by Professor T. E. Gregory and Dr. Hugh Dalton. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 68-74 Carter Lane, London E. C.) 1928.

London Essays in Economics, constitutes a memorial tribute to Professor Edwin Cannan by his pupils on his retirement from the London School of Economics and Political Science, after twenty-nine years of service as a teacher. It comprises eleven essays on different subjects which have an underlying unity of common outlook. Of these, the essay by Dr. Dalton dealing with Professor Cannan's general contributions to Economics is by far the best. Professor Cannan is shown not only to be an irreverent iconoclast, but also a constructive thinker. If Professor Cannan has not founded a school "in the sense in which some others are supposed to have performed the operation", he has, at least, inculcated among his pupils a spirit of challenge to prevalent and established modes of thought, which is reflected in nearly all the essays in the book. Against the over-intellectualisation and pretentiousness of the Cambridge School which holds the field today, he has violently protested and incessantly endeavoured to make Economics "an organised common sense". Professor Cannan's views on monetary and banking theories have been discussed in an excellent essay by Professor T. E. Gregory. His qualified preference for a gold standard is in direct antithesis to the Cambridge advocacy of "a managed currency". The Gold Standard Act and the Note Issue Amalgamation Act are among his triumphs. Professor Cannan's Theory of Optimum Population is admirably discussed by Professor Robbins, who urges that from Malthus's conception of minimum food to Cannan's ideal of maxi-

mum economic welfare is, certainly, a long step in the science of Economics. Professor Cannan has a double theory of wages, one to explain the general level of wages and the other to explain relative trade wages. The theory is discussed by Miss Burns. It is much to be regretted that there is no essay in the book dealing with Professor Cannan's acutely analytical study of classical Economists which has itself become a classic; and with his "Theory of Distribution" in which is considered the division of income among human beings, rather than the causal determinants of wages per head, profits per cent, and rent per acre, which are merely special cases of the general theory of value. His contributions in these branches are much too important to deserve merely an incidental treatment in a comprehensive survey like this work. The book is, altogether, excellent. Nowhere is there any trace of fanaticism or credulity; there is enlightened commonsense, earnestness, freedom of thought unshackled by reverence to any creed or authority—in which the spirit of the master breathes throughout. It is a fitting memorial to Professor Cannan by his pupils, who are themselves amongst his most precious contributions to us.

A Study in Public Finance.—By Professor A. C. Pigou (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C.) 1928.

Professor Pigou in his book called *A Study in Public Finance*, has nothing new to add to what he has himself said in his other books or is common knowledge; yet the discussion is very fresh and stimulating, and it usefully supplements his two previous works. The distinction between exhaustive and transfer expenditure of the state, and between distributional and announcement effects of taxation is very valuable; it directs and facilitates thinking on right and fruitful lines. Professor Pigou believes the principle of minimum sacrifice to be an ultimate principle of taxation. He shows easily how Professor Edgeworth's application of this principle which would involve the reduction of all incomes, after taxation, to equality is, in effect, a violation of it. The conclusions which he formulates are in the main orthodox and conservative; in fact, the present British tax-system is based

upon them. However, death duty of the type recommended by Rignano is held to be superior to the ordinary death duty from the point of view of its effects upon savings. Administrative difficulty of enforcing the duty may be removed by requiring all legacies to be compulsorily settled or by the ingenious device suggested by Dalton and Henderson. The third part of the book deals with the financing of war cost, by an inflationary process or otherwise—a field which Professor Pigon has made peculiarly his own. "It is generally agreed that though the creation of bank credits may be a convenient means of meeting war requirements at an early stage, before there has been time to organise an adequate scheme of taxation and public loan, yet even apart from the aftermath of monetary and exchange complication, the method is inherently bad, and a Government at war should restrict it within the narrowest possible limits." Difficulties of re-establishing the currency after a period of catastrophic inflation, are considered on familiar lines. Ruling out repayment of the enormous quantity of national war debts by (a) repudiation, and (b) currency expansion, a special levy is considered in-expedient at the present time and provision out of taxes over a long series of years is recommended. There is nothing in the conclusions which would require any considerable revision of the British public finance. The analytical basis of most accepted theory has been thus illuminated by Professor Pigon who has given another proof of his capacity for subtle analysis and sustained reasoning of which he is a master. The book is indispensable to advanced students of Economics.

Six English Economists.—By T. F. Kinloch (Gee & Co., Publishers, Ltd., Kirby Street, London) 1928.

This book "seeks to give a picture of certain great English Economists in action, endeavours to show what manner of men they were, what problems they faced, and what results they obtained." The economists discussed are: Adam Smith, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, Malthus, Jevons, and Marshall—three Scotch and only three English. They have all contributed to make Economics what it is today, a distinct science, instead of a body of empiri-

cal knowledge in the ample bosom of Sociology. A study such as is undertaken in these pages is bound to be useful to those whose interest in Economics is at all serious. It cannot, however, be said of the present work that it is an adequate study of the subject. Indeed, nothing that has any claim to completeness of the subject dealt with can be accomplished in a book of this size. The space devoted to the treatment of the personal character of the several economists and the historical and intellectual environment in which they lived is disproportionately large. No attempt has been made to trace or estimate the influence of this environment in the character of the solutions which they proposed for the problems dealt with by them. Mere portrayal of these economists is not very helpful either; it does not help us in understanding Malthus, for instance, to be told that he was "a good sailor, had a keen sense of humour and was looked upon as a delightful travelling companion." The author does not attempt to analyse, but merely to catalogue the contributions of these economists. This is distressingly apparent in the chapter on Marshall in which a bare reference is made to his contributions, such as "substitution at the margin," "the element of time as a factor in economic analysis," "consumer's rent," "elasticity of demand," and "external and internal Economics." The reader is requested to look for fuller account elsewhere. Wherever the author attempts an analysis, he is generally accurate and fairly illuminating. The book would be very much improved if in the next edition the biographical element is appreciably reduced; and the analytical and critical treatment of economic theories is duly expanded. But even as it is, Mr. Kinloch's book is not only interesting but instructive.

Wealth.—By Professor Edwin Cannan, (P. S. King & Sons, Ltd., Orchard House, Westminster, London) 1928.

Professor Cannan's *Wealth* is an admirable text-book of Economics. In most text-books, the technical terminology is so sparingly employed as to mystify and irritate the reader. He may have our sympathy if he leaves Economics with a feeling that it could never be a science which has got anything to do with the facts of every day-life. But *Wealth* gives one a continuous

sense of the reality of the science and sustains interest at a uniform level throughout. The author opens the book with an examination of the conditions on which the economic welfare of an isolated individual depends; the conditions are shown to hold good for the organised community as well. He demonstrates the dependence of economic welfare of a country, firstly on the extent and character of its natural resources, and secondly on primary human qualities like industry, thrift and foresight. To the fashionable view-point, that no considerable economic progress is possible without a drastic revision of existing institutions, he gives a death-blow and points the right direction towards social efforts. Then economic organisation is shown to be an intricate and highly sensitive mechanism which make the fullest co-operation of the different parts of it difficult. Thus the book gives the right background of ideas for the higher study of the subject. The author is fully entitled to hope that "the work may be found useful by academic teachers and students, as well as by readers who wish to improve their capacity for dealing with practical economic problems without attendance at lectures and classes," for it explains lucidly the general causes of riches and poverty—both individual and national.

A Survey of Economics.—By. G. Stone. (Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 29 Ludgate Hill, London, E. C. 4) 1928.

Mr. Stone's *Survey of Economics* belongs to a class with which the Indian market has been deluged and against which it is becoming seriously necessary to protect the innocent consumers. It should be put on the same level as books by a new species of writers called "note-makers." These books profess to assist the students in getting an easy mastery over the subjects they deal with, but instead of stimulating them to think for themselves, the writers themselves think out for them, and thus nothing is left to the former but to commit to memory. A whole generation of students has been in the grip of this kind of paralysing literature; and those who take this view, would hardly have much to say in favour of such books. The book under notice is intended, as the author says, "to be of assistance to students and men of business, whose time for study

is limited, and who may be preparing for public examinations." The book would not be of much use to those who know anything of Economics because it is, at best, merely elementary. But it may be studied with advantage by the beginner as a condensed summary.

RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN STATES.

Indian States and the Government of India.—By K. M. Pannikar, (Martin Hopkinson and Co. Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2) 1928.

The British Crown and the Indian States.—(P. S. King and Son, Ltd., Orchard House, West Minister, London) 1929.

The Indian States and Ruling Princes.—By Sir Sidney Low, (Ernest Benn Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1929.

The literature of the Indian States is growing apace in English and almost all the books noticed in this section have been called forth by the recent controversy in regard to the rights and duties of the Indian princes, their relations with the Government of India or the British Crown and the prospects of the establishment of a system of federal government in this country, including both British India and Indian India. Mr. K. M. Pannikar's *Indian States and the Government of India* is an able and, on the whole, impartial study of the historical relations of Indian India with the Government of British India. Though not directly concerned with the present controversy, it throws a flood of light on its many intricate problems, and the well-selected illustrative documents and appendices enhance the utility of the author's text, which is severely critical, rigidly unpartisan, highly informative and very instructive. Mr. Pannikar's meritorious work deserves wide appreciation.

The British Crown and the Indian States. is an outline sketch drawn up on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes by the Directorate of the Chamber's Special Organisation. It is thus the manifesto on their behalf and is divided into two parts. (1) A Consideration of the Evolution of Political Relationship between the Crown and the States—from the standpoint of the Princes, and (2) An Examination of some aspects of the Fiscal Questions at issue between the States and the Govern-

ment of India. It is an important contribution to the understanding of one of the most burning Indian problems, as it is comprehensive and marked by praiseworthy lucidity. To our knowledge, it is the first work on the Indian States by others than political officers or publicists or politicians. It is very well documented and a case is attempted to be made out, but it hardly even pretends to be impartial, and the point of view of the Government of India or the non-official Indian is not sought to be adequately attempted in it. It, however, represents the case of the Princes and their attitude is thus summed up in the Introduction:—"They are trying to think for the Empire and for India, as well as for themselves. Without exception they are agreed in believing that the present machinery by which their relations with the Crown are conducted needs radical alteration. They believe they have solid cause for complaint; they also believe that their grievances can be removed consistently with justice to all parties. They realise that they must first prove their case. Afterwards they must get together and devise a remedy. Finally, they must demonstrate that this remedy is reasonable and just." That is all very good, but what about their duties to their people? The book is discreetly silent on this most momentous question.

Sir Sidney Low's brochure, called *The Indian States and the Ruling Princes* is one of the latest additions to Messrs Benn's excellent "Sixpenny Library." Like most of the books in the series in which it appears, it is a popular sketch of the subject it deals with. The two Indias, what the States are and where, how they are governed (or misgoverned), their annexation and alliance with them, their subordination to British paramountcy, the revival of their claim for rights, and their present condition and future are some of the questions discussed in this lucid but short sketch of a great subject. It is meant for the man in the street and is accurate, informing and likely to interest him.

Problems of Indian States—By G. R. Abhyankar. (Aryabhushan Press, Poona) 1928.

Memorandum of the Indian State's People.—(Indian State People's Conference Office, Ashoka Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay) 1928.

What Are Indian States?—By B. S. Pathik, (Rajasthan Publishing House, Ajmer, Rajputana) 1928.

The above three books represent the popular view of the subject, from the stand point of the subjects of the Indian States. Amongst those who are zealously working in the interest of the Indian State's people, one of the foremost is Mr. G. R. Abhyankar. His *Problems of Indian States* is a collection of his contributions to the press on the subject and they well deserved the permanence that is now secured for them. The scope of the book is comprehensive, the topics brought under survey cover a wide range, the exposition leaves nothing to be desired in lucidity or force. Altogether Professor Abhyankar's book is a notable acquisition to the literature of the subject of Indian States. The *Memorandum*, issued by the Executive of the States' People's Conference, is a counter-manifesto to the book published by the Directorate of the Chamber of Princes. Its main thesis can be summarized under two principal heads and in a few words as follows: "No constitutional government and no reign of law." These grave constitutional and administrative defects are brought into prominent relief by means of concrete instances by Mr. B. S. Pathik in his book called *What Are Indian States?* Making allowance for its language and taste, it lets in a flood of light on many a dark nook and corner in the administration of the Indian States.

Reports of the Indian State People's Conference.—Held at Bombay in December, 1927 and May, 1929. (Indian State People's Conference Office, Ashoka Buildings, Princes Street, Bombay) 1928-29.

The two sessions of the Indian States Peoples' Conference, which have been so far held in Bombay, under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani—both eminent publicists and both curiously of the Andhra nationality—have been memorable political gatherings in the history of Modern India, and their proceedings as embodied in their Reports make highly instructive reading. They bring into prominent relief the results of the absence of constitutional government and the rule of law in Indian States and the consequent misery and

sufferings of the people. The good work that Mr. Abhyankar and his friends and co-workers are doing by means of this Conference deserves hearty acknowledgment both in Indian India and British India.

LATEST BOOKS OF REFERENCE

Bibliography: Practical, Enumerative and Historical.—By H. B. Van Hoesen and F. K. Walter. (Charles Scribners' sons, London, 1928.

Messrs Van Hoesen and Walter's *Bibliography* is the most comprehensive and up-to-date work on the subject, in its three aspects practical, enumerative and historical. The authors of this excellent manual have supplied the long-felt lack of a text-book suitable for the student, which should at once indicate the scope, functions, and methods of bibliographical work (of all kinds and topics) and describe or enumerate the fundamental works through which he may most advantageously approach the selection of books, whether for study or for purchase; the survey of the literature of any given subject, country, or period; the study of books as books; and the production of new works of scholarship. Apart from its very great utility to the student, the book will prove valuable to book collectors and readers in every field. It should also have considerable use in libraries, since it is more comprehensive than any other work now available in English. But the use to which it is designed above all is as an introductory text-book for the student.

While primarily designed as an introductory manual, this book is, in effect, a comprehensive work in compressed form covering the entire field of bibliography in all its aspects. Its usefulness is threefold: as a text-book for the student; as an epitome of bibliographical theory and practice for the librarian, author, collector, or general reader; and as a reference work, thoroughly up-to-date, listing with some comment the principal subject bibliographies in all departments. It is thoroughly up-to-date and is a notable acquisition to the literature of Bibliography. It will be widely appreciated whenever the bibliographical science is studied, as it is an invaluable contribution to its study.

Putnam's Hand book of Universal History.—Tenth Edition By G. P. Putnam (G. P. Putnam's sons, 24 Bedford Street, London, E. C.) 1928.

Putnam's *Hand-book of Universal History* has long been justly acknowledged as a standard work of historical reference and we welcome its latest (tenth) revised and enlarged edition, fully brought up-to-date. Its scheme is to offer a series of chronological tables showing in parallel columns a record of the more noteworthy events in the history of the world from the earliest times down to the present day. The tables are so arranged that the reader can see at a glance who were the contemporary rulers and what was going on in the different realms of the world at any given date, not only as to political changes, but in the progress of society. It is a handy, compact reference manual of world history. This edition has been carefully revised by and includes additional material covering the seven years since the previous edition. This brings the record down to the end of 1927. The book contains also an alphabetical index of subjects. It will be found of distinctive value not only for the student of history, but for any intelligent reader who interests himself in the record of human progress.

Enquire within Upon Everything.—115th Edition. (Herbert Jenkins, Ltd., 3 York Street, St. James's, London, S. W. 1) 1829.

A book of which a million copies have been sold and which is in its 115th edition stands not in need of the reviewer's commendation. *Enquire Within Upon Everything* is an acknowledged classic in the literature of Domestic Economy. The new and enlarged edition, under notice, has been thoroughly revised, carefully overhauled and fully brought up-to-date, and the text has been reclassified and arranged in sections so as to facilitate reference. In its present form, it will long hold its own as the standard work of reference in the literature of Domestic Economy.

The Where Is It Reference Index.—(Government of India Press, Calcutta) 1928

The Survey of India in preparing and publishing—*The Where Is It Reference Index* for India has provided a long-felt want. It contains place names, railway stations, localities and physical features, such as ranges, passes, peaks, glaciers, rivers, canals,

lakes, bays, capes, islands, etc., both in India and adjacent countries. The position of each is indicated by two figures, of which the first gives the latitude and the second the longitude. Thus the *Index* can be used for finding places, stations, localities and particular features on any map of India, and it is an exceedingly useful work of reference.

Latest Almanacs, Annuals and Year-Books.

Europa Year-Book 1929.—(Europa Publishing Co., Ltd., 6 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C. 2) 1929.

We welcome the fourth edition of the new encyclopedic annual, called the *Europa Year-Book*. It is ambitious in conception, surveying as it does the politics, art, science, economics, social conditions and literatures of the Europe of to-day. It is well-arranged and systematic and is written by competent authorities. Each country is taken in turn, and full information is given about the leading figures in the Government, parties, literature and arts. It is thus a highly useful book of reference, which should appeal to a large circle of seekers after accurate information about things and affairs European. The comprehensiveness of its scope may be gauged from the fact that it contains detailed statistical data dealing with the economic and financial position of the European States, full of trustworthy information based on unimpeachable facts and figures. Again, another no less interesting portion of the book is a classified *Who's Who* in which twenty thousand individuals are grouped (not alphabetically) but according to their avocations and which, in a short compass, summarizes a whole shelf of contemporary biographical dictionaries issued in various languages. There are new sections added this year dealing with Cyprus and India. Altogether, the *Europa Year-Book* is an invaluable work of reference, which deserves very wide appreciation and a large circulation throughout the English-knowing world. Judging from its four annual issues there can be little doubt that this notable acquisition to annual reference literature is a splendid achievement which has indisputably come to stay. In its present form it is a compendious and comprehensive reference work of the highest value dealing with almost all the problems and controversies of the day, on

which it offers the latest and also the most accurate information.

The Constitutional Year-Book, 1929.—(National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S. W. 1) 1929.

The *Constitutional Year-Book* which is now in its forty-third annual issue—is to the British Conservatives and also to all seekers after information about that Party an excellent guide. For the object it desires to serve, the *Constitutional* is a work of great utility. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a cheap and handy reference-book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current interest. It is carefully revised and its pages may be trusted to supply useful and accurate information. A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political parties in Great Britain should keep on his book-shelf the annual editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, the *Liberal Year-Book* and the *Constitutional Year-Book*, each of which is highly useful. The current edition of the *Constitutional* is replete with up-to-date information regarding data about British political conditions from the Conservative standpoint. The statistical section has been remodelled and facts are now given which cannot but facilitate the task of the readers in the study of current economic problems. It is comprehensive in scope and range, and deserves to be kept handy as a useful political work of reference. It would be well if it could be issued earlier in the year.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1928.—(Pulitzer Buildings, 83—63, Park Row, New York, U. S. A.) 1929.

The *World Almanac and book of Facts*—which is edited with skill and knowledge—is the American Whitaker and is now in the forty-fourth year of publication. It is a most important annual appanage to one of the leading American papers, the *New York Herald*, from the office of which it is issued. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done

his heart good could he but have access in his days to this comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating to the world states in general and the United States in particular. Of the many American books of reference, annually issued, it is perhaps the most notable, covering within its nearly one thousand pages accurate facts and statistical data about America, and the other political entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world. The 1929 edition is fully abreast of events and has been judiciously brought up-to-date by its editor—Mr. R. H. Lyman—whom we heartily felicitate on turning out so highly useful a reference annual. No one interested in American progress can do without it.

Webster's Royal Red Book.—(A. Webster and Co., 44 Dover St., London W.1) 1929.

Webster's Royal Red Book is the only reference work of importance issued regularly twice a year. It is the oldest work of its kind, judging from the fact that the May (1929) number is the 274th edition. It is issued every January and May, and the May editions are naturally intended for the London season. Its main features are the London street guide which runs up to about 250 pages, followed by a classified list of prominent London professional and business houses, a feature which will be found very useful by purchasers in India. A detailed list of addresses of the residents in London, an almanac for 1929, the list of the Members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Government offices, clubs, public societies and institutions, hotels, plans of theatres, etc., form other useful features of the publication, and all corrections are made up-to-date and carefully checked before its issue. *The Royal Red Book* is thus a valuable guide which visitors to London and the London public cannot afford to ignore. It is the great reference work to London society, and its usefulness is maintained by careful and judicious revisions twice a year.

The Amateur Dramatic Year-Book 1928-29.—Edited by G. W. Bishop. (A. and C. Black, Ltd., Soho square, London W.1) 1929.

Cohn Amateur Dramatic Year-Book and

Immunity Theatre Handbook is the latest addition to periodical works of reference. It is an annual for the votaries of the amateur stage giving reliable information and advice to the amateur, forming a permanent record of the progress of the amateur movement, and serving the common interests of all amateur dramatic societies, little theatres, community players and the like. It has the official support of the British Drama League, and its editor is closely in touch with contemporary developments and personalities. The list of contents and contributors to this first number shows the wide range and the comprehensive scope of the book. Though amateur theatricals are not much in vogue in India, we believe that a study of this book will enable our amateur actors and actresses to improve their methods.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

Great Short Biographies of the world—edited by Mr. B. H. Clark (William Heinemann Ltd.) is a wonderfully good collection, which deserves appreciation. It is safe to say that never in the history of publishing has so remarkable a collection of biographies been presented in one book. In all there are forty-nine complete biographies between *Socrates and Whistler*. They are grouped in broad periods, and this grouping produces some interesting contrasts between contemporary people of widely different types; *Joan of Arc and Francois Villon*; *Christopher Columbus and Sir Thomas More*. It enables us at a sitting to travel from Socrates to Bismarck (by Ludwig). There are many old favourites here—Plutarch on Alexander, Stevenson on Villon, Hooker by Isaac Walton, Molière by Voltaire, Milton by Augustine Birrell, Johnson on Pope, Carlyle on Burns, Thackeray on Swift, Brandes on Napoleon, De Quincey on Wordsworth, and so on. The compiler claims that some of the biographies are reprinted for the first time since their first appearance, and that half-a-dozen have not been previously translated into English at all. On the other hand, no place has been found for Morley or Lytton Strachey; but perhaps copy-right difficulties stood in the way. As a companion to historical reading *Great Short Biographies* is of splendid value; as a compendium of forty-nine separate

works, brimful of human interest, it is unsurpassable. We commend it to the notice of all students of history and literature as an unique anthology of biography.

We are living in an age of anthologies and selections and these, if judiciously compiled, are excellent contributions towards popularizing the classics. We welcome, therefore, such carefully compiled collections as Mr. J. W. Marriott's *Great Modern British Plays* (G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London W. C. 2) and Mr. W. A. Bragg's *Great Poems of the English Language* (same publishers). Mr. Marriott's book contains 19 copyright plays, ranging from "Caste" (1867) to "The White Chateau," finely printed in a handy volume of 1,088 pages. In addition to the editor's preface—a clear and concise survey of the modern British theatre—each play has an introductory note. The authors included are Bennett, Robertson, Pinero, Jones, Gilbert, Besier, Sutro, Brighouse, Harkin, Chapin, Maugham, Dane, Munro, Dukes, Berkeley, McEvoy, Coward, Galsworthy, and Vane. There is certainly no better collection of the best modern plays in English. The *Great Poems* is similarly an anthology of English verse from Chaucer to the moderns, containing poems composed by English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish and American poets, arranged in chronological order. It is an inexhaustible reportary of beautiful thoughts and sentiments, expressed in language of emotion.

Another excellent anthology of drama is Mr. H. F. Rubenstein's *Great English Plays* (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C.), which is, so to say, a panorama of English dramatic literature upto the end of the 19th century (omitting, of course, Shakespeare) containing in sequence 26 complete plays, with a running commentary by the editor. In this one volume of 1152 pages we get the thrill of Kyd, the tenderness of Dekker, the volcanic energy of Ben Jonson, the grandeur of Beaumont and Fletcher, the intensity of Webster, the vision of Massinger, the animal spirits of Vanbrugh, the brilliance of Congreve, the freshness of Farquhar and the geniality of Goldsmith, and the inspiration of many others. It is a collection which no lover of English dramatic literature can do without.

Two excellent prose anthologies are Mr.

H. Herd's *An English Prose Treasury* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) and *Prose of Today* (Longmans Green and Co. Ltd., Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) Mr. Herd's *Treasury*—which ranges from the Bible and Bacon to Pater and Stevenson—is designed to appeal both to the general reader and to the student of English prose style and it will fully subserve the end in view. *Prose of Today* exhibits the range and variety of the best contemporary English prose, by means of judicious selections from the writings of representative writers of the present day. A useful feature of it is that of biographical notes on the writers from whose works the selections have been made. The two books together form a compendious conspectus of English prose literature.

The various series of reprints of, or adaptations from, classics are growing apace. The latest additions to the Everyman's Library (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Bedford Street, London, W. C.) are Rabelais (in two volumes), Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and Mill's *On the Subjection of Women* (in one volume) and the first volume of the shorter novels of the Elizabethan literature. In the same firm's "King's Treasures of Literature" series, have recently been added *Tales from the Arabian Nights*, *Treasure* (an anthology of treasure quests worldly and other-worldly), *Kidnapped*, *Tangle-wood Tales* and *Giants and Dwarfs*. This well-edited series deserves wide appreciation, especially for and from children.

We have before us two excellent renderings from the ancient Greek into modern English—Mr. W. B. Yeats's translation of Sophocles' *King Oedipus* (Macmillan and Co. Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) and Sir Henry Sharp's of that of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (Oxford University Press, Amen House, London, E. C. 4, and also Bombay). Mr. Yeats's version is intended for the stage and is in limpid prose; while Sir Henry Sharp's is also an acting version, but it is in verse. Though there are many excellent renderings into English of the Greek dramatists, these two translations are nonetheless distinctly noteworthy.

We would like to commend once again to the readers of the *Hindustan Review* that remarkable series of reprints of standard literature—"The World's Classics" (Oxford

University Press, Bombay). Neatly printed and issued in pocket size, enriched with introductions by the best modern writers, this ever-expanding series merits patronage at the hands of lovers of good literature. The latest additions are such standard works as Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography*, Congreve's dramas and poems, Darwin's *Origin of Species*, Sterne's *Sentimental Journeys*, Pal-

mer's translation of the Koran and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*. There are now over three hundred volumes in this wonderful collection and one can easily form an excellent, private library, at a small expenditure, by choosing books to suit one's taste, out of those available in this notable series of reprints.

TOPICS OF THE DAY

THE GENERAL ELECTION IN ENGLAND

The General Election in England has resulted in the defeat of the conservative party and the return of labour as the largest party in the state. The large conservative majority has been reduced into a minority and the Electorate has condemned decisively the conservative Government. The liberals have fared badly at the election and Mr. Lloyd George's efforts to revive that party have for the time being failed. It is interesting to recall that the Labour Party is of very recent origin. It was not until 1900 that a Labour Representation Committee representing trade unions, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society was formed. At the general Election of 1906 which resulted in the greatest electoral triumph that the liberal party has ever achieved, the Labour members returned numbered 54. Since then the party has been gaining in strength. It has great enthusiasm and idealism and this is really what has enabled it to achieve the success it has. The position created by the General Election is interesting. No one party has a clear majority over the two others combined. The liberals who will count about 58 in the new Parliament will hold the balance but it is doubtful if they will ever be able to exercise the executioner's knife, for despite whatever Lloyd George might say, they cannot be too anxious for a fresh General Election.

Baldwin has followed. Accepting the verdict of the country, Mr. Baldwin has resigned and the Conservative regime has come to an inglorious end.

No Indian Nationalist will regret the defeat of the Conservative Government. During the five years they were in office they did everything they could to alienate Political India. Their crowning mistake was the exclusion of Indians from the Simon commission. It is some relief to us in India to feel that we shall not have to deal with Birkenheads, Peels and Wintertons any more.

The coming of labour into office should make for a different spirit in foreign policy. It should also make for a vigorous policy of social reform in Great Britain. It is likely to result in more intimate and cordial relations between the trade-unions and the government of the day. Whether it will make for any real difference in Indian policy remains yet to be seen. The last Labour government was weak in its handling of Indian problems. Labour is stronger in the present Parliament and it will have far less excuse for a weak or vacillating policy.

The new labour government will not be lacking in ability and driving power. It includes such talented men as Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Arthur Henderson who goes to the foreign office, Mr. Clyffeldes, Mr. Thomas who will be the chairman of the General Economic Council and in charge of the Government's plans for dealing with unemployment, Mr. Sydney Webb, (who goes with Lords as Baron Passfield) Sir Charles Trevelyan,

Speculation as to whether Mr. Baldwin will or will not resign has been set at rest by the straightforward course which Mr.

and Mr. William Graham. For the first time the cabinet will also include a woman—Miss Margaret Bondfield who distinguished herself greatly in the last administration as an efficient minister. Mr. Lansbury's inclusion in the cabinet is of some interest to India. Mr. Lansbury is a good-hearted man and his presence in the government ought to make for a juster attitude towards this country.

For the India office Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has selected Mr. Wedgwood Benn. Mr. Benn is a new recruit to the party. He has had distinguished parliamentary career but he has not been known to take any interest in Indian affairs. We do not know how he will shape and his antecedents provide no guide. The fact however that the Imperialist press has

expressed marked approval of his appointment has its own significance. He will have as his assistant—Mr. Drummond hiels, one of the authors of the Donoughmore report.

Lord Olivier's claims have been ignored and not only has he not been given the India office but he has not been even included in the Government. Political India remembers Lord Olivier as a rather amiable Secretary of State who meant well but was unable to achieve much. Lord Olivier had, however, a speculative mind—a clear understanding of the racial problem in tropical countries—a desire to be try. It is to just and fair to coloured peoples. It is to be seen whether Mr. Benn has the courage and the statesmanship to handle the Indian situation wisely.

THE KING'S SPEECH

The speech from the Throne shows that the new Labour Government proposes to follow a moderate policy such as is not likely to arouse the active hostility of that progressive section of the house which does not own allegiance to the labour party. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has admitted quite frankly that his Government will be in a minority of the House if other sections combined to defeat it and that the work of his Government will have to be carried on in a spirit of consultation rather than rivalry. Labour apparently is determined to have a fairly long term of office—and the spirit in which the new government will approach its task is likely to be much different from that which would have animated it if it had a clear majority.

The new government and its programme have met with a good reception in the British press, and indeed that "die-hard" peer, Lord Salisbury, was frank enough to say that there was much in the speech from the Throne with which conservatives could agree. There is no "revolution" involved in such simple reforms as seum clearance, control of liquor traffic and extension of widows', orphans' and old age Pen-

sions Act. There will be few who will not wish hearty success to the Government in its efforts to grapple with unemployment, the slum evil and the liquor traffic. The re-organisation of the coal industry has been long over due. From the Government's reference to the coal question in the King's speech, it looks as if it is going to follow closely the recommendations of the commission of which Sir Herbert Samuel a prominent leader, was the chairman.

The plans outlined by Mr. Thomas for reducing un-employment were described by Mr. Churchill as moderate and sensible. The plans include an extensive programme of railway and road development, electrification of docks and harbours, development of the natural resources of the country, such as land, forests and fisheries, a committee of businessmen to examine schemes of work by public utility committees, and a survey of Empire cotton areas by aeroplanes with a view to their development. In fact, Mr. Thomas explained that his efforts would be to evolve a scheme which would not merely give work but stimulate trade as well.

The King's speech foreshadows a foreign policy, certain features of which will evoke

strong criticism in conservative circles. In particular, the new Government's proposal to resume relations with Russia will be extremely distasteful to the conservatives. The new government has pledged itself to work for Disarmament and as an earnest of the importance which he attaches to this question, Mr. MacDonald almost immediately on assuming office started conversations with the new American ambassador. The Labour Government recognises that the evacuation of the Rhineland is essential for European peace. It is altogether a new Spirit which will permeate the Labour Government in its handling of foreign policy. In its efforts to reduce armaments, encourage international arbitration, settle the Reparation problem and base relations with Soviet Russia upon a satisfactory basis, Mr. MacDonald's Government will have the support and good will of all men working for peaceful atmosphere in the world.

Here in India the general impression was that there would be some reference to

this country in the speech from the Throne. Mr. MacDonald has himself explained the omission by saying that India had not been mentioned because exploration was still proceeding. He has made an appeal to Indian leaders—the sincerity of which we do not doubt—"to reopen the doors of their minds and consider whether they may not now come to help us and give a happy and beneficial solution of this very difficult problem." The Premier has not indicated what his plans for securing Indian co-operation are but whatever they be, they will be only successful if they are based upon a frank recognition of the failure of the Simon Commission method. Indian leaders have never closed the doors against discussion and negotiation. They are—and have ever been ready to discuss the problem of India's future with responsible British statesmen. It is British statesmen themselves who are responsible for their present *impasse* in this country. If they want Indian help, they must adopt a method different from that of the Simon Commission.

LORD IRWIN'S SPEECH AT THE CHELMSFORD CLUB

That a good portion of the speech which his Excellency Lord Irwin delivered at the Chelmsford Club dinner should have been devoted to defending and explaining the policy of the government of which he is the head was perhaps only natural. The important point about that utterance, however, is that it shows that his Excellency now realises that the Simon Commission has failed and that other methods must be adopted to secure India's co-operation.

Lord Irwin has assured us that when in England he will seek an opportunity of discussing the constitutional problem with his Majesty's government and that it will be his endeavour to represent to the British Cabinet "the different standpoints of those who can claim to speak for Indian Political Opinion." "This I should strive to do" said his Excellency "as faithfully as I may in the spirit and to the end outlined in what are for me

the two governing pronouncements of British hope and purpose. The familiar declaration of 1917 and the instruments of instruction which every Governor General receives from the King Emperor when he assumes office wherein His Majesty affirms that above all things it is our will and pleasure that the plans made by our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of our Empire may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among our Dominions." Possibly Lord Irwin's object in quoting from the instrument of instruction was to indicate that the British are pledged to the ultimate Goal of Dominion Status for India. It is however noticeable that Sir B. N. Mirra, a member of the Indian Government himself, could speak of "Dominion Status" as a citizen of India, and not as a member of the government of India. It

would have been more satisfactory if Lord Irwin had been clearer in his reference to Dominion Status. Since the distinction which was sought to be drawn by Sir Malcom Hailey between Responsible Government and Dominion Status the feeling in India has been that there is an attempt on the part of British statesmen to go back on the pledges given by them. A clearer pronouncement of the Goal of British Policy is imperatively necessary and it is to be hoped that His Excellency will take steps in England to impress upon the British Cabinet the desirability of an early pronouncement of the Goal.

Lord Irwin indicated that he was not personally averse to some plan by means of which "the free growth of India's Institutions can be secured without a necessity of incurring enquiries such as that India has been the subject of." We do not know if we are to take this statement as indicating that Lord Irwin now realises that progressive Indian opinion will not be satisfied with anything short of Responsible Government. No tinkering with the reforms will do. The time has come when India should be endowed with a permanent Constitution capable of growth. If His Excellency is really serious in his desire to settle the Indian problem he must set before himself this objective and it is by the success he achieves in this direction that he will be judged.

The tone and temper of his Excellency's speech was unexceptionable but noble sentiments however nobly expressed will not by themselves ease the situation. Ever since the

enforced resignation of Mr. Montague the belief has been gaining strength in this country that England is not serious in her professions of good will towards this country, and that she has no desire to help India towards Responsible Government. Not the least of the many factors which have contributed to this growth of mistrust of British Policy has been the attitude of responsible British Statesmen themselves. They have pursued during the last few years a Policy which has made the best friends of Britain despair as to the future of relations between Britain and India. No Settlement is possible in this atmosphere of mutual mistrust and if His Excellency is really anxious for a real solution of the Indian problem his first effort ought to be to create an atmosphere of hopefulness in this country. His Excellency ought to have less difficulty now in his task of reconciliation as the Government that is likely to deal with the Indian problem will be one which has a more progressive outlook and a broader conception of Imperial Responsibilities.

It is to this task of creating a spirit of hopefulness that His Excellency and the British Government must address themselves. In this connection we think that the suggestion of the Pioneer that the new Secretary of State should take an early opportunity of visiting India is deserving of consideration. A visit to this country will enable Mr. Wegwood Benn to have first hand knowledge of the Indian situation. It will put him into direct touch with Indian Politicians and will be taken as a sure indication of the earnestness of His Majesty's Government.

POSTPONEMENTS OF INDIAN ELECTIONS

Lord Irwin's decision to extend the life of the present Assembly will no doubt be welcomed by the at-all-costs co-operators and is probably a concession to them. As was to be expected it has not been approved of by the large majority of thinking people in this country and on the merits there is little to be said for it. In the ordinary course

the elections should have been held in October and November of this year. We confess we are unable to understand why it was necessary to postpone them. The Simon Report is not likely to be out before the beginning of 1930. Its recommendations, whatever they are, are not likely to be carried into effect before the end of 1932. Is it

intended to defer the elections until after the commission has reported, its proposals considered and given effect to? If this be the intention, then the effect of the postponement will be to deprive the electorate of all opportunity of expressing its opinion clearly and forcibly on the constitutional issue. We shall be surprised if it is decided to hold the elections after the commission reports and before decisions are arrived at on the report for we apprehend that the real object of the postponement is to avoid a clear verdict by the country.

While we cannot support His Excellency's decision and while we recognise its essential unfairness we are wholly unable to approve the decision of the working committee of the congress, *vis.*, that congress members of the legislatures should abstain from participation in Council work. Time after time this policy

of walking in and out has been tried and failed, but the Congress apparently is determined not to profit by the lesson of the past. It is to be noted, however, that within the Congress itself there is considerable dissatisfaction with the decision. The U. P. Swarajists have submitted to it with great reluctance. The Maharashtra group has expressed its dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. The Bengal swarajists who have just come out triumphant in the new election to the Council are also against it, for their absence from the Council would enable what they have so far prevented, *viz.*, a ministry functioning in Bengal. Progressive parties outside the Congress are all definitely opposed to it and not likely to follow the lead of the Congress Working Committee. As it is, our feeling is that swarajist absence from the Council will leave the Legislative bodies much weaker and add to the bureaucratic strength.

AFGHANISTAN

India as a close neighbour is naturally interested in the recent events which have brought Afghanistan into prominence. Though Amanullah has disappeared from the scene, the prospect of settled Government at Kabul is still remote. Baccha-i-Sakka's position is by no means secure for he has still to reckon with the forceful personality of General Nadir Khan. No one can say with certainty what the result of the struggle now going on there will be, but it looks as if Baccha-i-Sakka who is for the time being in control of Kabul is not going to have an easy time.

Amanullah was altogether on the throne for about ten years. He represented a dynasty which has been in control of Afghanistan since about the middle of the Eighteenth century. Soon after his accession to the

throne he launched upon an unprovoked attack upon this country. From the point of view of Afghanistan this third Afghan war was not without achievement, for Amanullah was able by the treaty, which concluded it, to have the complete independence of his country recognised by Great Britain.

Amanullah was a progressive ruler keen on modernising his country. He may have been hasty—and perhaps his judgment of what was feasible immediately in Afghanistan was much at fault. Despite all these mistakes he will stand out as a ruler who during the period he occupied the throne did much to enhance the prestige of his country. He carries with him in his retirement the sympathy and good will of nationalist India.

THE BUTLER COMMITTEE AND THE INDIAN PRINCES

The report of the Butler Committee has been receiving consideration at the hands of the Indian Princes. They cannot be quite happy over it. Yet they are not prepared to condemn it. There are parts of the report—particularly those relating to the paramountcy of the British Government which cannot but be distasteful to them. The Butler Committee lays down that no limitations can be placed upon the paramountcy of the British Government and that this paramountcy carries with it the right of intervention in cases of internal mismanagement. This is a position against which the princes have been fighting but it must be admitted that it is hard to understand how the paramount power can discharge its fundamental obligations towards the states and the subjects without this very necessary power of intervention which must, however, be used sparingly and in exceptional circumstances. We must confess that we are not much impressed with the criticism of the Princes on the conclusions of the committee on the question of paramountcy.

The other important recommendation of the Committee is that the Viceroy and not

the Governor General in Council should be the agent of the Crown in its relations with the Indian States. Further, the Committee recommend that the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States should not be transferred to a Government responsible to an Indian legislature without the consent of the Princes themselves. The effect of these proposals will be to erect a permanent barrier between British India and Indian India. They will hinder India's advance towards Dominion Status without bringing any corresponding advantage to the Princes themselves. The removal of the Indian States from the sphere of the Executive Council will leave the Political Department supreme.

The Indian Princes have no doubt succeeded in getting the Committee to endorse their view about their relationship with the Crown but it is doubtful whether the proposed change will benefit them at all. Our own feeling is that theoretical discussion about paramountcy will not do the Princes much good. What is needed on their part is a determined effort to set their houses in order and give their States a progressive government.

NECROLOGY OF THE MONTH

Six eminent Indians, belonging to five different provinces, have passed away during the month, each of whom was distinguished in one or other sphere of public activity. They were Mr. B. F. Madon of Bombay, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis of Nagpore, Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti of Calcutta, the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga (in Behar), Mr. Amritlal Bose of Calcutta, and Mr. Justice Gokaran Nath Misra of the Oudh Chief Court.

Mr. Madon—who was born in 1871—graduated from the Elphinstone College, and in 1898 the late Mr. R. D. Tata offered him the post of his secretary. Mr. Tata after-

wards sent him to Japan and China to take charge of his business in those countries. There he displayed great business aptitude. From Japan he went to Paris, and afterwards to New York, where he acquired very great business experience. On his return to India, Mr. Tata handed over to him the charge of his firm, namely, R. D. Tata and Company, of which he (Mr. Madon) then became the Managing Director. Mr. Madon was also regarded as an expert in exchange and Indian finance. Recently he had an opportunity of expressing his views on the questions relating to Reserve Bank and the fixing of exchange at 1s. 6d. He was strongly in favour

of relating the rate of exchange at ls. 4d, and was the guiding spirit of the great movement started on its behalf. He was a prominent member of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and only a year ago was its Vice-President. Even the financial authorities in the country recognised him as an expert in banking and finance, and only the other day he was selected as a member of the Indian Banking Inquiry Committee. His premature death is thus a very great loss to Indian banking and commerce, and the country has lost in him a distinguished publicist and economist. Bombay has lost in him a very great citizen!

Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis had long since made his mark in the sphere of legislation and administration in the Central Provinces. Born in 1863, Sir Gangadhar belonged to the historic (Parbhu) Kayastha family, who served for some generations as Chief Secretaries to the Bhonsla rulers of Nagpur. Public affairs engaged a good deal of Sir Gangadhar's attention. He was the first elected non-official Chairman of the Nagpur Municipality and District Council, which offices he held for well-nigh twenty years. For a number of terms, he was a member of the old Imperial Legislative Council. Besides Municipal affairs, he took prominent part in the politics of his day. He was a Liberal to the core. As a man of remarkable geniality and affability of disposition, he endeared himself to every one. He was a very popular figure in the Imperial Legislative Council. He was the first President of the reformed Legislative Council of his province and a member of the Nagpur University Senate. As President of the Legislative Council, Sir Gangadhar acquired fame for his great ability and the impartial treatment meted out by him to both the opposition and the Government benches. By his death the Central Provinces have lost their most distinguished citizen, who was justly held in high esteem by all who knew him. His younger brother—Sir Sankar Chitnavis—is left to sustain worthily the great traditions of the family, which is one of the most famous in the province.

The public career of Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti was, in a sense, even more

varied than that of the Bombay financier or the Nagpur legislator. Born in 1856, he had a brilliant academic career, taking his M. A. degree in Mathematics in 1878, at the age of twenty-two. After putting in some service in the Education department, he secured the Government Agricultural Scholarship and proceeded to England in January, 1881. He not only took the Agricultural degree, but also got called to the English Bar. On his return in July, 1886, he was enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, where his career was brilliant, and of which he was justly long regarded as one of the eminent leaders. But he did not keep his talents and energies devoted to his professional work only. He took all through his life a notable and prominent part in the public activities of the country, especially of his native province, Bengal. He belonged to what is called in our political parlance—though not perhaps quite accurately—the Moderate School. Towards the end of his life, he rose to be a Minister, but his Ministry was short-lived. Apart from his great ability and forensic talents, he was justly held in high esteem for his character. Although he had lately retired from public activities, his death has none-the-less created a void in the public life of Bengal, which is not likely to be easily filled. In him Bengal has lost a great patriot and leader.

The Hon'ble Sir Rameshwar Singh—hereditary Maharajahdhiraj of Darbhanga—was born in January, 1860 and was thus in his seventieth year. The younger son of the proprietor of the extensive Darbhanga estate in Behar, he was educated at home, and later at the Queen's College, Benares, and though he took no degree, he was highly proficient in English, Sanskrit and the Vernaculars. Soon after his attaining majority, in 1878, he was newly nominated to the then constituted Statutory Civil Service. He resigned the service, after serving as a Magistrate, for some years. In 1898, he succeeded his elder brother as the Maharaja of Darbhanga. In 1912, on the constitution of Behar and Orissa as a separate administration, he was the first non-official Indian to be appointed as a member of the Local

Government, and he put in his full term of five years, retiring in 1917. In the pre-Morley reform days, he was on more than one occasion elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, and he was also returned to the Council of State on the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. He had thus considerable knowledge and experience of public affairs, in which he took for years a more or less prominent part, and which stood him in good stead in his work as a public man. Immensely wealthy, educated, intelligent, cultured, shrewd, tactful and with considerable business capacity, the Maharaja was naturally conspicuous in various spheres of activities—political, industrial and social. He also occupied a position amongst the orthodox Hindus of a great religious leader. Ever since his accession to *gaddi* of the Darbhanga Raj, he had also taken the lead in organising the landlords of his province and of the other provinces, as well. His public activities were thus many and varied and these were supported, in many instances, by many generous donations for religious and educational purposes. The death of such a prominent citizen—though at the Biblical age of three score years and ten is to be highly regretted as an undoubted loss to the country.

The next on our list of distinguished Indians, who have passed away this month, is Mr. Amrital Bose—actor, dramatist, playwright, litterateur and a man of affairs. His sphere of activities was thus entirely different from that of the other four, whose careers we have briefly sketched above. And yet if India is ever to attain her fulness of life and self-realisation, she should not only produce economists and financiers like Mr. Madon, administrators and legislators

like Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, scholars and lawyers like Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti, and enlightened and cultured zamindars like the Maharajdhiraj of Darbhanga. She should also produce great artists, great sportsmen, great mechanics, great inventors and great industrialists. It is as a great artist in drama and stage-craft that we pay our homage to the memory of Mr. Amritalal Bose—who has passed away at the ripe old age of seventy-eight and who rendered yeoman's service to Bengalee drama and the Calcutta stage, and moulded and developed on sound and healthy lines the growth, in the early stages, of histrionic art in the country.

Lastly, we have to mourn the premature death—at the age of 58—of Mr. Justice Gokaran Nath Misra of the Chief Court of Oudh. Long before he was elevated to the Bench in 1925, Pandit Gokaran Nath was well-known in the public life of these provinces as a political leader, social reformer, educationist and lawyer. In each of these spheres of activities he distinguished himself, and his appointment to a Judgeship in the Chief Court at Lucknow—though an acknowledgment of his high position in the legal profession—was, in a sense, a distinct loss to the other and even more important spheres of public life, with which he was for years intimately associated, and in which he worked with credit to himself and with advantage to the country. Thus each of the six Indians, who has left us in the short interval of one month, was a noted and distinguished figure in the country; and it is but fitting that we should pay our homage to his memory, and mark our sense of appreciation of his services to Mother India.



MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE

Rt. Hon'ble WEDGWOOD BENN

*Secretary of State for India**

BY

MR. DAVID REID

At the present time the Secretaryship for India is almost the most important post in the Cabinet, and the announcement that it has been entrusted to the Right Hon'ble Wedgwood Benn is intensely interesting. To most people in India he is "a dark horse" and a few notes by one who was among his Leith constituents and had the privilege of a slight personal acquaintanceship with him may not be uninteresting.

Capt. Benn—as he was then called—became M. P. for Leith in 1918. In that large industrial community Labour had latterly grown to great strength, and Capt. Benn's success was by no means a foregone conclusion. He came and saw and conquered. Some were aware that he had had a dozen years' experience in the House of Commons, and that more recently he had shown a fearless courage and quick resourcefulness as an air-man in the Great War and won not a few military distinctions. But, so far as the bulk of the constituency was concerned, he arrived in Leith an unknown man. In a few weeks there was hardly any man better known or better liked. His personal charm, his friendliness, his easy and courteous manners, his unflinching tact, his fluent and unrhymed speech, and, above all, his transparent sincerity, were almost irresistible. He had not only geniality and polish: he had force. He could deal opponents very shrewd blows. His nimble and well informed mind was quick in the uptake, and with no hesitation he could make a point and send a shaft home.

The winsome qualities which made Capt. Benn popular in Leith made him popular also in the House of Commons. There he was as I have heard, familiarly and affectionately known as "Little Benn," in humorous contra-distinction to Big Ben, the great Westminster clock. When he resigned his Liberal seat at Leith and went over to Labour, few could doubt that the move was honestly made from growing conviction and a desire to be useful. Certainly in the Labour party only could he have so early attained the great position which now is his. But it is permissible to believe that personal ambition was not foremost among his motives, and that to him as to others his present elevation has come as a surprise.

In the very blood of Capt. Wedgwood Benn there runs, one may say, a strongly ethical and religious strain. His father, Sir John Benn was, a prominent and greatly esteemed Nonconformist. One thinks of the gallant Captain as a high-toned Christian gentleman, incapable of things mean or unworthy. It will be no small asset in the eyes of India, the ancient mother-land of religions, that to the new Secretary of State, religion means much. Has he weight enough for the great position? That remains to be seen. Has he any special knowledge or practical experience of Indian affairs? Perhaps not: but at the present juncture it may not be altogether a disadvantage to come to the India Office with a fresh and open mind, if only that mind be clear and alert and vigorous and bold and honest.

* [Adapted from the Statesman.]



THE FIRST INDIAN AVIATOR

MR. P. M. KABALI

Mr. Kabali the first Indian aviator was born in 1907 in the suburb of Bombay. He belongs to Cutchi Lohana community and is the son of a merchant and landlord. He was sent to school for his primary education and later on for secondary education in Bombay. He studied upto VII Standard, but could not appear for his examination because of his ill-health. He left his school in the year 1922. Then he attended to his father's estate. His father died in the year 1924 and after that he joined the firm of Messrs. Bombay Berlin Trading Co., who were then doing whole-sale Photographic business on a large scale. He joined this because he was much interested in photography. He took over the management of the technical Department of the said concern. He was thinking of going to Germany to study photography, but had to give it up because of the depreciation in trade. He was then elected as a Life Member of the Bombay Art Society. In the beginning he used to forward several of his photographs to the Annual Exhibitions of this Society. He was awarded several prizes by the Bombay Art Society as well as a certificate of appreciation. He then used to send his photographs to be exhibited in almost all Art Societies of India as well as to foreign countries like Japan and others. He was awarded a medal by the Madras Art Society in the year 1926. His pictures were highly appreciated in India and particularly in Japan when the International Pictures Exhibition was held at Yokohama.

He was then elected as Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, London, (F.R.S.A.) and an Associate of the Royal Photographic Society, London (A.R.P.S.)

At last in 1928, he went to Germany to study Aviation. He first joined the world famous factory of Messrs. Junkers at Dessau, for taking practical training in manufacturing Aeroplanes. He left Germany in the month of October last and went to London for the study of Meteorology and Navigation and has qualified in these subjects. He has also become a Member of the Meteorology and Navigation Society.

He is the first Indian to be admitted as an apprentice in one of the biggest British Civil Aviation Concerns (Messrs. The Imperial Airways Ltd.). He then took up practical training in all its branches of organising a Civil Aviation Concern and then in March last, joined the Aviation School of Col. Henderson and passed all tests including Cross-country, Height and Night Flying for "A" and "B" License, officially observed at the first attempt without damage. He also passed all the Technical examinations along with it. He is the first Indian to get a full British Air Pilot's "B" License and to attempt to fly to India (from London) solo in his Light Aeroplane "Feather of Dawn." He wants to further qualify himself in Aerial Survey and Aerial Photography.

FURTHER LIBEL ON INDIA: MISS MAYO'S NEW BOOK: A SYMPOSIUM.

I. BY SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI
AIYAR K. C. I. E.

Miss Katherine Mayo in *Slaves of the Gods*, makes no secret of her motives. She admits that without departure from truth the book might have been lightened by narratives showing happy graces. "Great and varied" she asserts, "is the bibliography of Hinduism's idealistic beauties." But she is determined, in her own words, to allot this volume to its mortal woes. Miss Mayo is not deficient in a good conceit of herself. She takes it almost for granted that the more glaring social evils inherent in Hinduism have, during the past 18 months, that is presumably, since the appearance of *Mother India* engaged the attention of educated India and she insists that she has given much aid and impetus to the Hindu social reformer. This is true, but only in the sense in which mustard plaster works on the human frame by irritation. But surely, even Miss Mayo must have been aware of the strenuous and continuous work of social and religious reformers of which the earliest examples are Buddhism and Jainism and of which the recent history of the social and religious reform movements furnish notable examples. What Miss Mayo forgets is that we can forgive the wounds of a true friend like Sister Nivedita or Sir John Woodroffe but cannot tolerate the petty spitefulness of morbid-minded gossips.

What a travesty of Western civilisation and Western life would be produced by following a similar method! Would it be right on a survey of the very carefully documented books of Judge Lindsay fully-packed with official statistics to say that school boys and school girls between the ages of 15 and 20 in America live a life of promiscuous sexuality? Would it be just to treat Mr. Upton Sinclair's "Oil" and "Boston" as a real reproduction of Western commercial life or as a correct exposition of the futility and sordidness underlying Western philosophy and social

science? Would it be proper to deduce from the bill recently introduced by Lord Buckmaster in Parliament that it is a common practice for English girls to marry before they attain maturity of body and of mind? Would it be charitable or even tolerable to take advantage of Police Court Reports in England and say that the slumming and the drunkenness which lead to horrible cases of unnatural vices and of rape and incest are features which represent normal England? Shall we be justified in referring to the horribly indecent advertisements on page after page of Continental newspapers? Do we not know that the average Frenchman is not the monster of iniquity which even some French novelists picture him to be? I have before me a copy of "London Life," packed with libidinous and suggestive stories advertising itself as a wonderful collection of snappy pictures and short stories and full also of details of nerve tonics and capsules to excite jaded appetites. Shall we be right to deal with it as a picture of the natural life led in London?

I have also before me two magazines published in Paris "Vie Parisienne", dated the 9th March, 1929 and "Le Sourire" dated the 13th March, 1929. Whole pages in these magazines are devoted to advertisements of houses with all "modern comforts" where "unique sensations", and (relations) mondanimes, in other words, sexual sensations) can be obtained through the good offices of ladies whose names and addresses are given and who are described as anxious and willing to confer the benefits of their society between 2 p. m., and 3 p. m. on persons at rates specified in the magazine. In one issue of a French paper there are 260 descriptions of such houses. Similar open advertisements can be discovered in German, in Austrian and in Italian magazines and more veiled notices in English papers. Would it not be grossly defamatory of European civilisation to argue from these phenomena or from re-

cent happenings with regard to solicitations in London public streets that modesty and virtue are rare in Europe? Those who know the vitality and the dynamic character of western life and civilisation will realise how grossly unfair to the west would be any deduction from these phenomena. And yet this kind of analysis is just what has been attempted by Miss Mayo.

II BY PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU.

"What is celebrity?" asked a French philosopher, and he suggested an answer to his query—"to be known by those whom we do not know." Katherine Mayo may well claim a measure of celebrity or notoriety according to this definition. Little known in the continent of Europe, discredited and almost forgotten in her native country many in England and India still remember her. In England, perhaps because she is supposed to have supplied a moral argument, which was difficult enough to find, for the continuance of British domination over India. In India, for a different reason.

Probably no foreigner has aroused the anger and bitter resentment of the Indian people as much as Katherine Mayo. There is hardly an Indian of note from Gandhi and Tagore downwards, who has not condemned her travesty of Indian life. Even those who were dragged in by her in support of her argument have turned against her and denied her. Yet, with amazing self-confidence or conceit and arrogance, she has gone her way and not profited by past experience.

A MONSTROUS PICTURE.

The picture that Katherine Mayo draws of India is a false one. To her India spells sex and nothing more—our religion is the religion of the phallus, our science concupiscence, our chief diversion sexual intercourse with immature girl-wives. This is a monstrous picture and it is easy enough to demonstrate its falsity and to retort in kind. It is easy enough to discuss the sex conditions and problems which dominate the western world and which have practically put an end to the family and the home and are taking the race to none knows where. That

would be easy, but it would serve little purpose. Let us realise that the beam in our eyes is a big one and try to cast it out. How will it profit us to know that the beams in others' eyes are also big?

III. BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

Miss Katherine Mayo has again outraged all sense of international courtesy and decency by publishing a second volume, illustrative of her former book, "Mother India" without any apology for the exaggerations and in-accuracies which have been pointed out in her former volume. It is difficult for those who do not know the tension under which India is passing to realise what infinite harm is being done by such gross breaches of racial good-will and understanding as this book represents. The nerves of India to-day are raw with insults and humiliations; and there is something cruel in the extreme in thus stabbing and wounding, over and over again, a sensitive people at such a time. Miss Mayo has done nothing whatever, practically and sympathetically to prove her love for the people whom she wounds. The bitterness that these attacks are provoking has inevitably added to the estrangement between the East and West. It has thrown back reforms, that were equally needed in the West and East alike; for neither people is now ready to listen to the other side concerning things that are grievously wrong. It is as if open war were declared.

I have read through Miss Mayo's twelve stories with increasing indignation at their libellous character. To appeal at the end of them to the women of India is to appeal after prejudicing her whole case. No people have been more unsparing than Indians themselves in laying bare to the world their own short-comings. But to take advantage of these outspoken utterances, in order to document a series of lurid and sensational stories, with every false note jarring,—as if this were the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,—is a subtle means of giving to those, who innocently read them, an entirely false impression, cruelly unjust to India and her long suffering people.

IV. BY THE REV. N. MACNICOL, D. D.

Rightly or wrongly, the people of this land—as represented, that is, by the awakened minority, that two per cent. in the case of the women, in whom, as Miss Mayo says lies the hope of the rest—believe themselves, at the present hour of their awakening, to be surrounded by enemies who for selfish reasons desire their continued bondage. To that strained and anxious attitude Nationalism has brought them. We may feel that it has made them hypersensitive and too ready to suspect hostility, but that India has powerful enemies who desire to keep her in subjection, and to that end to give her a bad name, no one can doubt. When, therefore, Miss Mayo's former book appeared, describing India as a land of decadents and degenerates, describing them as though their faults and crimes were relieved by no traits of nobility, is it any wonder that it was believed that the book was a deliberate attempt to besmirch them in the eyes of the world and so to help those who would defraud them of their right of freedom? This lady who claimed to be a friend certainly seemed, both from the manner of her book and the occasion of its appearance, to be on the side of their enemies. And this suspicion was confirmed when the book was made use of with exultation by those who were unquestioned enemies. Miss Mayo may have been unfortunate in the circumstances that created this deep-rooted suspicion of the sinister purpose of the book, but it can hardly be denied that the manner in which the evils of India were presented seemed to confirm the view that its author was no friend but a foe, that she was willing and eager to wound.

This suspicion that the former book created is not dispelled by the new one, in spite of the fact that she has secured a letter from Bishop Whitehead, formerly Bishop of Madras, which she prints in her preface and which gives her some carefully guarded support. The stories told in this book, every one guaranteed as true in essentials, are loathsome in their revelation of diseased natures. They are too loathsome to be artistically effective, and undoubtedly Miss Mayo would have been well-advised if she

had presented them as hideous fact and not as fiction. That they are 'narratives taken from real life,' as she affirms, no one will doubt. But that they are in any true sense representative of Indian life, as typical, we absolutely refuse to believe. But that is the impression that Miss Mayo's tales convey. She has not earned the right to tell these tales if they are told not merely as fiction, to produce a 'best-seller' and create for their author some notoriety, but with a view to helping India to break her bonds and to arousing the women of the land to join with her in this crusade. She has not earned a right to tell these tales if that is her purpose, for she has not proved her love for India and these tales do not give proof of it.

V. BY MR. J. C. MOLONY, I. C. S.,
RETD.

Miss Mayo has again entered the controversial arenas with a volume of stories entitled *Slaves of the Gods*. These stories dealt for the most part with the wrongs inflicted on Indian women by India's social customs and man-made laws. In criticising a former work by Miss Mayo I remarked that it is unwise to base a general judgment on exceptional cases of hardship, and that in fairness these sweeping judgments should be applied impartially to every nation that affords justification for them. The possible marriage of Indian girls at such an age as 10 years is an offence in Miss Mayo's eyes. The permissible age of legal marriage for girls in England and in many States of North America is 12 years; and an English or American girl aged 12 is physically about 2 years younger than an Indian girl of the same age. The possibility of such marriages in England or America may be held to be an antiquated legal absurdity. I was surprised to learn that in the last few years in England there has been an actual marriage of a girl aged 12, and a marriage of a boy aged 14. There have been several marriages of girls between the ages of 14 and 15. But no one could fairly base a general indictment of English morals and marriage customs on these exceptional occurrences.

Regarding Indian marriage customs, some of these I disapprove; but I do not hold myself entitled to denounce in unbridled language those who uphold these customs, or to commiserate tearfully with those who, in my opinion, suffer from them. So far as my knowledge of Indian women goes—it is merely my casual knowledge of the village women, supposedly the special thralls of Indian custom—Indian women are, in the main, cheerful, contented folk. The men of the villages—and village life is the representative life of India—so far as I know them, are simple, kindly, creatures. The women's standards of morality and decent behaviour are very high; and family affection is a marked characteristic of men and women alike. I have sometimes ventilated my social opinions to the village folk. They have listened politely; but quite obviously all, whether men or women, sincerely and utterly disagreed with me. As I held my own opinions sincerely, I hope that in time the Indian people will come to share them. But, simply because Indian people just now do not think as I do, to hold up India to the world as an inferno of man's cruelty and woman's slavery seems to me to be worse than wrong. It is supremely silly.

VI. BY MR. H. L. MENCKEN.

Miss Mayo's book, *Slaves of the Gods* is a sort of appendix to her *Mother India*. It is shabby and ineffective. The author's thesis is that most of the abuses and atrocities she finds in India have a religious basis—that the chief enemy to decency is the Hindu theologian. It goes without saying. The chief enemy to decency everywhere is the theologian. In India he battles for child marriage; in the United States he battles for comstockery, the interdiction of birth control by law, and Prohibition, with their long train of spying, hypocrisy, corruption, tyranny and dishonour. The Indian widow, it appears, is badly used; well, so is the civilized American, badly used. In what

way, essentially, does the Indian pundit's view of the function of marriage differ from that of a Catholic archbishop? Miss Mayo would have done better if she had let the well enough of "Mother India" alone.

VII. BY PRINCIPAL JOHN MACKENZIE, M.A. WILSON COLLEGE, BOMBAY.

In the first place, would it not be a very extraordinary thing if, after our long connection with India through trade and Government and missionary work, we were dependent for the last word of truth regarding India on the writings of a cold weather visitor? I do not stress this, for extraordinary things do sometimes happen. I do say this, however, that she could not have gathered the mass of damning material which she did gather unless she had come out looking for just this kind of material. Friends who have spent half a life time in India have told me that Miss Mayo had learned in the course of a few months things about the smutty side of Indian life that they had not learned in the course of long years spent in close touch with Indian people. It may be answered that, that only shows how blind some people can be. It is said, on what authority I do not know, that Mother India has stood the test of the fiercest and most relentless criticism. This not an accurate statement. There are throughout the book statements, well documented, which show that in the particular places with which the authorities are familiar certain kinds of barbarous customs and practices are prevalent. Whenever Miss Mayo begins to generalise she goes completely astray. For example, I have talked with European doctors, working in different parts of India who have told me that this and that practice described in the book has never come under their notice. India is a very large country. The man with the muck-rake has a large field to work, and if he works assiduously he can gather an imposing heap.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS

[N. B.—The views expressed under this heading are not necessarily the views of the Hindustan Review—Ed.]

ABSTENTION OF CONGRESSMEN FROM LEGISLATURES.

By Mr. Raghunath Sahay, B.Sc., LL.B., M.L.C., Member of the All-India Congress Committee.

The policy of abstention from Councils has been proved to be a barren policy, which is capable of doing no good to the country. It has been tried more than once before by the Swarajists without any tangible results. Of course, it has got a spectacular side, which may not be lost sight of. It surely attracts the attention of the entire country and makes it think as to the cause which has led to the abstention of councillors from the Councils. It draws the attention of the intelligentsia of other countries also who begin to take notice of the pressing grievances of India. But then the spectacular side even ceases to have its effect when this policy is brought into use frequently, as it has already been done in this country. The memorable 1924 walk-out from the Assembly and simultaneously from other legislatures in the country had some effect, but thereafter it was never seriously taken notice of. On the other hand, serious-minded people began to question whether it was a prudent course to adopt at all.

The latest resolution of the Working Committee calling upon all congressmen in the legislatures to abstain from attending them till further orders of the A. I. C. C. in view of the extension of the life of legislatures, has met with stout opposition everywhere. In the first place, this resolution springs a surprise upon congressmen in the legislatures who were never given an opportunity to express their views on the subject. The step has not been taken after mature deliberation. Secondly, it places them in a very false position with the electorate, which expects their representatives to be jealous guardians of their best interests. How is the abstention going to be explained—and to be explained in a satisfactory manner so as to bring conviction to the mind of those for whom an explanation is given—and not explained away. Pandit

Moti Lal Nehru says, congressmen do not desire to waste time in the councils for petty reforms and, therefore, let them come out unmindful of the fact that some petty legislations are pending in the councils and for their passage the presence of congressmen will be necessary. If that is the position, then why enter the councils at all and worry about winning the largest number of seats for congressmen. Let them be captured by any body, but congressmen, and let the latter devote every iota of their energy to work in the country. Let them then confess to the 'no-changers' that their policy of entering the legislatures has been a dismal failure and that they are going to retrace their steps backwards and will join hands with that erstwhile colleagues in the congress. Let them resign from the councils in a body and never think of entering them again till Swaraj is attained. But though these are some of the most logical positions arising out of the abstention policy and the explanation of the leader of Swaraj party in the Assembly, few will be prepared to argue in that way and accept the conclusions thus reached. On the other hand the correct statement of affairs would be that the Swarajists have done more good to the country by their remaining in the legislatures than by keeping themselves away, that they have been exercising a steadying influence upon the arbitrary, high-handed, and irresponsible government to whom nothing could be more welcome than the total abstention of congressmen from councils, that they have prevented the unpatriotic, anti-national element in the legislatures joining hands with the official block and carrying through them obnoxious and harmful legislations in most cases. That they have, in a way, made it more easy for outside work to go on unhampered than was possible when they kept themselves aloof from these bodies,

That they have introduced an entirely new tone in the legislatures when representatives of the people voice their feelings and sentiments most courageously without mixing matters and push the bureaucracy in uncomfortable positions.

Soon after the adoption of the policy of capturing the councils by congressmen it was made clear that mere undiluted obstruction would not do, but side by side with destruction, congressmen should do something constructive, in the councils. That they have tried to make the most of the bad job, there is no doubt about it. That they have exposed the utter unsuitability of the present constitution on more than one occasion, is manifestly clear and patent. That they have lost no opportunity of doing an useful service either by way of placing an enactment on the statute book or by putting interpellations or calling the attention of the government to a manifest injustice in time. It is said that if congressmen would abstain from attending the councils, they would be able to do more work outside. A greater erroneous impression could not have been created. Council work does not keep a member busy all the year round so as to enable him to do any other work. It all depends upon one's mentality whether he would be more in element with Congress work outside the legislatures or inside. There are some people whom if you would take out from Councils, would not do anything else, come what may. On the other hand there are others, who are as enthusiastically busy with outside work as with the Council Work, while remaining members thereof. Wholesale abstention from Council will not make any material changes in work outside the Councils.

The chances are that this policy of abstention if persisted in, would antagonise the electorate who would think twice before casting its vote in favour of Congressmen again. It is almost certain that if the Bengal electors had known the decision of the Working Committee a little earlier, they would not have returned Congressmen in such overwhelming majority in the last elections. For

what was the use of their voting and undergoing so much trouble for the sake of Congress candidates if they had been informed that Congressmen would not attend the Councils till the orders of the All-India Congress Committee. Electorates, in order that they may support one party and its candidates at the time of elections, must be aware of the intentions of the party and the policy which it is going to pursue inside the legislatures. It cannot be expected to read the mind of the leaders of a party. So far as the declared policy of the Swaraj party goes, it was not once given out that it would resort to a policy of walk-outs and frequent abstention from legislatures. If that is not so, then why spring a surprise on the electorate, and adopt a course for which the electorate has given no sanction, and if, taking into consideration the totality of circumstances, that is the only self-respecting course for Congressmen in the legislatures to adopt, they have got only one alternative and one only. It is to resign their seats and seek the suffrage of the electorates. Holding tight their seats in the Councils so as to prevent others from capturing them and yet not attending the Councils is an indefensible policy which is at once absurd and ridiculous. And the sooner it is replaced by a more sensible policy the better.

There is one more important consideration in this connection. Unity among the ranks of Congressmen at this critical stage of the country is absolutely essential and indispensable. Any secession or serious difference of opinion jeopardising unity will be fatal to the cause of the country. And there is no doubt about it that if the Working Committee resolution is not modified in accordance with the wishes of the majority of councillors belonging to Congress party with the least possible delay, there is bound to be a split among Congressmen which no patriotic Indian would look upon with equanimity. Every effort should be made to avoid the threatened split and to present an united front against the stubborn, callous and hard-hearted soulless Government of this country.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

ON

THE PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

BY

MR. RADHEY SHYAM RASTOGI, M.A., LL.B.

On 12th April 1929, the Viceroy delivered an important speech in the Assembly on the occasion of the bomb outrage, which was as momentous and far reaching in consequence, as it was most skilfully worded. The gubernatorial utterance which has been the subject of a large amount of comment in the press can be roughly divided into two parts, that is, the bomb outrage and the Public Safety Bill, and I propose to deal with these portions separately. I shall first deal with the portion on the Public Safety Bill, as it has rightly evoked much adverse criticism.

"Let there be Light," said the Almighty God and there was Light, "Let there be the Public Safety Ordinance," said the all-mighty Viceroy, and the Public Safety Ordinance was placed on the Statute Book. The President of the Assembly ruled the Bill out of order, he had "arrogated to himself powers which he did not possess." He had raised objections of an academic nature and the business of the Assembly was brought to a standstill. The wrath of the gods was bound to descend upon him. Is it not the duty of the President to bow to every wind that blows from the Government benches? Is he not installed in the chair to be subservient to the will of the bureaucracy? Does he dare to question the propriety of the infallible actions of the Government? Can he attain the political Nirvana except by the constant adoration of the Trinity, the Home Member, the Finance Member, the Law Member? Did he not commit an unpardonable offence in once rejecting the Bill by his casting vote? Was it not a heresy on his part to urge upon the Government either to postpone the Bill till the conclusion of the Conspiracy trial or withdraw the conspiracy case and then proceed with the Bill? The snake of independence was rearing its head, it must be scotched if not killed; the powers of the President must be curtailed, if he is not

removed from office. His hands must be fettered, his mouth must be gagged and then there will be no independent President, no constitutional crisis, no "rope of casuistry" and no intervention of the Olympian God. Let the President be a *roisfainant*, a figure-head, a gilded puppet and then there will be plain and smooth sailing, no hard rocks to encounter, no heavy storms to buffet, no glaciers to wreck, and the Government shall have the satisfaction of having an Assembly of intellectual prodigies without power: glorified debates, punctuated by sharp retorts and trenchant wit, without any fruitful result; a President without control, and a Home Member without any effective opposition. "Death, where is thy sting?" scornfully said the poet. "President Patel, where is your curbing power?" seem to say Messrs. Graham and Crear, laughing in their sleeves.

His Excellency described the Assembly in flamboyant language as a "symbol of the supremacy of reason, argument and persuasion." But the Public Safety Ordinance, can by no stretch of language be called the outcome of these three cardinal constitutional virtues, which, on the other hand, are conspicuous by their absence. What was the argument advanced by His Excellency in answer to the commonsense, yet logical, simple but significant reasoning of Mr. Patel that the "fundamental basis for the Bill was virtually identical with that of the Conspiracy case, and consequently it would not be possible to argue the case for the Bill without arguing the case for prosecution and making statements, which were likely to prejudice the trial, and the Government should either postpone the Bill, till the conclusion of the Conspiracy trial or withdraw the Conspiracy case, and then proceed with the Bill, otherwise the debate will be a farce and a fraud?" The Government was determined neither to withdraw the Conspiracy case nor to post-

pone the consideration of the Bill, and its reply may be summed up thus: "Mr. President, we introduced the Bill some months before, we persuaded half the Assembly to vote for the Bill, our victory hovered in sight, but you shelved the Bill by your casting vote. We introduced the Bill again, and you stopped us from proceeding with the Bill. We shall curtail your powers, we shall amend the Standing Rules and Orders, we shall reduce you to a helpless creature and then you cannot become a stumbling block in our way." This is more akin to the argument of a petulant child than the cool reasoning of a logician or the dignified persuasion of a politician. And what is the scope of this Ordinance? "It will affect none who are content to employ their liberty in this country for legitimate means." As if the whole of the Criminal Procedure Code with its involved and ambiguous phraseology and its elastic interpretation, the Bengal Ordinance, the Regulation III of 1818 and a muster-roll of other laws were not sufficient to cope with the situation.

But there are also some "knee-crooking," time-serving, self-appointed politicians, whose beau ideal is to lavish unbounded and indiscriminate praise upon every action of the Government. To them, the Viceroy's speech marks an epoch in the political history of the country, and seer-like they have prophesied that the decision of the Government to curb the powers of the President by changing the rules will usher in a millennium for the Assembly. The action of the Government in promulgating the Public Safety Ordinance is, according to them, most wise, proper, sagacious, tactful, desirable, statesmanlike, satisfactory and beneficial. Those, who differ from them cannot be permitted to enter in the hallowed circle of fair-minded, honest, reasonable and patriotic countrymen. As a corollary of this proposition Mr. Patel should be dubbed as arrogant, assuming and unconstitutional; Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru a chip of unreasonable and unpatriotic youth, Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, a babbler in law and constitution, and Mr. Chintamani a mountain of flesh with an unbalanced mind. Frankly speaking, the President's action is called unreasonable and unconstitutional, because

he happened to be an Indian Speaker of the so-called Parliament of a subject nation and is courageous enough not to be afraid of powers that be. But it should be remembered that there is no other person, who is more constitutional, and who knows better to conduct the proceedings of the Assembly. He is a man, gifted with undaunted courage, sterling merit and strict impartiality. Well versed in constitutional history, his name is fit to conjure with. He has won tribute from far and near, from friends and foes alike, and he will be a priceless acquisition to the Parliament of any of the most advanced countries of the world. To the over-jubilant critics we may say "Do not frisk and jump in glee that the President has been humiliated. Do not sing your hallelujahs in praise of the Delphic Oracle of the Assembly who has declared in unmistakable terms that the powers of the President will be reduced. It is not an occasion for joke and merriment but of sorrows and tears, for the death-knell of the Indian aspirations for a larger measure of independence has been sounded."

Now I proceed to deal with that portion of the Viceroy's speech, which concerned the bomb outrage in the Assembly. Leaders of all shades of opinion have condemned it in unequivocal language. No amount of bomb-throwing can further the cause of India's march towards freedom. But in their zeal for condemnation, the critics have gone too far, and have considered perpetrators of the crime to be the embodiment of evil itself, and have attributed those qualities to them, which they did not possess. No human being can be entirely wicked, as he cannot become entirely virtuous. The human clay has been kneaded with good and evil, although, no doubt, in different proportions in every case. Napoleon, with all his blood-thirstiness, had a tender heart palpitating in his bosom, and Jean Valjean, the classical robber, was not entirely devoid of that godly quality, known as sympathy. Nothing can be farther from truth than the oft-repeated, mechanical parrot-cry that the throwing of bombs by the two "hair-brained youths" was a cowardly act. Long have I knelt in devout worship before Mill and Bain, and great pains have I borne to reconcile their action with cowardice with

the aid of the whole paraphernalia of syllogistic reasoning from Barbara to Fresison—all in vain, without any fruitful result. Call it, what you may, their action is anything but cowardly, and we have it on the authority of no less a luminary than Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru that it is not only a misnomer but a gross abuse of language to call their action cowardly. Two young persons of good family and education, who have read the lessons of history with open eyes and receptive minds, who are fired with a burning zeal to do their iota of service in freeing the country from the thralldom of a Satanic Government, which cares nothing but its own profit, and which has silently and imperceptibly, like the worm in the bud, destroyed the vitality of a virile race by its Machiavellian policy, who have seen horrors following horrors and insults following insults to their country and countrymen, who have lost all hope and faith in the golden promises of Great Britain, which are honored more in breach than in observance, sally forth out of their houses, and with life in hand, enter in the very citadel of bureaucracy guarded by an armed police force, drop a bomb or two on the floor of the House at the crucial moment of breathless suspense, when President Patel was to give his much awaited and eagerly longed-for ruling on the once-rejected Public Safety Bill, surrender themselves immediately without resistance to the myrmidions of law and order, prepared to face the extreme penalty of law and give out their correct names and addresses without hesitation—is there anything in their action which may be called even an approach to cowardice? "You may call their actions rash and unwise, an aberration from the right path; you may think their hearts brimming with a wrong kind of patriotism; you may consider their line of action as suicidal to national interests but there is not the slightest tinge of cowardice in it."

If one wants to find instances of cowardice or moral delinquency, one will find them in myriads in the action of the British Government. That notorious General Dyer, who out-Heroded Herod in the massacre of innocent and defenceless women and children, who stowed human beings like cabbages in

the field, who has won "immortal glory" by perpetrating an Indian "Bartholomew Massacre" at Jallianwala Bagh and whose name will evoke undisguised contempt and indignation in every patriotic heart; that so-called "grand and most promising police-officer, Mr. Saunders" who to the utter ignominy and shame of the British collared by the throat one of the greatest sons of India, old, weak and unarmed, and defending himself as with a shield, from the lathi blows of the police with his umbrella; the police officials at Lucknow, who mercilessly used their batons at that frail and delicate youth, nurtured in a bed of roses, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who has wielded no other weapon in his life except his tongue and who had no other shield except his lean hands; the myrmidions of law and order, who violated the sanctity of a private dwelling by scaling the walls of the house of an old, well-to-do, respectable and blind lawyer without warrant or any written authority, ruthlessly beat the inmates, dragged them out of the house, and packing them in a lorry like herrings in a barrel, sent them off to a distant place—are these actions brave or cowardly?

Some self-appointed and short-sighted mentors have drawn most lurid conclusions from the bomb-outrage at Delhi, and have egged the Government to carry on a more vigorous repressive policy. "Repression, more repression" is their slogan. They will like the Government to proscribe all books on Indian politics, to close down the press, to stop the circulation of journals and to prosecute people, agitating for the freedom of the motherland. Repression is not the proper antidote to the revolutionary movement; on the other hand, it will aggravate the disease and the patient will become more delirious and such hysterical outbursts will multiply in large numbers. The revolutionary movement dates as far back as the Partition of Bengal, and since then it has been growing in strength, force and organisation. It has taken deep roots in the soil, and the Government never tried to find out the real cause but has "embarked on a policy of prosecuting leaders, among the extremists who carry on lawful political activities but carry their heads at a higher attitude than pleases the tin-gods of authority."

In fact, the greater the repression, the stronger the revolutionary movement. "Excess of severity," declared Lord Morley "is not the path to order, on the contrary it is the path to the bomb." His declaration has proved only too true. Anarchical and revolutionary crime can never be put down by mere unadulterated force. The Viceroy wants us to express "unqualified condemnation" of the bomb outrage, by which expression he means that people should not put any blame on the Government, and express their approval of its policy. Nothing shows a greater bankruptcy of statesmanship. There is a widespread disaffection against the present system of Government. "Strike at the root and the branches will fall of themselves"; remove the grievances of the people and the revolutionary movement will disappear of itself. It is not the revolutionists who are to blame but the Government. Burke, the Conservative of Conservatives testified that when a people quarrel with the Government, it is more often the latter that is in flagrant wrong. If Lord Irwin, taking his cue from Lord North of old, gives in to his panicky counsellors, and follows a severe repressive policy instead of devising measures to meet popular discontent it does not need a prophet to declare that in no time the legitimate freedom movement will be swallowed up by the Revolutionary movement and India will become a "Lost Dominion." History repeats itself; let us wait and see.

UNTOUCHABILITY.

To the Editor,

Sir,—Rudyard Kipling's lines, "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain can meet," have either given rise to, or strengthened, a belief that the Oriental and Occidental peoples are fundamentally different in their characters, dispositions, and mental and spiritual outlooks upon life. The validity of such a belief I am disposed to question. The languages, culture, customs, manners, and ways of the East and the West are markedly different, but such differences affect more the superficial, outward, every-day life of Orientals and Occidentals than their inner, spiritual life. As regards the deeper

and more important things of life, namely, belief in God, and adherence to honesty, courage, loyalty, temperance, and the other virtues, Orientals and Occidentals are very much alike, even though they may exhibit their beliefs and virtues in different ways.

Take the matter of "untouchability" that affects so many millions of the people of India. According to Brahmanic belief it would be pollution for a high-caste Brahman to touch one of the despised Sudra class. The Brahman would have to wash his hands after touching one of this class. Well, the same thing obtains in Occidental countries. I have observed more than once that when persons have come into contact with some despised man, say some "old bachelor," or "remittance man," or some fellow held in general contempt for a light, worthless character, they have furtively or openly gone through the motions of washing the hands that have touched such fellows, or brushed on their garments. This is almost an instinctive action, and serves as a symbol to show that we have little or nothing in common with certain persons, and want nothing to do with them. We say in a sort of proverb: "I wash my hands of you."

But let us not carry our renunciation of our fellow-men too far. After all, we cannot read the hearts of our fellow-men. How, then, can we read the heart of God? It may be that in the sight of God one that we despise is better and higher than we are.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, } Yours very truly,

U.S.A., May 20, 1923. } Charles Hooper.

THE MINORITY PROBLEM.

Professor Radha Kumud Mookerjee contributes an article to the current number of the *Hindustan Review* on how the problem of minorities is being solved in post-war Europe. According to a League of Nations publication, 78 millions of people have had their political allegiance transferred to States, old and new, other than those to which they belonged before the war. In many, if not

most cases, it has been impossible to establish States on the basis of race, religion or even language, and the problem of minorities in consequence exists in nearly all the new States. The protection of minorities has become a concern of the League of Nations under the Peace Treaty. The Minorities Guarantee Treaties, which the League is expected to carry out, have a double object in view. They aim at the creation of a sentiment of loyal co-operation on the part of the Minorities with the new Governments under which they find themselves and at the reconciliation of these new Governments with their former enemies admitted and accepted as their own nationals and citizens. In some of the new States the Germans who were the ruling race before the war find themselves in the position of minorities dependent on the good will of their quondam subjects. This is pre-eminently the case in Czecho-Slovakia which has to deal with a highly-cultured and powerful German minority amounting to 23 per cent. of the population, which, as the Professor points out, is the same as the Muslim minority in India. Czecho-Slovakia, under the able guidance of President Masaryk, has solved the problem most successfully. This is an example for India. Professor Mookerjee lays stress on the fact that separate

communal electorates and representation as such, are not recognised as legitimate means for achieving the end of minority protection and have no place in any of the Western constitutions, old or new, including Turkey—*The Indian Daily Mail*.

"THE PIONEER" ON "THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW."

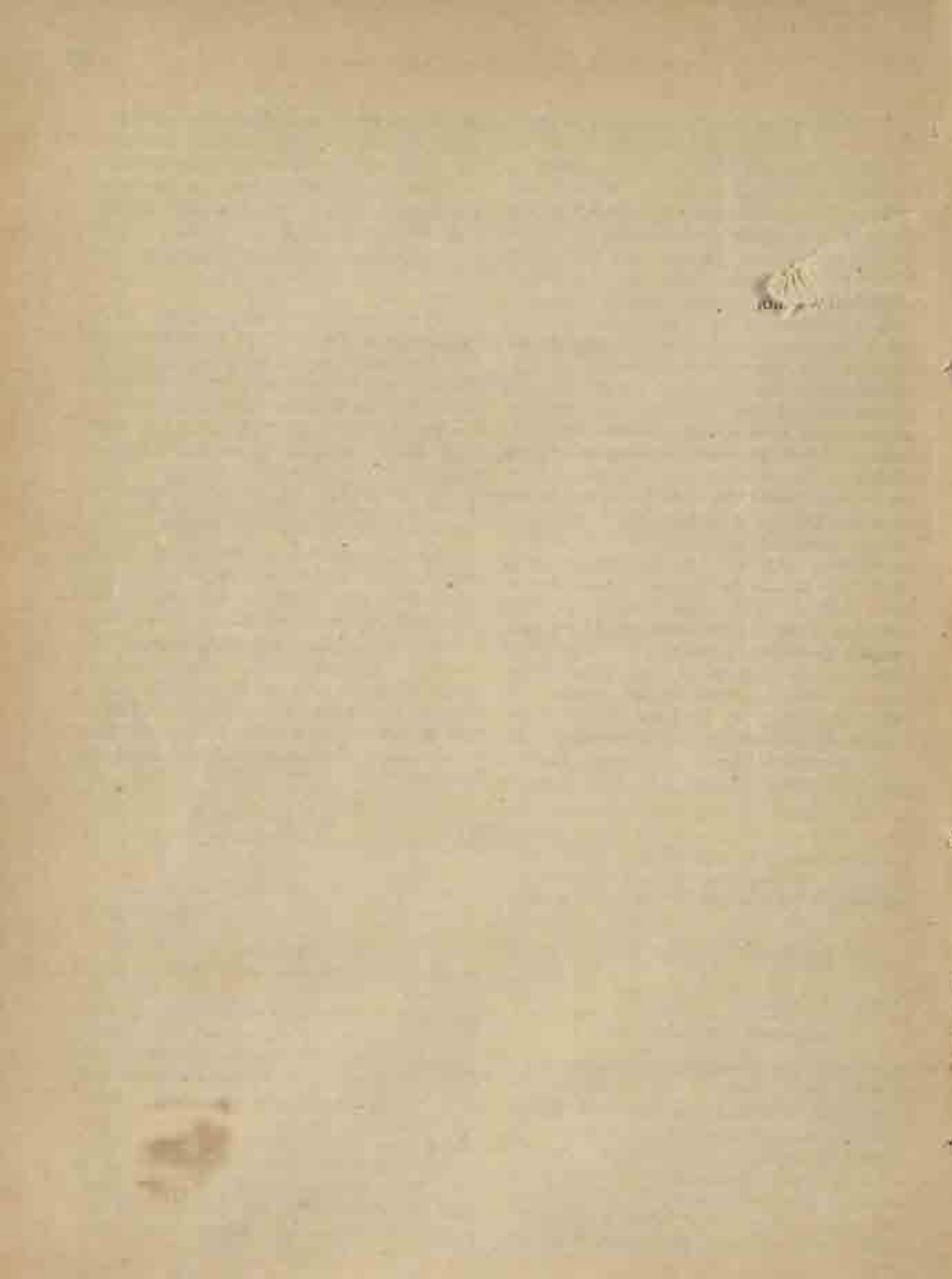
The current quarterly number of the "Hindustan Review" is remarkable both for the wide range of subjects it covers, and number of distinguished names it includes among its contributors.

The topical question of the Indian States and their problems is treated of in two articles, by Colonel K. N. Haksar and Professor G. R. Abhayankar, and in a symposium of views on the Butler Report.

Sir Jagadis Bose, the Marquis of Zetland, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and Mr. W. T. Layton each deal with subjects on which they are peculiarly qualified to write.

The book reviews are numerous and well-written. Altogether, the volume contains some eighteen articles, of which the general standard is high. From July, the "Hindustan Review" is to revert to a monthly, being now issued from Allahabad instead of from Calcutta.

— END —





The Hindustan Review

August, 1929



MAHATMA GANDHI

*President-elect, Indian National
Congress, Lahore Session, 1929.*

The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—“Truth” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the “Review of Reviews” (London).
 The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the “Nineteenth Century” or the “Fortnightly Review.”—“United Empire” (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London).

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BY
Sachchidananda Sinha

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“Back to Non-Co-operation”: Our only Slogan—I

BY
SRIJUT RAJENDRA PRASAD, M.A.

IT is unnecessary to detail in this survey, the causes which led to the inauguration of the Non-Co-operation movement in September, 1920. It is well-known that India had contributed liberally and even generously, both in men and money, considering her resources, during the Great War. She had helped considerably in stemming the on-rush of the German offensive in the early days of the War, and her gallant sons had shed their blood side by side with that of the Britishers and their Allies in several theatres of War. As the German efforts increased and more men and money became increasingly necessary, pressure was brought to bear upon the people of various parts of India for recruits and other contribu-

tions. This, combined with a systematic resort to the provisions of the Defence of India Act—involving internment on mere suspicion of a large numbers of persons—served to create a deep discontent among the people. And when to this was added the economic dislocation of business and rise in prices, particularly of cloth, as a consequence of the War, it is easily understandable that the people, as a whole, were in a state of desperation. On the top of all this was made the attempt to perpetuate the Defence of India Act in the shape of the Rowlatt Acts, and to deprive the Mussalmans of what they considered to be their legitimate fruits of victory to which they had contributed, by going back on the promises solemnly

made by the then Prime Minister to deal with the Turks in a fair and generous spirit. Again, the promise of Responsible Government, made in the declaration of 1917, had been accepted by the people in good faith. But in place of the fulfilment of the promise made in times of danger, they saw the brazen-faced attempt on the part of Government to go back upon it (in effect and substance) while keeping to the letter, now that the crisis was over and Britain had gained a victory, which was as complete and crushing as she could never have hoped to achieve without the help of India. The feeling naturally was one of deep resentment against Government—resentment not only at the many hardships and privations the people had been subjected to during the War, but also at the attempt to tighten the grip on them, by means of the proposed enactment of the Rowlatt Bills, which were measures of Draconian severity. Naturally there was widespread agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. But Government treated it with supreme contempt, and forced the Bills through the Imperial Legislative Council in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the elected members—including men of the moderation of the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri. At this time when all classes of people and all schools of thought felt the humiliation of being under foreign domination and were keen on finding an effective method of protest, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with his proposal to start *Satyagraha*.

His proposal came as a relief to the earnest-minded people, who had been smarting under the humiliation, but were unable to devise any effective means of redress. There were great demonstrations all over the country, the like of which had never been seen before. Not only the educated classes,

but even the masses, whole-heartedly joined in the great demonstrations and it seemed as if India had really rediscovered her lost soul. There were riots at some places in the Punjab, followed by reprisals in the shape of the Jallianwala massacre and the horrors of the martial law in that province. When the news of these Punjab atrocities (which had been kept secret under a strict and stringent censorship) began gradually to percolate, the fire of indignation, smouldering till then, began to burn fiercely. Nevertheless, Mahatma Gandhi kept it in check and till as late as the Amritsar session of the National Congress, in December, 1919, he stood out for co-operation with Government, hoping (against hope) that the Report of the Hunter Committee, which had been investigating into the Punjab disturbances and the consequential atrocities, would do justice to the people. But the publication of a white-washing majority report and the fatuous action of the House of Lords a little later (approving of the late General Dyer's action at Jallianwala in shooting hundreds of unarmed men and children) broke even his faith once and for all in the much-advertised sense of justice of Government, and converted him from one of its strongest supporters into one of its bitterest opponents. The result was the inauguration of the Non-Co-operation movement at the special session of the Congress held in Calcutta in September, 1920, under the presidentship of that great patriot, the late Lala Lajpat Rai. When the proposal was first broached, many people did not understand its true significance and vast implications. There were many who were frankly opposed to it. It is no exaggeration to say that the moderate politicians who had till then led the Congress, and who had represented the best elements in the public life of the

country, kept themselves aloof from it, though be it said to their credit but few of them carried on any agitation against it. But the movement carried the masses and not a few of the intelligentsia also, as if, on the crest of a wave. In fact, the vast bulk alike of the educated classes and the masses were, so to say, swept off their feet and welcomed Non-Co-operation.

It is easy to understand the psychology of this great wave of enthusiasm. All over the world and in all ages, people who have lived and suffered under foreign rule have revolted against it, sooner or later, and attempted to cast off their shackles. All such attempts, whenever and wherever made, have commanded the admiration and sympathetic support of right-minded people at all times and in all climes. The history of such struggles has been studied with admiration by successive generations in all countries and it has served to inspire people similarly situated to organise themselves to free their countries. The method generally pursued in such attempts, of which any record has been kept, has been to fight the foreign rulers with arms and to try to overcome them by sheer physical force. It has succeeded in many cases; it has failed in others. Never before in history, however, do we come across an instance of a people so vast in numbers, so rich in inheritance, so varied in their gifts of nature and civilisation, and yet rendered so utterly helpless by the policy of a foreign, unsympathetic Government as that of India are today. Deprived of arms, untrained for purposes of the defence of even their hearths and homes, divested even of the right of free speech and association, and rendered thus wholly incapable of offering any resistance to Government they were in a mood of despair and despondence, and knew not how to end the intolerable system under

which they lived and suffered silently. Some youths, here and there, organised secret societies, and having secured a few bombs and pistols killed a few officers, mostly Indians. But there neither was nor there could be any serious or widespread attempt to organise an armed resistance against Government, after what had happened in 1857. While many felt the necessity of some effective action, none could find out any definite method towards it. It was at this stage that Mahatma Gandhi pointed out the way which could render the British people and their Government in India as completely helpless against Indians, as Government had made the latter helpless against the British. It was accepted by many as a really effective weapon with full faith in its strength, while others felt that, in the absence of arms, it was a good enough weapon which would probably prove equally efficacious; there were others also who had no faith in the programme at all, but who wanted to give it and its great exponent a trial for a limited period just to see how it worked. The moderate politicians as a class opposed it, still pinning their faith in constitutional agitation. But in spite of their attitude, the result was a tremendous upheaval. The Non-Co-operation programme aimed at striking at British prestige and institutions through which Government had consolidated its moral and physical resources. This was its destructive aspect, which naturally occupied a great deal of attention in the earlier stages. But from the very beginning there was also a positive and constructive aspect of the programme, which the opponents of the movement (consciously or unconsciously) always ignored and which unfortunately failed to evoke the whole-hearted support of some even of its supporters. I shall now deal with these aspects in some detail.

The British Government has consolidated its strength by banking upon the good-will of the people of this country. The wealthy and well-to-do, and (unfortunately) even some of our public men, are gained over by it into a mentality of complacent acquiescence in the continuance of its rule by the very cheap expedient of attaching some meaningless words or letters before or after their names, which pass in common parlance as "titles of honour." By a strange but nonetheless sure method, we have been drugged into the belief, which we hug so dearly, that all honour proceeds from Government, forgetting the obvious fact that honour cannot stand rooted in dishonour and that there can be no greater dishonour to a man with feelings of self-respect—personal or national—than to be under a foreign domination, be it the best of its kind. One of the items of the programme of Non-Co-operation, accordingly, was to break this enchantment and let people realize the falsity of the glamour and the essentially discreditable nature and inferior value of these so-called "titles of honour." It was not to be expected that many who valued these distinctions and titles would give them up, but the propaganda among the masses robbed them of their face value in their eyes, and it is a perfectly legitimate and correct assertion to make today that they do not now possess that great charm in the eyes of the people at large that they did till 1920. Behind this destructive effort there was of course the constructive aspect that true honour consists in service to and sacrifice for the country; that a true title of honour was to be earned not by hobnobbing with Government officials but by the humble dedication of one's life to the cause of this great and historic land even though one may incur thereby the wrath of and bring down on one's head the heavy hand

of Government. I make bold to state that this high conception of public duty and an appreciation of Government titles at their true worth are now better realized amongst all classes, as the direct result of the great agitation carried on by Non-co-operators against the retention or acceptance of such distinctions from Government.

Again, the British Government in India had built up a false prestige about its justice. There are courts all over the country, many of them presided over by Indians themselves. They are all—with some exceptions in non-regulated areas—aided and supported by the best brains of the country, who earn their livelihood as lawyers practising before them. There is a kind of belief which had been sedulously propagated by Government agencies (amongst whom the most powerful, because the most intellectual, are the practising lawyers) that Government had established the rule of law in this land, that it dispensed even-handed justice to all, that before its advent there was neither law nor justice in this country and that its disappearance would let in the rule of terror. Now, it is an altogether unfounded assertion that before the advent of the British there was no law and no justice in this country. It is true we did not have the very expensive procedure for purchasing doubtful justice, in what are in many respects no better than gambling dens. It is true that we did not have the myrmidons of the law, who prey like harpies on the unfortunate litigants who foolishly walk into these dens. It is true that we did not have that elaborate process which in its essential aspects is based on a deep-rooted disbelief of human nature and in the goodness of man, and which is intended to extract truth from deliberate liars bent upon perjuring themselves, but which has succeeded only in converting a large

section of our people (who from all reliable accounts left by foreigners themselves appear to have been exceptionally truthful, honest and honourable) into a set of deliberate perjurers, under the sheer necessity of having to fulfil the formalities of law to win even a true case. It is also true that we did not possess a system of dispensing justice which required a substantial portion of the claim itself to be invested in the shape of court-fees and other charges of law courts, with its paraphernalia of liveried *chaprassis*, grave but worried clerks plying a doubtful trade, and (last but not least) gowned and trousered gentlemen of the bar, who in many cases serve more to confound justice than to help it, and whose sole occupation either on the one side or the other is to make the worse appear the better reason. But we had a system which was cheap, speedy, and really justice-dispensing, in which the length of the purse of the party did not help to win a losing or false case, in which false evidence had not to be suborned to support a true case, from which the element of gambling was altogether absent, and which on the whole served its purpose without demoralising the people. And, after all, what is the value of the much-advertised British justice? How few are the cases in which Britishers are concerned and in which justice can be expected or is administered as a fact? How many have been the criminal cases in which Indians have been wantonly done to death and how ludicrously inadequate the punishments awarded to the British culprits? How inordinately severe the punishments awarded to Indians for even slight wrongs done by them to the British? In his *Imperial Rule in India* (p. 27) Sir Theodore Morison writes: "The people of India commonly say that no Englishman has been hanged for the murder of a 'native'.

It is an ugly fact which it is no use to disguise that the murder of 'natives' by Englishmen is no infrequent occurrence... I do unhesitatingly assert that very few Englishmen in India believe that an English jury would even on the clearest evidence convict one of their countrymen of the murder of a 'native'—their moral sense does not endorse the legal theory that an Englishman should atone with his life for killing a "nigger." There is more on the subject in this outspoken book, but the passages quoted are quite sufficient to bear out my contention.

Above all, how is the law of sedition administered in this country against people, who in all honesty desire and attempt to make themselves and their country free, as every Britisher wishes Britain ever to remain. Are not people aware of the special laws enacted, from time to time, creating new offences and casting new obligations to suit the exigencies of a growingly-unpopular, foreign rule and to repress and suppress the ever-growing, ever-widening and ever-deepening discontent which seeks to find outlet of expression? And yet it is these courts of law, and their dispensation of justice, which stand before the masses as the embodiment of British domination and British prestige. The army of occupation, with all its engines of destruction, is very seldom seen by the people. The infinitely more effective agency of economic exploitation is also not always visible to the ordinary man in the street. Nor can the Viceroy or a Provincial Governor—not to speak of royal personages like the Duke of Connaught or the Prince of Wales—be always requisitioned to impress the greatness and grandeur of British rule on the minds of the masses by means of showy processions comprising caparisoned elephants, uniformed soldiers and gilded magnates, all pressed into service to conquer the

imagination of a simple, guileless eastern people. The day-to-day work of building or rather keeping up British prestige is left to the law courts, and with the help of the large number of educated Indians dependent on them they do succeed most admirably in carrying out the object which Government have in view. No wonder then that the Non-Co-operation movement aimed at breaking up their prestige and disillusioning the people about their actual worth and value. Here again, it was not expected that all those who depended for their livelihood on these courts would give them up, nor that the litigants (who had as much chance of winning a false as a true case) would shed their gambling instincts in a day. Yet it is an undoubted fact that many lawyers gave up their lucrative incomes and many litigants their valuable claims. But more than all this, the prestige which till then had attached to these courts and to all dependent on them was greatly and rudely shaken and people now see in their true perspective the very doubtful benefit of these so-called courts of law and justice. They resort to them even now and get what they can out of the gamble, but the so-called superiority of British justice stands fully exposed, and if for nothing else then for this, the Non-Co-operation movement deserves credit, as also for having forced the hands of Government to openly misapply its law and misutilise its law courts in dealing with non-co-operators in 1921-1922.

The third line of attack of the Non-Co-operation movement was directed against the educational institutions established or recognised and aided and supported by Government. In some respects this was considered to be the most unreasonable part of the programme by the opponents of Non-Co-operation, and even amongst the ardent

supporters of the movement there were many who were never convinced about its wisdom and expediency. The opposition was very natural. It was felt that it was not possible to replace the Government institutions by independent national institutions. No private organisation could command the resources which were available to the State, and although public expenditure on education in India is grossly and ludicrously low, it was not possible for the people to raise even that amount by means of private donations and subscriptions. Accordingly it was thought that the only alternative to those who boycotted Government or aided institutions was to go without education, and this was a prospect which neither the guardians nor the students could be expected to face with equanimity. Yet—strange as it may sound—the Non-Co-operation movement of 1921-22 was not the first of its kind to attack Government educational institutions. Faith in them of many thoughtful citizens and public men had long been shaken. The late Swami Shraddhanand's life had been dedicated to the establishment of the Gurukul, which is a standing protest against Government education. The Swadeshi movement of Bengal, in 1905, had led to the founding of a national university financed by men like the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the late Sir Tarak Nath Palit and others, guided and supervised by men like the late Sir Goo-roodas Banerjee—himself an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University—and Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, a distinguished graduate of Cambridge and later a judge of the Calcutta High Court. That indefatigable worker in the cause of India, Dr. Besant, had also founded many institutions which (while not altogether cutting themselves off from Government recognition) aimed at imparting education to Indian students

on national lines. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's famous institution at Bolpur is another experiment on the same lines. None of the precursors of the Non-Co-operation movement had, however, reached such vast numbers of the people including students, and none had succeeded to the same extent in exposing the utter uselessness and in fact the hopelessly anti-nationalistic nature of this so-called education. Thus the motive underlying the educational boycott was both psychological and practical. Even a cursory reading of the earliest records of the East India Company dealing with its educational policy can leave no doubt in the minds of impartial readers that the principal object aimed at was the creation of a class that would be Indian in skin and colour but Europeanised in its outlook, habits, culture, mental equipment and also in religious and social ideas. Such a class could be depended upon not only to serve Government in running its administration smoothly, cheaply and efficiently but also to defend it against any national upheaval. While there have been many changes in the details of the educational programme (some to suit Government exigencies and some to suit Indian views, under pressure of public opinion) it can be safely asserted that despite the fact that education is a transferred subject today under a Minister supposed to be under the control of a popularly elected council (but really under the thumb of the permanent officials), the main foundation is kept intact and the original purpose is still being faithfully carried out—of creating a class of youngmen with some knowledge of books but (save in few exceptional cases) without much originality or culture, brought up in an atmosphere which chokes all higher aspirations, kills all initiative, destroys all sense of independence and self-respect and fills the mind with a

low, grovelling kind of ambition to serve the foreign rulers and to fawn and to cringe upon official bumbledom while so serving. The educational boycott was intended to show that Government had built up its great fabric on an illusion which had been most sedulously and meticulously wrought by creating a most deep-rooted distrust among the educated Indians in themselves, their culture, their national strength and in all that was genuinely Indian, and at the same time creating in them an exaggerated notion about the culture, literature, life and above all the physical and moral strength of the Britishers. The English-educated youth in India is the victim not only of a false and perverted history intended to impress upon him the littleness of his country and people and the greatness of the West, particularly of Britain, but is also helpless to earn a living for himself except as a servant in some institution or organisation which helps Government to tighten its grip over his country. It was and is necessary to make the people realise that the very doubtful benefits which this education confers are more than counterbalanced by the creation of a parasitical class of people, unable to stand upon their own legs, unfit to use their hands for earning a living, in many cases devoid of any feeling of self-respect and national pride, and in most cases utterly incapable of thinking out an independent line for winning freedom for the country.

As the movement has passed through its several stages, while the doubts of the weak and the hesitating have become confirmed, the faith of those who look upon this education as an evil of the greatest magnitude, and as one of the greatest obstacles in the way of freedom has become stronger. No nation can hold another under bondage for any length of time unless it can impress it

with its own superiority. That superiority need not be real. A sense of their own inferiority in the ruled is all that is necessary, and nothing can create this sense so successfully as education of the youth organised with that set purpose. The every-day life of our students in Government institutions, the treatment of Indian teachers and professors at the hands of their European superiors (superiors not necessarily in learning and culture but in the grade of service, their inclination in favour of Government and against nationalist views and tendencies) and above all the general outlook which is the result of all those forces which work in educational institutions, are proofs positive of the, on the whole, denationalising tendencies of Government-imparted education. It was possible even in 1921-22 for the so-called uneducated, uncultured and unsophisticated masses to see the vision of freedom to be won not by resort to arms but by the more potent weapons of absolute peace and non-violence. But it was not possible at that time for the so-called intellectual classes, as a whole, to have a glimpse of that bright and burning freedom, to put their trust in themselves and their countrymen and to screw up their courage for the service and sacrifice that was demanded of them to win it. The flight of 1921-22 albeit with new weapons and new ideals, was not the less glorious for its failure. The failure of the movement and the failure of the intellectuals to rise to the occasion was an additional proof, if one was needed, of the utter worthlessness and the positively harmful effects of the denationalising system of education under which they had been brought up.

No one should, however, run away with the impression that the educational boycott was an entirely negative and barren effort. It succeeded in weaning some of the most brilliant and intellectual

from among the students of Government universities. As a bye-product we have also a number of institutions, in different parts of the country, trying in their humble way to bring up youngmen imbued with the true spirit of service and sacrifice, with a sense of freedom—personal as well as national—well able to take care of themselves both on account of their reduced wants and increased ability to meet them by the use of their own hands and feet, and altogether free from dependence upon Government institutions. These national institutions may lack in equipment—although some of them can hold their own against Government institutions even in these respects—they certainly lack in numbers, and it may be that they do not get the very best material to work upon; yet within the short time that they have been in existence, their alumni have given good account of themselves not only by rendering ungrudging service during floods, famines and epidemics but also in dedicating themselves to various kinds of nation-building activities, which are nonetheless solid because of not being showy.

The Central and Provincial Legislatures formed the last item of attack. Amongst the older and more experienced politicians there were many who believed that the Reforms (under which the first elections were held in 1920) gave powers to Ministers to carry out many reforms in the administration and that it was necessary that Indians should, by utilising the opportunities so offered, prove their fitness for further instalments of Reforms, and that it would be suicidal to refuse to exercise the powers newly conferred. In its ultimate analysis their belief was the outcome of a faith in the declaration of Government that they intended to confer responsible Government on India, provided Indians proved their fitness by utilising the

opportunities of service conferred on them and of a corresponding lack of faith in themselves and their countrymen. The Non-Co-operation movement, on the other hand, was based on the absence of that faith in Government declarations and on a conviction that in its totality the British domination in India had in fact worked for India's deterioration—political, economic, and above all moral and cultural—that it was not likely that Government would part with any of their absolute and effective powers unless their hands were forced by mass agitation, that the so-called powers conferred on Indians were a mere make-believe, that the Reforms were but a blind to cover under their showy and glittering exterior the hollowness of the system, and that Indians (instead of being satisfied with tinsel which while appealing to the eye had no intrinsic value) should show their worthlessness by exposing to public view their inward rottenness. It also aimed at turning the people's thoughts, hopes and aspirations from Government to themselves. The masses joined in the boycott and but a small proportion of voters participated in the voting. But the older politicians as a class, with some exceptions, and not a few ambitious non-entities got themselves elected to the legislatures without any real contest.

The first reformed councils of 1921—23 consisted, therefore, of only those who were keen on working the Reforms and who had braved the popular opposition and odium to prove and justify the fitness of Indians for responsible Government. Subsequent events have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that that pitiful faith was misplaced, that Government scheme did not purpose the emancipation of India, and that Government would yield, if at all, to popular demand only when it feels it must. On account of the strong feeling in the country outside the Legislatures, Government was at that time reasonable in its dealings with and treatment of those who had gone to the Councils, much against popular wishes, to co-operate with it. But as soon as that wave of popular enthusiasm was on the ebb, Government were not slow to show their mailed fist, and those who had gone to pray remained to curse—the more self-respecting and sturdy among them resigning their places of honour and responsibility, while the others stuck on to their jobs with a faith which gave them credit more for those self-regarding instincts which rule human actions and motives than to their much-advertised desire to serve the country from inside the Government citadel.

(To be concluded)

How the Labour Government can Conciliate India

BY

MR. S. G. WARTY, M.A.

HAPPILY for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn has been selected as Secretary of State to look after her affairs. He can approach his task with many things in his favour. He is reputed as a man of high ability. Not being actively associated in the past with any aspect of Indian policy, he is confidently expected to exercise a fresh outlook on the problems that face him. The Indian mind, though much agitated by the recent attitude of the British Government, has no complaint against him personally. Above all, one may trust the sentiments he expressed recently with obvious sincerity at the Maharajah of Alwar's banquet, assuring that he would so work "to the measure of his capacity and within the limits of his opportunity," that it might be truthfully said of him in the end that he had been a single-minded and faithful servant of India.

The problem of India is indeed a very difficult problem, not so much because of the intricate constitutional and political issues involved, as because the British Government by their recent attitude have chosen to make it so. In this respect, Mr. Benn inherits the legacy of past mistakes. At no time surely was India's self-respect so deeply wounded as when a purely White Commission was appointed. And an insult was added to the injury when practically the whole of the British press conspired as it were to belittle India's sentiment and not only refused to report it, but did not even scruple to give perverted accounts of the Indian situation to their reading public. I wonder if there has ever occurred a case

in any part of the world except India, in which a "Home-Rule-giving" Commission had had to tour the country like prisoners under strict police protection. The wrong and the insult continue to trouble the Indian mind with the same vigour and any Secretary of State for India who proceeds to lay out his plans without a full realization of the supreme importance of this factor of the situation must fail in his attempt to conciliate India.

I write this article to assist Mr. Benn if possible, in his task, by suggesting to him ways and methods of approaching the Indian problem. I write with a full sense of the difficulties of the task both on his side and on ours, with a full sense of what have been too frequently described as the "realities of the situation." I further claim to write not as an advocate for India, but as an internationalist, a world-citizen, looking at the question from the detached point of view. And I write lastly as a student of history and of national policies, as a student of constitutional and practical politics. I possess the advantage of a knowledge of Indian conditions at first hand, but I shall not allow, so far as I consciously can, my very close acquaintance with these conditions to develop any bias in my thought.

With this preface, I may now proceed in my business. It will be agreed that the foundation of the Secretary of State's plans must be laid in India's goodwill. It is necessary therefore to set right India's present frame of mind, by inspiring confidence not by words but by action, as to

the motives of the present Government in England. As a first step, arrangement should be made to acquaint the British public with the Indian opinion and Indian feeling on the issues in question. The British press by its campaign of systematic misrepresentation regarding India, has created a feeling among the British public that India is suffering from too much Montaguism, and further that her claim to self-rule is frivolous. The other side of the question has remained absolutely unrepresented, not because of want of efforts on the part of Indians, but because the British press would not accept anything for publication unless it came through the perverted spectacles of Anglo-Indian correspondents.

The India Office should appoint a special officer to summarise the views of the more influential and responsible section of the Indian press such as the *Hindu*, the *Leader*, the *Indian Daily Mail*, the *Tribune*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, *Liberty*, the *Bengalee*, the *Hindustan Review*, the *Modern Review*, etc., once a week, and supply these bare summaries without comment to the members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and to all the libraries and the journals in the United Kingdom. The Government may not be able to influence the press to publish these summaries, but some may publish, especially the Labour Party Journals. To ensure that these summaries are correct, the officer should work under one of the Indian members of the India Office, a gentleman for example like Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

It will be argued that the supply of news in this fashion is not Government's proper business, and that Indian private enterprise can more properly undertake the work. That may be true to a certain extent. But this is not the time to discuss the strict propriety of the thing. I realise that my suggestion is somewhat

of an unusual character, but let it not be discarded on that account. Let us look at the question from the practical point of view. Private enterprise in such a matter will not be as effective in moulding opinion as Governmental activity would be; and besides I cannot conceive of any other practical measure that Government in England can adopt as an incontestable proof of their goodwill towards India, which alone will put India into a frame of mind necessary for the proper consideration of Mr. Benn's plans regarding her.

The next thing that Mr. Benn should attempt to do is to pour oil on the troubled waters of the Indian mind. What is the grievance of India? Briefly it is this:—that the Statutory Commission has been purely a White Commission. For that reason, political India boycotted it, like a self-respecting country. The political future of India is being thus decided over her head, without her real voice being effectively heard in the matter. A round-table conference should therefore be called by Government and agreements as regards future plans should be arrived at by discussion in that Conference. Or, the scheme adopted by the All-Parties' Conference known as the Nehru Report should be accepted by Government. In so far as this has not been done, the grievance continues to exist.

How can the Indian mind be conciliated in this matter? Mr. Benn cannot obviously work on a clean slate. He cannot discard the Simon Commission's recommendations. Whatever his personal opinions may be, as the responsible head of the Indian section of Government, he is bound to give due weight to these recommendations. But at the same time, if he would proceed on that basis alone, the Indian mind would not be satisfied. The principal demand of India is that the issue should be, not the Simon Commission Report, but the Nehru

Report. How will Mr. Benn be able to manage the situation in a statesmanlike manner?

My humble suggestion is as follows:—Mr. Benn must make up his mind now to come to India to confer with Indian leaders. If he comes here before the Simon Commission's report is out, the Indian mind may be satisfied, but possibly he would hazard the prestige of the Simon Report. If he arrives here after the Simon Report is out then the issue before India would be not the Nehru Report but the Simon Report, in which case Mr. Benn would get no response from India. In these circumstances, Mr. Benn should advise the Commission to expedite their work and acquaint him with their findings and recommendations much before the report is actually out. With this equipment, he should come to India and proceed discussing the constitutional changes with the Indian leaders on the basis of the Nehru Report. He may also hold a round-table conference if necessary, and after fully hearing the views of all political leaders, he may return to England. By the time he returns to England but not before, the Simon Commission's report may be published. Mr. Benn may then adjust his thoughts in the light of his previous Indian discussions and proceed to draw up his plans. I personally feel that such a course would ease the Indian mind on the great issue as to whether the future constitution would proceed on the Nehru plan or Simon plan. I do not expect a fundamental conflict between the two plans, but for India it is a question and rightly so, of prestige based on justice and reason. The British Government would lose nothing by conceding this point. "The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity."

Lord Irwin has specially gone to

England to voice India's feelings before the British Cabinet. He has been described in some quarters as India's ambassador. He has, it appears, in his possession the views and opinions of a number of Indian leaders. All this may be true. It would be a mistake however to suppose that the confidence of India goes with him. Lord Irwin may be an estimable gentleman. He may be well-intentioned and sincere. But to put the truth in a nut-shell, his actions so far in India have only earned for him the distrust of the Indian people; whether deservedly or not let us not pause to consider. The fact is there, and it would be fatal to ignore it. Let the Viceroy be heard by the Cabinet but consultation with him cannot and ought not to be a substitute for the Secretary of State's direct contact with Indian leaders in India.

Similarly, let there be no mistake about the Indian Central Committee. It is a body nominated by the Viceroy, and does not carry with it the confidence of the Central Legislature and of the people. Let their views be given due weight as those coming from very estimable individuals, but those views cannot be a substitute for those of India's genuine leaders.

In all these political settlements, two things are of great importance, the method of approach and the substance of the settlement. I have indicated above the method of approach which to my mind will go a long way in creating an atmosphere of goodwill and confidence. I shall state now what the substance of the settlement should be; for, unless this satisfies India's aspirations, the hostile mind will continue in full vigour. I do not propose to discuss here the future constitution of India, but I shall indicate broadly the lines and the principles on which the settlement should be arrived at. The first

principle is that the progress should be not from below upwards but from above downwards, not from Provincial Autonomy to Responsible Central Government, but from Responsible Central Government to Provincial Autonomy and such other things. Let there be no stages of advance now. India is tired of them. Did not Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself observe in July, 1928, that the next Parliamentary legislation for Indian constitution would add a new Dominion to the British Commonwealth of Nations? Also from the practical point of view, India's most capable men are found in the Central Legislature, competent enough to bear executive responsibility. If any precautions are desired, let the Army and the Foreign relations remain under the direct control of the Viceroy for a certain period, say ten years.

It will be said, and with much reason, that the transference of such power into the hands of the intelligentsia of the country when the country itself is not sufficiently developed politically and the majority are not yet used to the exercise of political franchise, is likely to lead to an oligarchic form of government. It may, for the time being. But it is a necessary stage through which the country has to pass, unless of course it is meant that until every man is educated enough to exercise his vote, no democratic government should be established. History bears ample testimony to the fact that in the natural course of things, responsible power is first exercised by a few intelligentsia in an inadequately enfranchised and not sufficiently educated democracy, and then gets increasingly broad-based. Was not the progress of democracy in England itself favoured by the passing of the Reform Act in 1832 which in fact put the power only into the hands

of the educated and the more intelligent classes? Let it not also be lost sight of, that the real question in regard to India is not so much political reform as such, as the granting of Dominion Status, so that as Mr. MacDonald emphasized, a new Dominion may be added to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Having made the principal point clear, let me briefly touch the other essential points in the settlement. The Indian mind is sorely taxed on the question of the Indianisation of the Army. The unanimous report of the Sandhurst Committee, presided over by a famous expert, was treated as a scrap of paper. Their recommendations constituted the barest minimum under present conditions and if this is withheld any longer, there will remain a big void in the scheme of conciliation.

The adoption of a policy of prohibition for the whole of India is another essential measure for the conciliation of India. The increase and systematic extension of the liquor traffic is one of the greatest wrongs done under British rule to India. A programme leading to complete prohibition of the liquor traffic within twenty years should be carefully prepared and faithfully carried out. Any hope of effective provincial endeavours will only lead to disappointment. Let Mr. Benn strike the imagination of India by accepting the Prohibition goal for the whole of India to be reached within twenty years beginning with the year 1930.

As I stated at the outset, I have made my suggestions as a student of politics, and not as a politician advocating a cause and always putting his demand somewhat higher than what would in itself satisfy him. The politician's object is, if possible, to negotiate, to bargain and make the utmost out of the business. My object has been to indicate the method of approaching

the Indian mind so as to earn its confidence and goodwill, and to state the barest minimum necessary for the conciliation of India, with a view, if possible, to assist Mr. Benn in his task.

One point I shall make clear. Throughout my article I have talked of "India" and the "Indian mind" as an entity, as if India can and does speak with one voice. Many there are, I know, who believe that there is no such corporate existence as the "Indian mind." Let us not waste our time in arguing on this point, as such points can never

be settled by argument. These are matters of experience. Though it would not be easy to fix the exact bounds between night and day, nobody would mistake the one for the other. Let it further be made clear that the masses today in India have got convinced that their interests will be promoted not by the foreign bureaucracy but by their own leaders. I say definitely and truly that the Indian leaders represent the true mind of the masses, however much the bureaucracy may try to undermine their influence, or dispute the claim.

An Oasis in a Desert

BY

V. V. OAK (U. S. A.)

WHILE I was studying in Massachusetts, I met a Hindu lecturer who informed me that there was an American lady in New York who was extremely interested in the Vedanta philosophy. He also told me how she had invited him to her home for a Vedantic discussion, how he found himself unable (he himself being ignorant of it) to expound any of the Vedantic teachings and how finally she dismissed him with a sealed envelope which contained a check for fifty dollars as a compensation for his troubles. His story about her impressed me so much that I could not resist the temptation of writing to her and asking her if it would be possible for me to see her if I happened to visit New York. I received a very cordial reply and we kept on correspond-

ing mainly about religion and Hindu philosophy. Here are some of the extracts from her letters:

"Of the present-day Hindu thoughts, though the country does not conform to Western ideas of civilization, I think they are rich with promise of a great future. The Light has ALWAYS come from the East; and will so continue through time.... It is simply extraordinary to see what I call the teachings cropping up in all sorts of books and thoughtful articles.... In the January issue of the *Atlantic* there is a remarkable article about Hinduism.... Oh, I cannot tell you how I feel about all this. It's such a great day for spiritual values to be emphasized. Will young India meet the challenge squarely, or will politics prevail for generations yet to come? I wonder!"

Early in December, 1924, I received a letter from this lady asking me if I

could 'favor' her by visiting her family during the Christmas vacation and 'teach' her something about Hinduism. I was to get my travelling and other expenses and five dollars a day for one week. "It is such a small sum," she wrote, "but I hope you will come here." The offer was a surprise and I did not know what to do. Five dollars a day with room and board for a one-hour lesson appeared to me then a fabulous salary. Somehow I managed to gather courage and write to her confessing frankly that her estimation of me was entirely wrong, that I was but a poor representative either of Hinduism and that five dollars a day for one hour's lesson for one utterly incapable of 'teaching' anybody about Hinduism was too much. However, I was so anxious to see this lady and her letter was so appealing that I naively added at the end of the letter, "I would be delighted to come and meet you and your family if you pay my travelling and other expenses only and if you do not insist on my accepting any fee for the so-called 'lessons.'" I got a reply by return mail with a cheque large enough to meet all expenses and detailed instructions as to my journey.

I can never forget the anxious days I spent before I left for her city. I knew she was 54 years old and her husband was a rich man. I knew also that she had a daughter 18 years old, her only living child. But I could not help wondering if I would be able on my visit to make an 'impression' on this lady. Perhaps, I thought to myself, she might be really a shallow, vainglorious creature, interested in Hinduism as an idle pastime and curious to see me just as one might be curious to see a new animal in the Zoo. I shuddered at the idea of being disillusioned. Neither could I bear the idea of the possibility of her being really so well-versed in

Hinduism as to make me feel ashamed of my ignorance. This was the first time I was ever invited by an American to be his guest during the Christmas vacation. My hostess was not only interested in Hinduism, but there was an additional fascination to me in her being rich and having a daughter of the attractive age of 18. Would her daughter condescend to look at me and talk to me as if I were one of them, or would she adopt that typically you-ain't-like-us American attitude that makes one feel that his presence is tolerated only because of the observer's curiosity? The name 'India' has a peculiar attraction to the average educated American and he is often willing to pay an admission price to get his first view of some one from India. He will talk with you in a patronizing manner, be full of profuse lip-sympathy, but he will rarely have free unhampered social intercourse with you. So I was rather nervous.

At last the eventful day arrived. Following the instructions of my hostess I reached her home town safely at eight o'clock in the evening and occupied the specially assigned room in a first class hotel. As I entered my room, I found that though it was a hotel room it had received special personal attention from my hostess. It was made delightfully attractive with beautiful green plants and a small message of welcome written by my hostess on behalf of her entire family. I was supposed to meet her and her husband in their home the same night if I was not too tired. Of course, I was so eager to see this lady and her husband that I decided to waste no more time but to start forthwith.

There is nothing like the delight we have in doing for the first time anything we have been anxiously looking forward to doing. The novelty of the thing is so ravishingly pleasant that we are very eager to do that thing as soon as we can.

I remember how anxious I was to enter college for the first time; I remember the pride I felt when I received my first university degree; I remember the thrill, the painful anxiety and the delightful expectancy when I was in love for the first time; I remember the day and the hour and the exultation I felt then when I took my first ocean voyage; I remember when I first saw the glamour of a beautiful Japanese city with its busy, courteous, loving people and the beautiful natural scenery of the Japanese mountains; I remember when I first landed in America with all its soul-crushing noise and the thrill I felt when I realized that I was at last in America. It is strange but true that we can never again get that 'kick,' that 'thrill' we do get when the thing is novel to us. The delightful expectancy of seeing something that you have been dreaming of for a long time has a thrill and a charm all its own.

As I rang the door-bell on that chilly night and was waiting anxiously for a response wondering what sort of a lady my hostess would be, the door opened and a voice greeted me "Namō Narayen." Both my hostess and her husband received me very courteously and politely. After the customary greetings we took our seats by the fireside and then almost instinctively as it were, I and my hostess stared at each other for some time, each of us trying to peep into the heart of the other, as it were, with a view to measure its worth. Her Hindu way of greeting me, her amiably polite manners, her very charming face even at that age, her piercing eyes, her most pleasing smile, and her trained voice could not but make a very good impression on me. I learned later that the reason of her looking very young even at that age was because of her regular Yoga practice.

Somehow I had pictured to myself

that her husband would be a fat fellow with the rather displeasing expression the average successful businessman has, which says to you as it were, "Don't forget your rank," very boorish in his manners, and so on. Just why and how I had this kind of a picture of him in my mind I cannot say. I guess my knowledge of his being a rich man had a lot to do with this notion. However, I had a very agreeable disappointment when I met him. He was pleasant, courteous beyond expectation, frank, and well-read. It was surely a great pleasure to meet him. As it was very late, we did not do much talking that night. I said goodnight and went back to my hotel regretting that I would never have the thrill which I was going through before I met my hostess and her husband.

It was nine when I woke up in the morning. The room was sufficiently high to permit me to have a complete view of the entire city from my window. The scene outside was exquisitely lovely. It was snowing very heavily all night, of which, in fact, I was unconscious until I woke up. The entire city was clad in clean white snow. Here and there you could see the black smoke coming through the chimneys which gave a very pleasing contrast to the entire city. It is one of the prettiest sights to watch the soft spotlessly white snow falling stealthily on the ground. In the distance I could see a large group of boys and girls walking over a big pond, the water in which was frozen into hard ice. Some of them were skating over the ice so swiftly and dexterously that it made my heart jump within me when I saw their various skilled manoeuvres. There was another group of boys and girls still further away, busy in the delightful occupation of pelting each other with snow balls.

There are some things which are extremely hard, nay, impossible to describe

in such a way as to make any one who has never seen them or experienced them get a correct idea about them. You may write hundreds of pages about the heavenly delight a real love-kiss has, you may describe in detail the thrill of a fast motor-drive down the hill, you may tell a novice how you feel when you are in an aeroplane, you may give all the description of an underground railway, you may describe to a peasant as graphically as you can what a submarine would be like and how one would feel when diving under the sea, but unless we go through these experiences or see the physical things with our own eyes ordinary human beings can never have anything but a hazy idea about them. I remember how my own previous conception of snow proved to be quite wrong when I first saw it and felt it. I am, therefore, afraid that Indian readers who have never seen snow cannot possibly get a correct conception of it from the poor description I am giving below.

The common notion we have in India that snow is like ice (we have the same word for ice and snow in Mahrathi and many other Indian languages) is wrong. It is purely clean, white in color, softer than cotton, and easily compressible. If you jump on a big heap of snow you will not be hurt at all, but its extraordinary softness will carry you down the heap so far that you will be buried in it and be suffocated thereby. If you take a bucketful of fresh snow and warm it, you will not get more than a cupful of water out of it. If you press a handful of it very hard in your hands, it would be as hard as a small piece of ice; in fact, compressed snow is ice. A small particle of snow would look like a small grain of granulated white sugar but not even one-hundredth as hard. With all this description I must say that one cannot get a correct notion of it unless one sees and feels it.

As I looked through the morning paper I saw big headlines saying, "Frozen To Death By Cold In Chicago," "Hundreds Suffer From Heavy Hail-Storm In Illinois," and other such tragic news. There is absolutely no doubt that a very large majority of people in this country are well-fed and well-housed. Nevertheless, even in this land of rich and plenty, there is a small group of poor people who do not know what it is to have a warm bed or a comfortable room. Especially when there is unemployment on a large scale, as happens in times of crisis every seven years or so, the condition of the poor is miserable. They suffer most in winter when the weather is freezingly cold, often 20 degrees below zero in many places. Comfortable though I was in my room made so warm with steamheat that the thermometer registered 70 degrees above zero while it was 10 degrees below zero outside, I could not help thinking of the poor people who must have been suffering heavily on account of this extremely cold weather. "How terrible," I thought to myself, "would have been our fate in India if we did not have a temperate climate. More than half of our people do not get enough food to eat, let alone sufficient clothing; how miserable would have been our condition if Nature had not been kind to us and given us a temperate climate."

At a quarter past nine o'clock I received a phone-call from my hostess, whom we will designate Mrs. A. from now on, enquiring about my health, whether I had sufficient blankets to keep me warm, whether I felt quite refreshed from my tiresome journey, and whether I could meet her at ten in her home to give her my first lesson. I hurriedly finished my toilet and went to see her, wondering if I could possibly give her any lessons. A servant answered the

bell and, after knowing what I wanted, asked me to wait in the hall. Mrs. A. came in and we both started with our work. Realizing that I was anxious to know how far "my student" really knew anything about Vedanta, she took me to her library where I received an agreeable shock when she showed me the books she had studied. I cannot give here the entire list, but the reader will get a fair idea of the nature of the library from the following selection:

The Bible, The Geeta, Upanishads (English translation), The Koran, The Book of the Dead, Pagan and Christian Creeds by Edward Carpenter and his other works, Creative Unity by Rabin-dranath Tagore and his other works, Life Movements in Plant by Sir Jagadis Bose, works of Tennyson and Emerson, The Ancient Wisdom by Annie Besant, Indian Philosophy by Radhakrishnan, Plato and Vedic Idealism by Swami Paramananda, The Thirteen Principal Upanishads by Hume, Gandhi's Biography by Romain Rolland, Swami Vivekananda, Life of Gautama Buddha and over five hundred other books.

What could I teach to this lady when she was in a position to teach me? Of course, the fact that I was born and bred in India and had come in contact with many religious leaders enhanced my value in her eyes. But, to confess the truth, this very fact was a drawback since I could not isolate Hindu religion as it is today and as it OUGHT to be and still admire it blindly. Let me state my attitude clearly: I was aware then, as I am now, that religious leaders, Swamis and what not, grow like mushrooms in India which is seething with religious bigotry. To be sure we are more tolerant of other people's faiths and beliefs. In fact, Hinduism and Hindu Protestantism (Buddhism) are two of the foremost religions with a big following that may look back in history and

point with pride to the absence of religious wars and bloodshed, aggressivism, burning witches, inquisitions and other similar atrocious and barbarous practices that were followed by Christians and others. For every one, from extreme agnostics to gross idolators, Hinduism has a place in its philosophy. But with all this, our religion, in the living present any way, has created such obnoxious problems as that of the untouchables and the thousand and one castes. Our marriage system is so revolting! Our cowardice so repulsive! Imagine three hundred million and odd people ruled by a handful of foreigners! There must be something wrong in our religious philosophy since it has made us cowards and fatalists and has kept us in mortal terror of a Gazani Mahmud of the tenth century, of a mere clerk like Robert Clive of the eighteenth century, of a pigmy-minded Dyer and O'Dwyer of today.

As I stood in the presence of this cultured lady warmly discussing India I could not help thinking of the large gang of professional sadhus, sanyasis, and other types of religious monks who are feeding themselves fat upon the superstitious minds of the ignorant public, of overlack of realization of the need for social reform, of our revolting caste system and of a hundred and one other similar things. Such thoughts made me rather lukewarm about Hinduism. I do not have patience to look forward to distant future when everything is going to be "just fine." No, I want to see those days myself. Why should I worry about the unrecognizable past which often looks to us sweeter than the present? Why should I worry about the unknown future instead of thinking and grappling the "living present?"

The East and West respectfully represent two fundamental and opposite

aspects of mind, the abstract and the concrete. The Oriental interprets life in terms of abstract introvert thinking and personal inward experience. The Occident expresses life in concrete, outward and continuous activity and realizes very little of the inner life of man. By one of the great paradoxes of our Fate, the social structure fabricated by the action of these ideals in terms of living leaves East and West infinitely poorer, lacking each other's particular genius. But after all, are not these ideals only two different aspects of the same thing? Are they not the results of different social, geographical, and temperamental factors? One cannot help thinking that social customs are indeed so funny, so different in different countries! American girls would be shocked to see our women coming out in the streets with their tender attractive feet all bare; yet it is perfectly alright for these American girls to wear transparent sex-appealing gowns to parties and dances, or to go out in the streets with their arms enticingly naked to the arm-pit, their beautiful necks quite bare, their faces powdered and lips painted. The most pleasingly shocking sight for a puritan mind is the scene near a swimming place where girls are dressed in their swimming suits, arms and legs and thighs quite bare, necks exposed to the sun as much as possible, and their beautiful figures apparent. One cannot help being convinced how ridiculously foolish we human beings are despite our boasted education. Some of the Western customs and manners do really appear to Hindus as relics of barbarism, while some of our ways of doing things look equally barbarous and uncivilized to the average American. Each nation tries to judge the other by its own standards which themselves, for aught we know, may be utterly depraved. And yet the

spirit of intolerance and the lack of understanding of other people's point of view is so common that I often wonder whether we can really call ourselves any more 'educated' and 'civilized' than our honest and simple-minded forefathers.

Such were the questions I raised in my own mind at that time and such were the problems I discussed with my hostess in our talks. She always took a defensive attitude towards Hinduism and even though I often secretly agreed with her in many ways I took the offensive. The five days I spent in her city were some of the happiest days of my life in this country. My hostess was all kindness. Being favored by fortune she could and did lend a helping hand to many. Such humility, such unselfish love, such sweet temperament in an American atmosphere is certainly surprising! She believed in reincarnation and often said to me that she must have been a Hindu in her previous birth. It is, however, absurdly true that in spite of our really tolerant and broad-minded religion this lady cannot become a Hindu even if she is extremely anxious to do so and even if she decides to make India her home and give the rest of her life to the cause of Hinduism. To be a Hindu one must be born a Hindu. The untouchable is a Hindu, the criminal born of Hindu parents is a Hindu, but our society would bar this lady from becoming a Hindu and frown upon such institutions as the Hindu Missionary Society or the Arya Samaj or the Brahmo Samaj which have been started to purge Hinduism of all its superstitious silly revolting customs.

It will not be out of place here to say a word about Mrs. A's religion. She is a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church and like a typical Hindu believes that the individual should remain in the Faith to which he is born but

should know something about the great Faiths of other men. Writing to me about her views on religion she said in one of her beautiful letters:

"Be broad-minded enough at least to be willing to read about the beliefs of others. Be liberal-minded enough to understand that the Truth is One, men call it by many names. Be fair-minded enough to permit the Spirit of Christ to show forth in your attitude, that Scriptures be not destroyed but fulfilled. In other words, hold to the Faith you are born in, where your Karma brought you, but infuse into such Faith, the highest thoughts possible. The Bible teaches to shine forth the Spirit of Christ that is in you."

It is really wonderful to think how Mrs. A. could ever have been able to 'grow' the way she did even under the surroundings in which she lived. Her knowledge of Hinduism was not perfect, but she certainly had a wonderful background far superior to that of the average Brahman's. All this 'knowledge' she had acquired by perseverance and self-help. Without any outside help she had studied Yoga and all the intricate problems that go with it. She told me that the sudden death of her first daughter made her anxious to seek knowledge of the mysteries of life and as she read more and more about Hinduism she found how logical the philosophy was. She told me also how she found complete 'peace' in the teachings of the Vedas. To her, Buddha, Jesus and other prophets are equally respectable. In a letter she wrote to me a year after my visit to her home she says:

"I am keenly aware of my own debt to what I apprehend is Vedic Teaching. I believe I discern reflections of such Idealism in modern thought. Often, it seems to me, even when the authors might not acknowledge, perhaps through ignorance could not realize how deeply he is indebted to the typically Indian Idealism, the urge to re-state their former ideas, whether in the realm of physics, meta-physics, or even mathematics;

and in the restatements I hear the Ancient Revelation, with its profound but simple truth."

Writing about the social and political conditions in India Mrs. A. has made very interesting and valuable remarks which I am taking the liberty to quote here:

"I have given what time I could to read all possibly available data about India and I am beginning to get a sort of dim picture about her. We need not touch (except briefly) on the spiritual aspect of this tremendous picture. In the foreground stands the rare and literally 'Great Soul' of Mahatma Gandhi, to whose self-sacrificing genius I turn reverent eyes, praying he may be upheld in body and soul to continue to set an example of what mere man may do, if his desire conforms to what we call the will of God!

I do not believe that any other race at this time could produce just this sort of person. Back of this outstanding personality is the incredible conglomeration of India's huge and varied population, a race or rather a Nation whose unifying principle I do not discern, since caste sets an impenetrable barrier between man and man. Yet no people can become truly a Nation while such a state of society exists. Real National life could not function.

Now I gather that Mahatma Gandhi's faith holds to the belief that this tremendous change can be brought about and his life is being devoted to that purpose. Then, to further complicate the conditions of Indian life you have in your midst really two alien peoples, the English Christians, and the Mohammadan though Hindu people. Added to all this you have great masses of your fellow-countrymen utterly and unqualifiedly ignorant of present-day life amongst other people and not even sufficiently evolved to be educated. Now with all this—these men and women, however different in mind and circumstance, are not only your fellow-beings, but your fellow-countrymen; and more than that, if I have grasped the tenets of Brahman faith, they are all truly and actually members of the Body of the Living God in his personal Manifestation.

Now, reading as carefully as I have, I cannot help being struck with the fact

that great as Mahatma is, even he cannot control (entirely) his own actions. The thing is so huge with which he contends. Unless he conforms to some limiting of his followers' activities nothing is gained. Every time there occur conflicts, I mean when numbers are swept off their feet and injure one another, the cause is hindered.

Every kind of violence has been tried by Man to force his will upon others; and the whole horrible state of society continues. Now comes one who tries to show that an actual state of society may be changed by non-violent means. How can any Hindu who loves his country refuse to *try* this method?

Suppose the Mahatma's plan could be worked for several years. Wouldn't enormous results come then? Suppose he succeeds in changing the relationship with one another in your social life. What happens then to all of your submerged fellow-countrymen? Isn't there simply endless work to be done, preparing (through education) workers to guide the people, who are utterly unready to conduct their civic life? Are educated men, like yourself getting ready to help along what we call constructive lines of social polity? What are the well-to-do Indians doing at this very present moment to better conditions in the cities and even villages?

Oh! do answer all these questions. I just want to understand what the true conditions are. Our meeting has at least turned some people's thoughts to Indian problems who before were utterly indifferent. You'll need many kinds of devoted workers to help solve the problems all around you.

Be sure you send me a letter which tells me whether I have grasped the outline of conditions in India. It is not necessary to tell me of the horrible part. I know that exists and that it exists in all Nations and in every race now living, as far as I know. But don't lose sight of the truism. You

cannot rightly blame any one section of human society for these evils. It's like my only public speech made in the streets at Rugby, England. There was a crowd listening to a street preacher. I stood it as long as I could, then I went into the square and said, 'Remember this, not any one class has all the rotters!' And it's true, men are not *better just because they are poor!*

I've just finished (began reading early) two first instalments in 'Asia' Toyohiko Kagawa's 'Before the Dawn.'

Do you think a man could lie in the gutter and no one help him in one of our great cities? No, they'd call the police if nothing else, and he'd get a clean bed, good food and splendid nursing care in a 'City' hospital. I've visited such places and I know. If the gospel of Love is to be preached in the East must not its absolutely necessary accompaniment be *practised*, that is, service to one's fellows?

If you want to help your country why don't you work for Caste reform? If your people won't mix, how in the world can they carry on any social life at all? We never discussed all this and naturally until you sent me all this literature, I had not concentrated on the social aspect of India. I am truly, deeply sorry for your own conflict. Never yield to the thought that you can be beaten. I know that you will succeed on whatever line you go—but oh, do be sure you are not led astray through hate of any people to think you are going to help some other people. Mahatmaji is right—it will never be put over that way!"

I left the city with a real longing to return once more and talk with this lady more about philosophy. She seemed to me an 'Oasis in a Desert' in this soul-destroying country. 'If we could only have more people like her all the world over' I thought to myself, 'then earth would be heaven!'"

"India Through the Ages"

INDIAN RENAISSANCE OF THE 19th CENTURY—VI

BY

DR. SIR JADUNATH SIRCAR, Kt., C.I.E.

THE first effect of the Indian Renaissance was felt in our vernacular literatures, which have undergone a complete change and at the same time approximated to one parent standard, namely, English literature. The work of centuries has been crowded into a few decades in this evolution of our modern literatures. My illustrations are all taken from Bengal but my hearers can easily supply parallels from Madras or Bombay.

The first generation of Indians educated in English accepted European literature, philosophy and history—and to a lesser extent science—with enthusiasm and tried to diffuse them among their countrymen by translation, while attempting a little or no original composition of their own. They did not display any literary genius except in manipulating the language for a new need. To this earliest generation belonged Krishna Mohan Banerji (1813—1885), Rajendra Lala Mitra (1821—1892), Peary Chand Mitra (1815—1883) and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1821—1892). They wrote translations, adaptations and epitomes of English works, and did not create any revolution in Bengali thought or style.

A little later came another group of authors, who introduced the new order in its full majesty. They were Michael Madhusudan Dutt, the poet (1824—1873), Dinabandhu Mitra, the dramatist (1830—1874), and Bankim

Chandra Chatterji, the novelist (1838—1894)—each of whom reigned supreme over one branch of literature and turned it into a new channel, where it has since flowed at their bidding. Their work has been continued by their successors, notably by Hem Chandra Banerji (1838—1902), Nabin Chandra Sen (1847—1909) and Rabindranath Tagore (born 1862). In their work the influence of English is unmistakable, but equally unmistakable is their success in adapting the foreign spirit and literary model (and even technique) to the Indian mind and tradition. The best specimens of this new vernacular literature are European in spirit, in outlook, in literary devices, in the choice and treatment of subjects; but they retain a close connection with the best in the literature and life of ancient India. They represent the spirit of England clad in a half-oriental garb. There has been no wholesale borrowing, but an assimilation of foreign models, while retaining a surprising amount of originality.

Our vernacular languages have been wonderfully developed and in some cases almost revolutionised by the example of the English style and the needs of the modern world. Our literary language has become both simpler and harder at the same time. It has acquired an unwonted flexibility, variety and naturalness of movement, while the vocabulary has been greatly amplified. Madhusudan and Vidyasagar,

(middle 19th century), greatly modernised the Bengali tongue and made it a proper vehicle for expressing the varied thoughts and feelings of the present day. Both followed the classical style, *i.e.*, they used Sanskrit words by preference and avoided colloquial or homely expressions. But at the same time there is no stiffness, no pedantry, no obscurity in their style, and their genius was shown in combining clearness, sweetness and beauty of expression with strength and purity of diction and a certain music of sound. The Indian drama has been completely transformed since the middle of the 19th century, and is now really a close imitation of the modern European drama. Our greatest divergences from our older literature have been in the departments of the drama and the novel, in which we have been wholesale borrowers from the West. And this has been the case in every Indian vernacular.

The influence of Europe has also enriched our literature by kindling the patriotic spirit and developing our regard for our historic past. This awakened sense of nationality has added a manly and noble element to the Indian literature of our day. Here the Tagores showed the way.

The net result of this literary evolution has been that the best pieces of modern Indian literature do not appear foreign or grotesque to European readers, as they really approximate to the spirit of Europe in plot in the treatment of the subject and in the general characteristics of style.

Then, again, in the 19th century we recovered our long-lost ancient literatures, Vedic and Buddhist, as well as buried architectural monuments of the Hindu days. The Vedas and their commentaries had totally disappeared from the plains of Aryavarta (Northern India), where none could interpret them, none had even a manuscript of the text.

The English printed this ancient scripture of the Indo-Aryans and brought it to our doors. A similar restoration of the ancient literature of Buddhism to the land of its origin has taken place through the enterprise and scholarship of Europeans. From Nepal, China and Japan Englishmen have sent the lost Buddhist works to Europe, and Europe has printed them and made them available to us.

Social Reform

But the mere study of a foreign or long-lost literature does not constitute a Renaissance. There must be a new birth of the spirit, there must be reforms in society, religion and morals, following the intellectual awakening before we can truly call the movement a Renaissance.

As surely as the Renaissance in Europe was followed by a Reformation, so, in India too a modification of our social relations, our general outlook upon life, our religious doctrines and practices was bound to result from the action of English education on India. Attempts at Hindu social reform began to take shape from 1855, under Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar who fought and obtained legal sanction to the marriage of Hindu widows (1856) and tried without success to forbid polygamy. Schools for Hindu girls began to be founded at this time, the Christian missionaries having opened schools for their converts' daughters 30 or 35 years earlier. But social reform received its greatest impetus and spread outside Calcutta to the country districts after the Sepoy Mutiny, under the personal magnetism and organising genius of Keshav Chandra Sen (1838—1884). In addition to spreading female education and widow marriage, he organised temperance associations, night schools, "uplift work" for the lower classes,

inter-caste marriages, the creation and diffusion of cheap and pure popular literature, famine relief, and many other forms of social service. In Bengal, the most conspicuous followers in the path thus marked out were Shiva Nath Shastri (1847—1919) and Anand Mohan Bose (1847—1906).

The Renaissance continued unchecked and in full swing for more than one generation crowded with events, and everything old or purely indigenous seemed to go down before it. But the very completeness of its victory led to a reaction in favour of orthodoxy, which was as curious in its nature as it was grotesque in its garb. At the first flush of the Renaissance, our ardent youths had been drawn to Christianity, because the inner spirit of Hinduism had never been taught to them and they could find nothing but unreason and repulsiveness in the externals of Hinduism as practised in their day. To them the reform of such a religion seemed an impossibility. This explains the conversion to Christianity of K. M. Banerji (1813—1885), Lal Behari De (1826—1894), the father of Miss Toru Dutt and several other highly educated Bengalis of the pre-Mutiny days. Others remained in the fold of Hindu society, but with hardly concealed scepticism about its faith and practices.

Then the Brahmo Samaj, founded in 1828, remained dead or somnolent for twenty-five years, and finally revived by Devendra Nath Tagore (1818—1905), began an active propaganda outside Calcutta under the leadership of young Keshav Chandra Sen about 1860. Its intellectual appeal, refined spirituality and active social service brought many converts to it. The purely philosophical and aristocratic section of the educated Bengalis were attracted to the Adi Brahmo Samaj under Devendra Nath Tagore, the saintly father of Rabindranath.

Modern Hindu Revival

Thus, Brahmoism rose up to arrest the conversion of educated Hindus to Christianity. But Brahmoism proved only a halting place for the straying Hindus of the new school. Hinduism again asserted its marvellous assimilative power, and changed its colour like the chameleon. Internal reforms were carried out and age-old abuses were removed in Hindu society; silently under the pressure of public opinion on the part of the rapidly increasing educated Hindu population. And then, early in the eighties of the 19th century began the modern Hindu revival. Champions sprang up to defend its philosophy and ritual and proclaim them to the world as the perfection of human thought! An "aggressive" Hinduism replaced the shy retiring creed that used formerly to be ashamed of itself and to stand ever on the defensive against growing foes and a diminishing number of adherents. The conversion even to Brahmoism ceased. The first philosophical exponents of this new or aggressive Hinduism in Bengal were Pandit Sasadhar Tarka-churamani (1843—1928) and Bankim Chandra Chatterji. The former called science to his aid to prove that Hindu religious practices surcharged the body with electricity from the atmosphere and the earth. It was pseudo-science, no doubt, but his audience knew no better science. He proved to his own satisfaction and to the exultation of his half-educated audience that the perfect development of a man's mind and body is possible in India only, because here the succession of seasons is so regular, the climate is so free from extremes, the land is so fertile and well-watered. There are, he held, two currents of electricity, one upward and one downward, through the earth, and the tuft of long hair at the back of the orthodox Hindu's head enables

him to purify and invigorate his mind by helping the passage of these currents through the body, for had not his hearers seen a horse-hair brush used for carrying away electricity in laboratory experiments? Therefore, all other religions and civilisations were defective, unscientific and harmful in comparison with Hinduism.

These theories may raise a smile to-day, but their effect was extraordinary. The Pandit had no natural gift of eloquence, his subject was new and not yet popular or familiar. But hundreds of clerks, schoolmasters, compositors and even shop assistants, on the way back from their places of business after a hard day's toil, would cheerfully stop in his lecture-hall in the evening and listen spell-bound to Sasadhar for hours. Soon the movement spread to the district towns and everywhere a new Hindu organisation raised its head. Touring preachers completed the work, and one of them Srikrishna Prasanna Sen added an emotional appeal and an eloquence which carried everything before them, while Pandit Shiva Chandra Vidyarnava made the deepest impression by his high Sanskrit scholarship, original thinking and refined oratory.

At a still later stage, in the closing decade of the 19th century, even the service of mankind (regardless of caste or creed) ceased to be an exclusive distinction of the Christian and Brahmo churches. At the trumpet call of Swami Vivekananda, the wealth and manhood of Hindu India rose to the need of the day and absorbed this form of moral activity, as more than a thousand years earlier Vaishnavism had absorbed the socialistic features of Mahayan Buddhism. The immense size of Hindu society and the newly acquired facility for making organisation embracing the whole of India, almost completely took the wind out of the sails of the Christian

and Brahmo churches, whenever public calamities called for voluntary relief-workers. This neo-Hinduism is clearly a fruit of the English Renaissance, working in an unexpected direction. Miss Margaret Noble, who entered Vivekananda's order under the name of Sister Nivedita (1900—1913), most vigorously and eloquently carried on the intellectual propaganda of this "aggressive Hinduism" and succeeded in kindling among us a new sense of the aesthetic aspects of Hindu art, Hindu domestic life, Hindu folk tales and Hindu ritual by her wonderful power of sympathy and delicate interpretation.

Earlier than Vivekananda, but in another part of India, Swami Dayanand had started the Arya Samaj, which aimed at taking Hinduism back to what he understood to be the pristine purity of the Vedic age. Opinions will differ as to the spiritual value of his dogmatic creed, and the philological correctness of his translation of the *Rig Veda* (*Satyartha Prakash*), but there cannot be two opinions as to the energy, spirit of progress and philanthropy that he succeeded in infusing among his followers, who now number several hundred thousands and whose devotion to the service of suffering humanity extorts the admiration and emulation even of their opponents.

The latest form of the Hindu revival we owe to Rabindranath Tagore. It is a very close but unconscious copy of the movement which began in Russia about 1870—the very language of the Slavonic leaders being repeated by the Indian poet. Its aim is exactly expressed if we replace the words *Russia* and *Russian* by *India* and *Indian* in the following description of the earlier movement as given in the *Cambridge Modern History*:

"Like the Slavophiles, Chernyshevsky wished to preserve the primitive socialism

of the village commune; but he looked forward to a Russia which, by a chance of history, should escape the capitalist stage of modern Europe and achieve its development in accordance with the theories of modern socialism." "To the struggle for existence, Mikhailovsky opposes the struggle for individual completeness, which, he says, involves the fullest sense of the world around us." [XII, 296, 302.]

Political Agitation

Political agitation by Indians began with academic speeches delivered on a few set occasions by Ram Gopal Ghosh (1815—1868) and the newspaper writings of Girish Chandra Ghosh (1829—1869) and Harish Chandra Mukerji (1824—1861)—all of them being confined to Calcutta and having the most limited audience. Its next expansion was due to Krishna Das Pal (1838—1884) and M. G. Ranade (1842—1901), whose appeal did not go beyond the small educated middle class. At this stage it consisted of the delivery of grave methodical speeches and the presentation of formal petitions to Government. Agitation became a living force for the first time during Lord Lytton's viceroyalty (1876), thanks to the efforts of Sisir Kumar Ghosh (1842—1911) and his brothers, who founded the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," as a democratic rival to the staid and aristocratic "Hindoo Patriot" of Krishna Das Pal. The formal orderly upper class school of politicians attained to their supreme of achievement in the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1887. Their aims and methods were still far from democratic, and it was almost inevitable that they should be devoured by their children,—the middle class democrats, at the Surat Congress of 1907. But even then politics was still far from having been

brought to the doors of the common people. That consummation was left to the period following the Great War and the initiative of Mahatma Gandhi. An appeal to the heart of the real *people* of India is no longer an impossibility, though their opinion cannot be made to crystallise on a purely political issue, because of their total lack of political knowledge and experience and dispersion among many provinces and castes.

The question will be naturally asked—What has been the fruit of this long course of political agitation by the Indians and of the gradual liberalisation of the constitution by Government? When the dust of contemporary controversy is laid, when the din of our daily papers has passed into silence and oblivion it will then be found that a nation has begun to be formed in India. The people have not gained liberty, but they are now on the way to attaining that equality which is the indispensable preliminary to political liberty. The people have begun to be slowly standardised all over India. A steady advance is being made by the silent and irresistible force of the time, spirit and the insistent example of European society, to free us from the mediæval distinctions of status and convention, of locality and caste.

The French revolutionists fought and bled for liberty, equality and fraternity. In the end, they gained neither the first nor the third, but only the second and that enabled them to win liberty seventy years afterwards, under the Third Republic, because there cannot be political liberty without social equality and the standardisation of the people in the externals of life, in intellectual processes, and in outlook upon the world.

A people with watertight class or caste distinctions, even when freed from

foreign domination, cannot enjoy political liberty; it will be subject to the autocracy of a clique or a family. The *sine qua non* of democracy is absolute social equality, equal rights not only before the law, but also in society, equal opportunities for all in life, and the reward of merit irrespective of birth, not only by the State but also by public opinion.

We already see the faint dawning of such a sense of oneness among all the Indian people. The victory of a Bengali football team over a British regiment at Simla now causes Punjabi spectators to rejoice. The sufferings of Tamil emigrants in South Africa or Fiji are keenly resented in Calcutta and Poona. There is a monotonous sameness in the agenda paper and procedure of an orthodox Hindu caste conference and, say, an All-India Muslim Educational Conference. Both have stolen their programme from the hated Europeans! Our nationalists denounce the West with the very arguments and methods borrowed from the West.

Economic and Military Decline

The survey of India in the modern age would be incomplete and misleading, if we do not notice two points of vital importance in which we have lost ground in comparison with the Mughul age. If we do not modernise ourselves and become capable of competing with the outer world to the fullest extent in these two respects, we are a doomed race.

Ever since the middle of the 19th century, Europe has been so rapidly and steadily advancing by the application of science to arms and to the industrial arts that India is today much less able than in the age of Akbar to wage an economic or military contest with Europe. We are today helpless in

production and exchange and the economic drain will dry the country to death if we do not modernise our industry, arts, transport and banking. In warfare, India, standing by itself without any aid or leadership from Europe, is unfit to face a modern army even for an hour. No nation can exist by merely employing its brain, without developing its economic resources and military organisations.

Our Future

There has been a great deal of loose thinking and writing, many political fallacies have gained currency in our midst, because the essence of representative government has not been clearly understood.

The management of parochial or communal business,—however ably or honestly done,—cannot qualify a people composed of many creeds, races and provinces for conducting the State. A people have the capacity for self-government only when they can successfully administer the central government. Representative government, in its higher and only true sense, implies the power of taking a correct view of things not immediately before our eyes nor familiar to us from our childhood, the power of judging promptly and using correctly men who have not lived in our neighbourhood but come from a distant province, in short, the capacity for using the telescope and not merely the microscope of political vision. A true nation must have an entire population of standardized normal human "spare parts" who can be fitted into every normal vacancy in the legislature or the public service, without the chance of any difficulty being caused by the race, caste, province, language or religion of the nominee.

This survey of our country's history leads irresistibly to the conclusion that we must embrace the spirit of progress with a full and unquestioning faith, we must face the unpopularity of resisting the seductive cry for going back to the undiluted wisdom of our ancestors, we must avoid eternally emphasizing the peculiar heritage of the Aryan India of the far-off past. We must recognise that in the course of her evolution India has absorbed many new elements, later than the Vedic Aryan age and even than the Mughul age. We must not forget that the modern Indian civilisation is a composite daily-growing product and

not a mummy preserved in dry sand for four thousand years.

The Europeans of South Africa warned the Indian settlers there, "Westernize or leave the country." Japan learnt this secret of national preservation sixty years ago. Turkey has recently taken the hint and made her state secular and modern. To India the message of the Time-spirit is:—

"Give up your dream of isolation, standardize and come into line with the moving world outside or you will become extinct as a race through the operation of relentless economic competition in a world which has now become as one country."

International Labour Conference: Twelfth Session

BY

CAPTAIN W. J. ELLISON

THE Twelfth Session of the International Labour Conference opened on May 30 and ended on June 21, 1929. It was certainly one of the most fruitful conferences that the Organisation has yet held. In spite of a very heavy agenda it reached agreement on all the questions put to it, and in certain directions was singularly successful.

The attendance was a record one. Fifty States out of the total fifty-six members of the Organisation were represented. The number of delegates was 161 (88 Government, 37 Employers' and 36 Workers' dele-

gates), and the number of advisers was 235, giving a total of 396 persons officially appointed to take part in the Conference. For the first time in the history of the Organisation, China sent a complete delegation, a fact that must to some extent be attributed to the recent journey of the Director of the Office to the East. Brazil, although no longer a member of the League, was also represented by a complete delegation. Turkey again sent an official observer. The only noticeable absentee was the Argentine Republic, which for the first time was unrepresented.

at the Conference. A large number of the South American delegations, both in the Conference itself and on various other official and unofficial occasions during their visit, expressed their deep regret at the absence of Argentina; and it is to be hoped that next year they will again take their place.

There was the usual protest on the workers' side against the appointment of the *Fascist Workers' Representative*. In addition to their previous arguments the workers called particular attention to the fact that the General Federation of Fascist Corporations had been dissolved during the past year by governmental decree, and that this year's Workers' Representative, Mr. Razza, was not elected by any general organisation of Italian workers but by the nominations of the six National Federations of Fascist Trades Unions. As on previous occasions, the Government nomination was accepted by a majority of the Conference. There was, however, a certain number of abstentions among the Governments, including those of Great Britain and Germany. The only other important complaint against the credentials of delegates was that against the *Estonian Employers' Representative*, but his nomination also was finally upheld.

The Agenda of the Conference required final decisions on two subjects on which a preliminary discussion had already taken place last year; the fixing of Questionnaires on two subjects that came up for discussion for the first time; the discussion of a report on Unemployment; the examination of the Director's Report, the examination of the Reports called for under Article 408 of the Peace Treaty; and certain questions concerning the Standing Orders of the Conference, and in particular the constitutional relationship between any new

"revising" Convention which might be adopted in modification of a Convention and the original Convention. As usual, the Conference divided itself into separate committees to deal with each of those questions.

Of the two questions that were due for final decisions, the first—that of the Prevention of Industrial Accidents—did not lend itself readily to the framing of an International Convention. By its nature the subject is one on which it is difficult or impossible to lay down precise regulations which would be uniformly applicable in all countries. The matter, however, was gone into very thoroughly by a large committee under the chairmanship of Sir Malcolm Delevingne, and a very full Draft Recommendation was adopted consisting of twenty-three Articles. The Recommendation contained three sections, the first dealing with scientific research into the causes of industrial accidents and the means of their prevention; the second with various methods of securing co-operation between the different parties interested, and the third indicating a number of principles for incorporation in national laws or regulations. Considerable importance was attached to the principles of the "Safety First" movement, and, throughout, emphasis was laid on the fact that workers as much as employers and Governments were interested and should co-operate in the means of preventing industrial accidents. The most vexed question that the Committee had to decide was whether the Recommendation should be made to cover agricultural as well as industrial accidents. The workers were particularly interested in this extension of the field of application, and the text asks each country to consider how far it is possible to apply the Recommendations to the prevention of accidents in agriculture.

On one aspect of industrial accidents the Conference was able to arrive at a more definite conclusion. It adopted a *Draft Convention to the effect that where packages to be transported by vessels weigh more than one ton (1,000 kilogrammes) their weight should be indicated on the package.* The Government of the country from which the package is consigned should be responsible for seeing that this is done. The Employers' group were not able to vote for this Convention, which they felt had been insufficiently examined and might lead to difficulties with regard to the responsibilities of Governments. They felt less reluctant with regard to the general Recommendation, which was adopted by 100 votes to 12. The Conference also adopted a *Recommendation concerning responsibility for the protection of power-driven machinery*, which lays down that the responsibility for the equipment of machinery with safety appliances, while resting primarily with the employer, also devolves on persons who supply machines to the employer, and instal them in his workshops.

With the other question that was up for final decision the Conference was able to deal more fully. A Draft Convention of thirteen printed pages was adopted on the subject of the *Prevention of Accidents to Workers engaged in the Loading or Unloading of Ships.* This Convention treats in great detail with such technical matters as hoisting machines and gear, the effective protection of motors, chain and friction machinery, live electric conductors, cranes and winches. It prescribes measures for the avoidance of dangerous methods of stacking and stowing cargo, deals with the height of fencing, etc. It is in fact a systematic effort to arrive at detailed international regulations covering the measures to be adopted for securing the

safety of dockers when engaged in loading or unloading ships. While it easily obtained the necessary two-thirds majority in the Conference, a certain number of employers felt obliged to vote against the Convention on the ground that it was unduly detailed. In this connection, however, it should be noted that the value of a Convention which confines itself to general questions of principle is considerably decreased by the latitude which it may allow for variety of interpretation. It is in fact a common criticism of International Labour Conventions, and in particular of the Washington Eight Hours' Convention, that their provisions allow of various interpretations by different countries. It will be generally agreed that, in spite of the difficulty of arriving at exact uniformity of regulations in different countries, the drawing up of very precise and detailed conventions, if a fault, is a fault on the right side.

The Committee which dealt with this question sat throughout the Conference, and held a very large number of meetings. On the workers' side Mr. Ernest Bevin, Secretary of the General Transport Workers' Union, played a prominent part, and his very complete knowledge of the subject and long experience undoubtedly helped considerably towards the framing of an agreement which may be regarded as one of the most complete and detailed conventions yet adopted by the International Labour Organisation. The Convention was followed by two *Recommendations*, which call attention to certain principles whose adoption would *facilitate the application of the convention* in different countries, and in particular the utility of '*certificates of equivalence*'; while a Resolution invites the Governing Body to consider the possibility of *appointing an International Technical Committee* to work out a model set of regulations on

the protection of dockers against accidents.

Both the questions that came before the Conference for first discussion opened up a new field for the Organisation. On the question of Forced Labour the Conference was able to reach a very satisfactory decision. It decided by a vote of 101 to 15 to place this subject on the Agenda of the next Conference. In this connection it drafted a very full questionnaire, the first question of which raises the general principle of the complete abolition of forced labour as soon as practicable. It is true that the Workers' group in a minority report stated that in their view the questionnaire that had been adopted by the Committee was rather in the nature of a defence of forced labour (under certain necessary safeguards) than an effort to abolish it entirely. They obtained very considerable satisfaction, however, in the text as it was finally accepted. The questionnaire in fact provides merely for the regulation of forced labour during the transition period which it is generally felt must elapse before it can be entirely abolished. The suppression of forced labour for private purposes was admitted by all persons concerned. Three further questions of principle, on which the workers were not able to obtain satisfaction in the Committee, were accepted by the Conference, *i.e.*, the questioning of Governments as to whether persons engaged on forced labour should have the right to organise, as to whether their hours of work should be limited to forty-eight in the week and eight per day, so as to whether there should be a special body appointed by the Organisation to examine the application of any decisions that may eventually be reached on the subject. Moreover, a very large number of delegates, including the British

Government representative, spoke strongly in favour of the workers' thesis, and made it quite clear that it was only because they felt it impossible to ask Governments to abolish all forced labour both for public and private purposes immediately, that they put the questionnaire in its present form.

On the whole it will be agreed that in this connection the Conference did a remarkable piece of work. The subject is entirely new as regards international regulation, and it is necessarily complicated by questions of race, colour and colonisation. While the interests of capital are frequently opposed to the mentality of native communities, the development of large areas of the world's surface is admittedly in many cases impossible at present without recourse to forced labour. From every point of view the Conference can be congratulated on having successfully tackled this difficult question and framed a questionnaire which will no doubt lead next year to the adoption of international regulations.

The other question, that of the regulation of the *Conditions of Work of Salaried Employees*, is complicated not only by the technical difficulty of defining exactly what categories of worker can be covered by the term "salaried employees," but also by the general difficulty of precisely regulating the hours of work of any category of employees. The Employers' group was opposed to the study of the question. They felt that the time was not yet ripe, and that in view of its experience in the matter of the Washington Hours' Convention and of the regulation of hours of work at sea the Conference was unwise to embark again on so ambitious a proposal. The British Government suggested as a compromise that the scope of application of the questionnaire should be limited

to shop assistants and the distributive trades. In the final resort, however, a Questionnaire was adopted leaving open the question of the final acceptance by the next Conference of a Draft Convention or Recommendation, and providing an opportunity for Governments to state in the meantime in the fullest possible manner what in their view should be the scope of the Convention or Recommendation and to what classes of workers or to what establishments it should be held to apply.

On the subject of *Unemployment* the special Committee that was appointed to deal with the Office Report succeeded in drafting a Resolution which falls into two parts. The first recognises that the question of unemployment is closely dependent on economic and currency problems which fall more directly within the scope of activity of the League of Nations. It consequently asks the office to continue its study of the unemployment question from this angle in consultation with the appropriate organs of the League, and in particular to look into the effects on unemployment of the increase in population, the development of new industries and the rationalisation movement. It recognises that in order to do effective work it is necessary to limit the enquiry to specific industries; and calls on the office to deal with two industries in which the unemployment problem is particularly acute, and on which a considerable amount of information is already available, *i.e.*, the coal-mining and textile industries. The second part of the Resolution invites the Governing Body to consider the possibility of placing the question of *unemployment in the coal mines* on the Agenda of a future session of the International Labour Conference, and if possible, on the 1930 Agenda. It is satisfactory to find in the first place that the International

Labour Conference did not risk the reproach of meeting at a time when unemployment is rife in so many countries without making a further effort to take into consideration a problem of such first importance to the worker; and secondly, that the Resolution adopted suggests fields of study which may be hoped to be of practical and not academic value.

But to the serious student of the history of the Organisation one of the most effective pieces of work accomplished by the Conference was undoubtedly the adoption of the regulations governing the machinery for the *revision of International Labour Conventions*. It will be remembered that every Convention that has so far been adopted by the Organisation contains an Article providing for the revision or modification of the Convention, if necessary, after ten years' experience. As the time for the effective application of this clause in the case of the Washington Convention is at hand, the Governing Body and Conference were obliged to discover a means of putting it into effect without risking the destruction of the whole framework of international labour legislation, which has been so carefully constructed. The workers' group in particular felt that the ratifications so far obtained might easily be rendered worthless by ruthless revision. After long and complicated discussions, regulations have now been established under which any future revision may be limited to specific points in the Convention fixed in advance by the Governing Body. This apparent limitation of the sovereignty of the International Labour Conference is justified by the duty devolving on the Governing Body under the terms of the Peace Treaty to fix the Conference Agenda. Any fear of a complete breakdown in the machinery or a sudden cessation of international social obligations

through the revision of Conventions has thus been effectively dissipated, and the future history of the Organisation will doubtless show the importance of these decisions.

The work of one other Committee calls for special attention. Under Article 408 of the Peace Treaty, countries are obliged to render every year a report to the International Labour Office on the application in their country of conventions ratified by them. Three years ago, on the insistence of the British Government, a special Committee of experts was appointed to examine these reports and present them to the Conference. This Committee had already last year drawn attention to the necessity of following more closely, not merely the legislative measures adopted, but also the practical application of these measures in the different countries. This year the Committee dealt with many points arising out of cases in which countries had given insufficient information with regard to the actual application of conventions ratified by them. It is perhaps improper to use the word "criticism" of Governments in this connection. In any event the tendency to ask Governments to state more clearly the precise measures they have adopted towards the effective administration of international agreements to which they have pledged their countries' words, can only be welcomed, especially when, as was the case this year, such requests for additional information are directed not merely to the smaller countries, but also to Great Britain and other nations of the highest industrial importance.

As usual the *Annual Report of the Director* of the International Labour Office gave rise to an interesting discussion, which occupied the greater part of seven sittings and constituted a most useful exchange of views. Some sixty speakers

representing Governments, employers or workers in more than thirty countries took part, and eight different languages were used. The debates were much facilitated by the adoption of the simultaneous telephonic interpretation system, which had been considerably improved since last year and enabled interpretations to be given in four or five different languages during the actual speeches.

The Conference also adopted a number of Resolutions dealing with such varied subjects as the organisation of work in sheet-glass factories on a shift basis; the rights of foreign workers in connection with insurance against old age, invalidity and death; the underground work of women and young persons; equality of treatment between national and coloured foreign workers; the organisation of white and non-white workers in countries where non-white workers are in the majority; an examination of the observance by States of their obligation under the Treaty to bring Conventions and Recommendations before the competent authorities within the prescribed time-limit; the recruiting of bodies of workers for employment abroad, and the possibility of increasing the obligation on 'special' countries such as India and Japan in the event of any revision of the Hours' Convention. Reference is made elsewhere to the Unemployment Resolution, Mr. Jouhaux's Budget Resolution, and Mr. Oersted's Resolution on the Conference machinery. It should be noted that many of these Resolutions call for special investigations and reports by the International Labour Office and consequently impose further burden on its staff.

Perhaps for the first time the Office was intimately concerned with at least one political question. The British Parliamentary elections took place during the opening week of the Conference

Within a few days a declaration was made by Mr. Wolfe on behalf of the British Government to the effect that His Majesty's Government intended to take steps to ratify the *Washington Eight Hours Convention*. This declaration was welcomed by the Conference as putting an end to a state of uncertainty under which the Organisation had laboured for many years. With regard to the Hours' Convention, it marks the beginning of new era; and whatever may be the exact method by which the new Government endeavours to redeem its electoral pledges—and there is no doubt that the Labour Party's support of the International Labour Organisation, with the promise to ratify the Hours' Convention, played no unimportant part in the recent General Election—it is certain that a fresh impetus has been given not merely to the Eight Hours' question itself, but also to the prestige of the Organisation as a whole by the British Government's declaration.

It is also a matter of some political importance that the Conference unanimously appointed, on the motion of the French and British Governments, *Dr. Heinrich Brauns*, for many years Minister of Labour of Germany, to preside over its gathering. Nor should the exceedingly able chairmanship of *Mr. Valdes-Mendeville*, Government representative for Chile, who presided over the business or steering Committee of the Conference and who was largely responsible for the final wording of many of the Resolutions adopted, go without mention.

While there is still perhaps too much of the group spirit both in the Committees and in the Conference votes, it would be a mistake to say that this system was exaggerated at the present Conference. The structure of the Organisation and the Standing Orders of

the Conference make a group system obligatory. This system only becomes dangerous when majority decisions are slavishly followed by all members of the group. One charge might, however, be laid against the Conference, *i.e.*, that its Agenda was over-heavy. No doubt the number of social and industrial problems calling for international action make it exceedingly difficult for the Governing Body to limit the Agenda beyond a certain point; while the workers have a legitimate right to see as many subjects dealt with as possible. But the number and importance of the questions that had to be dealt with this year in the space of three weeks involved an exceedingly heavy strain on the members of the *Office staff*. Not only does the Conference do its work more thoroughly than it did in the past, but the production of simultaneous telephonic interpretations of the debates in the Conference, and the additional translation into German as well as French or English of almost all the speeches in Committee, enormously increase the work involved. Tributes were lavishly showered on the staff for their efficiency and devotion. A more practical method of demonstrating their gratitude would perhaps be for Governments to allot a larger sum to the Office for staff and Conference purposes, and to insist that the natural desire of delegates to return as soon as possible to their own countries should not involve an altogether unjustifiable overworking of the staff who assist them to carry out their duties.

In his report on the prevention of industrial accidents, the Chairman called attention to the difficulty of arriving at satisfactory conclusions with a Committee of 68 members. The Committee on the Conditions of Work of Salaried Employees actually consisted of 78 members. A decision reached by the

Conference on the report of its Standing Orders Committee to limit the *first discussion* of items on the Agenda to the fixing of the specific points to be submitted to Governments for their consideration, without deciding the exact text of the Questionnaire, is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. So also is a Resolution adopted by the Conference on *Mr. Oersted's proposal* that the Governing Body should consider means of regulating the proposing of Resolutions by delegates. But it is to be hoped that further consideration will be given to the task of lightening the labours of the Conference, and that in this connection full account will be taken of a *Resolution put forward by Mr. Jouhaux*, calling on Governments to keep their budget restrictions within the limits dictated by the increasing development and needs of the Organisation.

Towards the end of its proceedings the Conference ran the risk of being involved in an important political discussion arising out of a *Resolution put forward by Mr. Tehou* on behalf of the Chinese Government, and call-

ing attention to the difficulty his government experienced in enacting labour legislation so long as there were within its territory foreign "extra-territorial" districts over which it had no legislative control. An able statement of the case was made by Mr. Tehou, and while his Resolution did not receive the necessary number of votes for a quorum to be reached, since a large number of Governments abstained, at any rate it was not opposed. Mr. Albert Thomas in his closing speech assured Mr. Tehou that he could count on the International Labour Organisation to do everything in its power to assist the Chinese Government in its endeavours to improve the labour conditions of women and children in their country.

The Twelfth International Labour Conference undoubtedly marks a further step, as was declared by *Mrs. Kielsberg*, Norwegian Government delegate and Chairman of the Government group, in the promotion of international co-operation and thus in the achievement of international peace and security.

Indian Finance under Sir Basil Blackett (1923-28)

BY

MR. A. RAMAIIYYA

I

WHEN in the beginning of 1923 Sir Basil Blackett took charge of the office of Finance Member of the Government of India, the finances of the country were in a most deplorable condition. For five years in succession the Government had found it

impossible to balance its budget, with the result that the accumulated deficits totalled nearly Rs. 100 crores. Unable to meet its expenditure from out of the revenues, the Government had year after year to budget for a deficit and then cover it largely by means of loans. Trade depression, unforeseen expenditure, fluctuations in exchange and an unwise currency policy resulting in

heavy losses to the country, all contributed to this state of things. The Government was in a dilemma. If it wanted to restore financial equilibrium, it must either reduce its expenditure or increase taxation. While it was not inclined to do the former, it was afraid of the unpopularity of the latter course, especially having regard to the state of political feeling in the country and the 'No-tax Campaign' vigorously advocated by the extremist leaders in some of the provinces. In the meantime the Legislative Assembly became seriously perturbed at the situation and while rejecting all proposals for increased taxation, emphatically demanded thorough-going retrenchment, insisting on a minimum cut of five per cent in the expenditure of all civil departments and a larger reduction of military expenditure. At last finding that its finances were in a critical state, the Government appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Inchcape to make a searching inquiry into the expenditure of all Departments of the Central Government and recommended what all possible retrenchments could be made in it.

It was at this juncture that Sir Basil Blackett assumed charge of his responsible office. He had already, before he framed his first budget for 1923-24, most of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee before him and though, as the Committee itself recognised, full effect could not be given to them in the first year of their operation, he was able by strenuous efforts to include the major portion of the proposals in his budget, and effect considerable reductions to the extent of Rs. 12 crores. Still as against an estimated expenditure of Rs. 204.37 crores, there was an expected revenue of only Rs. 195.2 crores, thus leaving a deficit of Rs. 9.17 crores. Sir Basil was too sound a financier to think of covering this deficit quietly by means of loans, or leaving it uncovered, as was done by his predecessor in some years. He saw that the only possible course open for him was to double the Salt Duty which had proved to be the only unfailing source of revenue in times of financial distress in the past. But when he presented to the Legislative Assembly his Finance Bill embodying this proposal, the Assembly though unable to suggest any other alternative to restore financial equilibrium, contented itself with vehemently opposing the proposal as calculated to hit

severely the poorer classes of the population, and despite the cogent and convincing arguments advanced by the Finance Member in support of it, refused to pass it. The Bill was however passed by the Council of State but was again thrown out by the Assembly when it was re-presented to it, as required by the constitution. The Viceroy had therefore to intervene under the special powers conferred on him by section 67B of the Government of India Act and certify the measure as necessary for providing sufficient funds to enable the administration to be carried on. This act of certification which was the first of a series necessitated by the recalcitrant attitude of the Legislative Assembly, during the regime of Sir Basil Blackett was highly resented by that house as an autocratic act of the Viceroy that flouted the decision of the people's representatives and reduced the Reforms to a mere sham.

Thus the first Budget of Sir Basil Blackett began with a storm. But his wisdom of achieving a balanced budget soon showed itself in the effects it had in enhancing the market value of Government of India securities and the favourable terms at which fresh borrowings could be undertaken. There was also an improvement in the Government's financial position, due partly to the recovery of trade but mainly to Sir Basil's ability and skill in the management of finance and exchange policy, with the result that the actuals for the year 1923-24 showed a surplus of Rs. 4 crores. Then followed a series of five surplus budgets in succession unique in the financial history of British India, all resulting from an ordered financial policy pursued by him, reinforced of course by a series of good monsoons without which financial stability is impossible of achievement in an agricultural country like India. When Sir Basil took charge of his office in 1923 the state of things was such that nobody could have prophesied that before he laid it down he would be in a position not only to restore financial equilibrium without any additional taxation or additional borrowing for the purpose but reduce the Salt Tax from its enhanced to the original level, effect a reduction in the unproductive debt to the extent of Rs. 81.45 crores, enhance the credit of the Government of India both within and without the country and remit provincial contributions completely and finally, and

after doing all these things show a net surplus successively for five years.

II

The achievements of Sir Basil are so many and so far-reaching in their consequences on the financial system of India that we cannot do full justice to them in this article. But we may notice the most important of them. One of the biggest items of expenditure which hangs like a milestone on the neck of an Indian Finance Minister, especially in times of financial distress is that on military services. During the five disastrous years 1918-19 to 1922-23 military expenditure had risen to unimaginable heights and after a series of reductions stood at the time of the Retrenchment Committee's inquiry at Rs. 65 crores while the pre-war figure (1913-19) was only Rs. 31.9 crores. After making a thorough examination of the whole situation the Committee suggested the immediate fixing of the total net budget for 1923-24 at Rs. 57.75 crores and expressed their view that with a further fall of prices which was then anticipated, the expenditure could and ought to be reduced to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores, though even that figure was in their opinion too much for the Indian tax-payer to bear. During the first year of Sir Basil's office the expenditure was reduced to Rs. 56.23 crores, a figure even lower than what the Retrenchment Committee suggested but there have been no appreciable reductions in subsequent years in spite of a steady fall of prices, and the expenditure now stands in the neighbourhood of Rs. 55 crores.

It is a matter for regret that Sir Basil Blackett could not carry out in full the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee in this respect but in justice to him it must be said that he was not a free agent in the matter, as it involved questions of policy besides financial considerations and in these His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief had the final say. One of the most important services that Sir Basil has rendered to Indian Finance is the formulation of a scientifically-conceived policy with regard to the regulation of the Public Debt position. Classifying the Debt into productive and unproductive so that it may be clearly seen how much of it has been incurred for productive and how much for unproductive purposes he suggested the fixing of a period for the

redemption of each—which according to him may be fixed at not less than 80 years in the case of the former and not more than 50 years in the case of the latter, and proposed the making of an annual budgetary provision for the purpose. The scheme was substantially approved by a Resolution of the Government of India, dated 9th December, 1924. By thus systematising the provision for debt redemption and strictly confining new borrowings either to productive purposes or renewal of short term bonds at maturity at lower rates of interest, Sir Basil during his tenure of office was able not only to considerably reduce the annual interest charges and consequently its burden on the tax-payer but reduce the unproductive debt that had been incurred during his predecessors' regime for meeting budget deficits to the extent of Rs. 76 crores, while the productive debt increased by Rs. 189 crores. The whole position is thus summed up by Sir Basil in the Budget Statement he presented to the Assembly on 29th February, 1928: "In the five years since 31st March, 1923, when the era of deficits came to an end, the aggregate debt has increased by as much as 189 crores, and the unproductive portion has been reduced by 76 crores. By the end of 1928-29 we hope to have just about liquidated the debt due to the five years of revenue deficits from 1918-19 to 1922-23 and if the recent rate of progress is continued, our unproductive debt should vanish altogether in about twelve years' time."

One further aspect of the new Public Debt Policy was the establishment in 1925 of a Provincial Loans Fund for the purpose of systematising the arrangements by which advances are made to Provincial Governments from the Central Exchequer. Hitherto loans had been granted to the provinces directly from out of the balances of the Central Government and the terms and conditions including the rate of interest and the period of amortisation had been dealt with piece-meal and under special orders of the Government of India as each occasion arose. The object of establishing this Central Fund was to subject Provincial borrowings to definite and uniform principles, and enable the development ultimately of an independent controlling body, corresponding to the National Debt Commissioners or the Public Works Loan Commissioners in England, which would raise the monies required for the Fund in the

open market and on the security of the assets of the Fund itself. Sir Basil also looked forward to a day when the transactions of this Fund would be excluded from the Public Debt of the Government of India in the same way as advances made to public bodies in the United Kingdom on the guarantee of the British Treasury are excluded from the British Public Debt. He hoped that the separation of this Provincial Loans Fund and also the Railway debt would vastly increase the facilities for raising new capital by obviating the necessity of the Government of India to borrow monies for capital development, on the sole security of the revenues of India.

III

Another improvement of fundamental importance brought about during the regime of Sir Basil Blackett was the separation of Railway from General Finance, on the basis of the recommendation of the Acworth Committee on Indian Railways. It was remarked by that Committee that the annual allotments for railway expenditure were being made less with regard to the actual requirements of the Railways than to the general financial position. As the grants were annual and balances unspent at the end of each year lapsed to the general revenues, it was impossible for railway works to be efficiently carried on, as they had necessarily to be spread over a period of years, unless the general finances remained satisfactory during each year of the continuance of the works undertaken. Further the monies that could be spared for railway requirements each year depended not on the extent of the requirements but on the state of the Government's budget which was affected by a good many circumstances such as good and bad monsoons—all extraneous to railway matters.

Sir Basil exerted himself not a little for the separation of railway finance from the general finance and the provision of a separate budget for railways. When he mooted the question in the Legislative Assembly there was great suspicion about the proposal as having been planned with the ultimate object of weakening the Assembly's control over railway policy. When however the matter was fully explained and it was shown that the Assembly would under the scheme have greater control over railway

policy than before, it was finally accepted, and as part of the scheme a standing finance committee of the Assembly was also constituted, which was entrusted with the task of discussing all items of railway finance before the budget was prepared and presented to the Legislature. The members of this Committee were also to be ex-officio members of the Central Advisory Council for railway development. The result of the separation which began in March, 1925, when the first railway budget was prepared, has been a rapid and unimpeded progress in railway development. It has cleared the path for a continuous process of railway construction and rehabilitation and enabled progressive reduction of railway rates and fares, while relieving the general finances of an intolerable burden of uncertainty due to fluctuations in the railway receipts of good and bad trading seasons, which meant differences of several crores of rupees in the budget figures.

Under the scheme of separation it was also stipulated that the general revenue should receive a definite annual contribution from railways, which should be a first charge on their net receipts. The contribution was settled on the basis of one per cent on the capital at charge of commercial lines in the penultimate year, plus one-fifth of surplus profits in that year, interest on capital at charge of strategic lines, and loss in working being deducted. It was further provided that if after payment of the contribution so fixed, the amount available for transfer to railway reserves should exceed Rs. three crores, one-third of the excess should be paid to the general revenues and that the railway reserves should be used as much for securing this annual contribution to the general revenues as for strengthening the financial position of the railways and providing if necessary for arrears of depreciation and writing down capital.

IV

After the separation of Provincial from Central finance in consequence of the introduction of the Reforms and as an integral part of the financial arrangements made under the reformed constitution the Provincial Governments had to make an annual contribution to the Central Exchequer in certain defined proportions, as compensation for depriving the Central Government of certain important heads of revenue and

allotting the same to the Provincial Governments. Unfortunately however from the beginning of their commencement in 1921, the Provincial Governments were, equally with the Government of India, undergoing severe financial strain, and as many as seven out of the nine of them found it impossible to balance their budgets. Under such circumstances very little could be spent on what were called 'Nation-building' services for which under the reformed constitution the ministers of the people in the provinces were responsible. There was a strong feeling against depleting local finances by subventions to the Central Government. In the first conference of finance ministers held in April, 1922, the question of remitting provincial contributions was vehemently agitated but the finances of the Central Government were themselves so bad that no relief could be given until better times arrived.

When Sir Basil framed his budget for 1923-24 he had, as we saw to cover a deficit of more than Rs. nine crores by enhancing the Salt Duty in the teeth of opposition of the Legislative Assembly and through the unpleasant method of certification by the Viceroy. But he fully realised the handicap placed on the provincial governments by the contribution system and set it in the forefront of his programme to give them the necessary relief as soon as his finances would permit. When the year 1923-24 showed a surplus he suggested to the Assembly the wisdom of remitting a portion of the provincial contributions but the feeling of the house was too strong against the enhanced Salt Duty to permit of any other course than a reduction of that impost. Fortunately however for the provinces the finances of the Central Government soon showed a steady improvement resulting in a series of surplus budgets with which it became a pleasant task for Sir Basil to effect gradual remissions year after year until in his last budget for 1928-29 he was able to announce a complete and final remission of the whole of the contributions. He would have done this even a year earlier but for the more imperative necessity of abolishing the much hated Cotton Excise Duty which created a shortage in the amount required for making a complete remission.

The abolition of provincial contributions, is from the point of view of the Provinces, one of the greatest achievements of Sir

Basil Blackett. But the Assembly regarded it with indifference if not scorn, as in its view there were more pressing national demands such as the abolition of the Salt Duty, and reduction of postal and telegraphic rates than the relief of the provinces which in its view was of no national importance. It did not care to perceive that the remission of provincial contributions must increase the spending power of the provinces and give them greater scope to undertake those large projects of social and industrial development upon which the material and moral progress of their people largely depends and which under the reformed constitution is entrusted to the Ministers of the people themselves. The Assembly also failed to appreciate the fact that increased prosperity would *pro tanto* increase the taxable capacity of a people and that in all advanced countries progress has been invariably attained by increased taxation. Tax Burden is not in itself the criterion but the capacity to bear it, and if the latter is increased there need be no complaint about the former.

V

Another important feature of Sir Basil Blackett's regime is the great work he did for stabilising Indian Exchange and improving the Currency System of the country. As Secretary of a previous Currency Commission, the Chamberlain Commission of 1913, he had known a great deal about the subject. Now, as a consequence of the War and the dislocation caused by its after effects and the disastrous policy pursued by the Government in hastily fixing the exchange rate at 2s. and trying to maintain it by sale of Reverse Councils, the Indian Exchange was hopelessly unsteady and convulsive, when Sir Basil assumed office. As the Government of India had large commitments in England, this contributed a great deal to the uncertainties of Indian Finance. Sir Basil, a great expert in currency matters, soon mastered the situation and by clever management of the system through the issue of Reverse Councils, sale of securities and bullion from the Reserves and the creation and cancellation of *ad hoc* securities, succeeded in stabilising the exchange at a point which he considered to be most advantageous to the Government finance. Though the methods he adopted

were somewhat objectionable from the standpoint of the larger interests of the country and in fact severely criticised by the Bombay interests, his achievement of stability for the Rupee at a time when the currencies of many other countries were still suffering from the debauches of the War, was highly praiseworthy. Then came the Currency Commission of 1925-26 which after a searching examination of all the circumstances, recommended stabilisation of exchange at the point at which they found it, *viz.*, 1s. 6d. which was the exact point at which Sir Basil himself had been striving to fix it for some years past. In conformity with the recommendation of the Currency Commission, Sir Basil introduced his Currency Bill in March, 1927, for amending the Indian Coinage and Paper Currency Acts so as to fix the gold value of the rupee at 1s. 6d. For the first time in the Currency history of India, the Bill aimed at imposing a statutory liability on the Currency authority to maintain the rupee at this fixed ratio to gold. The Bill met with the severest opposition in the Legislative Assembly where the politicians playing into the hands of the Bombay interests, were cajoled into believing in spite of the cogent arguments advanced in support of the *de-facto* ratio that the defunct rate of 1s. 4d. was the proper and "natural" rate to be aimed at. But thanks to the independent elements in the House, the Bill was ultimately passed through by a narrow majority.

This however was not all. The most important recommendation of the Currency Commission was the establishment of a 'gold bullion standard' and the transfer of Currency management from the Government to an independent Central Bank to be called the Reserve Bank of India. Sir Basil who was himself a strong advocate of the 'Gold Currency Standard' (as will be seen from his evidence before the Currency Commission) was convinced of the soundness of the Commission's recommendation and prepared a Bill called the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill on the lines suggested—by the Commission itself. But different kinds of opposition were raised to the Bill. At first it was opposed on the ground that the establishment of a Central Bank other than the Imperial Bank would diminish the prestige and power of the latter, and that the Imperial Bank should itself be constituted the

Central Bank. But the arguments of the Currency Commission against making the Imperial Bank the Central Bank were so convincing and unanswerable that it was not difficult for the politicians to perceive the self-interest underlying the attitude of the opponents of an independent Central Bank, who were mostly the big holders of Imperial Bank shares. The politicians, however, unwittingly fell into their trap in another respect, that is, in opposing the Bill on the ground that its scheme of a shareholders' Bank was not in the interests of the country. During the discussion of the Bill the attitude of the Assembly became so definite in favour of a State-owned Bank that, fearing an amendment to that effect, the Secretary of State for India who it was said had consented to forego some of his own powers in favour of the proposed Bank solely on the understanding that it was to be constituted as a shareholders' Bank as provided in the Bill, stopped by a cable communication all further discussion on the Bill, in exercise of the powers given to him under the Government of India Act. This interference on his part created a great sensation in the country but the real person to be aggrieved at the action of the Secretary of State was Sir Basil. It was his cherished ambition and hope to see the Indian Currency system on a secure basis before he retired from his office. He therefore proceeded to England and after personally discussing the matter with the Secretary of State and prevailing on him to give his consent to a new Bill which with some modification practically incorporated the provisions of the original Bill, introduced it in the Legislative Assembly in *January, 1928*. Political feeling in the House was however so strong against the interference of the Secretary of State that the Bill, without being considered on the merits, was ruled out by the President as incompetent while the first Bill was allowed to be dropped. Thus failed Sir Basil's attempts at legislation for an up-to-date currency system for India.

Whatever might be the constitution of the Bank, whether it was to be State-owned as desired by the Assembly or a qualified shareholders' bank as proposed in the two Bills presented to it, the currency system promised to the country was immensely superior to the present one administered by the Government directly. All the

Currency Bills of the past have been due to inexpert handling of currency by Government which was not responsible to the public in any way. The necessity for a Central Bank has been perceived in all countries, and the proposal for establishing a Central Bank in India even though with private capital is not in any way objectionable, if the profits over and above a prescribed minimum, as agreed to by Sir Basil himself, are allowed to be appropriated to the State Treasury. It is lamentable that the attempted legislation for establishing a Central Banking system should have failed and the Executive Government further allowed to continue to manage and mismanage the system in its own way. The responsibility for the failure is certainly on the politicians who refused to consider the merits of the proposed legislation in all its aspects and allowed themselves to be guided by the views of certain members of the mercantile community, who as holders of Imperial Bank shares had a self-interest in wrecking the Bills. Never did the politicians play more unwittingly into the hands of self-seekers.

Though Sir Basil's cherished ambition was thus frustrated it may be hoped that members of the Legislature and the public will soon become sufficiently educated in currency matters to perceive the advantages of having a Central Banking and Currency authority. The Bills, which have been wrecked, may still serve as a basis for future legislation.

VI

As a sincere friend of India Sir Basil had also entertained high hopes about the country's banking possibilities and potentialities of wealth. As Chairman of the External Capital Committee he had recognised that India had a vast store of hoarded wealth which under a wise system of banking could be directed to productive purposes. He hoped that with adequate banking facilities, India would be able not only to finance all her enterprises with her own capital but even become a world creditor. He had thought of instituting an inquiry into the system of banking and the possibilities of banking development, after securing the necessary legislation for the establishment of the Gold Standard and Central Bank. With the failure

of the Reserve Bank Bills, this idea had to be given up, his tenure of office having also in the meantime come to an end.

In connection with the reform of the tax system, Sir Basil had no opportunity to do much. He began, as we saw with a proposal to double the Salt Duty, in order to balance the budget for 1923-24, and though the duty was in subsequent years reduced to its original level, the idea did not strike him, as it did not strike any other Finance Member of the Government of India before him, that a tax on such an essential necessary of life as salt was wrong in principle and being a severe burden on the poorer classes of the population ought to be completely and speedily abolished. The Government of India has in the past significantly felt little sympathy for the poor, as the financial history of the country shows, and particularly so with regard to the Salt Duty which has always been considered by them as a great reserve of power in times of financial distress. The duty has been imposed contrary to the teachings of economic science and nothing is more imperative from the standpoint of good government than its total abolition.

As a result of the Conference of Finance Members held in November, 1923, Sir Basil had a Committee appointed in 1924 to inquire into the system of taxation and make recommendations. The Committee submitted its Report in the beginning of 1926 making various recommendations with regard to Central and Provincial taxation. With a view to carry out its recommendations Sir Basil in the Simla session of 1926 moved a resolution in the Assembly for taking the Report into consideration but after a brief discussion, the matter was adjourned *sine die*. This however did not mean that the Committee's recommendations were to be shelved. In accordance with their suggestion, he included in his Budget for 1927-28 a proposal to abolish the export duty on hides and reduce the import duty on motor-cars and accessories. But the Assembly, while not consenting to the former, agreed to the latter. Left to himself Sir Basil would have also done considerable improvements in the system of income-tax, but his period of office was only five years in which he had to discharge manifold duties and always face a hostile Assembly. He was however able to make some amendments to the Indian Income-tax Act, especially with regard to the

receipt of foreign incomes, and double taxation, a subject in which he had published an expert memorandum for the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations; and he also effected some minor changes in the income-tax machinery and administration with a view to prevent evasion and leakage.

Sir Basil was also able to bring about some improvements in the method of budgeting and financial machinery, which he thoroughly overhauled and made more efficient. He modelled the Public Accounts Committee on the corresponding Committee of the House of Commons. With the object of simplifying business and enabling members of the Legislature and the public to understand better the scope and meaning of the various financial heads in the annual budget he brought about changes in the demands for grants. The total number of grants were also increased and instead of one omnibus grant for general administration, each department has now its own separate grant—a change which makes for greater precision and responsibility in the Departments themselves and for more effective control by the Legislature. "Each grant is now shown subdivided into a number of sub-heads and the actual will be accounted for under each, so that the Public Accounts Committee when they scrutinise the final accounts will be able to compare without difficulty the actual expenditure with the budget provision under each sub-head and to fulfil more easily their constitutional task of examining the extent to which savings under one sub-head have been utilised by the Executive Government towards extra expenditure under another."

Another item of improvement is the separation of Accounts from Audit. Under this proposal Provincial Governments are to be in control of their own accounts, while the auditing will be conducted by a single authority, the Auditor-General, for the whole of British India. This system of account is considered to have the merit of "a more efficient control of and closer check on expenditure by the Department responsible for that expenditure as a continuous process during the expenditure." The Audit Department will be relieved from the mechanical routine duties involved in the present system and audit becomes more searching. Instead of being introduced all at once throughout the country the scheme has been experi-

mented in the United Provinces in the first instance and found to work well there. It is therefore probable that it will soon be extended to other provinces also.

Sir Basil Blackett's term of office came to an end in the beginning of April, 1928, after the close of the budget session of the Legislative Assembly. During his career as Finance Member he had to work under great limitations. He was not a free agent. His personal opinion had always to be kept in subordination to that of the Conservative Secretary of State 5,000 miles away. It was not so difficult for him to bring the Executive Council of the Government of India to his view, as to convince the master at home. At the same time he had a very difficult time in the Legislative Assembly. His financial measures as well as any other measures of Government far from being considered on their merits, were mostly subjected to a political debate in which grievances against the administration as a whole were freely ventilated. Cuts were made in the demands for grants not because of any financial reasons but as a 'gesture' of dissatisfaction with the extent of the Reforms. As Sir Basil himself observed in his Budget speech for 1926-27, "The members of this House (*i.e.*, the Legislative Assembly) appear to me sometimes to fix their attention so earnestly on what are called political questions as to overlook the steady advance towards the goal of constitutional self-government which is being registered day by day in administration and in finance." The result was that the knowledge and experience of a great financial expert had often to waste in thankless efforts, and to meet political intrigues and organised oppositions and canvass votes for the passage of every measure of consequence. Persuasion by reason and argument was always difficult in the case of political suspicion which saw in everything emanating from Government source an anti-Indian policy. The situation exacted from the Finance Member not only skill and ability in his own field but a capacity for political intrigue and diplomacy which he did not perhaps possess in a sufficient degree. The last days of Sir Basil's tenure of office became further unpleasant on account of the widespread discontent in the country with the constitution of Statutory Commission in which Indians were given no place. If he had charge of the finances of the country at a quieter

time, Sir Basil would certainly have had greater opportunities of displaying his knowledge and ability and come to be regarded as the greatest finance member India has ever had. But even as they were his achievements, as this survey has attempted to show,

have been many and far-reaching in their consequences, and when the political cloud which hangs over them disappears as it must in course of time, History will certainly record its judgment of them and assess their real value.

A Study of Birth-control in India—II

BY

(THE LATE) MRS. LUCY M. PEARCE

BERNARD SHAW shows that Nature has her own ways of keeping the population steady, that artificial birth-control is never likely to be required. In India, where we know of Reincarnation and Karma, we know there can be no question of over-population at all. The local overcrowding that has happened is the result of wrong-doing, bad karma. We can repair it by insisting firmly on the adoption of a system of work and property consistent with our own religion, philosophy and ideals. Why should we import vile expedients from other countries, which are based on the ignorance which has led them astray?

"Nature can and does increase fertility to prevent the extinction of a species by excessive mortality. Need we doubt that she can and will decrease it to prevent its extinction of overcrowding?"

Let us "work on with Nature," as an ancient sacred scripture has taught us, inspired by our Nation's own immemorial religious ideals.

In England—in London and other big towns—the Karma of the British has brought about overcrowding, over-popu-

lation, poverty and crime,—because of their assumption of power over helpless savages in days gone by. Many of these people have been reborn in their midst. The thing is quite obvious to any observer. The ways of many of these unfortunates are the ways of savages. For instance, when children in play will attempt to roast the baby over the fire! Of course, they on their part must have deserved their own sufferings amid Western civilizations, by their own brutalities in their own lands in the past; but there is no doubt that they belong to savage races, not really among Western civilizations at all. What Western people suffer through having them in their midst, breeding disease and perpetrating crimes, presenting all sorts of difficult problems of government and sociology, is the Karma of Westerners for having drawn them there, one presumes. The pressure of a more advanced civilization too often warps their primitive morality into what among civilized people actually becomes crime. Savages cannot live their natural lives in Whitechapel, London.

Perhaps some are to be found, and from similar causes, in the slums of Bombay and Madras and Calcutta.

If they are among us, they must be treated with equity. If we have made bad Karma with them in the past, as we must presume we have, by their presence and provision for us of knotty problems, it's up to us to treat them properly in the present. They are Indian in body now, as we are; they must share with us, equally as to income, so that they may learn to live decently. Otherwise we shall certainly suffer till the end by their presence among us. They will spread foul disease and in other ways menace our safety, until we repay them the Karma we have incurred. The same with all peasants, and servants, and "untouchables," however low in the scale of intelligence and culture. They must have their share of fair division of wealth. "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs" was the good old maxim in India of old.

And through all changes, invasions and conquests, kingdoms and empires, which succeeded one another, India was prosperous, famous for fabulous wealth, and for the happiness of all her people. Why and how. Because of her Village System, which was democratic. "Panchayats, the village republics, have been the most stable institution of India... They still exist within the castes, each caste forming within itself a thorough democracy, in which the same man may have as relations a prince and a peasant... India is democratic in spirit, and in institutions left to her from the past and under her control in the present." (From an Address presented to H. E. the Viceroy by the Home Rule Leagues, quoted by Dr. Annie Besant in *The Future of Indian Politics*.)

Sir John Lawrence said in 1864, "The village communities, each of which

is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions."

Mr. Chisholm Anstey has said:

"The East is the parent of Municipalities. Local Self-Government, in the widest acceptance of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities, and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network, so that you have ready-made to your hand the frame-work of a great system."

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Advocate-General of Madras said:

"Every village in the times of the Arthashastra (4th century B.C.) formed an integral part of the general administrative system, and the village was the foundation of the Governmental edifice.

Dr. Annie Besant writes in the above-quoted book, summarizing her "Lectures on Political Science":

"The characteristics of the village were: a group of houses surrounded by a large tract of land, arable pasture and forest; each resident had a site free of rent for house, yard and garden. The establishment consisted of the officers and craftsmen, whose services were free to all, and who were given land, and various other rights to shares of produce, as remuneration."

The Decentralization Committee's Report said:

"We consider that as Local Self-Government should commence in the villages with the establishment of village Panchayat, so the next step should be the constitution of boards for areas of smaller size than a district."

And Dr. Besant enlarged on the establishment of Panchayats thus :

"Village needs would thus be made known, and if necessary they could be represented by the Panchayat to a higher authority. The village would become articulate through its Panchayat, and would no longer be the dumb and driven creature which it is today. And it would be brought into touch with the larger life... All village life would be lifted to a higher level, widened and enriched by such organization, and each village, further, forming one of a group of villages, would realize its unity with others, and thus become an organ of the larger corporate life. The corresponding unit in the Towns to the Village in the country is the Ward

and the Ward Panchayat like the Village one, should be elected by Household Suffrage. These Ward Councils should take up the... matters now neglected."

Dr. Besant writes further :

"The land was communal property and redistributed from time to time. All householders appear to have had votes... The wealth of India lay in her villages; and in wars between different kingdoms, often for purposes of annexation, the villages were respected, since the would-be ruler had to depend on them largely for his income..."

Thus, we would see that India can and ought to solve the problem of birth-control by following her ancient Socialistic Ideal.

The Career and Life-Work of C. R. Das*—I

BY

PROF. HIRALAL CHATTERJEE, M.A.

THERE is no more pathetic sight in the literary sphere than the publication of a book after the demise of its author. A melancholy interest, therefore, attaches to the volume before us, which has been issued after Mr. P. C. Roy's premature death. In the case of a posthumous publication, criticism is disarmed and there is a certain veering round of opinion in favour of the writer, whose voice is hushed in death, as he is beyond all cavil:

Let them rave

He is silent in the grave.

The style of the book has a distinct journalistic flair. In fact, it is saturated with the spirit of the press. Mr. Roy has not been able to cast off the atmosphere which surrounded his editorial sanctum. He has presented much too sober an account and has seldom let himself go, though he had to deal with certain characters who in their own way and within their limitations tried to light up the stages of the world's dim journey. The perusal, therefore, of his book has left us unmoved: as the sound elicited is like that drawn by muffled fingers across muted strings,

What has disappointed us most is the paucity of extracts from the letters and the diaries of Mr. C. R. Das. We are not allowed to catch glimpses of his inner mind as revealed by him to his intimate friends. Then, though the funeral scene is finely described, we are absolutely left in the dark as to what other countries thought and said on the occasion—for we know that the sound of passionate wailing crossed the Indian frontiers and passed over to Europe and even to America. In this connection we can but recall the legendary death of King Arthur, as depicted by the poet:—

And from them rose
A cry that shivered to the tingling
stars,
And as it were one voice an agony
Of lamentation, like a wind that
shrills
All night in a waste land where no
one comes
Or hath come, since the making of
the world.

Then there are no fervours, no crescendo notes in this memoir. That partly explains the very balanced review of Mr. Das's work in the major spheres. To illustrate our view we shall quote the following interesting passage:—

"Chitta Ranjan was a visionary, a dreamer and an apostle of revolt. Yet in practical politics, he suffered many things and refused to move onwards in many matters. He had little sympathy with existing conventions of life or social or political institutions of any kind. In his private and domestic life, he was a strong destroyer of social usages and conventions, as he had constituted himself in the last years of his life an enemy of the Government established by law. Though born of Brahmo parents, he treated lightly certain cherished ideals and conventions

that the Brahmo Samaj held dear and sacred. As we have noticed in a previous chapter, he wrote and published several poems in which he defied the orthodox cult of Brahmo theism and puritanism. In his habits of life he had marked out for himself new principles and laws of conduct. In a later period of his life, he returned to Hindu orthodoxy, but had cast to the winds its principal corner-stone—the caste system. Against the fundamental Hindu usage of marrying within one's own caste, he had married both his daughters to bridegrooms chosen from castes other than his own; and he got neither of these marriages registered, taking upon himself the risk of their validity being challenged in a court of law. Yet, in the Sradh ceremony of his parents and in his daughters' marriages, he had followed Hindu ritual to the letter. In fact, when he grew to mature age, he neither remained a Brahmo nor became a Hindu, according to the current and accepted interpretation of the term."

II

Let us now give our own impressions as derived from the multitudinous literature that has gathered round the figure of Chitta Ranjan Das, now that the first effects of the staggering blow are over, and the overwhelming shock has passed. The paroxysm of grief which seized us when death shattered to pieces the many-coloured dome is by now abated. The clouds of sighs and the mists of tears which rose enveloping all parties, in all places, have slowly dissolved. From the abyss into which we had been suddenly hurled, we have now risen again into a serener atmosphere, and it is now possible to adjust the focus and gaze with unblurred vision across the desolate scene to where mighty forces are moulding.

perhaps in other shapes, the morrow's fate.

The tremendous outburst of sorrow—the colossal ebullition of the popular feeling which surged was spontaneous and unrestrained. The vast funeral procession—the numbing paralysis—all that was absolutely unengineered. The stage was not arranged as is done in many quarters for a telling scenic effect to seize the popular imagination. But we fear democracy “doth protest too much,” and there is danger if it is held that the man is greater than his mission—that the reformer is more interesting than the destiny of the country itself. Since Mr. Tilak's death in 1920, the manifestation of public reverence has had a crescent effect and (to adopt the words of the late Sir Edmund Gosse used in another context) when we have another sacrifice to offer to the monster, the multitude craving for excitement may not find the necessary stimulant in the blazing pyre and may feel disappointed at the non-recurrence of the shock. This was seen at the death of Sir Surendranath; the huge wave retreated and dwindled down into a mere ripple. And yet let us draw from the plebiscite of sorrow a happy augury to quicken the pace of the stout-hearted pilgrims riding forth indomitable to the avowed goal.

III

When on the fateful 5th of March, 1870, the knot of persons assembled in a hired tenement in Calcutta heard the infant cry break the surrounding silence, little did they dream that those pining accents, half a century later, would gather tremendous volume and momentum and little did they dream that the baby new to earth would one day develop thews and sinews which would make the boldest tremble! Thus was

born (to borrow Carlyle's language) once more a mighty man, whose light was to flame as the beacon over the whole land.

After graduating from the Presidency College in 1890, Chitta Ranjan proceeded to England to prepare for the Indian Civil Service Examination. There he did not confine himself to his books, but plunged into the larger currents of life. He began to take an active part in political discussions to promote the cause of reform, and his ardour roused some sections of the English people to a new sense of their responsibility to India. But the result of his public activities was naturally failure at the examination. This probably entered like iron into his soul. It is worthy of note that the three most eminent Bengalees, who arrayed themselves against the bureaucracy, were disappointed men so far as the prizes of the Indian Civil Service are concerned: Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Chitta Ranjan Das and Aurobindo Ghose—each had his deep-rooted grievance against what they regarded as unjust methods adopted to keep them out of the sacred precincts. Well, Mr. Das baulked of his legitimate hopes turned his attention to law, and returned home as a Barrister and joined the Calcutta High Court in 1894, at the age of twenty-four.

IV

Chitta Ranjan's public activities in England had enabled him to acquire the initial momentum. His outlook had been widened and his interests in the major aspects of life appreciably deepened. He leapt into the fray in right earnest and his sole ambition in the beginning was to earn sufficient money to scratch off the unsavoury label which expensive tastes and a prodigal style of living had put on his father's memory

in the insolvency courts. For this reason he sedulously sharpened his rapier so that its thrusts may with impeccable precision make short work of his opponents in legal combats. He scorned delights and lived literally laborious days. Recognition came to him but tardily. The ascent was steep, as eminent lawyers were in possession of the whole field. He had to push his way to the front with many a sigh and travail. Not till many years later, the stars conspired to bring about the supreme moment when his forensic skill would shine to its greatest advantage and subsequently bring within his grasp Fortune's cornucopia. Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, a figure of heroic mould had to face his trial for alleged revolutionary activities. Mr. C. R. Das defended him at the Alipore Court before the Sessions Judge—afterwards (the late) Sir William Beachcroft of the Calcutta High Court. His defence was notable alike for his unrivalled cross-examination of the prosecution witnesses, as also for his brilliant forensic eloquence in summing up the arguments on behalf of his client. His magnificent peroration, reproduced below, lingers in the public mind even now, after more than twenty years. The acquittal of Aurobindo Ghosh firmly established the reputation of Das as a great and distinguished advocate. From this time onward, he was engaged on one side or the other in many of the sensational trials—civil and criminal—principally in the courts of the Province of Behar, and tributes were paid to his memory in both the High Courts at Calcutta and Patna. In the peroration with which he brought his brilliant address to a close, he rose to the highest flights of forensic eloquence and the whole of it will bear quotation:

"The whole of my case before you is this. If it is suggested that I preached the ideal of freedom to my country,

which is against the law, I plead guilty to the charge. If that is the law here, I say I have done that and I request you to convict me. But do not impute to me crimes that I am not guilty of, deeds against which my whole nature revolts, and which, having regard to my mental capacity, are something which could never have been perpetrated by me. If it is an offence to preach the ideal of freedom, I admit having done it—I have never disputed it. It is for that, that I have given up all the prospects of my life. It is for that, that I came to Calcutta to live for it and to labour for it. It has been the one thought of my waking hours, the dream of my sleep. If that is my offence, there is no necessity to bring witnesses into the box to depose to different things in connection with that. Here am I and I admit it. My whole submission before the court is this. Let not the scene enacted in connection with the sedition trial of the 'Bande Mataram' be enacted overagain, and let not the whole trial go into a side issue. If that is my offence, let it be so stated and I shall cheerfully bear any punishment. It pains me to think that crimes I could never have thought of or deeds repellent to me, and against which my whole nature revolts, should be attributed to me, and that on the strength not only of evidence on which the slightest reliance cannot be placed, but on my writings which breathe and breathe only of that high ideal which I felt I was called upon to preach. I have done that and there is no question that I have never denied it. I have adopted the principles of the political philosophy of the West and I have assimilated that to the immortal teachings of Vedantism. I felt I was called upon to preach to my country to make them realise that India had a mission to perform in the comity of nations. If that is my fault, you can

chain me, imprison me, but you will never get out of me a denial of that charge. I venture to submit under no section of the law do I come for preaching the ideal of freedom and with regard to the deeds with which I have been charged. I submit there is no evidence on the record and it is absolutely inconsistent with everything that I taught, that I wrote and with every tendency of my mind discovered in the evidence. My appeal to you, therefore, is that a man like this who is being charged with the offences imputed to him stands not only before the bar in this court, but stands before the bar of the High Court of History and my appeal to you is this: that long after this controversy is hushed in silence, long after this turmoil, this agitation ceases, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism and the lover of humanity. Long after he is dead and gone, his words will be echoed and re-echoed not

only in India, but across distant seas and lands. Therefore, I say that the man in his position is not only standing before the bar of this court but before the bar of the High Court of History."

The above peroration was worthy alike of the great occasion, the great advocate and his great client. But though highly successful, Mr. Das never mistook the value of his profession. He disliked it and his persistent aim was to quit the scene as quickly as possible, and husbanding life's taper at the close devote himself to art and literature. All the same though outwardly absorbed in grim legal business, he clasped the patches of sunshine. He who seemed to be wholly given over to Mammon rushed to God in moments of illumination and became a lever to uplift our national life and roll it in another course. These patriotic activities we shall deal in the concluding instalment of our survey, in the next issue of the *Hindustan Review*.

(To be concluded.)

The Inferiorty Complex

BY

AN OLD MUSAFIR

INDIA owes her Western education to her British masters. Educated Indians have, in the ordinary course of things, derived their ideas concerning the merits of the British State religion exclusively from Christian sources. The British rulers hesitated long before deciding to introduce the Western system of education into India. What they apprehended was that the spread of

knowledge would have the effect of awakening race consciousness amongst Indians and of rousing them from a state of pathetic contentment, so as to jeopardise their own position in the country. But religious men in the West had long conceived the idea of taking the message of salvation to the miserable heathen who have been "passing in a terrible procession, minute

by minute, to an eternal woe." Pious people wielding great influence in Britain eventually succeeded in convincing the men in authority that evangelisation far from proving a source of peril would, by the grace of the Lord, prove a source of great strength to the Christian rulers of India. English education was introduced three years before the Indian Sepoy Mutiny broke out, *i. e.*, about a hundred years after the English had made themselves masters of the country. Lord Macaulay, who was mainly instrumental in bringing about this change of policy, thus gave out his real aim: "We must do our best to form a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion and intellect." The real object in view was to denationalise the people and to wipe out their own culture which, in the case of the Hindus and Buddhists, was much older than that of their Christian masters. During the Mutiny the Christian converts demonstrated their loyalty to their rulers—their brethren in faith. When the Crown assumed charge of the Indian Government in 1858, the old pledge of religious neutrality was, of course, reiterated; but the British had learnt the value of the work that was being done by the various Missionary bodies. Educational and medical movements carried on by Missionary bodies are liberally supported by Government. Hindu and Buddhist students have thronged Missionary schools, the avowed aim of which is to lead the heathen into the Christian fold. Sir F. D. Lugard has very frankly stated that in mission schools "education is considered secondary and ancillary to evangelisation." Of this there is not the slightest doubt. The result is that the Hindus far more than Moslems who generally avoid missionary schools) have largely imbibed their ideas of Christianity from their Christian teachers. Many of them have formed

the notion that Christianity presents the highest ethical ideal known to humanity. About a hundred years ago Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, the reputed founder of the Theistic Church in Bengal, urged the exclusive claims of the Gospel of Christ on awakening India and he declared that in comparison with the "absurd and detestable modern Hindu system of religion it was the only way to God and heaven." His eminent follower, Keshub Chunder Sen, stated that "India could do nothing without the Bible." But how is the Bible regarded at the present day by the better educated section of Christians? It is being revised; and expurgated editions of it are being produced. "The old Protestant orthodoxy," observes Bishop Gore, "stood by the sole and final authority of the Bible as the infallible Word of God, but it is exactly this position which modern knowledge is making more and more impossible." Dean Inge wrote in the *Hibbert Journal* for July, 1928: "But are we sure that the Gospels give us the actual events as they happened, and the actual discourses as they were delivered? A searching criticism makes it almost certain that they do not." Modern researches have proved the hollowness of the old notion that the "moral sanction" was an unknown quantity before Christianity. Father George Tyrell has stated that "nothing is original in the righteousness preached by Jesus. All is to be found in the prophets, the psalmists, and the saints of the Jewish people, not to speak of the pagan moralists and saints." The historian Buckle has observed: "That the system of morals propounded in the New Testament contained no maxim which had not been previously enunciated, and that some of the most beautiful passages in the Apostolic writings are quotations from Pagan authors is well-known to every scholar." It may be mentioned that the charming Gospel record—"Bless them that curse you, do

good to them that hate you"—has been found to be an interpolation and has been left out in the Revised Version.

What are the practical results of Biblical morality on people who have adopted it? Let us examine one aspect of morality which concerns the principle of the universal brotherhood of humanity. We are told in Chapter iv of Genesis that God discriminated between Abel and Cain by expressing satisfaction with the flesh-meat offering made by the former and displeasure with the latter's offering of vegetables, without any apparent reason. This act of injustice inspired bad feeling in the mind of Cain as being contrary to the spirit of justice and it led to deplorable consequences. Believers have then the teaching and conduct of Noah, the man who found grace in the eyes of God, as described in Gen. ix. 18—27. Here will be found the roots of the idea of racial discrimination. The whole of the Old Testament represents God as the special patron and protector of the Jews. As the English saw has it

How odd
Of God
To choose
The Jews.

David, the man after God's own heart, states in Psalm ii that God will give his Son the heathen for his inheritance and the uttermost part of the earth to possess and that God will give his Son a free hand to break the heathen with a rod of iron and to dash them to pieces like a potter's vessel. There is complete harmony and continuity observable in this respect between the two Testaments. Luke, indeed, refers to David (xx. 42) as an authority. A devout minister of the Church, Pastor Otto Stockmayer, has pointed out that the mandate conferred in Ps. ii is reiterated in Rev. xii. 5. He has also pointed out

that the authority given by God the Father to His Son in Ps. ii is the same that is promised to the Manchild in Rev. ii. 26—28, R.V. In the words of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" Christ himself did not seek converts outside Israel. He not only directed his apostles to leave the Gentiles alone, as in Matt. x and Luke xix, but he wanted that non-Jews should have no chance of salvation, as would appear from Mark iv. 11-12, and Rom. xi. 7-8. Jesus shows his contempt of the heathen in Matt. xviii, 17. Discrimination is shown in many parts of the New Testament, e.g., 1 Cor. x. 21; 2 Cor. vi. 14 and John x. Jesus as an exorcist told a woman of Canaan in Matt. xv. (a Greek woman according to Mark vii.) in perfectly plain terms that his mission was to the lost sheep of Israel and that it was not proper for him to extend to others the benefit which was due exclusively to the children of Israel. It will be difficult for apologists to make all this fit in with the idea that Christ introduced cosmopolitan ideas in place of the communalism taught in the Old Testament by the Lord God of Israel. The same exclusory, parochial spirit really runs through both the Testaments in uninterrupted continuity. Precepts of an altruistic import may no doubt be culled from a book which owes so much to outside influence.

What about the practical results of the Biblical religion? Milman states in his "History of Latin Christianity": "No barbarian, no infidel, no Saracen ever perpetrated such wanton and cold-blooded atrocities of cruelty as the warriors of the Church of Christ." In January, 1914, before the outbreak of the Great War, Sir Joseph Swan stated that the civilisation of the world was threatened not by pagans, not by the heathen, but by the foremost Christian nation of enlightened Europe.

Irenæus, an early Christian Father

laid down, under Biblical inspiration, the principle: "The pagans are our debtors; all that the pagans have acquired with labour we ought to enjoy without labour." The same principle was recognised by Augustine and other early Christians. It was under this principle that the Pope made a free gift of heathen India to the Christian King of Portugal on that King's giving an undertaking to establish Christianity in that country. The policy of land-grabbing by which the original inhabitants of vast tracts of country in America, Africa and Australasia have been wiped out, or reduced to helotry in their own country, is traceable to the same cause. Negro slavery has been defended by the Churches on Biblical authority. Societies for the protection of the aborigines have been established under the humane influence of modern secular knowledge, just as humanitarian ideas have led to the formation of Societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. But even in 1928 the British Colonial Government proposed, in the interests of the white interlopers, to remove the Samburn tribe of Kenya from its old home-land in Laikipia district and to assign the lands to Europeans. Mr. W. F. Bailey, F.R.G.S., has pointed out that in South Africa there are many white men who boldly deny that the black man (*i.e.*, the original inhabitant of the country) is any more a human being than a baboon. He says that he has frequently heard white men in South Africa speak of "human beings and Kaffirs." White men call the children of negroes, Kaffirs and the Australian aborigines "piccaninnies," refusing them the status of human children. In America and in South Africa distinction is made between whites and black Christians both in and outside the Church. As a broad-minded Christian, the Rev. C. F. Andrews, has observed: "The colour prejudice goes very

deep indeed when really good and kindly people justify it on the ground of their most cherished religious beliefs." Those good and kindly people owe their beliefs to the Bible. How can they help it?

In Western literature, on the stage and on the Cinema screen coloured people are used as a foil for effectively setting off the white man's superiority by contrast. Oriental craft is a favourite English phrase. Lord Curzon said that truthfulness was a virtue which Orientals had yet to learn from the West. Very naturally the English people, in the Mutiny days, implicitly believed the reports of horrors perpetrated by Indians sent home by their countrymen who concealed the retaliatory measures taken by themselves in a spirit of vengeance. The truth (known to a few) is told by Dr. W. H. Russell who has thus referred to some of the retaliatory measures in his book, "My Diary in India": "They are spiritual and mental tortures to which we have no right to resort, and which we dare not perpetrate in the face of Europe." Even in our own day the majority of people in England believed that the horrible acts of General Dyer at Amritsar were not only justified but were necessary under the circumstances and there was a great British Judge to endorse that verdict. So much for truth as practised by Western people who have been brought up under Biblical traditions.

How are Indians treated in their own country by their white masters? Mr. A. J. Fraser-Blair, a well-known English journalist, said that "the attitude of the younger Anglo-Indian generation is very well summarised in an expression made use of by a gilded Calcutta youth and recently reported to me, 'I can't stand these natives,' he drawled, 'I think they are such rank outsiders.'" "A writer in the Calcutta *Englishman*

who used the pen-name "Wis" wrote quite frankly on June 10, 1919: "The equality of all men is a false and dangerous doctrine to promulgate in a country where out of 315 millions of inhabitants barely 1½ millions can be described as literate in our Census Reports... Let us realise that all men are *not* equal, and that some men are born to be ruled and others to govern them." It may be observed that educated Indians are hated with far greater intensity than the illiterate classes. The late Sir Henry Cotton, who was a follower of Auguste Comte, stated that "the more Anglicised a native is the more he is disliked by Englishmen." A writer in the *Manchester Guardian* has recently observed: "It is a favourite saying amongst Englishmen in the East that though they have the greatest affection and respect for the 'real natives'—for the fellah, the bedouin, the ryot, the Brahmin even—they have nothing but contempt for the half-Westernised products of modern schools and colleges." The *Pioneer* of Allahabad wrote at the end of December last: "Few honest

observers of modern India can deny that the present policy of the India Office and Delhi is to deny real opportunity for 'self-realisation, self-development and self-fulfilment.' Towards the masses of Indians there is, if not, a feeling of racial contempt, an assertion of racial superiority."

It is clear from what has been stated that the Christian races of the West have learnt, through their religion, to think in terms of dominant and inferior races and not in terms of our common humanity. The words of Vivekananda, a remarkably clear-sighted Indian religious thinker, addressed to Christian missionaries may be recalled: "You come to us with your religion of yesterday—to us who were taught thousands of years ago by our Rishis precepts as noble as your Christ's; you trample upon us and treat us as the dust beneath your feet; you destroy life in our animals; you disgrace our people with drink; you scorn our religion, in many points like your own; and you wonder why Christianity makes such slow progress in India."

"Uncle Sham" : An Exposure of America

BY

MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

I

THOSE of us that have read Miss Katherine Mayo's two books, *Mother India* and *Slaves of the Gods*, have often had occasion to wonder at the open glee, the unrestrained enthusiasm, with which

she writes of pornography in all its forms. She, indeed, shows herself to be a pastmistress in that art or science. No branch of it—no, not even the minutest detail—seems to escape her vigilant eye.

How is it, we have time and again asked ourselves, how is it that Miss Mayo happens to command such an almost encyclopædic knowledge of sexual facts and, let us add, of sexual fancies? After rejecting all other explanations we at last fell back on this, *viz.*, that her having been born a child of the West and, in especial, a child of the United States of America, was the secret source of her undisputed strength in these matters. She was *born* into the world of prurient things. She was born—like Aphrodite from the head of Zeus, fully armed—with pornographic weapons. Our explanation has now been proved to be the right one. We have before us a book, *Uncle Sham*, written by Mr. Kanhaya Lal Gauba, which is the best reply that has as yet been given to Miss Mayo. This is a book that must be read by every Indian—and, even more so, by every American. Here is a Roland for Miss Mayo's Oliver. We earnestly advise Miss Mayo to beg, buy, or borrow it and study it till she has mastered its contents. She will, we are sure, emerge a thoroughly reformed woman: the scales will fall from her eyes and she will begin to see things in a clear light. A perusal of Mr. Gauba's book will explain many matters of which we, in India, were ignorant before; and, among others, will explain Miss Mayo's well-known preference for objects that are mean and sordid and libidinous. "A man," says Tennyson, "imputes himself." Doubtless, a woman does the same. One attributes to others one's own qualities. Knowing her countrymen and countrywomen to be what they are, Miss Mayo naturally feels that the Hindus also are like them. This is her very first mistake. She has judged us by her own country's standards: which, let us point out to her as mildly as possible, she had no business to do.

II

Mr. Gauba had been to America. He has thus had exceptional opportunities of watching "Uncle Sam" at close quarters and in all his aspects; and he has come to the conclusion that he is not really Uncle Sam but *Uncle Sham* and that by some curious inadvertence, the aspirate dropped out from the name in its march through time. Needless to say, he has now restored it to where it belongs by right. But Uncle Sam, we suggest, is not merely Uncle Sham: he is, we are convinced, Uncle Shame as well. We at last, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Gauba, see the dark side of America as it really is. No doubt, there is, as he himself recognises, a bright side to it, too. But, then, so many books have been written depicting the bright side of America that we feel that one book revealing its dark side, its shady aspect, should not be unwelcome. This, if we are not mistaken, is exactly the plea that Miss Mayo puts forward in writing her *Mother India*: or, is it *Slaves of the Gods*?

But, then, is there actually such a bright side to America in matters moral and spiritual? Our author shows us, in an unmistakable manner, that there is not. The tale that he unfolds in the pages of his book is as loathsome as any that we have ever heard. Morality, for all practical purposes, is dead, dead as dear old Queen Anne—in the United States of America. Speaking plainly, the most depraved amongst us, Hindus, is, we feel, far and away better than the most depraved amongst the Americans: he almost looks angelic. There is, in fact, absolutely no comparison between the two. You cannot compare incommensurables: you cannot, as the saying goes, add four pounds of butter to four o'clock. The West generally, and

America in particular, occupies a pit of infamy that the vilest of Hindus cannot expect to reach down to, however much he may try. There are, it is only fair to point out, certain refinements in American debauchery which are scarcely to be matched in India, or, for that matter, anywhere else. Most of us could not even have imagined that such things existed until we read *Uncle Sham*. It is all, we suppose, in the end a question of genius; and American genius, it will hardly be denied, operates in sundry wonderful ways.

Uncle Sham deals in detail with American depravity and immorality in all its multifarious manifestations. It gives the reader—and especially the Indian reader—quite a succession of shocks. One is staggered at the stupendous mass of American debauchery. No piece of fiction, past or present, comes up to this level of moral and spiritual—or rather immoral or unmoral and unspiritual—degradation. The fact is so much stranger than any fiction could ever have been. We had known before, of course, that some such things prevailed in America; but until we read Mr. Gauba's book, we did not suspect their real nature and the extent of the disease. America is now seen to be (but with few exceptions) a house of ill-fame from top to bottom. It is one vast brothel. People imagine that there is only one variety of brothels and that the public. But in America, in addition to public brothels, there are numbers and numbers of private brothels; and innumerable gradations between the two. Where else but in America do we find what are called "assignation-houses," "beauty-parlors," and "trial marriages"? Where else but in America do we find *men*, and those mostly *Negroes*, kept as prostitutes in hotels and other public places for the gratification of the desires of American

women? Where else but in America do we find school-boy and school-girls so freely and so immorally mixed up? Where else but in America do we find divorces so prevalent, on the flimsiest—in fact, on no—grounds? Where else but in America do we find such huge numbers of fast young men and even faster young women? Where else but in America do we find women who get themselves shaved, by men barbers just like men? Where else but in America do we find "more than 2,500,000 cases of syphilis treated every year?" (*Uncle Sham*, p. 111.)

Here are some choice quotations from Mr. Gauba's book:

"From the petting parties and souse parties and necking celebrations, which are a common feature of school life very few girls emerge strictly *Al virgins*. Judge Ben Lindsey conservatively estimates that at least 45 per cent of high-school girls have had intercourse with men before they leave school and in the years following the proportion is much higher. *In America therefore, it is practically impossible to marry a girl who has not already conferred her favours on other men.* Not infrequently her experience of men is pretty wide and general by the time she stands before the altar" (p. 70. Our italics).

The author quotes from Dr. Edith Hooker:

"It is not very unusual even among the most cultivated and wealthy families for little ones of seven and eight to have lovers of about their own age with whom they have sexual intercourse sometimes in the presence of others" (p. 67).

And then there are popular games like "strip-poker," wherein the boys and girls gradually become divested of everything in the way of clothing. It is, then, not uncommon for the great majority of American girls to have a multiplicity of lovers; and yet it seems they are far from satisfied. We recall what Prince Henry said of Hotspur: "I am not yet of Percy's mind, the Hotspur of the

north; he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife, 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work.' It would likewise appear that having had, in their own delicious words, "a very good time of it" during the course of a single day with a couple or two of their male friends, the vast majority of American girls say to themselves: "Fie upon this life! We want work."

Of course, the men are equally immoral; but, then, the race, of necessity, becomes unequal in the course of time. In this furious game of dissipation the boys become weak naturally earlier than the girls; the latter endure longer. The result is impotency among the former, for as Falstaff says: "The camomile, the more it is trodden on the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is wasted the sooner it wears." Let Mr. Gauba speak:

"If husbands are impotent at a comparatively early age and the urge of sex runs strong in the better but more fickle half, is it surprising that trial marriage, the assignation house and beauty parlor have so triumphant a vogue?" (P. 116)

It will be remembered that Miss Mayo, in a famous passage, has dubbed the Hindu men sexually impotent, as a class. Until that versatile lady came forward and informed us of this our national weakness, we never so much as guessed of it. But Miss Mayo has told it in Gath that we are otherwise; and, forsooth, she must be believed. But, of course, she might have had peculiar sources of information on the point, sources to which we are naturally barred. But what about this glaring revelation of Mr. Gauba, concerning American sexual impotency? And what about that other glaring revelation (which, indeed, follows from the first of lots of American women seeking assuagement of their unsatisfied desires (their men

being, as we have seen, for the most part impotent) from the virile, though black, bodies of the Negroes, the Negro butlers and waiters?

Here are Mr. Gauba's own words on this subject:—

"The satisfaction of sex hunger by resort to Negroes should be regarded as abnormal, the normal sex instinct of race preservation would be the mating between members of the same race. Only abnormality in sex urge or other complexes of a serious character can account for the growing numbers of inter-racial liaisons. These liaisons are frequent.... The popularity of Mongolian night clubs and opium dens, whereof women of culture and society become habitués for the satisfaction of passion, the increasing number of Eur-Asiatic marriages are among the problems of any European metropolis.... Abnormally passionate women there have been from all times, but such women of New York twenty years ago were few and it was possible for them to mistress Red Indians or Great Danes. Now Red Indians and Great Danes are both less plentiful than Negro butlers, and *Negro butlers have been found to have a fund of virility and muscle that is the joy of the ladies of Fifth Avenue*" (pp. 116-117. Our italics).

Mr. Gauba sums up:

"As will appear from the sequel the American girl begins to think of marriage and sex at the age of four or five, at twelve she is old enough to know the physiological details of anatomies of her boy friends, by sixteen she has tasted of the delicious mysteries of life, by twenty-five she has had perhaps four or five encounters into the domains of matrimony, at thirty she is sterile, infected, abnormal. This is the sum and substance of the life of an average daughter of Uncle Sam" (p. 65).

We have not yet touched upon the subject of venereal disease; but the less said about it the better:

"According to Dr. Morrow there is more venereal disease among virtuous and married women than among the women of the street. According to Noeggerath it is 80 per cent. Morrow estimates that 60 per cent of married and unmarried men have

gonorrhoea. According to Bernarr Macfadden it is 90 per cent among men" (p. 134).

Comment, we feel, is superfluous: these figures will speak for themselves. We have, it will be seen, quoted pretty freely from Mr. Gauba's book, but it is not possible to convey its full force and significance without indulging in long and many quotations. Thus and thus only will the reader get an adequate idea of the thorough exposure and the downright revelations, which are brought into strong and striking relief, of the true inwardness of American civilization, as set forth in Mr. Gauba's remarkable book.

III

Miss Mayo has all along been finding fault with the Hindus, for what she is pleased to call our "sexual immorality": she has been scolding and upbraiding us by side and by seam. She says, or implies, that the Westerners generally, and Americans, particularly, are moral giants and giantesses compared to us. She is, of course, entitled to her views: but, in default of proof, she is not entitled to their *expression*. In our hearts we all fancy ever so many things: but we do not give utterance to them in public—unless, indeed, we are far gone in foolishness. Miss Mayo, we concede readily, is no fool: on the contrary, she is only too, too clever. In fact, if she had been less so, the world would have been the gainer to a large extent. But it cannot be. Miss Mayo is what her environment and heredity have made her, and she cannot, alas, now change for the better. That is now established beyond doubt by the publication of Mr. Gauba's book, which is heavily documented with quotations from authoritative American books and reports.

But, we ask, in view of the conditions

prevailing in America—conditions for the revelation of which we cannot thank Mr. Kanhaya Lal Gauba sufficiently—why, we ask, does Miss Mayo so consistently and persistently pretend that her countrymen and countrywomen are living in the complete starch of rectitude, that they are the very paragons of virtue? Whom does she want to take in by such a gilding of stern realities? Does she think that the Hindus are so many babes in the wood, so many children of the forest, who can be gulled by her sophistries and casuistries? She goes so far as to say, in her exordium to Hindu women to be found in her *Slaves of the Gods*:

"Few would presume to offer our Western performance as a model for you to copy. The liberty afforded to American women, for example, is as great as is your thralldom; but, although the vast majority of American women honour that liberty as a commitment loyally to serve the family and the society of which they are a part, some neglect the privilege, and some selfishly, thoughtlessly, and flagrantly abuse it. Of these last you hear." (*Slaves of the Gods*, p. 212.)

It is only necessary to direct her attention to Mr. Gauba's book. For our part, we simply marvel at her brazen-faced audacity. We can, in the circumstances, very well understand Mr. Gauba when he asks in his "Foreword":

"But upon what grounds of material or moral prosperity is the new literary activity justified, and activity in libel and pornography? For what reason also, one is entitled to ask, is it a fashionable pastime across the Atlantic to investigate the morals of the Zulu, the decrepitude of the Filipino, the sexual impotency of the Hindu and the humbug of John Bull?"

We have no hesitation in telling Miss Mayo that she is barking up the wrong tree. She ought to have set about, in the first instance, reforming her own country: that done, and time

permitting, she might have gone on to reform the Filipino and, later on, the Hindu, her pet aversion. (She, of course, insists that she loves the Hindu. But that is only her ladylike way of saying things, her American politeness. She does not want to offend us by calling us bad names, that is all.) She ought, we repeat, have begun reforming her own country first: It is, we assure her, none too perfect. "It is not," says Thoreau, "worth while going round the world to count the cats in Zanzibar." It is, we submit, no more fruitful going round the world to collect hospital-records of half-a-century ago in remote parts of India; especially when her own country is calling for Miss Mayo's services in no ambiguous fashion. Let her do it even now.

IV

Uncle Sam is as convincing a book as any we have seen. It is, to borrow a phrase from Miss Mayo, "very heavily documented"—as stated above—even more so than her *Mother India* claimed to be. Every fact is corroborated by the writings of Americans themselves in their books, reports and journals. What a wealth of documentation, indeed, is here! The author has taken immense trouble in writing this book and he has shown us "Uncle Sam" in his true colours: he has shown us what a puny and morally-deformed character he is. We earnestly recommend every American and every Indian to get the book, and to read, mark, and inwardly digest it. By writing and publishing it, Mr. Gauba has served equally America and India.

Morley as Man of Letters

BY

Mr. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

WHEN John Morley was invited to write the biography of Mr. Disraeli, he excused himself from the task on the proper and estimable ground that he had not the sympathy with the subject necessary for the task. His own biographical sketches of the eighteenth century Frenchmen, of the leading lights and precursors of the Revolution like Voltaire, Rousseau, Robespierre, Diderot and the Encyclopædists, now and then lacked that generous sympathy requisite for

the proper and just apprehension of their motives and aspirations; but they were the first and systematic efforts made to interpret to England the revolutionary leaders of France and remain today the most powerful studies in the English language. All the same there is an element of truth in John Morley's excuse which is desirable that biographers desirous of immortalising their heroes have to note. If the author cannot get into the skin of the subject, as it were, we would lack in the art that real glow and

fervour needful in a living biography, however skilled the production may be as a piece of literary composition. Some of the most beautiful biographies in the English language have been written by men who have been imbued with a genuine sympathy with, bordering even on adoration of, the subject, such for example, as Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, and even Morley's *Lives of Cobden and Gladstone*.

John Morley was not only lucky in a sympathetic biographer, but had chosen him even during his lifetime confiding to him all the secrets of his life and his work, leaving to the artist the manner of the execution of the work. Mr. Hirst has been his collaborator in writing the *Life of Gladstone*; nay more. He was a close friend who combined the ardour of a disciple with a sincere and whole-hearted faith in the principles his master struggled to vindicate. As one reads the two volumes of the *Early Life and Letters of John Morley** one rises with no other feeling than the deep regret that the story of a brilliant and vivacious career had not been brought to the end by such a kind and generous biographer. Mr. Hirst knew him and came into contact with him in the later days of his life. The story of the last twenty-five years of John Morley's life is the measure of the effort which a great mind and a sympathetic soul, burning with exalted notions of moral dignity and surveying life with the exacting standard of truth, was able to put forward in the realisation of his dreams. In these pages we find recorded in language of burning eloquence the evolution of the high thoughts and noble sentiments of a peculiarly fertile mind; but Mr. Morley was not a mere political speculator. It may be said of him, what he himself said of De Maistre, that he was 'a man of the world, and he may be added to the long list of writers who have shown that to take an active part in public affairs and to mix in society give a peculiar life, reality and force to all scholarship and speculation'. It is not so much as a man of letters, as a man of action that he would have lived; as a statesman and active benefactor of the human race. But to comprehend the success or failure of a career, it is needful to know the foundations on which

the principles had been laid, the stamina on which rested his moral stature. And the early life and letters disclose the man as no other work has hitherto done.

Some of Morley's later contemporaries with whom he worked in the political field still live; some who have enjoyed his confidence and shared in his hopes and convictions. Most of us in India even before he accepted the tragic role of office as our Secretary of State in Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's ministry, accepted him as our political teacher. In his words of wisdom interpreting the philosophical genius of Burke, we were fully drunk. None had affected modern Indian thought more profoundly than those masters of English literature and leaders of English thought and history whom he so faithfully interpreted to the world—Mill, Macaulay, Cobden and Gladstone. His best friends had been some of the most benignant figures of the age—Harrison, Meredith, Morison and Eliot. To him we looked as our great benefactor, to be placed in the Valhalla of such, alas! how few, as Burke and Canning. How happened it that the biographer of Burke, to whom he owed more than to anybody else for 'practical principles in the strategy and tactics of public life,' and who spent fourteen years of his ripe age in exposing the follies and weaknesses of the chief agent of the East India Company, when the time came to put some of those 'practical principles' to test, behaved no better than King George III of whom he himself had said that he 'tried to play the good despot over the vast empire of Britain with a capacity below the mark of a parish constable?' How came it that whereas he gave all the best in him to Ireland, another of Burke's object of devotion and labour, holding that all the mischief had been done because they had gone for 'peddling, niggardly, grudging reforms,' the destinies of this vast country did not evoke even a tithe of the generous enthusiasm evoked by that equally unfortunate island? Perhaps a clue might be found for the difference in Mr. Hirst's analysis of the progress of a subtle mind.

I

John Morley was born on Christmas Eve in Blackburn, which was ennobled later on

* *Early Life and Letters of John Morley*, by P. W. Hirst in two volumes. Macmillan & Co., Limited, London.

by the title he took apparently in token of its refusal to be represented by him in Parliament when he wooed it for the first time. But his association with his native village continued. He learned his alphabet in the Village Grammar School and on showing signs of promise was sent to University College, Gower Street. Thereafter he joined the Cheltenham College which was the stepping stone to Oxford. In the ordinary course he would have been four years there, but his quarrel with his father cut it to three. Although when he left Oxford he replied to a friend, 'I mean to be a great man,' he did not appear to have shown any marks of his coming greatness. Perhaps it was in a mood of introspection he wrote of Burke's similar failure to acquire distinction in Trinity College, Dublin, in these words: 'It is too often the case to be a mere accident that men who became eminent for wide compass of understanding and penetrating comprehension are in their adolescence unsettled and desultory.' When he went to Oxford Lincoln was in a state of 'sad intellectual dilapidation,' and the Rector was unlettered and boorish, and could neither read nor write. When Mr. Morley was later shown a holograph letter of Thompson, he simply said in reply, 'yes, it seems to show that he could write, but it is no proof that he could read.' Morley, however, made some useful friendships, principally with Cotter Morison, of whom he said that 'knowledge was his forte and omniscience his foible,' and Frederick Arnold.

With merely a pass degree he entered into the great university of life without funds and had to scribble many a day with a hungry paunch. Grub Street, however, welcomed no better or more well-equipped young man even in that age which gave quarters to men like Robert Cecil, the brothers Stephen, Courtney, C. D. Scott, Herbert Paul, J. A. Hobson, E. T. Cook, Henry Nevinston, J. A. Spender, L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond. He joined the *Literary Gazette* which soon after died, but gave him an introduction to the 'queer, intemperate, and almost illiterate, but wonderfully successful' editor-manager of the *Saturday Review*, John Douglas Cook. Of the freelance journalist of the day he appropriately enough said: 'If his knack, whatever it amounts to, should cease to please he starves; if his little capital of ideas wears itself out he is despatched as monotonous and

tiresome; if the journal to which he is attached changes hands, or changes principles, or expires, he, too, may expire.' But the supreme question for young aspirants to fame was 'pot-boiling' and Stephen and Morley worked on the *Saturday* for no higher purpose than to earn their livelihood. Of another *Saturday Reviewer*, who afterwards became Lord Salisbury, Morley wrote, 'He and I were alone together in the editorial ante-room every Tuesday morning, awaiting our commissions; but he, too, had a talent for silence, and we exchanged no words, either now or on any future occasion.' Morley wrote the 'Middles' to the *Saturday* and they were afterwards collected and published under the name of *Modern Characteristics*, a volume now out of print. An article on 'New Ideas' led to his introduction to Mill and a friendship which ripening to love lasted for a lifetime. The saint of Rationalism welcomed the struggling journalist to his Saturday dinners at which he became a pretty regular guest.

But his literary fame came into prominence only after he took up the Editorship of the *Fortnightly Review* in 1866 through the influence of Cotter Morison. Trollope and a few friends had subscribed among themselves £1,250 apiece to bring out a periodical twice a month. 'The matter on which we were all agreed was freedom of speech combined with personal responsibility. We would neither be conservative nor liberal, neither religious nor free-thinking, neither popular nor exclusive.' Without achieving the object they lost the money and sold the concern to Messrs. Chapman and Hall. Morley succeeded Lewis as Editor and continued to edit it for fifteen years. That period marks the progress of his intellectual voyage towards Republicanism in politics, Positivism in religion, to a stern faith in the people and to the prospect of a steadfast march of humanity to a better and healthier world. To that end he contributed not a little by the excellence of his own writings and of the brilliant group of men whom he gathered round him to spread the light. It was the period of strenuous intellectual activities, his painstaking excursions into the field of eighteenth century France, and the mighty movements that surged men's thoughts since then. Almost all his literary pieces were written during that time and many of them appeared in the *Fortnightly*. The influence of Mill was of course profound

and he was also not a little influenced by the French thinkers and actors whom he was interpreting and, most of all, by Compté. He would have taken a place in the Positivist calendar but for the influence of Mill. Nonetheless he was a studious visitor for the positivist church. The religion of humanity largely affected him as his correspondence with Harrison clearly shows.

Morley does not appear to have preserved letters; but Mr. Hirst has been able to throw some side-light upon his character as Editor which may be read with interest. Freeman had written an article condemning fox-hunting for cruelty. Trollope as founder of the *Fortnightly* felt this 'almost as a rising of a child against the father,' and replied in defence of fox-hunting. A rejoinder followed; but Trollope who asked for further space was refused. Mr. Harrison seems to have on different occasions felt the weight of the blue pencil, but the resentment it occasioned did not long survive. There was an intellectual sympathy and mutual love and admiration for each other's high character that nothing trivial could mar. In fact Mr. Harrison was his best stay to fill the pages of the *Fortnightly* though Morley was able to secure the services of the ablest pen-men of the time. Mill wrote frequently and without emolument. Huxley, Darwin, Greenwood, Bagehot and Spencer contributed to its pages. Of course Meredith and Swinburne wrote oft and on. Payment for the writers seems to have been rather poor and to a letter of Swinburne to George Meredith who complained about the inadequate remuneration, we have a quaint letter from the latter. The *Fortnightly*, wrote Meredith to the irate complainant, had passed from a philanthropic company to an unphilanthropic publisher 'who tries to diminish the expenses as much as he can, the editor being the chief sufferer,' adding: 'when I see Morley I will state your complaints to him: but from the sum he gets it's scarcely possible for him to pay more without doing so out of his own pocket. ... I received for my 'Phaethon' (about 150 lines) £5'; which, it may be added, was the sum which Milton received for *Paradise Lost*. But if the publisher's cheque was small, the editor's letter enclosing it was couched in language which invariably mollified the ruffled feelings of the contributor. The *Fortnightly* became soon after the leading

vehicle for the exposition of the best thoughts and opinions of that generation of great thinkers and vivid personalities.

II

In 1867 Morley visited the United States and there came into contact, among others, with the most remarkable man of the age, Ralph Waldo Emerson, a critical review of whose work is a charming piece of his compositions. The impending elections perhaps inspired in him parliamentary ambitions. He kept wooing his native town of Blackburn and in 1869 contested the seat and lost it. For a time he edited the *Morning Star* and officiated at its absorption with the *Daily News*. It was many years after that he again joined daily journalism. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which he edited in the early eighties, strangely enough was born in the very year the *Fortnightly* came into existence, and passing from the hands of Greenwood as Editor, reached its hey-day of reputation under Morley. The most characteristic note about him is from his assistant, W. T. Stead. 'Every morning,' says Mr. Stead, 'we used to discuss the world, and all the things therein, for half an hour, the range being as wide as the universe, while the immediate objective point was narrowed down to the practical duty of bringing out the *Pall Mall Gazette*. We differed about everything; from the Providential Government of the world to the best way of displaying the latest news in an "Extra Special"; and the strenuous conflict of opinion with which the day began led Mr. Morley at one time to postpone our talk till the paper was out. "It took more out of him, that half hour," he said, "than all the rest of the day's work." But the postponement did not last; our morning palavers were soon resumed, and continued unto the end.'

Again:—

'This lack of nimbleness of mind was a drawback to Mr. Morley as editor of a daily paper. He was not a born journalist. He was deficient in the range of his sympathies. No power on earth could command Mr. Morley's interest in three-fourths of the matter that fills the papers. He is in intellect an aristocrat. He looked down with infinite contempt on most of the trifles that interest the British tomfool, as the general

reader used sometimes to be playfully designated when considerations of management clashed with editorial aspirations. He had no eyes for news, and he was totally devoid of the journalistic instinct. To him a newspaper was simply a pulpit from which he could preach, and, as a preacher, like all of us who are absorbed in our own ideas, he was apt at times to be a little monotonous.

If these glimpses show that Morley was not cut out for daily journalism like Greenwood or Delane, he was yet the most powerful exponent of the press as a medium of instruction. To his character and temperament the periodical appealed better and was admirably suited. He could preach month after month in impassioned tones and with apostolic fervour a new gospel of morality in politics and justice between nations. There was need for such preachings then as ever. Ireland in the early days of his journalistic career, and Egypt later on were the two sphinxes whose riddles he had to solve. The disestablishment of the Irish Church and the agrarian difficulties of the Irish peasant forced the problem early on his attention and led to the mature wisdom of Home Rule. The expansion of the empire in North and South Africa remained a perplexing problem to his Radical faith. Even the domestic questions required the principles of government to be based on more secure foundations. In all these questions he was attracted to the Manchester School, to the great leaders of Radical thought like Cobden and Bright. But his more earnest and versatile co-adjutor was Joseph Chamberlain, the head of the Birmingham caucus. That fiery genius who competed with Lord Randolph Churchill for the leadership of the new democracy began life as an ardent republican. If peace, retrenchment and reform were the watchwords of the Manchester School, the Birmingham caucus had the three 'F's,' free land, free church, and free schools. The Radical programme of the early eighties was the handiwork of these two great incompatible spirits who, after a few short years, were to separate on the supreme question of Irish Home Rule and wreck a historic party into two irreconcilable camps.

In his *Life of Gladstone* we have a glowing record of the political history of the Victorian era in which there was a meaningless conflict between the two great

parties, where Conservatives attempted to steal away the principles of the Liberals and the latter, not to be outdone by them, stole something of the Conservative principles in their turn. The Radical programme evolved after so much travail had to be abandoned by the secession of its high priest and liberalism came to be tainted by the jingoism of Disraeli. Mr. Hirst deals with judicious touches the painful struggles during all these years of an aggressive idealist, against the growing decadence of party manners. The first test of his faith was the Franco-German War in which he took the side of Germany as against France. A charming letter to his friend Frederick Harrison who held contrary views may be quoted here: "So be it, my dear Harrison," he wrote, "politics should be one of the hysterical arts, and the poor devils who insist on applying reason and intelligence to this sublime mystery may go down to the infernal pit. I am one of them, but I have such an inborn passion for minatory epigrams like yours, that I clasp my own with enthusiasm. An infallibilist always charms me; and a positivist, swearing that the Master-Science of society goes by 'force of nature,' is overwhelming to me. I get a clearer view of the hierarchic arrangement. Mathematics at the bottom; hysterics at the top. As you say, it makes political action so simple. Tush, my dear Harrison. There is not a Positivist among you. There are only two in England—Mill and George Eliot." Morley predicted with remarkable prescience a Franco-Russian alliance within the next twenty years as a result of the defeat of the Napoleonic France by Bismarckian Germany.

His own country was to be very soon involved in European complications. Disraeli's imperialism many times dragged the country into a war with Russia. When in 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey, even the *Spectator* protested against Disraeli sending Indian regiments to Malta in the following scorching couplet:

We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if
we do,

We won't go to the front ourselves, we'll
send the mild Hindoo.

When the war ended with peace without honor by the Treaty of Berlin, there was another surprise sprung on the country by the Jingo agents of the empire. Lytton and

Frere, two prancing pro-consuls, had simultaneously involved the country in two costly wars in two different continents. Of Lytton Morley was mildly censorious though he said that anything more abominable than his Afghan scrape could not be imagined; but he dealt a heavier blow on Frere. The story of the Afghan War and its inglorious result is too well remembered to be re-told here as well as that of the Zulu War. His righteous indignation expressed itself in these fervent words and many more of that kind: 'There was a school of politicians,' he wrote, 'who think it a glorious and noble thing for a nation to waste and destroy its capital lavishly to augment its burdens, and with a light heart to plunge, into one barren enterprise after another. . . It is for the people of England to decide whether this shall be or not, whether they are content to be taxed for the pleasure of men who unite the mean avarice of hucksters to the lawless violence of buccaneers; and whether the old realm which was once the home of justice and freedom is to be transformed into a Pirate-Empire, with the Cross hypocritically chalked upon its black flag.'

The Jingoism of Disraeli was routed in the country and Gladstone was returned to power with a majority of 107 against the Conservatives, but was it banished from the governing power? Frere was not recalled and the annexation of the Transvaal was not revoked. In Ireland coercion had become the official policy. What is the good of an Irish Secretary, asked Morley, with the professions of a Wilberforce, if he brings in a Bill on the maxims of Castlereagh? A similar question which we were asking while he was Indian Secretary. The resignation of Mr. Forster, however, was the result of his fierce attacks on his policy in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

In 1879, Morley accepted a nomination for Westminster along with Hobhouse, but was defeated by the Rt. Hon. Smith and Sir Charles Russell, Conservative candidates. The ill-health and early retirement of Ashton Dilke, brother of Sir Charles Dilke, offered him an introduction to Newcastle which he continued to represent on seven successive occasions. He was returned in 1883 mainly through the help of Dr. Spence Watson, a genuine Liberal lecturer and speaker 'with a stirring gift of the tongue and a brave and noble heart.' He carried

with him in the first years of his parliamentary life his undisguised contempt for militarism and preached a stern enforcement of the principles of high morality in the conduct of international relations. In his maiden speech he said, 'I wish that the present government, within a month of their coming to office, had come out of the Transvaal bag and baggage.' But the Liberal Government got into deeper waters than even their Conservative predecessors. Intending within a few months after Tel-el-Kebir to withdraw the British army from Egypt they ended by despatching a military expedition to Khartoum. 'The Government have no real policy and no courage,' he wrote, 'and are only tossed about by a Clown, by Jingoists; Jews and furious philanthropists.' They were in danger of mistaking 'a shadow and a phantom for public opinion, and of accepting for real public opinion an odious compound of financial cupidity, bastard imperialism, and, worst of all, truculent philanthropy.' Gordon's case for smashing the Mahdi reminded him of Sir Bartle Frere's case for smashing Ceteways by way of performing a duty to civilisation. He not only considered it a tremendous error, but 'one of those signs of infatuation which history marks as the omen of a national catastrophe.' The history of the policy that Harcourt characterised as 'Butcher and Bolt' is well-known and the fatal results need not be repeated here. Morley's attitude was firm and clear and pressed with no small emphasis. The general election of 1885 in which he was again returned for Newcastle marked the close of his career as journalist, man of letters and private member of Parliament. And Mr. Hirst brings his interesting volumes to a close at this fascinating point in Morley's life.

III

It is not with any great regret that Mr. Hirst takes leave of the subject. The years that Morley had to spend in official harness were those eventful ones when a heroic soul comes by way of opportunities to infuse a modicum of its ethereal spirit and light up by its splendour the dull spaces of human activities. In Ireland and later on in India opportunities came to him to infuse the principles of righteousness; he fought for in his earlier years. How he

succeeded in the one case and how far he failed in the other are matters which Mr. Hirst has reserved for another occasion. 'How far responsibilities changed his character and opinions,' says he, 'is a question which I hope some day to answer.' He does not tell us why he has postponed a story with which he at least is more fully acquainted than any of his contemporaries. Unless it be that there is such a tremendous transition from one stage to another that it can only be called pathos, there can be no reason for the full story of his life not being written once for all. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that Morley will continue to be read, loved and honoured for his infinite researches into the field of eighteenth century France and attempt to interpret one of the momentous events of human history. His work either in Parliament or outside it for the empire may be forgotten. His fight for Philosophic Radicalism may be ignored and there is hardly a Radical in British politics today. But his work as a critical biographer will endure. However much he was anxious to take a place in the niche of great statesmen—to which many are called but only few are chosen—the fairy gods that presided at his birth drove him to the field of letters where he might shine in resplendent glory. He stands easy first among the critical essayists who have sought to interpret history through the biographies of its great actors. His miscellanies, and the other biographical studies, reveal a mind stored with the wisdom of ages and clothed in language which has the richest glow of an eastern sky. His later literary efforts have quieted down to a simpler and serener effort. The *Life of Gladstone* is like the plea-

sant falls of a Sivasamudram after the Niagara of the biographical studies. The thundering richness of style has given place to the soft echoes of a trained journalist.

Mr. Hirst asks whether after all he made a wise choice from the desk of the student at the cloister to the excitements of the hustings. He loved pomp and splendour, and behind the severity of the philosopher there lurked the harmony of a universal soul. But he himself must have now and then felt the change in the later days of his life when men began to lose faith in the high purposes of life. How vastly would the country not have changed, asked Frederic Harrison, when Morley was immersed in Harvardian files, if instead of his great work as the *Life of Gladstone*, he had taken a more active part in the controversies of the hour. Harrison was thinking of the ravages wrought by the neo-imperialism of Chamberlain. Well, of one thing, however, we may be certain. We shall have lost the *Life of Gladstone* whatever else we might have gained. 'Nobody but a metaphysician with something to prove or a pictorial historian in an unlucky metaphysical fit,' wrote Morley, 'would deny that we are surrounded on every hand with circumstances whose agency we are powerless to overcome.' Morley might not have succeeded in overcoming the tragic circumstances of British political life, which seems destined to be engulfed in the problems of empire more and more; but he did the next best thing of interpreting its lessons to a grateful race of men. In this country at all events his early life and labours will be read and pondered deeply for the rich lessons in philosophical truths he strove to teach the students of politics.

India and the Labour Government

BY

MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN, M.L.A.

THE following resolution was passed at the Annual Conference of the Labour Party at Blackpool in 1927:—

"The conference reaffirms the right of the Indian peoples to full Self-Government and self-determination and therefore is of opinion that the policy of the British Government should be one of continuous co-operation with the Indian people, with the object of establishing India, at the earliest possible moment, and by her own consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

"It (the Labour Party) believes in the right of the Indian people to Self-Government and self-determination, and the policy of a Labour Government would be one of continuous co-operation with them, with the object of establishing India at the earliest possible moment, and by her consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., presiding at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference at London, 2nd July, 1928, said:—

"I hope that, within a period of months rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our Nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within this Commonwealth. I refer to India."

Labour's Peculiar Position

The Labour Party has come into office but not into power. The other

parties, if they combine, can defeat the Labour Party on any question. It can continue to remain in office, as long as it is able to prevent the combination of the other two parties against it. It is only natural that, in the circumstances, their policy will be conciliatory and many things which they might otherwise have done, they will not attempt to do. For their very existence it will be necessary, that their actions should be such, as not to drive the other parties into the same camp. Their position is not free from difficulties and this should be frankly recognised. In view of the peculiar position of the present Government, there are not a few who expect a General Election, in less than two years' time. It will be nothing short of a miracle if Mr. MacDonald continues in office for the full term.

India: A Non-Party Question

The vast majority of us, in India, make no distinction between one British Political Party and another. Our experience of the first Labour Government was by no means very happy. Moreover their acquiescence in the appointment of the Simon Commission, has destroyed the faith of a good many of us, in the Labour Party. It is true that all the British political parties treat India as a purely non-party question. This attitude has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. In this connection, I am reminded of an offer of help, made by an Indian politician to a Parliamentary candidate and the reply which he

received. The Englishmen frankly said, that they did not want Indians to interfere in their domestic politics. Very little indeed was heard about India during the election, and since the formation of the present Government all that is said is, that the problem of India will demand serious consideration, and that the Labour Party in its endeavour to tackle it, will need the sympathy of all parties in Parliament. On account of the appointment of the Simon Commission it is held in this country, that the Indian question will demand a solution after the report is out. Beyond that, there are only a few who bother about the future of India.

Effort and Sacrifice

I admit the apathy, I also admit the ignorance. I do not expect the Labour Party or any party to agree to self-government without tremendous effort and sacrifice on our part. I fully realise that the success of our cause will depend on the strength of our movement in India itself. At the same time, however, I must confess, that there is in the rank and file of the Labour Party an attitude of friendliness towards India. The average Labourite is not provoked at the suggestion of India becoming free. The explanation of their outlook is very simple. They themselves are fighting for the recognition of their own position, and for the realisation of their own ideals, and it is obvious, that those who are engaged in a struggle themselves, generally feel sympathetic towards those who are more or less in a similar position. I have addressed Labour meetings, and I have found the atmosphere in those meetings quite friendly. Yet, I do not forget, that the friendliness of a Labour audience cannot be very effective, immediately, in the task that we have in front of us. But, at the same

time, it will be unfair not to observe the trend of their thought and feeling.

Need of Friendliness

To be perfectly frank, the Labour Party will not risk its own position for the sake of India. Let there be no mistake about it. At the same time, if they find that without doing any damage to their own interests, in this country, they can help India, they may be expected to adopt a friendly attitude. I will not put it higher than that. If I am right so far, then it follows, that we shall make a great mistake in antagonising the Labour Party, and in increasing its difficulties. I wonder if many people in my country are aware, that anything said against the Labour Party is cabled to this country, by the obliging correspondents of British newspapers. The sensitive amongst the Labour Party feel somewhat hurt, by what they consider to be our unfriendly attitude, and I submit that we should avoid, as far as possible, causing them any offence. To hurt is easy, but at this stage, it is conciliation that we need. I sincerely hope that we shall not antagonise the Labour Party, and give them a chance of saying, that we suspected their motives and questioned their 'bona fide.' It will be poor tactics. If they extend the hand of comradeship we should willingly grasp it. To reject it will be tremendous folly.

The Simon Commission

Let us look facts in the face. The Simon Commission has been appointed with the approval of Mr. MacDonald. We do deplore his attitude, but it will be folly to forget its consequences. Having agreed to the formation of the Simon Commission, Mr. MacDonald cannot dismiss it, even if he should so wish. The Simon Commission must

submit its report, and through the proper channels must come up before Parliament. At this stage it is rather difficult for them to do anything, as they might be regarded as interfering with the work of the Simon Commission. The fact that they are allowing the Simon Commission to go on, is in my humble opinion, no indication of their unfriendliness towards India. Unfortunately they are committed to it, and they cannot by any means escape the consequences of their own commitment. Of course there are ways of co-operating with us, and I venture to hope, that they will try to discover some means of meeting us.

What then should be our position? We should carry on our agitation in India with redoubled vigour and enthusiasm, and should look to our own-selves for the success of our cause. At the same time we should try as far as it may be possible, not to antagonise the Labour Party. An indiscreet statement, a hasty action or an angry word all hinder but do not help. They appeal to the thoughtless, but prove to be exceedingly harmful in the long run. Strength combined with restraint is what is needed, and I for one, have no doubt, that our cause is going to triumph because it is just and right.

The Future Constitution of India—II

BY

MR. P. M. L. VERMA, M.A., B.Sc., I.L.B.

THE most inspiring definition of State which one may come across, as given by Western writers, is perhaps that laid down by that prince amongst Socialists, Ferdinand Lassalle in these words: "We must widen our notion of the State so as to believe that the State is the institution in which the whole virtue of humanity should be realized." Now we have it acknowledged on the best authorities that ancient India recognised the leadership of Government in moral and material life. We had from times prehistoric a traditional *Dharma* out of which were evolved all kinds of State Constitutions for

the various States—republican, oligarchical and those of constitutional kings—that flourished in ancient India. The basic principles of *Dharma* being the same, it supplied a common background and so there was harmony between the various kinds of States. The idea of State Constitution was in each case the highest possible, that of evolving a socio-religious polity based on *Dharma*, which I should prefer to call, a kind of Spiritual State. The conception was certainly much higher than even what is underlying the definition quoted above from Ferdinand Lassalle.

That all-comprehensive term *Dharma* is unfortunately one of the most misunderstood and misconstrued of terms today, and so I should not pass it by without explaining as to what it connotes. Most briefly and aptly interpreted, as Tagore has put it, its synonym would be "Civilisation and Culture." Just as 'Civilisation' and 'Culture' are terms that are undefined and undefinable by a single set of words, so is *Dharma*. Yet with the characteristic love of logical definition and the genius for introspection and clear analysis and love of expounding principles, for which Indian thought has always been characterised, and which qualities may, indeed, be said to form the national temperament of Indians, we may well expect to find the fundamental principles of true Civilisation and Culture to have been at least as precisely and generally stated in our ancient literature as the laws of any other exact science known to us today. *Dharma* is said to embody not only a Code of Highest Action for the individual but also it prescribes the functions and duties for all the various orders, groups and institutions of mankind. No doubt, the *Dharma* laid down for the old organisation of society may not even remotely suit the modern conditions of society, much less may it be held out as a panacea for the evils of modern society. Yet we cannot also lose sight of the truth on the other side of the shield that the ancient science of Sociology, so highly developed in ancient India, ought to reveal to us some such immutable laws of universal application as would hold good today as much as at any time before.

For instance, the ancients expressed a metaphysical fact when they laid down that there were two sides in human nature—one higher and the other lower, and that a constant struggle for ascendancy went on between

the two natures as if our individuality were constantly drawn in opposite directions—by God or by Satan. After recognising this fact the first generalisation made by them was that *Dharma* or Highest Action for man must be the same for one particular stage of evolution, as that leading to the next step higher in evolution; that there ought to be no two opinions about the 'right' and 'wrong' of a thing, because perfect knowledge of the next higher step must be Truth itself to those on the present stage, and therefore, Truth must be *one and never two*. The second step at generalisation made by them, indeed a corollary of the above, was that what applied to an individual must also hold good more or less in case of a group of individuals belonging to the same stage of evolution. Consequently, there must be existent a lower and a higher self in the society as in an individual. That there is a higher side as opposed to a lower one in human conduct, we presuppose it every day in a law court, or in enforcing a social obligation, but we moderns are not so sure about the foundations, ethical or any other, for such a belief. It is not even so much as a belief with us because we base our social laws and obligations no higher than upon the bedrock of utility, or say, expediency. But it was very different with the ancients.

According to the ancient lawgivers the *Dharma* for the individual meant the subordination of the lower nature, or an attempt to control and counteract that instinct in man which he has in common with the animals and which seeks expression on the biological plane of our existence through our bodily desires. However individualistic and egotistic we may call the "natural" man there is always within him something of human as distinguished from animal principle within him which some

Western writers have chosen to call the "Social principle." So long we recognise this "Social principle" within the man, let us by all means exclude and eschew from discussion the old religious conception of the possibility of man becoming "super-man" by gaining mastery over his lower self. We may, however, bear in mind the hard fact which cannot be ignored that there exists even today amongst India's illiterate masses—the teeming millions—a widely diffused belief, which has worked subconsciously in the making of our national temperament, that our ancient lawgivers belonged to the category of 'super-men,' those gifted with the "sixth faculty," that of intuitive vision or spirit-mind, and that they having realized the Unity of Life behind the apparent diversity of our existence, and also having understood the laws of Divine Dispensation of Justice, called the Karmic laws, were best qualified to lay down general principles of *Dharma* or the Highest Code of Morality for the individual as well as the society. Now then, as we are not just at present concerned with individuals or their evolution into "super-men," let us proceed to see if we can get out of ancient *Dharma* any general principles of social organisation such as may be profitably adopted by our present-day society.

Now, the first thing to remember, let us say even at the risk of repetition, is the *Criterion*, which is, to put it in a nutshell, that '*the extent to which the better self of society succeeds in subordinating and counteracting the lower or baser self of society, determines the stage of evolution to which it belongs.*' Then we should note that instead of merely acknowledging the "Social principle" in man the ancient Indian lawgivers have laid down the so-called general "Principle of Sacrifice" for its widest application to human society. For accord-

ing to the highest conception of Indian Culture society could not exist without more or less "sacrifice" being made on the part of individuals comprising it. The community-interest always ranks far above the individual interest, the idea being the same as that underlying the modern phrase, the paramount necessity of society. Now it is being frankly recognised by our latest writers on Public Finance, e.g., Professor Pigou, that the only sound basis or theory of public taxation is the "Law of Sacrifice," the "Benefit Theory" of taxation having been discarded long ago. Ah! if only our busy world of today with its still busier statesmen and politicians could for a little while understand and realize all the significance of this simple fundamental principle of social justice, what a different state of society we should have from what it is! For under our present industrial system, which is based on monopoly interests and biological laws of Supply and Demand, the whole brunt of competition—all risks and losses—is borne by the weakest marginal producer, the poorest marginal saver, the marginal worker, the marginal consumer; whereas all the monopoly revenues and rental profits and consumer's surpluses are the privilege of the capitalist class to enjoy. Since in this age of cut-throat competition it must be impossible for the strongest producer to sacrifice anything to help the weakest producer, the Law of Sacrifice must ever remain a myth, only conspicuous by its absence, and the so-called 'fair competition' under *laissez faire* can only be fair to the victor on the field in an unequal competition under our present-day capitalistic system with all its ever concentrative tendencies to make 'rich richer, and poor poorer.'

In fact, there is such a fundamental difference between the Indian and the Western conception of society that it

seems wellnigh impossible for us to reconcile the two. This distinction has been very masterfully drawn in the following words of Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, the learned expounder of the Indian Communalistic philosophy which we should think worth while quoting even at the slight risk of digressing from our main theme—(Ples of Comparative Econ., Vol. I, p. 295, P. S. King):

* Western economism tells us that economic life and activity operate under three conditions, the State, private property and competition. The economic field is considered to be a closed list, surrounded by the impregnable forts represented by the rigid and crystallised institutions of private property and the State. Till the better half of the nineteenth century the economists occupied the supreme seat of the judge of the tournament. He had bound the hands of the State in fetters of his inexorable doctrine of *laissez faire*, so that the confusion, the combat, and the death in the melee within the enclosure, went unheeded. The victors were rewarded with golden band and the spectators cheered the victors among grave noddings of the judges and the united applause of the multitude. But the age of chivalry is gone. The impregnable forts have been demolished. The Police State does not stand by unconcerned but frames rules for those who enter the lists. It aspires to become the Socialist and even the paternal State. Yet the tournament continues though the forts crumble down, and the brazen and the iron laws, the barriers of the lists, are overthrown. And the economist will not desert his post. He hurls anathemas—'the sins of legislators', 'the evils of state interference', the vices of fraternalism and humanitarianism, the sins of private charity, 'panmixia' or degeneration, and other such curses of his school against those who are intruders; while the Queen of the tournament also allures by her smiles; and her smiles are the blandishments of a sense-born art, she smiles and she beckons, for she is the Siren of a faithless commerce. She exhibits her jewels,—and there are kingdoms and empires for the victors.

"But the East, the Mother of races and

religions, would build a sanctuary. The East knows nothing of chivalry and tournaments. In the shadow of the glacier-clad Himalayas, with the waves of the ocean beating on the southern shores, she has dreamt dreams other than those of the allurements of the senses. She had dreamt not of wealth and possessions, nor of power and pomp. The East has through ages loved creation and renunciation more than wealth and efficiency. The civilisation of the East has developed the instincts and desires to create and distribute, rather than to appropriate and exploit. The instincts to create and distribute are essentially harmonious, thus the East has sought to avoid conflict. The Socialistic State and private property are the great embodiments of the principles of appropriation and possession in the West. A decentralised polity and communalism are the great embodiments of the opposite principles in China and India."

India, which is justly called the cradle of Civilisation, is also the birth-place of all our "modern" ideas of Socialism, Communism and the like "isms." For, what else is Socialism if not the sacrifice of the individual in things like individual rights and liberties and individual or private ownership. Indeed, liberty becomes license if no check or restraint is placed upon it. In the ancient scheme of decentralised polity and communalistic structure of society the primary unit for all practical purposes was the autonomous village community, and we must remember that within the village community there were two important land-marks between the community and the individual—that of the trade guild and the joint family. So that the individual by himself was politically non-existent. So far as individual rights and liberties and powers were concerned, he was to completely merge and identify himself with the wider interest of society in order to find an expression for his individuality. That was the other extreme of complete annihilation or sacrifice of the individual for the sake of a harmonised society.

To resume our subject, however, let us notice yet another characteristic feature in India's genius and that is the universal application of the Law of the Golden Mean in every sphere of individual or social life. To the Indian, the 'right' means the "rectus" or the golden mean—for instance, living of life near to nature is encouraged, yet not too near; a marvellous simplicity in production exists up till today in the handicraft arts and industries, yet producing the best specimen of art and the most comfortable equipments of life that machinery has yet produced; keeping trade and production free and open for private competition, yet enjoining production on a scale above a certain limit by the community or the guild; again allowing interest as justifiable income, but prohibiting not only usury but also its permanence; again allowing the State to exist but decentralizing its machinery of Government by instituting autonomous village communities, and so on, and so forth. We may multiply any number of instances of this special genius of the East to fix the two limits between which a sane, normal, healthy development of men and human institutions can best take place—in short, instead of carrying individualism or utilitarianism too far, as is the chronic malady of the present-day, India had applied communistic principles to Individualism, which is the same thing as counteracting the lower nature by giving touches of idealism of the higher.

As, however, the theme which I have attempted to develop in this article could never be complete without an examination of the ancient scheme of organisation of society, known as *Varan Bhaiwastha*, I shall proceed to interpret it in modern terminology as briefly as I can. The ancient Indian lawgivers laid down that there were four natural divisions of society, much like the four

principal parts in the body of a man. They were: (1) the Legislature, (2) the Executive, (3) the Capitalist or the *bourgeoisie* class, and (4) the Labour or the *proletariate*. Each of these broad divisions of society was absolutely essential in its own way for the very existence of society, whatever be the system under which it is governed. Although the Western Pandits of State Constitution have so far divided the sovereign power of the state between three classes—the legislature, the executive and the judiciary—they have now begun to realize that the judicial is only a branch of the executive, and that the old convention of tripartite divisions of the machinery of government may be more profitably abandoned.

Thus one cannot really improve upon the aforesaid analysis of society into four broad divisions. Let us, however, be clear about the distinction drawn between the capitalist and the labourer. The former, we know directs the industrial production, rather, to be more precise, finances it; whereas the latter sells his labouring power—both mental and manual—in the labour market for what it is worth, and places it at the disposal of his employers. The distinction lies in respect of what the Roman jurists styled their character *Sui Juris* (independent) and *Alieni Juris* (dependent upon others). Now, we know, on analysis, that there are only three principal powers that control society and for which an individual may aspire, namely, that of Intellect, of Public Authority, and of Wealth. According to the ancient lawgivers these three powers should in the fitness of things belong exclusively to the respective orders, namely, the Legislator, the Executive man, and the Capitalist. As the head governs the body, so should wise men of the race lay down the law for the society; and as the arms

protect the body, so should the Executive protect the body-politic; and, lastly, as the stomach sustains the body, so should the capitalist class feed and maintain the entire community.

Happily now we may find some Western writers giving the same analysis of three principal ambitions by which an individual is actuated: (1) for Honour, (2) for Power, (3) for Wealth. But they have yet to acknowledge that in the paramount interest of society an individual must not be allowed to indulge in the pursuit of more than one ambition at one time. That is the most fundamental check to individual liberty, this sacrifice being demanded of the individual for the preservation of the life of the society. For otherwise we shall have a state of things as bad as in the present-day democracies.

According to the aforesaid principle the legislators will be aspirants for pure honour, so that their names may outlive them for making good and just laws of the realm, and they may not even aspire for the highest posts of the Executive. There shall be a complete separation of the executive and the legislative functions just as we have accepted the principle of the separation of the executive and the judicial, so that the moment a legislator has accepted a place in the ministry or the cabinet he is to be classed in a totally different category, that of the public servants responsible to the legislature for carrying out the laws as faithfully as he can. And just in order to emphasise their absolute change in status, if for no better reason, we may even take away from the so-called Government members in the legislature their right of vote for the time being.

However, this fine line of distinction between the legislative and the executive will fade away and lose its import-

ance the moment we have applied proper checks as prescribed by the ancient polity in order to ensure the return of the right kind of legislators. Some of these checks will be found succinctly given in the following quotation* :—

"The true *Brahmanic* or legislative order from our viewpoint, must be composed of those satisfying certain qualifications and by virtue of which alone eligible for standing at public elections. Who would deny that the legislators of the country must be selfless people, whose main qualification must lie in the height of their sacrifice and not their property acquisitions? To the true *Brahmana* or legislator the whole humanity must be akin to his family—he represents the idea of kingship: the father of the subject people. The spirit of renunciation, selflessness and sacrifice must be fully ingrained in his nature, the ideals of social service and public reform must be the stirring ideals within. The diffusion of Free education must be the great pastime of his leisure. And, above all, he must be the greatest apostle of the average standard of living or the minimum-comfort-wage being secured to the lowest unit of labour.

"To fulfil these qualifications, you may make a number of rules. For instance, he may be past the middle age having led a respectable family life of a spotless character. He must retire—renouncing all other sources of income or if there must be any, it must be devoted to the State or public weal. After serving for at least one term of election he would still for the rest of his life continue to receive the minimum comfort allowance, and would lead an ideal life worthy of example for others, and may be called upon to partake in any deliberations of the Government when so required. He would not be allowed to carry on any other business that may be a source of income to him . . ."

Now, it need hardly be said that the greatest cancer eating into the vitals of the present-day society lies in that the money-power as well as the political power is concentrated in one and the

* Taken from the Writer's book "The Labour Problem."

same hand, that termed the possessing or capitalist class. The legislature is 'practically "sold" to the capitalist class with the same result as if the head were to become the slave of the stomach instead of being its master. It is the disproportionate overgrowth in the stomach of the society that is devitalising the entire structure of society. What is the cure? The ancient lawgivers would say: Separation of the functions of each order and application of Socialistic checks inside its ranks. Let us always remember the Sanskrit text :

यज्ञाय सृष्टानि धनानि धाता यज्ञाय सृष्टः पुरुषो रक्षिता च ।
तस्मात्सर्वं यज्ञ एवोपयोऽयं धनं न कामाय हितं प्रशस्तम् ॥
एतत्सर्वार्थेन कैतेव धनं धनवतांवर ।
धाता यदाति सर्वेभ्यो यज्ञार्थमिति विदितम् ॥

(Mahabharata, Shanti, Ch. XXV)

of which the English rendering by no less reliable an authority than Shri Bhagavan Das is the following:—

"Manu's *Vaishya* (i.e., capitalist) gathers and holds wealth only for the use of others, not for his own luxury; and if he should start factories using machinery, it should be not in the individualist but the co-operation spirit, as if it were a state business, not his own." "So only will the evils of machinery be avoided," adds Shri Bhagavan Das in his "Science of Social Organisation or the Laws of Manu." Again, in the same book we come across the injunction of Manu, the Indo-Aryan lawgiver:—

सर्वं करेभ्यश्चकारो महावन्त्रप्रवर्तनम् ।
आत्मायै च कियारम्भो नास्तिक्यं चोपपातकम् ॥
(Manu, xi, 63, 64, 66)

"The starting and working of great machines and factories and also of mines, etc., by individuals, is one of the sins that rank next after the heinous ones (an Upa-pataka)."

But this picture of ancient India should not suggest to any one that India would still belong to an antediluvian age, or that she cannot adapt herself to modern conditions. Indeed, modern India has already given ample proof of her genius for Constitution-making, and the times are pregnant with prophecy that India will draw upon the same continued substratum of her own special genius and temperament and instead of adopting the modern exotic institutions wholesale, she will adopt and adapt them in her own fashion and evolve her own Constitution which will be the embodiment of all the newly-acquired wisdom of the West, and that treasured in the womb of her antiquity. Let me here point out the Scheme of Swaraj drafted by the late Deshabandhu and Shri Bhagavan Das, which I should submit, is very near to that Ideal. I would strongly advise all earnest students of State Constitutions and truth-seekers as well as well-wishers of humanity to make a perusal of that excellent scheme of polity, particularly with the notes and comments appended thereto by Shri Bhagavan Das.

Bande Matram,

The Ethics of Plato

BY

MR. RANGILDAS M. KAPADIA

IN the history of philosophy, one cannot mention a better period, marked with intellectual keenness, than the brilliant age of the wise Trinity—Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. There began in ancient Greece, an altogether new way of thinking, with Socrates. So, it is natural, that Plato as his successor, could not but be influenced by what Socrates had taught.

In the Socrates' philosophy or at least in his ethics, the most pregnant statement, that one ever comes across is that 'Virtue is knowledge.' Instead of entering into the controversy, whether virtue is knowledge or not if we accept it as a gospel truth and inquire, what knowledge is virtue, we fail to get any positive and decisive answer from Socrates himself.

This indecisive character and this vagueness gave rise to so great a controversy, in its interpretation, that it actually ended in the separation of his followers into many different schools.

Let us see, what Plato has to offer as the interpretation of this enigmatic statement.

There is not any controversy about the possibility of any knowledge. It had ceased along with the influence of the Sophists. To Plato, it was not the question, whether, what mind conceives to be reality, is only a cheat or an illusion of our respective faculties. He had perceived no difference in the world within him—his very mind—and the world without him. The phenomena and the perception, the subjective and objective

phases of life, were no less than identical to him. To revert to the old question of 'What knowledge is virtue' we must know what Plato holds to be true or scientific knowledge. His answer to this question is to be found in his theory of Ideas.

Plato's theory of Ideas is partly originated from the universal definitions of Socrates and partly from the view of the fleeting character of all objects of sense as maintained by Heraclitus. Plato says that the knowledge we desire is to be characterized by permanence and certainty. He takes up, as an object, a man. Now when we ask what is man we want the knowledge of the general facts and attributes of man which are common to all the individuals to whom we apply the term man. These constant attributes and facts, that are always permanent, immutable, invisible and rational existing in the hearts of the objects of our knowledge, are real, because, in the individuals, it is only these things, that present before us, when we see them. It is in virtue of these fundamental essences of the individuals, that the individuals are what they are. These essences, then, according to him, constitute reality, and therefore the knowledge of these essences, real and rational, is true or scientific knowledge. Again, only these essences of things, these general notions of them, are real and not the things that are the mere expressions of them.

Yet in any way this Logical Realism of Plato does not reveal to us the

distinctive ethical side of Plato. Though his philosophy relates to the whole of the universe of being, it ultimately tends in quest of 'the good,' the knowledge of which, according to him, is, in Socratic sense, Virtue. Now, then, let us see what is 'the good' with Plato.

According to Socrates, all rational activity points to same end. Now this activity is good in so far as it realises this end. Hence anything is good, in so far as it achieves this end. Therefore, the thing is what it is or at least what we call it, so far as it attains, what it is good for. It is in this way, Plato says that all things, 'realised their idea' in proportion as they achieved this end. But this end can only be good inasmuch as it helps to bring out the ultimate end or good of the whole universe. Therefore the ultimate ground of all reality is the ultimate end or good of the whole universe, and the knowledge of this ultimate reality, this ultimate good is the knowledge that is to be identified with Virtue. Of course, in this ultimate good is merged the 'human good,' which was the sole aim of Socrates to find, because man as a part of the universe, cannot have a good that is not included in this ultimate good. Socrates in spite of his dislike for the knowledge of the physical universe, had come to a conclusion that the whole universe was organised by Divine Wisdom for some Divine End. This Divine End of Socrates, Plato identified with his ultimate good, the knowledge of which would solve the problems of human life.

Now this very metaphysics of Plato leads him further on, from Socrates inevitably. According to him, the objective universe and the subjective nature of man are identical. The universe he divides in two parts, the rational real, unchangeable intellect or his ideas and the material the phenomenal element, which is irrational and unreal.

But if these ideas or the objects only of abstract thoughts are real and rational and the individual or the phenomenal nothing but the shadow of the real, the true life or the life of the virtue must be a life concerned only with the abstract ideas and not the mere shadowy manifestation of them.

So, man, the microcosm, is divided by him into two elements, according to the microcosm as conceived by him. In man, as in the universe, there is the real rational part in opposition to the irrational and the unreal part. The true life of man, the life of the mind, as distinguished from matter, in man, consists in pure and abstract contemplation of the reality. Now Plato holds that in every man there is a desire for his good, which in its highest unalloyed form becomes the longing for this contemplative life, the longing for true knowledge. This longing or desire, he says, is owing to a sense of want that once belonged to us, but which we remember only faintly. Therefore, he holds that in learning anything new, we have only a revival of the concealed memories of the soul, when it was not thus encircled by matter—flesh and blood—and when it was not polluted by the feelings and impulses. This shows to us that Plato believed, nay, not only believed but raised the great part of his grand ethical edifice on the principles of the immortality and the transmigration of soul.

The dualistic division of soul, to it, is in a sense threefold. To unite the return again to two extremes, the rational and the irrational, he had to bring in a connecting link in the form of the spirit. These, then, the Reason, the Spirit and the Appetites, are the three constituents of the human soul. It is Reason that should control, the two other elements, in man's life, inasmuch, as it is the real.

This remarkable step in the psychology of soul taken by Plato, brought

him to the idea of harmony in three different parts of the soul. To achieve this harmony, the irrational impulses are to be subordinated under the wise rule of Reason. Though at the same time he does not deny that Reason itself may sometimes go wrong and that these three parts are interdependent.

The corresponding three virtues, attributed to the three parts of the soul are wisdom, courage and temperance. And the 'harmony' of all these virtues is justice, his architectonic virtue. These virtues are also more or less due to his famous analogy of the human soul and a political society. In his ideal state, he held, there ought to be a governing class of philosophers and a warrior class, both of these having a higher place than the third class or the common herd of men the industrial class. In such a state the prosperity will be forthcoming, by the harmonious action of these three diverse classes. Every class must perform its proper function under due guidance and control. In the same way in the human soul, if all the three elements do their proper work, the lower two being always guided and controlled by Reason, there would inevitably ensue harmony.

In his after years, however, his views, as regards the position of temperance and courage seem to have undergone a partial change. In the 'Laws' he puts courage on a level with temperance and even his psychological analysis of the soul seems to become less important to him.

But virtuous life, as he thinks it to be, is only in the contemplation of the sage, in the knowledge of the absolute and that leaves no field for any exercise of virtue for men gifted with less capacities than the philosophers. Could they be denied virtue, because they happened to have less innate capacity? Plato in a way provides for them

by recognising a lower form of virtue, not from real knowledge but from what he calls opinion knowledge. Moreover Plato held that the state is responsible for the well-being of its subjects and therefore ordinary virtue for such men would be to rigidly and implicitly obey the laws laid down by the government. Plato's views of the control of the state over its subjects are so rigorous that it cannot but alarm a modern reader bred in the views of individual liberty.

But from Plato's view of human well-being it seems that he altogether came to ignore the sphere of sensible existence by which man is on all sides surrounded. Not so, it seems, at least from his later works. He does recognise the influence of this element, in man's entire life however unreal and irrational it may be to him. Is his harmony or his wisdom, the complete and only asset of human virtue? What is pleasure, the result of sensibility, to him, cannot definitely be known. He seems to have regarded this disturbing element—pleasure—in different relation at different times.

Once, asserting in one of his works (*Protagoras*) that pleasure is 'the good' he, as if by a freak of caprice, comes to deny it to be a good at all. Then later on he believed that pleasure was ever bound up with pain, as good, he thinks, can never be evil. The very import of the term pleasure has been different at various times. Sometimes he understood by pleasure, a transient and concrete phenomenon not having anything to do with real essential good. Sometimes he takes pleasure in the negative light of a mere satisfaction of painful desires. At other odd times, he says that a philosopher alone, can have real pleasure. But in his last days, he seems taking advantage of pleasure, by thinking that it would serve well as a bait for enticing men into virtuous life and hence he tried to prove an inseparable

connection between pleasure and good, though at the same time he seems to be congratulating himself, inwardly, that he is giving this unfair importance to pleasure merely for the sake of the vulgar many, because from a contemporary work of his own, which is more philosophical, we see that the idea of pleasure is altogether defeated. But to crown the whole, as if all these fluctuations had not been sufficient, he hesitates to deny all positive qualities even to purely sensible pleasures of coarser, sensual gratification. But if we rely upon his *Republic*, in which Plato is most himself, not only pleasure, but any sort of feeling is denied, a participation in reality.

But with all this ethical demonstration, can we ask Plato, why is a man to be censured for what does not lie in his power at all? When he believes virtue to be knowledge, vice is surely ignorance. But at the same time, it is something more than this mere negative idea. Vice is the disorder and the conflict of the soul, in which, the irrational in man predominates over the rational. This is, no doubt, a positive idea of vice, something more definite to grasp than the mere Socratic paradox would show us. Plato says that a man does wrong, owing to his previous bad volition. But how could the man have resisted the necessity or that which could not help happening? Again can we not urge against him, that how can his real, rational element, so far blind itself as not to distinguish from real good, the mere appearance of good, or how can anything that is not real, that is not rational, ah! that whichever does not exist, to influence, or more, to overrule the judgment of the purest part of the soul? Or in the words of Dr. Martineau, "Whence comes all that is not 'idea' in the objects of sensible experience? How do transiency and admix-

ture join themselves to essences intrinsically unsusceptible of them?" But to avoid this, Plato gives all the characteristics to his non-idea element, contradictory to those of the 'idea.' It exists only logically, as contradictories of his 'ideas' of which (the non-idea element), everything that is predicated of the ideas, is denied. Thus Plato has tried to give the description of this vast non-idea element in negatives. Thus in his absolute non-existence of matter, we can still trace a purely negative existence (to coin a new term) so as to account for its being the condition of effects, which would be absurd otherwise.

Ethics, in the views of those ancient thinkers, Plato included, is but a part of politics. "Man," says Aristotle, "is a political animal." And Aristotle treats ethics as only an introduction to politics. Now the ideal political state of Plato, is discussed in his *Republic* and from that we can get a clear view of the ethical aspect of man's nature. His conception of the ideal state may be only utopian, but it nevertheless lays down an ideal that is to be approached gradually, if not reached. From certain aspects, as such, unrelated, the ideal state seems to a modern mind a loathsome, filthy, abominable institution, but as an organic whole with all its parts connected with one another and with the peculiar moral rigour of the author's mind and the zest of his ethical phase of life, it cannot but claim a certain deference even from the most modernised reader. The very sentiments that seem irrational, narrow and even immoral to us, appear in their full moral and rational worth when we look from the standpoint of political and social life, doing its utmost to unite man with man, to do away with all that we call primitive passions of man that tends, ever and anon, to destroy the divine

thought and divine beauty. When once we look to the universe as in permanent struggle with the dark, unreal elements to bring out with all the force and brightness, the divine eternal Beauty, say, the beautiful, the divine and the real, is it not justifiable that man-society, must follow the microcosm and fling off all the narrow restrictions, to which it clings, in complete indifference to these higher motives? We cannot deny the claim of the universal Beauty and Perfection and that man as only a part of the universal can claim no higher interest than the universal.

But all the same, we cannot be blind to certain far-fetched ideas of the individual subjection to the universal. In his complete avoidance of any significant notice of the industrial class, there is no allowance made for them. They are conceived to be mere instruments, means, to the welfare of the state, without even legitimate ambition for them. Again in his advocacy of slavery, he

goes so far as to betray his pride, characteristic of the Greeks in his days, and to forget altogether his universal in the welfare of one little city-state. In his community of women and property, he mars the divine and the beautiful in every individual, without in the least promoting the ultimate Beauty. What is a state? Not assuredly not a mere collection of automaton. Wherein is the life, wherein is the reality in a state devoid of homes, devoid of pure affections, the seat of real beauty? He himself allows a moderate, well-guided and well-controlled flow of genial feeling in his idea of the virtue of Justice, which is 'the harmony of the three cardinal virtues.' But where is any feeling in the whole of his ideal state? The very 'harmony' of the state of Plato becomes inharmonious by the absence of this pure, tender, beautiful constituent of his harmony. In short in his *Republic*, he denies man to be a man.

Bolshevik Russia

BY

M. MAHMUDULLAH, BAR-AT-LAW

MY apology for this article on Soviet Russia is a very interesting interview I had with a globe-trotter. I shall faithfully record my impression of the conversation. I shall not speak in term of official truth—"that invariably overdressed lady"—but truth naked and blunt. I shall narrate how one hun-

dred and odd million human beings in Soviet Russia live, dress, love, bathe, marry, pray, gamble and act.

My fair informer with her mental camera had snapped the moving pictures behind the "Red Veil" with wonderful alacrity, penetrating observation, and rich humour. "I speak as an

Umpire" declared my informer as she straightened herself in the deep cushioned chair. "Picture to yourself a population of poor men in thick canvas sweaters of sombre shade with caps bearing the symbolic hammer and sickle. The women in rough stocking, ugly shoes, and in poor dresses, their head bedecked with the classic kerchief; their general appearance dignified and their complexion fresh. Herein you have an imperfect picture of the living Bolshevik.

"Are the children a state property," I enquired. "No; but your question revives tragic vision: As I was loitering about in the streets of over-populated Moscow and just about to say to myself that life here was really charming an infernal sound and a hellish spectacle startled me." "Was it the bewitching music of the Grand National Anthem of Soviet Russia, or the terrific rush of the world proletariat to celebrate the anniversary of their accession to power." I added sarcastically. "No, I refer to the jarring cries of the so-called state-children who rush about naked and famished afflicted with the most heinous diseases and a ready prey to the dissolute vice that must ultimately devour them. Indeed, the mortality amongst these children is so high that the evil will soon be sterilised."

"I pray you enough of the human miseries; India is full of colossal tragedies." "Well, then, to efface the dreadful vision from your mind I shall take you to the bathing 'ghats' of Soviet Russia. Here men and women have no qualms about bathing together without covering of any sort." Then with all the modesty she could command she whispered, "why I saw a beautiful flapper naked chatting with friends encountered by chance." Alas! she ejaculated "Virtue! thou art but a word."

"Is it correct that Lenin's body is preserved" I asked. "Lenin is kept in a crystal coffin, he seems to sleep, his mighty head rests on the crimson silk; the body is dressed in *khaki*, the lower part is wrapt in the flag of the Paris Commune. But this is Lenin the dead. I shall now tell you of Lenin the resurrected who acts for the screen. Basil Nikandráff—the double—is playing the Lenin in the great propaganda film of Soviet Russia which will shortly appear on the world screen. Basil possesses the same frontal protuberances as Lenin—the same two beauty spots."

"Is marriage recognised under the Soviet Laws?" I interrupted. "Marriage is by registration, formalities are nil. But in the chamber next to the Registrar's Office the clientele is made up of 'pregnant unmarried woman' or 'woman extra-conjugally pregnant': they come in accordance with the law to declare the name and residence of the father. The alleged father is given two months to disavow the paternity. Another horror is that abortion is legalised and the gynealogical surgeons are multiplying."

"Let me tell you of the Soviet prison and I insist again that I do not mean to exaggerate. The prisons are equipped with cinemas, music halls, political platforms, and on top of all this gaiety the prisoners get a fortnight off." "What, do you really mean to say that the prisoners get leave of absence," I added in utter astonishment. "Yes, the prisoner, get a week or a fortnight and the peasant prisoners get special agricultural leave of two months." "Indeed," I added, "the prisoners must feel the burden of liberty hang heavy as they march home out of the prison-house."

"What is the national recreation for the public?" I enquired. "Why, the

'Temples of Dust' provide ample latitude to the gambling public. The banker of these night dens is usually a sordid old chap who slips into his boots the fat 'Banco,' like the dainty ladies of Paris—the 'horizontal' as they are named—who have a knack of slipping into their stockings the 'little presents.' Then there is the race course of Moscow which robs the public of what little is spared to them by the night dens."

"A question on the state religion and I have finished," and I added very gravely: "Madam, the reading public of India will feel grateful to you for your illuminating information." "It is very kind of you to say so" and with a sweet smile playing on her rosy lips she remarked "please do not accuse me of blasphemy for I shall only state the actual facts. Of late there has been a reconciliation of

the Soviets with God, and naturally advances came from the Almighty; the placards announcing that 'religion is the opium of the people' are being removed. To be serious, the orthodox church has made its submission, and the Jewish Rabbis have also surrendered. There is no religion in Soviet Russia!"

Once more I thanked my informer for her courtesy and patience in helping me to remove the mystic veil and to introduce the living Bolsheviki to the Indian public. Now, judge them as you will, but remember, they are free men and freer women. Indeed, the Bolsheviki are hammering out a startling new mechanism in the field of political control: their experiment deserves our scientific study. Step by step they are constructing something unique and unpredictable.

THE TOY CITADEL:

A Ballad from the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore

BY

MR. NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

In Chitor the Lord Rana swore a mighty oath,
'Until I raise Bundi fortress to the dust
'Neither food nor drink shall pass my lips,
'So help me God who is ever just!'

'Alas! Lord King,' muttered the Ministers,
'Why make a vow that none can keep?'
Answer made the Rana, 'I may not take the fort
'But I can die and do peacefully sleep.'

In the dim distance frowned the fortress
And reared its proud head to the sky,
Held by doughty warriors of the Hara clan
Who drove the enemy far and nigh.

Said the ministers, 'Let us build overnight
'Another Bundi fort all of clay,
'So the Lord Rana may pull it down
'And level it with the dust at the peep of day.'

Among the Rana's retainers was Kumbha,
An aged veteran of the Hara clan;
As he returned from the chase, his bow slung
on shoulder,
Over the toy citadel his keen glance ran.

'Who will capture the mimic Bundi fort,' he
cried,
'And put the gallant Hara clan to shame?'
'Come who will I shall hold the fort
'For I am a warrior and I bear the Hara
name.'

Down on the sword he knelt beside the fort,
He swung his bow forward to his hand;
When the Rana marched down, hand on sword,
The Hara straightway bid him stand.

'Halt, there!' he thundered, 'who plays with
the name
'Of Bundi shames the mighty Hara race;
'I shall hold this lump of clay against all,
'For I come of the clan Hara and here is my
place!'

He twanged his bow, befitting an arrow,
He aimed straight at the Rana's breast,
And all around him Chitor's chivalry
With flashing swords and hurrying feet prest.
They slew him with the edge of the sword,
The severed head to the mudgate rolled away;
The blood of the aged warrior-martyr
Hallowed the mock citadel of clay!

Books of the Month

ESSAY-REVIEW CRITICAL STUDIES

"A Vicious Book" Denounced.*—By Mahatma Gandhi.

THREE correspondents have written to me urging me to give my opinion on a book called *Swami Dayanand: A Critical Study of His Life and Teachings*, by F. K. Durrani, B.A., Muslim Missionary. The author is the Secretary of Tabligh Literature Society, Lahore. A fourth correspondent has given me a copy of the book. One of them reminds me that I had no hesitation about expressing my opinion on *Rangila Rasul* and tells me that, therefore, I should have none in giving it on Mr. Durrani's volume. I have gone through the volume with as much patience as I could command, and I have come to the conclusion that it is a vicious, libellous book which should never have been written by a responsible man and published by a responsible society. The author protests in his Preface that he will approach his subject in a scientific and dispassionate spirit. But he breaks that promise in the Preface itself. He says: "We intend neither to praise nor to condemn." But in the very next page this is what he has to say on *Satyarth Prakash*. It "is a worthless book and the teachings and ideas contained in it are so absurd and so amusingly childish that one finds it hard to believe that a man who became the founder of such a powerful organisation as the Arya Samaj could be the author of such drivel." The author has not hesitated to accuse the great reformer of falsehood, trickery, incapacity and addiction to *bhang* "whose narcotic juice often kept him insensate." "The account of his life left by himself is 'pure fiction.'" "A pall of mystery hangs over his origin and early years." He has not one good word to say of the Swamiji or the Arya Samaj. He has gone out of his way even to abuse Hindus and Hinduism. But I may not multiply proofs. Almost every page of the book furnishes ample ground for condemning it. The author lets the

cat out of the bag in his concluding chapter. He says: "If we love our motherland, if we want to make India a great and a civilized country, it is our duty to wash it clean of the stains of ancient superstitions of Hinduism and reach out the healing of Islam to every child of the motherland. Islam is a conquering force and the Muslims were born to freedom and empire. Both can come to us, if we exert ourselves to expand our numerical strength. We are the children of the soil of India and we owe a duty to the motherland. Like other lands, she too should have a place of equality in the comity of nations. Hindu India will never be able to do that. She can be free and rise to power and glory only under the banner of Islam." And this cherished desire of his the author has sought to fulfil by dipping his pen in venom and reviling one of the greatest reformers of modern times, his writings and the great and growing sect of Arya Samaj and, incidentally, Hindus and Hinduism. I advise Mr. Durrani to reconsider his views, apologise for the libellous publication and withdraw it. This advice I venture to tender because in a public letter he says: "If any one can prove that the book has been written out of spite and to hurt, hereby I promise to withdraw even the present edition and will not bring it into the market. I have greater fear of my own conscience than of any Government, and my conscience is clear in this matter." If my testimony is worth anything, I can say that the book is bound to hurt every Arya Samajist and every Hindu, indeed every impartial man and woman not excluding Musalmans. If a tree may be judged by its fruit then this book is a fruit of spite.

Rasputin: The Russian Charlatan.†—By Mr. F. Hadland Davis.

More books have been written about Rasputin than any other Russian of

* *Swami Dayanand: A Critical Study of His Life and Teachings*. By F. K. Khan Durrani. (Tabligh Literature Society, Lahore), 1921.

† *Rasputin: The Holy Devil*. By Rene Fülöp-Miller. Translated by F. S. Flint and D. E. Tait. P. 11

recent years. The peasant has been lost sight of in the monster, and he has become a sinister legend that grows more and more fantastic with the passing of time. Hollywood, as was to be expected, made use of Rasputin and the long-haired, steely-eyed monk presented on posters. He has served the film world as the symbol of evil, and he has probably done much to swell the box-office receipts.

If Grigori Efimovitch Rasputin were quite as black as he has been painted, he would have been a little too bad to be true, but if we ignore half the stories about him, he stands out as one so tainted with lust, so vile in his so-called religious belief that we search in vain to find a parallel elsewhere. Herr René Pülöp-Miller claims to offer us "an unprejudiced investigation of all the available material."

The author asserts that "he was neither altogether a libertine nor a saint. He was a man of rich nature and exuberant vitality, endowed with many good qualities and cursed with many weaknesses, a man so many-sided, complex, and contradictory that an adequate delineation of his character calls for more exact and careful examination of all the pros and cons than anyone has yet attempted." Although Herr Pülöp-Miller has probably given us the best study of Rasputin, it is not, in some respects, an "exact and careful examination." Obvious fiction has been included, a certain religious sect incorrectly described, and the tragic end of Grigori Efimovitch is lacking in detail that has been given elsewhere. If this new interpreter, like most of his predecessors, has been caught in the blinding glamour of legend and paid too much attention to biased propaganda, he has, nevertheless, written a book of absorbing interest. It is possible, from the material he has given us, to sift fact from highly coloured rumour and learn a little more concerning a most elusive personality.

What was the secret of this Russian adventurer's power? He was illiterate, filthy in his habits and by no means prepossessing in appearance. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, we must face the fact that there was hardly anyone in Russia who could resist his influence. He pawed titled ladies with fingers greasy with food and they smiled lovingly upon him. The princes of the Church were worsted in argument with this Russian muzhik. The

Tsar more than once referred to him as Christ, while the Tsarina worked garments for him and took pleasure in sending him many letters. I am convinced that this monk's power was due to hypnotism. He deliberately set out to make his will abnormally strong. When he met strangers for the first time, he came close to them and fixed them with his piercing eyes. If there was opposition, he broke it down. If he detected a mild liking for him, he had a way of increasing it. Men, and particularly women, who came in contact with him, have frequently confessed that when this monk looked at them they became dizzy and faint, aware of a silent battle they were unable to resist. That, I maintain, was the secret of Rasputin's success. By it he gained almost incredible authority in those high places where ministers of state and religion were made and unmade, and by it, too, he gained his remarkable power over women.

Rasputin was the kind of libertine who made religion a cloak for his debaucheries. He professed to believe that the committing of sin, and by sin he meant the gratification of carnal desire, was necessary in order to gain repentance and salvation. Do evil that good may come was his teaching. He had only to play that tune, to emphasise with his lustful eyes that terrible creed and women succumbed to his will. We are asked to believe that they joined him in frenzied crowds, dancing and leaping in woods, and there committing the wildest abominations. Such stories are probably exaggerated, but we have documentary evidence for what went on in the "holy of holies," a dreadful mixture of depravity and madness.

There is good in all men, and occasionally even Rasputin attempted to leave the filth and struggle towards something better. Those who knew him intimately saw his face light up as if he caught a glimpse of things spiritual. We know from Tolstoy's wonderful *War and Peace* that writers struggle between good and evil. But the animal in Rasputin was strong. He seemed to possess in his person a whole jungle of beasts. Between drinking bouts and sexual indulgence he feasted and prayed, but he invariably returned in the end to his old belief that it was self-indulgence alone which pleased God.

This intelligent peasant, this lover of women, wine and song, this monk who could preach one moment and tell obscene stories another, who could guzzle like a pig and dance to the envy of the Imperial Russian ballet never failed to find time to pull the political strings of Russia. He raised himself from a humble Siberian peasant to one whose influence was boundless.

One of the most extraordinary incidents in Rasputin's life was the oft-told tale of his intercourse with the Tsar and Tsarina. Unfortunately that tale has been embellished with a most unjust scandal. It is to be hoped that the recently published *Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna* will give the lie to her base accusers. Rasputin came to Tsarskoe Selo in the hope that he might cure the afflicted little Czarevitch. The monk gave relief where doctors had failed, and his success was such that a grateful mother never ceased to express her gratitude to one whose faults she could not see. Perhaps Rasputin deserved to be put to death, but the crime was so treacherous and cowardly that it has caused many to sympathise with the victim. Poison, knife wounds, rifle shots and immersion in a river before the end came. Much has been made of this peasant's vitality, especially in the closing scene of his life. Herr Pölöp-Miller mentions it and observes that enough poison was used to kill many men, but he does not tell us that cyanide of potassium is only effective when administered in small quantities. So much was employed on that memorable occasion that it acted as an antidote, and was not the miracle some imagined it to be.

"I have nothing to do," said Rasputin, "but bang on the table with my fist for everything to go as I want it." He did a good deal of banging, and much came as he wanted it to come. It is a pity that he too often banged to and for the devil, and it is a pity that we allow him to bang out a posthumous reputation that is likely to become a permanent affliction.

Canada To-Day : An Annual Survey*

CANADA TO-DAY has only very lately been issued and this, the twelfth edition of this popular annual reference book on the Dominion, whose brightly-coloured cover now is so familiar, will be

found as useful as in previous years. It has more pages than last year—236 in all—and in these the conditions and opportunities of the vast territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific are even more attractively presented than ever. *Canada To-day* will commend itself to a wide public by reason of its handy size and its convenient arrangement. Appearing, as it does, at a time when so many people in Britain are considering the advantages of overseas settlement, it will be found particularly useful. Not only is its letterpress interesting but, from a reference point of view, it will be found accurate and comprehensive. As a result of publication at this time of the year, it has been possible to embody later official facts and figures than would otherwise have been possible.

The leading place is given to "Canada and World Peace," the full text being given of the important speech made by the Prime Minister of Canada at the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, last September. Next in the general section come articles on Canada's population, national wealth and climatic conditions. On a subsequent page the Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, describes "Canada's Most Prosperous Year," each of the aspects of national activity being reviewed in turn. Then come "Canada's Agricultural Wealth," "The Field Crops of Canada," "Canada's Forest Industries" by the Minister of the Interior and "Canada's Fishing Industry."

One of the sections which will appeal most to the general reader is that headed "Life and Work." It is introduced by an article entitled "Fostering Canadian Agriculture," by the Minister of Agriculture. There are also articles on "Canada, Land of Wheat," "The Canadian Wheat Pool," the live-stock and dairy industries, fruit-growing, and "An Average Prairie Farm." Subsequent pages are devoted to descriptions of life in Canada as experienced by settlers in various parts of the Dominion. The remainder of the section covers comprehensively the use of electricity on the farm, city life, education, professional opportunities, aviation, old age pensions, the employment situation, wages and hours of labour, and the family budget, while "Winter in Canada" sets forth the distinctive charms of an exhilarating season.

Canada To-day, 1929. Edited by R. J. Arnott, M. A. (The Canada Newspaper Company, Ltd., 26-27 Cockspur Street, London, S. W. 1), 1929.

(The Canada Newspaper Company, Ltd., 26-27 Cock-

Those contemplating emigration will naturally turn to the "Migration and Settlement" section. Here they will find first an article entitled "A New Home in a New Land," describing how to take advantage of the opportunities which Canada presents. Canadian immigration activities are concisely reviewed by the Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonisation; and the Director of European emigration emphasises the fact that the Dominion is all the time holding out a "glad hand" to British settlers. Other aspects of Canadian settlement that are dealt with are immigration regulations, home-steading, and opportunities for women and children.

In the section devoted to "Sport and Pastimes" the attractions of "A Holiday in Canada," for both tourist and sportsman, and the fascination of the Dominion's national parks and winter sports are set forth. A synopsis is also given of hunting, shooting and fishing regulations in the various provinces. The largest section in the book, extending to 61 pages, contains descriptions of the various provinces of Canada. The articles - practically all of which are signed - tell of the physical characteristics and progress of the different parts of the Dominion, and bring out the opportunities which they offer for the British settler or capitalist. The scope of these articles is indicated by their titles. At the end of the provincial articles is a 15-page gazetteer, giving particulars of the principal cities and towns.

The section devoted to "Finance, Investment, Insurance and Mining" commences with the text of the 1929 budget speech, delivered by the Canadian Minister of Finance in the Dominion House of Commons, in March last. An article of special

interest to people of moderate incomes, who think of migrating to Canada, is that giving particulars of income-tax in the Dominion. The important part played by the Canadian chartered banks, trust companies and life insurance companies is also indicated. The increased interest that is being taken in Britain in Canadian mining is reflected in the inclusion of an article on "Canada's Mineral Production" and a specially compiled list is supplied of leading mining properties.

"Industry, Trade and Commerce" is the next department of activity dealt with. The articles under this heading covering Canada's manufactures and principal industries, hydro-electric development, commercial progress, and British trade with Canada, Canadian railways and the principal steamship services to Canada are dealt with in the Transportation section. Newfoundland (which is, of course, not included in the Dominion of Canada) is described in a separate article. The volume concludes with lists of Dominion and Provincial Cabinet Ministers and officials and Canadian organisations in London.

As in previous years, the many fine illustrations - a number of which are full-page size - are among the chief features and attractions of *Canada To-day*. These, which number over 130, show practically every phase of life and activity. The volume should make as strong an appeal as its predecessors to intending settlers, tourists, sportsmen, businessmen and investors, as well as all those who have friends in Canada, and it should also find a place in reference libraries and offices, owing to its acknowledged value as an up-to-date and reliable reference book and an indispensable guide to current Canadian affairs.

Bird's-Eye-View Critical Notices

RECENT BOOKS OF REFERENCE

A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales. By J. Nield. (Elkin Mathews and Marrot, 54 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C. 1) 1929.

Ever since its first appearance—nearly thirty years back—in 1902, Mr. Jonathan Nield's *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* has been recognised as the classic work on this subject. It has passed through several large editions; but new matter was successively added in the form of supplements instead of being incorporated in the text. But the fifth edition now issued is virtually a new work, as it has not only been revised and enlarged, but almost rewritten and re-arranged throughout, and all the supplements have been now duly incorporated, and merged into one harmonious whole. The book covers the output of historical fiction up to the end of 1927, and the annotations and characterisations in it are the result of a careful, personal examination on the part of the compiler of each book so described. Over 1,400 novels have been weeded out, while 1,160 fresh entries have been added—with the result that 2,400 books are now dealt with. Making choice of the best fiction available for every period, Mr. Nield has always borne in mind that the word 'best,' as applied to any particular novel, must be interpreted in a wide sense—that of being the best of its kind. The book is thus the best bibliography on its subject and a work of exceptional value and importance, for those interested in the study of historical fiction. The book is printed on specially-made paper, and strongly and elegantly bound in cloth with gilt lettering. It contains copious indexes, which facilitate reference. It is an indispensable guide to the literature of historical fiction and no lover of it can do without Mr. Nield's comprehensive and well-arranged *Guide*.

Political Handbook of the World, 1 29. (Council of Foreign Relations, 25 West 43rd Street, New York, U. S. A.) 1929.

Last year the Council of Foreign Relations, New York, issued the first edition of *A Political Handbook of the World*. The wide appreciation it received has led to its being published in an enlarged and improved form, with the addition of a new section on the United States. Put shortly, the *Political Handbook* is a thoroughly up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the parliaments, parties and the press of the world. The information brought together, within its covers, is accurate and sound and will be of very great value to publicists, journalists and public men throughout the English-speaking world. The section devoted to India covers nearly four pages, and that space is rather short, but it gives within the limits assigned a succinct sketch of the Central Government, the parties in the Assembly and the press of the country which is conducted in English. In this last group we notice the omission amongst periodicals of the *Hindustan Review* and the *Modern Review*. As the value of a work like this depends upon its accuracy and abreastness of events, incidents and the latest changes, we hope the editors will get some qualified Indian publicist to revise carefully the Indian section for each new edition of this very valuable addition to the reference section of the literature of current politics.

The British Press: A Survey, A Directory and A Who's Who. Edited by H. Tracy. (Europa Publications, Ltd., 6 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C. 2) 1929.

Mr. Herbert Tracy's *The British Press* is, indeed, a highly useful work of reference, being a comprehensive guide to modern journalism in Britain, including organisation and finance and dealing also with the many changes that have lately taken place in the

control of newspapers and the scope of the journalist's work. Divided into five parts, it presents a general survey, a detailed sketch of the principal newspaper groups, a list of press institutions, a newspaper directory and a who's who in journalism. Designed thus to serve a wider purpose than an ordinary press directory, it will be found to possess a distinct interest and utility, as it is replete with facts and figures about combines, competitions, and all other subjects relating to the newspaper press in Britain.

Pears' Cyclopaedia. Edited by H. C. Barratt. (A. & F. Pears, Ltd. The Soap Works, Isleworth, Nr. London) 1929.

The 1929 edition of *Pears Cyclopaedia* is unique as a marvellous repository of general information for half a crown. We are not surprised to learn that as many as 2,600,000 copies of its earlier editions have already been sold. Its twenty-two sections, compiled by a dozen special editors, comprise almost every branch of knowledge of general interest. The new edition, under notice, which is a book of over 1,000 pages with coloured atlases, flags and maps, illustrations and diagrams, is an excellent compendium of universal knowledge. It has an English as well as a classical dictionary, and articles on a host of useful things, always being wanted or desired. The only friendly criticism we may offer is, that the type used is rather small, and it would be well if this one defect in an otherwise faultless work of reference could be removed in the next edition.

Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia. No. 21 for 1928. (The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Canberra, Australia) 1929.

This official publication—which is now in its twenty-first annual edition—is a repository of highly useful information relating to Australia. Detailed chapters are devoted to the history, physiography, political and local government, land revenue and settlement, over-seas trade, transport and communication, finance, education, public health, labour, wages and prices, defence, etc., of the Commonwealth; in fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year-Book*. It is thus an autho-

ritative book and in its pages every item connected with that country is carefully surveyed. In addition to the general chapters—enumerated above—each issue of this valuable reference work contains special articles dealing with some subject or subjects of both current and permanent interest—such, for instance, as is devoted in the edition under notice to the "private wealth of Australia." On going through this monumental work of reference, one realizes how backward the Government of India still is in the matter of organizing statistical data and information and their dissemination in public interest, in annual publications similar to those issued by the Governments of Australia, Canada and South Africa. We commend with pleasure the *Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* to the attention of Indian publicists and public men, who may be desirous of studying the system of responsible Government obtaining in the Australian Commonwealth. We notice that the present edition is the first to be issued from the new federal capital at Canberra.

LATEST ONE-VOLUME DICTIONARIES

Nuttall's Standard Dictionary of the English Language. Edited by W. J. Gordon. (F. Warne & Co., Ltd., Chandos House, Bedford Court, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) 1929.

We welcome the new, thoroughly revised and judiciously enlarged edition of *Nuttall's Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, which has been for over half a century a world-wide popular authority and the edition of which, just published, has been modernised throughout. The volume now contains over 125,000 references, the numerous excellent illustrations are entirely new, and the book has been re-set in a clear, legible type. Among the appendices at the end of the volume is one of particular interest on the pronunciation of foreign words. It is, in its present form, one of the best and most complete dictionaries issued for ordinary purposes of reference and it is eminently suitable for the home library. Completeness, combined with conciseness and clearness, make it the most convenient one-volume dictionary for daily use.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English. New edition by H. Fowler. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1929.

The recent completion of the *Oxford English Dictionary* has naturally led to the appearance of a carefully revised edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, which was first issued in 1911. As the editor points out in the Preface to the new edition, "a living language does not remain unchanged through twenty years and a great war." Perfectly true, and the result is that in the edition under notice, while "the object and the methods are what they were, detailed alterations are numerous, few pages being without them." The new book is bulkier than its predecessor; it is also fuller, more comprehensive and thoroughly up-to-date. Every one cannot afford to possess the monumental *Oxford Dictionary* at fifty guineas, but the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, which is based on the larger work—the greatest in English lexicography—gives the quintessence of it in one compact and handy volume and should be kept in every library—public or private.

The Essential English Dictionary. Edited by Ernest Weekley, M. A. (Collins' Clear-Type Press, 48 Pall Mall, London, W.) 1929.

Professor Ernest Weekley's *Essential English Dictionary*—which is very well got-up—is likely to prove useful to a very large circle of readers. Easily portable by reason of its handy format, it offers lucid explanation of over thirty thousand words, including the most recent additions to the English language, besides giving correct pronunciation of the words, vocabularies of classical and foreign words and phrases, lists of abbreviations, contractions, noted names in fiction, legend and mythology and tables of British weights and measures. Its plan is simple, which facilitates ready reference; the words are printed in thick, black type, and it contains the words which are the latest imports. Altogether, it is a capital, little dictionary—handy, compact, lucid and highly useful for its general information.

A Concise Etymological Dictionary of Modern English. By Ernest Weekley. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London.) 1929.

Professor Ernest Weekley's *Concise Etymological Dictionary* is an abridgment

of the author's *Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, published in 1921. The process of abridgment has been, however, carried out, not by omitting the less common words but by making the explanations as brief as possible and by abstaining from the discussion of unsatisfying conjectures. It contains the whole literary and colloquial vocabulary together with sufficient indications to show the origin of modern scientific terms. Account has been taken of what has been done in etymology in the last few years. A number of new words of quite recent introduction are here for the first time "booked" and explained and the result is an excellent work of reference.

Everyman's English Dictionary. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C.)

Everyman's English Dictionary is one of the latest additions to the reference section of Messrs. Dent's world-famous collection called "Everyman's Library." It is a convenient working dictionary, handy and easy of reference, clear and practical, giving within a short compass etymology, pronunciation and lucid explanation. Very neatly printed, in a format easily portable, it is one of the cheapest and best one-volume dictionaries of the English language and should find a large circulation.

Collins' New Pocket Dictionary of the English Language. (Collins' Clear-Type Press, 48 Pall Mall, London, W.) 1928.

Messrs. Collins are the publishers of a number of small but excellent and useful dictionaries. But perhaps their *New Pocket Dictionary* is the best of the pocket-sized ones. It is a book of reference for the general reader, as also a comprehensive and accurate manual for use in schools. In its compilation almost all the standard authorities in lexicography have been laid under contribution and so it is highly sound throughout. The typography is clear, the words are printed in bold letters and pronunciation is indicated in phonetic spelling. Altogether, it is a very useful work of reference.

LATEST INDIAN DIRECTORIES

The Industry Year-Book and Directory, 1929. (Industry Book Department, Keshub Bhawan, 22 Shambazar Bridge Road, Calcutta.) 1929.

The first edition of the *Industry Year-Book and Directory* is a highly useful publication, as it brings together in a handy form much valuable information about commerce, external and internal, trade and industries in India, including glossaries of Indian trade and market terms, products and markets, a gazetteer of market places in India, also of merchants, etc., arranged under appropriate heads, tables of money exchanges, a précis of commercial legislation in India, and much sound and accurate date on a number of subsidiary matters like commercial associations and technical institutions, besides supplying in the directory section about seven thousand addresses of manufacturers and traders. From this brief reference to the salient features of its contents, it is clear that the *Industry Year-Book and Directory* is a valuable and notable addition to the list of Indian directories. We hope it has come to stay.

Thacker's Directory of the Chief Industries of India, Burma and Ceylon, 1929. (Thacker, Spink and Co., Esplanade, Calcutta.) 1929.

Thacker's Directory of the Indian industries is now in its thirty-eighth year of publication and is a well-established work of reference. Its scope is comprehensive containing as it does full particulars of tea, coffee, rubber, indigo, tobacco and other companies, with their estates and gardens; coal, copper, gold, lead, manganese, ruby, salt and tin mines; cotton, jute, flour, oil, paper, rice, silk, sugar, woollen and other mills and factories with illustrations of factory marks when such are available. In addition there is an alphabetical list of residents connected with the chief industries of India, Burma and Ceylon, and an index to every factory, company and garden mentioned in the body of the *Directory*, which is compiled with the greatest care. The information is most reliable.

The Burma Year-Book and Directory, 1929. (Modern Publishing House, Rangoon.) 1929.

The *Burma Year-Book and Directory* is a highly useful work of reference, its contents

being of an almost encyclopedic character. It supplies accurate and up-to-date information on diverse topics—ranging from agriculture, industry and commerce to education, railways, archaeology and sports in Burma. Rangoon is naturally exhaustively dealt with—full particulars being given about the city, its institutions, and the port and its import and export trade. The Rangoon directory furnishes addresses of gazetted and non-gazetted officers, landowners, businessmen, and gives interesting information on the world-famous pagodas of Burma, steamship service, schools and colleges, hotels and boarding establishments, customs, and many other topics. The book will thus serve as an invaluable guide alike to the tourist as well as the businessman who desire to learn all about Burma.

Hand-Book and Directory of the Concrete Industry in India. (The Concrete Association of India, Telephone Buildings, Home Street, Bombay.) 1929.

The *Hand-Book and Directory of the Concrete Industry of India* is one of the latest and most useful additions to the growing list of Indian directories. It is divided into two parts. The Handbook section contains chapters on Portland cement concrete-making, concrete roads, cement macadam roads, concrete product, tables and memoranda, an extensive bibliography, and much other accurate information, while the Directory section supplies data about architects, consultants, engineers and contractors specialising in concrete construction, dealers of materials and machinery, products manufacturers, etc. The book is well put together for a first edition and the Concrete Association deserve felicitation on the compilation of this *Handbook and Directory*, which we hope to see issued, revised and improved, year after year.

Indian States Register and Directory, 1929. (Indian States Register and Directory Office, Egmore, Madras.) 1929.

In a sense the *Indian States Register and Directory* is the most important addition to the list of Indian directories made during the current year, dealing as it does with Indian India. There has been a wide demand of late in British India for detailed and accurate information regarding the Indian States, their administration and their

progress. And so this useful publication on the India States supplies a long-felt want, as it is a year-book and a book of reference in one, and should thus prove a valuable addition to the reference literature dealing with the States. The speeches of the Viceroy and various Indian Princes, made during the last twelve months, are reprinted in it, and they give the reader an idea of the aims and aspirations as well as the disabilities and grievances of the rulers, though they do not give any indication of the wrongs under which the States' subjects suffer. But the portion of the volume containing accounts of proceedings of States' People's Conferences purports to present the case of more than seventy million Indians in Indian India for constitutional progress towards responsible Government, and this is even more valuable than the section devoted to the viceregal and the princes' speeches. The book furnishes highly useful data on many other connected topics, and taken as a whole it is a very valuable addition to reference literature dealing with Indian India.

The Coorg Directory. By P. M. Muthanna. (Published by "Kodagu Press," Mercara, Coorg.) 1929.

The Coorg Directory is written mostly in Canarese and partly in English. It gives useful information about the country, its people, their customs, manners, the chief town, rivers and various places of interest. The book also gives the local reader an interesting account of the various religious and political movements. We would suggest that for the benefit of that large section which does not know Canarese, the next edition be issued wholly in English.

The Bengal Nagpur Railway Directory. (Kidderpur House, Calcutta.) 1929.

The Bengal Nagpur Railway has brought out a *Directory of Commodities*, compiled with the object of bringing traders and consumers throughout the country into touch with vendors of various commodities, which can be obtained from stations on their railway system. The information contained in the publication, which will be revised from time to time to keep it up-to-date, will be highly useful to dealers and purchasers.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

The Hindu Code. By Sir Hari Singh Gour, Third edition. (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta.) 1929.

We extend a hearty welcome to the third edition of Sir Hari Singh Gour's well-known and standard work—*The Hindu Code*—which has well-nigh eclipsed all other books on the subject it deals with. This is not surprising since in presenting the whole of Hindu Law in the guise of a Code, Dr. Gour achieved what at least three Royal Commissions had reported as impossible and which the late Mr. J. D. Mayne—a great authority—regarded as only possible in the age of miracles, which he wrote, had passed. That Sir H. S. Gour's *Hindu Code* is the most exhaustive, as it is the most lucid and accurately drawn, is now acknowledged on all hands. It has been the subject of high encomiums in many competent circles, and it is the most useful reference book upon all subjects within the compass of Hindu Law, as administered in our courts. The fact that two large editions of this great work went out of the press within a few months of their appearance is a striking testimony to its popularity with the profession. Nevertheless, the author has striven to make each edition more perfect than its predecessor, and the edition under notice is well-nigh perfect. Of Dr. Gour's legal works, the *Hindu Code* is his *magnus opus*—the largest and the greatest book ever written on the subject. Sir H. S. Gour's work is not only the most comprehensive on Hindu law, but it is the most authoritative and it is the only work which sets out and discusses numerous points still uncovered by cases. Even upon points covered by cases it is the only work whose accuracy is beyond question. The first edition of the book was noticed in the *Hindustan Review*, in 1919, in highly appreciative terms; as also the second edition issued in 1923. The new edition of this monumental work is a marvel of completeness, it having been judiciously revised up to the latest date of publication. *The Hindu Code* is an indispensable treatise for the Bench and the Bar and neither a judge nor a lawyer can do without it. But the book is now literally weighty and it should be printed on India paper in its next edition, to reduce its weight and bulk.

Trevelyan's Hindu Law in British India. Third edition, by T. Chatterjee. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.) 1929.

The late Sir Ernest Trevelyan's *Hindu Law as Administered in British India* has reached a third edition under the competent guidance of Mr. T. Chatterjee, and it will be welcomed by those for whom it is primarily intended—namely, students of the subject. It is not a competitor with Dr. Gour's *Hindu Code* in comprehensiveness of scope and exhaustiveness of treatment. But as a codified summary of the subject it deals with, it has a distinct value and utility of its own. It is put together with remarkable clarity of expression, the notes (though brief) are not only elucidative but illuminating, the references are absolutely accurate, and the work is exceedingly useful. In nineteen chapters the book offers both to the students and the lawyers all that they may reasonably expect; since it gives a detailed statement of the law in a short compass, while the annotations supported by authorities are exceedingly helpful. Suitable headlines and marginal notes add to the usefulness of this excellent treatise, which is well-printed and bound and is carefully indexed. Thus in its present carefully revised and thoroughly overhauled form, Trevelyan's *Hindu Law* will continue to hold its own as the most useful work on the subject for the student.

Sarkar's Civil Procedure Code. Seventh edition (two vols.) Edited by P. C. Sarkar. (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta.) 1928.

Sarkar's *Civil Procedure Code* is not only perhaps the bulkiest and weightiest edition of the adjective civil law of British India, but also the most exhaustive, the most comprehensive and the most minutely detailed. Since its first appearance in 1894, it has successfully stood the test of competition and criticism and by its sheer merit now ranks as the leading text-book and authoritative work on civil procedural law. The present edition, which gives reference to the various decisions of the several superior courts and points out the conflicting decisions, will be of great use to practising lawyers, as it has been thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date. The new features are the inclusion of the letters patent of all

the High Courts, the High Court rules, as also all amendments made since the previous edition. The commentary under the several sections begins with legislative changes, if any, and then follows the discussion of the several aspects of the section with relevant case-law under it. It may safely be acknowledged that in thoroughness, clearness, accuracy and systematic arrangement, it is second to none, while as a well-arranged store-house of the living case-law on Civil Procedure, it has scarcely an equal.

Masters of Crime. By Guy Logan. (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 34-6 Paternoster Row, London.) 1928.

Mr. Guy Logan's *Masters of Crime* is the latest addition to the publishers' "Library of Crime." It is a very careful and exhaustive study of the most notorious malefactors in the murder annals of England and France. New light is thrown on the "Ripper" mystery, while the true story of Troppmann's murder of the Kinck family near Paris is related for the first time. The author discloses many facts, hitherto unrecorded, bearing on the criminal careers of Edgar Edwards, John Owen, the Denham murderer, the infamous Deeming Gleeson Wilson, the Liverpool monster, and the French miscreants, Lacenaire, Avinain and Caillard. It is thus a work of unique value and surpassing interest—a notable contribution to the science of Criminology and an interesting addition to the literature of crimes and criminals.

Curious Trials and Criminal Cases. By E. H. Bierstadt. (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 34-6 Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) 1929.

In his *Curious Trials and Criminal Cases*, Mr. E. H. Bierstadt has put together a very interesting collection, in which he has taken care to avoid the commonplace and the usual. The trials contained herein are, for the most part, not to be found in any other collection in print. They range from the trial in the London of Charles II, of that brilliant malefactor, Count Konigsmark, for the murder of Thomas Thynn, to that of Robert and Bastien, in the Paris of the 19th century, for doing away with Madame Houet; and from the amusing story of the abduction of young Miss Ellen Turner by

the Wakefield brothers to the case of Mr. Scopes of Tennessee, who, like Socrates, was tried for teaching heretical doctrines to the youth of his time. Thus *Curious Trials* presents an interesting and representative collection of crimes, which are made even more dramatic through the inclusion of much of the verbatim testimony. Mr. Bierstadt's book is a valuable acquisition to the literature of trials.

Famous Irish Trials. By M. McDonnell Bodkin, K. C. (James Duffy & Co., Ltd., 38 Westmoreland Street, Dublin, Ireland.) 1928.

We are glad to receive a copy of the new edition of Judge Bodkin's *Famous Irish Trials*, which on its first appearance was appreciatively noticed by us. In it—which has two new chapters—the author has brought together a number of famous Irish trials, including the *Times* Commission, the trial of Parnell and the Kilmainham prisoners, the trial of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien in Manchester in 1867, and of Michael David at Sligo on a charge of sedition. The inclusion of an amusing breach of promise case and an extraordinary will case help to infuse the book with humour. As a leading counsel and distinguished Judge, the author writes from inside knowledge and judicial experience and his book makes highly interesting reading—nay, even thrilling.

The Trial of Jesus Christ. By the Right Hon. Lord Shaw. (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street, London.) 1929.

It is, indeed, a notable book—*The Trial of Jesus Christ*—by Lord Shaw. The series of articles, on which this little book is based, appeared sometime back in that well-known literary periodical—*John O'London's Weekly*—and created very great interest. They fully deserved re-publication, as in unravelling the tangle of the legal side of Christ's trial, Lord Shaw has brought to bear upon his task great tact, and the ripe judgment of a trained lawyer and a veteran judge. The result is a splendid, non-technical dissertation on the lessons of that epoch-marking trial, which are of great value even to us in the twentieth century.

Charles Dickens as a Legal Historian. By Dr. W. S. Holdsworth. (Yale University Press, New Haven, U. S. A.) 1928.

Dr. Holdsworth's *Charles Dickens as a Legal Historian* is a highly interesting disquisition on the English legal system in Dickens's time. We find in these lectures a refreshingly new view of the works of the great English novelist, presented by an eminent legal authority, enlivened by picturesque quotations from the masterpieces of Dickens. Characters of the early British law-courts move through the pages, and the life of the barristers, clerks, and officers is recreated in diverting reading that throws light on the progress achieved in modern processes of justice. A volume of interest and value alike to lawyers and to all lovers of Dickens, it should appeal to a very large circle of readers other than lawyers as well.

The Civil Court Manual: Imperial Acts. Second edition. Two vols. (Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras.) 1929.

The first edition of this work was issued in one volume in 1919. The second edition, in two volumes, is an encyclopaedic work on the civil statutes of British India, and worthily sustains the deservedly high reputation of the Madras Law Journal office for issuing standard treatises on Anglo-Indian law. The two volumes of the new edition of *The Civil Court Manual* extend over 2,600 closely but clearly printed pages and furnish the latest amended texts of all the principal civil statutes applying to British India, embellished with introductions containing copious extracts from the statements of objects and reasons, reports of select committees, as well as rules and orders in respect of all important enactments, with elucidative notes embodying case-law brought down to the current year. For these reasons, it is out-and-out the best, most compact and most handy collection of British Indian (civil) statutes and no judge or lawyer can do without it.

LATEST GUIDE BOOKS FOR TOURISTS

Twentieth Century Health and Pleasure Resorts of Europe, and Traveller's Pocket

Reference and Note-Book. (Anglo-Continental and International Offices, Editorial Department, 3 Boulevard De Grancy, Lausanne, Switzerland; also Kennan's House, Crown Court, Cheapside, London, E. C.) 1929.

These two publications are of very great value and utility to travellers in Europe, especially those in search of health. *The Twentieth Century Health and Pleasure Resorts of Europe* is now in its 29th annual edition—judiciously revised and carefully brought abreast of the latest changes. It is replete with sound and accurate data for the benefit of the international travelling community on continental resorts, sanatoria and their attractions, practical information about hotels, pensions, banks, agencies and shops, also details about baths and medical establishments, and lastly particulars about continental schools and other educational institutions. But the volume is by reason of its big and unwieldy format not portable; hence the supplementary work noted below.

The Traveller's Pocket Reference and Note-Book is an ideal companion for continental travellers. Issued in a handy size, which can be easily carried in coat pocket, it contains all the useful information embodied in the larger volume, and has in addition schematic maps and blank pages for travel notes, which may be used as a diary of the tours undertaken. Thus the traveller will find it highly informative. He will find in it facts about most of the health or pleasure resorts of Europe, sporting facilities, sights, car routes, maps, hotels, schools, and practical advice. We have great pleasure in commending it to the prospective travellers to the various countries of Continental Europe.

Landmarks of the Deccan. By Syed A. A. Bilgrami, Acting Director of Archaeology and Assistant Secretary to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. (Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.) 1928.

Mr. Syed Bilgrami's *Landmarks of the Deccan* is a comprehensive guide to the archaeological remains of the city and suburbs of Hyderabad. The Nizam's Dominions are enormously rich in antiquarian remains and under Mr. Yazdani much valuable research work has already been accomplished. The present volume gives fresh evidence of the keenness with which the

activities are being carried on. It is the first instalment of a complete descriptive list of books to come. It contains descriptions of seventy-six monuments ranging from isolated inscriptions to whole structures such as the Mecca mosque and the Golconda Fort. The inscriptions are given in full, with translations, and detailed historical and other notes. Many of the illustrations are reproductions from rubbings of the inscriptions, many of great beauty and value as specimens of calligraphy. This book will be of great service to students and research workers of the Muhammadan period in the Deccan. It will also enable hurried tourists to "do" Hyderabad in the course of a couple of days or so.

Passing Through Germany. (Terra-mare Office, 23 Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, Germany.) 1929.

Printed and published in Berlin, *Passing Through Germany* is a capital annual guide-book (in English) to that great country. The edition under notice (for 1928-29) is the fifth annual publication. It deals not only with the scenes and sights of the important cities, but also natural scenery, religious art, music, aviation, automobilism, city life, ports, industries and scientific studies. Very neatly printed, well got-up, beautifully illustrated, and embellished with maps, *Passing Through Germany* is not so much a guide-book as an almost ideal supplement to Baedekers. The contributor's Who's Who shows that the book has been written by experts; hence why it is not only accurate, sound and informative, but also readable and interesting.

The All-India Time Table. (Railway Department, Government of India, Delhi.) 1929.

At last—at long last—we have a comprehensive, official guide to the whole railway and other transport system of India, Burma and Ceylon, and a good one at that. It is exceedingly well compiled by Mr. A. W. Bruce Joy—Assistant Transportation Superintendent of the G. I. P. Railway, Bombay, to whom are due our thanks and felicitations. The *Time Table* is evidently modelled on the general arrangement of the "Easi-find." The result is a highly useful publication which will be of very great value to the travelling public in this country. In

addition to the time and fare tables, several features of considerable utility to travellers are included, e.g., the tabular index and the hill stations, hotels and public conveyances sections. A comprehensive volume of 600 pages, its usefulness is appreciably increased by there being embodied in it an excellent railway map. It is to be issued twice a year and is cheaply priced for its excellent get-up at one rupee a copy.

Guide to Lucknow and the Residency. By E. H. Hilton. (Methodist Publishing House, Hazrat Ganj, Lucknow.) 1929.

Mr. E. H. Hilton was the last survivor of the siege of Lucknow and his *Guide to Lucknow and the Residency* has been for many years before the public, as admittedly the best handbook for the tourists to the capital of Oudh. Recent changes had made it more or less out of date. We are, therefore, glad to find it carefully revised and judiciously overhauled. It is now fully up-to-date, and is completely abreast of the latest changes and improvements. In its present form, it is likely to continue to hold its own as the best guide to visitors to Lucknow—past and present.

Handbook to Matheran. By V. B. Dabake, Headmaster, Washi Talagga Pen, District Kolaba, Bombay Presidency.) 1929.

Mr. V. B. Dabake's *Handbook to Matheran* saw the light in 1924 and was appreciatively reviewed by us at that time. The second edition, now issued after five years, is very much improved in every respect—format, get-up, accuracy and up-to-date-ness of information. Matheran is the nearest hill-station to Bombay and Poona, connected with both these populous and important centres, by a light railway from Neral—a midway station on the main line. This beautiful summer retreat is justly regarded as the glory of the Sahyadri range and is naturally a very popular resort in Western India. Mr. Dabake's *Handbook* is an excellent manual—historical, practical and informative; and withal well-illustrated. It is a capital little guide.

Delhi, Its Story and Buildings. By Sir Henry Sharp. Second Edition. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929.

The first edition of Sir Henry Sharp's *Delhi* was noticed in terms of appreciation

in the *Hindustan Review*. In the edition under notice a new chapter has been added on New Delhi, and the appendix dealing with means of transport has been revised and brought up-to-date. The chapter on New Delhi—"the eighth city" as Sir Henry calls it, in continuation of the seven traditional cities on the site of Delhi—is unfortunately much too short and borders on perfunctoriness. It may be usefully enlarged in the next edition. For the rest, the book is a valuable supplement to guides to Delhi, giving as it does an accurate and interesting sketch of the history of Delhi and of its famous and historic monuments and buildings.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

The Tree of Life is the latest addition to the literature of anthology. (Constable & Co., Ltd., 10—12 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2.) This anthology consists of five hundred and forty extracts from the writings of the great poets, philosophers, and religious thinkers of the world. The editors have spread their net widely and the selections come from diverse sources. Extracts from works of foreign authors are given for the most part in translations, many of which have been specially made for this volume. The scope of the work is thus comprehensive. The plan of the collection is a new one. The extracts have been chosen not only for aesthetic reasons, but also because of the ideas expressed in them. Because the collection is designed mainly for English-speaking readers, it naturally gives prominence to English authors. But within these limits the editors have produced an anthology which performs an entirely different function from that for which any other modern collection is designed. At the same time they hope that they may be the means of introducing to their readers a number of authors whose works are practically unknown to the general public, and that their book may also give a new freshness to many famous passages by showing them in a religious and philosophic rather than in a purely aesthetic or historical setting. Thus *The Tree of Life* is one of the best collections for serious students.

The three latest additions to the literature of journalism are Mr. A. F. Thorn's *Journalism To-day* (W. & G. Foyle, Ltd., Charing Cross Road, London, W. C. 2) which is in its third edition, Mr. C. W. Carter's *Secrets of Your Daily Paper* (Cassell & Co., Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, London) and Mr. H. Tuite's *Profits of the Pen* (The Gregg Publishing Company, Ltd., 36-8 Kingsway, London, W. C. 2). Now the aspiring journalist, to whatever branch of the profession he (or she, for there is a special chapter for the woman journalist) aspires, will find all he wants in *Journalism To-day* by that capable and qualified journalist—Mr. A. F. Thorn. This small book is full of practical hints for the aspirant in journalism. The treatment of "Captions" and "news-gathering" is specially illuminating. The account of several successful "scoops" of prominent papers in England is an interesting study. The writer also treats of commercial journalism and draws out the special characteristics of English, American and French journalism. On the whole, the brochure is a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on journalism. . . . Mr. Carter's *Secrets of Your Daily Paper* makes romantic reading and contains information of considerable utility to the aspiring journalist, as it tells him how news is gathered, written up, printed and published—furnished with a wealth of practical detail on the technique of reporting and sub-editing. . . . Mr. Tuite's *Profits of the Pen* deals with literary journalism and gives sound guidance on writing short and serial stories.

The latest addition to McDougall's series of educational text-books (McDougall's Educational Company, Ltd., 8 Farringdon Avenue, London, E. C. 4) is *Practical Grammar* by Mr. C. F. Allan. The system adopted in it is entirely different from what we found in nineteenth century text-books on grammar. It is modern, scientific and up-to-date, and will form a highly suitable medium of communication of knowledge of the subject to young students. . . . A new edition (fifth, revised) of Miss Rosaline Masson's *Use and Abuse of English* (James Thin, 55 South Bridge, Edinburgh) is welcome, as it is one of the best books on the subject it deals with. Its popularity and success are evidenced by the fact of its having passed through five editions.

German Primer and German Course, Part I, by Mr. G. M. Jadav (Bombay Book Depot

Girgaum, Bombay) are excellent introductory text-books for those studying German. The first book contains 28 pages, and is meant primarily to give the student a fair knowledge of pronunciation and the common German words, as occur in every-day conversation. The book, as a guide to German pronunciation, has the special feature of having the pronunciation given in Devanagari. The second one in 40 pages—which is to be followed by other parts—offers information which is absolutely necessary, and by avoiding all complex rules and exceptions, the writer has made it the main object of the book to enable the student to read and understand German as quickly as possible. The books, therefore, will be found highly useful by students of German.

A nice little anthology is Mr. H. Herd's *An English Prose Treasury* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.) Intended primarily for writers who want to study English style of the various periods, it also serves yet another great object, that of an interesting introduction to the glory of English prose, containing as it does representative selections from Bacon to authors so late as Pater and Stevenson. . . . Yet another anthology—confined to a single author, Havelock Ellis—is Mrs. Herbert's *Art of Life* (Constable & Co., 10-12 Orange Street, London). The book is composed of the choicest gleanings from the works of Ellis.

Messrs. Walter J. Black Company (171 Madison Avenue, New York, U. S. A.) are a most enterprising publishing firm, whose activities deserve very wide appreciation. They have lately directed their enterprise to the issuing of the complete works of famous authors (in the original or translation into English) in one volume, by means of using India paper. The result is that the complete works of voluminous authors are rendered accessible in one handy volume, pre-eminently portable in one's hand-bag. Thus we are provided with excellent one-volume collections of the works (poems, stories and essays) of Poe (the greatest American detective story-writer), "O. Henry" (the most popular short-story writer), Maupassant (the greatest French short story-writer) and Voltaire (the French classic). The texts offered range between 1,000 and 1,500 pages, but the books are nonetheless, marvels of neat printing and graceful get-up. These books should be highly popular.

The first three books by Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukerji (to be published in England) *Caste and Outcaste*, *Kari the Elephant* and *Jungle Beasts and Men*, though they were keenly appreciated by a limited public did not at once secure that widespread success which critics had foretold. With the publication of *Gay-Neck* in 1928, however, and the announcement that it had been awarded the American Library Association's Newbery medal for the "most distinguished children's book of the year," Mr. Mukerji was recognised alike as a writer of great originality and distinction. By birth an Indian, he possesses a keenly sympathetic knowledge of life in the jungle. And in the language of his adoption he writes with a simplicity and command of style which has won almost unqualified praise. His latest work called *Ghond: the Hunter* (Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) is the story of the hunter, Ghond, who has appeared in several of Mr. Mukerji's books. And in this story will be discovered the same beauty and simplicity of narrative which won for the author's previous books high appreciation in America and Britain.

In his *National Anthems and Other Songs of Freedom*, the compiler (Mr. R. K. Prabhu, 21 Dalal Street, Bombay) has put together the most representative collection, we know of, of the patriotic songs of the various peoples. Mr. B. G. Horniman pointedly remarks, in his admirable foreword to this book, that "India has not yet got a really national song of the kind that it ought to have" and the varied songs in this book vindicate his assertion. "Bande Mataram" of hallowed memory is a noble song and a marvel of literary achievement and so is Dr. Tagore's "Morning Song of India" but a truly national song is essentially martial and India has yet to find her *La Marseillaise*. But it is gratifying to find that most of the songs of Indian nationalism, are found in this book. This small but excellent anthology is unique as the only collection of its kind and should command a large circulation.

In his *Town Planning in India* (Oxford University Press, Bombay) which is the latest addition to the "India of To-day" series—Mr. J. M. L. Bogle, who is Chief Engineer to the Lucknow Improvement Trust, writes with considerable knowledge and experience on a subject of very great importance to our civic and industrial life.

Writing from an intimate knowledge of Indian town-planning, the author lucidly describes the principles and method of town improvement adapted to the conditions of India, and also lays down practical proposals in the form of rules, points out lessons which might with great benefit be studied by municipalities, who, working on these lines, could effect improvement which would do credit to themselves and greatly benefit the inhabitants. Altogether, it is a capital little book on Indian town-planning and merits serious attention.

Mr. L. Dudley Stamp's *The World* (Longmans, Green & Co., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta) is a new, carefully revised edition of the book, first issued in 1926. It is one of the most comprehensive works on the subject of general geography. Though primarily intended for Indian schools, it will be nonetheless highly useful throughout the English-knowing world. It deals with all phases of geographical study—physical, physiographical, ethnological, ethnographical and regional. The information given is sound, accurate and fully abreast of the latest changes due to the great war and other causes. It is thus a first-rate textbook for Indian students.

Mr. K. Iswara Dutt—in spite of his bearing a Bengalee name—is a young Andhra journalist, who has reprinted in his *Sparks and Flames* (219 Arimuthu Achari Street, Triplicane, Madras) his sketches of thirteen "Andhra" public men—who in the olden days would have been called "Telugus." These pen-pictures are bright and sprightly and they fully deserved resuscitation from the pages of the periodicals in which they had originally appeared. Obviously one cannot be expected to agree with all that is said here of the lucky or unlucky thirteen. But that does not matter. The fact remains that the writer has got something interesting to say about them and he says it in terms which will appeal to the reader. He writes with a genial enthusiasm which is infectious and betrays a rare insight in his appreciation of the thirteen Andhra worthies. The result is a suggestive, little book in which are presented in bright and vivid colours the careers of Telugu social and political reformers, educationists, journalists, publicists and public men—marked by sympathy, knowledge and shrewdness.

Mr. Upendra Nath Barooah (of Jorhat,

Assam) has brought considerable enthusiasm to bear upon his work called *A Glimpse of Assam, Past and Present*. Though a session of the Indian National Congress was held some years back at Gauhati, in Assam, that province still remains a *terra incognita* to the vast bulk of the educated people of the other provinces. In the circumstances, Mr.

Barooah has rendered a service to his native province by writing and publishing this interesting and accurate sketch of the history and the present social, economic and political condition of the Assamese. The book merits appreciation and circulation, as a sound and accurate sketch of Assamese history and economic conditions.

The Present Political Situation in India : An Interview

GIVEN BY

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K. C. S. I.

(*Ex-Law Member, Government of India*)

"If there are extremists in the country who can be blamed for the present political situation in India, there are no less objectionable extremists in the Government who cannot be absolved of their responsibility for the position which has arisen and much worse position which might yet arise," declared Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, leader of the Liberal Party, in the course of a special interview. Conversation turned to the All-India Congress Committee's resolution postponing the boycott of the Legislatures till the Lahore Congress. Sir Tej Bahadur said: "I am glad that the question of withdrawal from the Legislatures has been postponed, for Congress members of various legislatures would attend the forthcoming sessions and would have splendid opportunities of voicing the feelings of the country on the constitutional issue, methods to be followed for attacking that issue and also the general policy which the Government of India had been following during the last few months. As for the rest of the resolution of the Congress Committee relating to what might happen after the Lahore Congress, I dismiss it as repetition more or less of the Calcutta Congress resolution. At the same time I may express the hope that occasion might not arise for revival of the campaign of non-co-operation.

Government and Youth

"But this to a very great extent would depend upon whether the Government at Simla and Whitehall are wise in time and recognise the futility of opposition to the national movement. They must recognise there is a sharp cleavage between the older and the younger generations of politicians. Youth, which may be at times foolish or extravagant in its expression, cannot be repressed for all time by methods now being pursued by the Government. This does not mean that premium should be put on crime but I do suggest there is a limit beyond which no wise Government can go in dealing with the youth of a country. But I do not expect it would readily change its ways and I have never known in my long experience as a publicman a greater gulf between the Government of India and the people than at present.

Dominion Status:

Government's "Utter Lack Of Imagination"

In 1921-22 there was a fairly large section of the people who were prepared rightly or wrongly, to support the Government

But the policy of the Government of India and the India Office during the last few years has been one calculated to lose their friends and they have not only an utter lack of imagination in regard to constitutional matters but a total lack of responsiveness to advice from friendly quarters. The truth of the matter is that so far as the Government of India are concerned they make no distinction between one set of politicians and another, and anyone who stands up for Dominion Status is put down either as a visionary or impractical faddist, if not as an enemy of the Government. "So far as the Liberal Party is concerned it stands definitely committed to Dominion Status and is not going to stop short of it in this demand. In regard to general principles embodied in the Nehru Report, the Liberal Party has made its position abundantly clear. Whatever differences as to the methods may divide us from Congressmen, the Liberal Party has adopted definitely the demand for Dominion Status and must stand by it.

"A Thorough Sceptic"

It would be wrong to stake anything upon the Simon Report. I doubt whether they are prepared to go beyond recommending something in the neighbourhood of provincial autonomy. Assuming that they rise superior to the advice of certain local Governments and of certain associations and bodies that law and order should be reserved, that will not satisfy any class of politicians. I have never been a believer in provincial autonomy without a simultaneous change in the Central Government. I have reasons to believe that the Central Committee co-operating with the Simon Commission are not at all a happy family and the most advanced among them will probably not go beyond recommending something like provincial autonomy and some very minor changes to the Central Government. But that will not be calculated to ease the situation. Indeed, a report like this is not going to evoke any response in India, not even in the Liberal Party. "I am a thorough sceptic

about the Simon Commission, knowing as I do the atmosphere in which it was conceived. I have a thorough distrust of its principal authors in England. There are not men big enough on the Commission to take a broad view of the Indian question; none of them is of the Durham type and their party commitments will seriously stand in their way.

Labour Party

I should like to give the Labour Party every chance if only they will approach the constitutional question in the right spirit. I realise their difficulties, for India's future was to a certain extent mortgaged by their predecessors appointing the Simon Commission; Mr. Baldwin's recent pronouncement in the House of Commons is clearly indicative of Conservative attitude. But then there is the House to reckon with and I am not extravagant in my hope about the Labour Party. Still there are some friends in the party anxious to find a solution.

I see no reason why they should not discuss the Indian situation and the future constitution with Indian politicians. The basis of that in my opinion should be Dominion Status. It is for them to decide whether they care to have a conference or whether they would like as a preliminary step to send out Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State, to see things for himself even as Mr. Montagu did in 1917 and take Indians into his confidence here.

Before December

It would give the Labour Government a true view of the matter as nobody could claim for the Commission that they ever got into touch with the real opinion of India. I believe they can yet retrieve the mistake of their predecessors and some of their own leaders by creating a favourable atmosphere before it was too late. If this atmosphere has got to be created it must be before December for obvious reasons.

Messages from Indian Liberal Leaders

SENT TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDIA CONFERENCE
HELD AT CAXTON HALL, LONDON, ON JUNE 29TH

From SIR TRJ BAHADUR SAPRU:—

I sincerely hope and trust that those who will attend this Conference will make it abundantly plain to the Government in England, whatever may be its political complexion, that nothing short of the recognition of India's right to Dominion Status will satisfy Nationalist India. The way in which several prominent English statesmen and nearly every English newspaper have approached and discussed during the last two years the question of India's future makes one feel that a great change for the worse has overtaken the attitude of English public men towards India. If political faith has to be revived and resuscitated as it must be then absolutely the first thing to be done is that the claim of India to Dominion Status must be admitted without equivocation. Once this is done there can be a basis for discussion and exchange of ideas. But if the claim of India, which rests upon most solemn declarations and pledges, is repudiated or whittled down I am afraid I cannot look upon the future with any degree of hopefulness. Further it must be remembered that Dominion Status with us is no longer a far-off dream, but a real live issue, and we should like an approach to be made to it in a manner which would command the maximum amount of consent and agreement. Nationalist India has expressed its views definitely in the Nehru Committee Report, and notwithstanding some dissent that has been raised in certain quarters I feel that it is going to stand by it. I sincerely hope and trust that the efforts of the Conference may be crowned with success and that it may be the rallying centre of all those who sincerely believe that India is entitled to be placed on the footing of a Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

II

From Mr. C. V. CHINTAMANI, Chief Editor, "The Leader," formerly Minister of Education, United Provinces:—

India must be deeply beholden to Dr. Annie Besant for organising a Conference in London in support of Dominion Status for this country. Every Indian patriot is behind her in this plea. The present position of dependence is ruinous to India materially and degrading to her morally and politically. India's national consciousness is thoroughly aroused and Indians will not tolerate much longer the unsatisfactory position to which they have been consigned. The only condition on which she can willingly remain associated with Britain is that she should be accorded the same status as Canada, Australia, South Africa, the Irish Free State, and New Zealand. She should have the same full rights of national self-government as the Dominions enjoy and exercise; the Indian States and the British Indian Provinces forming one Federal Union—the Commonwealth of India, which will be an equal member of the Commonwealth of Nations at whose head will be the King of England, to whom all the members of the Commonwealth will owe allegiance. To this there will be but one alternative: a violent effort by India to win Sovereign Independence after the manner of the present United States of America. The people of India do not wish to be forced to such drastic action. They bear no ill-will to the people of England, whose great qualities they admire. For His Majesty the King they feel the most sincere devotion. Will England, who has been called "the Mother of free nations," do the right in time, retain India's friendship, and win her gratitude? Or will she act like any of the discredited Continental despotisms?

The Month: From the Editor's Arm-Chair

The controversy regarding the boycott of the Councils has been "settled" by the All-India Congress Committee in a manner which, in the circumstances, will command general approval.

The Indian Political situation.

We have never concealed our view that the boycott would have been ill-advised and (from our point of view) the best thing to have done would have been to drop the question of the boycott altogether. It must be remembered, however, that in the Congress there is a powerful group which has never believed in work in the legislatures and to have turned down the proposal, altogether, might have caused a serious split. The Congress leaders who were for the continuance of work inside the Councils had their own difficulties and, in the circumstances, they deserve to be congratulated on having been able to induce the Congress Committee to negative the proposal that Congressmen should immediately resign their seats in the Councils. We do not ignore the fact that the decision has been merely postponed and that there will be a renewal of the controversy in December next, but between now and then much water will flow down the Ganges and it is conceivably possible for the situation to improve and the new Labour Cabinet (which has made a good start in trying to deal firmly with Egypt) may make some timely gesture calculated to strengthen the more moderate elements in the Congress. Obviously, a very great deal would depend upon the Government and the way in which they handle the situation during the next few months. If they pursue a policy of friendly co-operation with the people, they may still save the country from extreme forms of agitation culminating in non-co-operation. The record of Simla, however, in the last few years has been so hopelessly bad that we have not much hope of wise counsel prevailing there. Still, it is a weakness of human nature to hope for the best, though it be hoping against hope. It has yet to be seen whether Mr. Wedgwood Benn will have strength enough to act in a manner which would bring about

peace and harmony in the land, or whether his also would be a policy of drift, if not of aggravation of the Birkenheadian type. Well, let us wait and see.

The Labour Cabinet has made a good start in its relations with Egypt. Lord Lloyd, who was notorious in India

The Egyptian solution. for die-hard reactionaryism, has had to go, having been summarily shown the door,

and the treaty which the British Government propose shows that Labour intends to pursue a friendly policy towards Egypt. No one in India will feel surprised that Lord Lloyd was found impossible by the Labour Government. He was when here easily one of the most reactionary Governors that Bombay has ever had. He believes that eastern countries only understand force—and he had, during the last few years, made himself thoroughly disliked in Egypt. For a good start, it was necessary that he should be dismissed and Mr. Henderson is to be congratulated on dealing firmly with an autocrat like him. In the debate which followed Lord Lloyd's resignation, Mr. Henderson was able to show that even the last Conservative Government had been finding it difficult to get on with him—and it is significant that Mr. Baldwin did not press for publication of papers on the subject. Lord Lloyd had, of course, the support of Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Churchill—two glorious die-hards, whose one anxiety is to assert and establish British dominance in Egypt. Following his departure, the terms of the proposed Anglo-Egyptian treaty have been published and they show that while safeguarding essential British interests the Labour Cabinet is anxious to place Anglo-Egyptian relations on a friendly basis. There is nothing new or startling or radical about the new Anglo-Egyptian treaty. It follows the old familiar lines and even if Egypt accepts the treaty she will not have complete autonomy in foreign matters. Without the safeguards, it would be impossible for the Labour Cabinet to carry through the treaty which, when all is said and done, does represent a great advance over existing conditions. Whether Egypt will accept it

is not free from doubt. Mr. Henderson has had to negotiate it with Mahmud Pasha whose dictatorship has not exactly made him popular with the vast body of Egyptian nationalists. The danger is that on examination Egypt may not find it acceptable with the result that the present *impasse* will continue. We are very doubtful, however, if any British Government, in the near future, is likely to offer Egypt better terms than those presented to her by Mr. Henderson on behalf of the Labour Cabinet. It must not be forgotten that Egypt is not Ireland and the conditions of the two countries are wholly dissimilar in almost every respect.

Though the aerial mail service from England to India is an accomplished fact, the

tougher proposition of crossing the Atlantic bothways in airships has not yet been tackled by any British plane. After the first historical solo flight by Colonel Lindenberg there have been a few successful attempts to fly across the Atlantic, but most others have ended in disaster and no trace has been found of the daring men and women who perished in the attempt. These adventures and the resultant unnecessary loss of life have now been abandoned. On the other hand, the great German air liner, the "Graf Zeppelin," has successfully accomplished her third trans-Atlantic flight, and about the middle of August left on a world tour, the ports to be touched including Tokyo, Los Angeles and Richmond in Virginia. In this connection, it is somewhat curious that nothing further has been heard of the two sumptuous British air liners, "R 100" and "R 101," which were constructed to carry one hundred passengers across the Atlantic. Photographs with glowing descriptions of these huge flying palaces were published and it seemed as if the poet's dream was about to be fulfilled:—

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies
of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down
with costly bales.

These wonder-ships were said to be the last word in comfort and safety and were represented as a triumph of British science and British invention. And now no word is heard of these twin marvels, and there is not a whisper of any trial flight. The Graf

Zeppelin was built and launched without any fuss or preliminary fanfare of trumpets and it has surely crossed and recrossed the mighty Atlantic, the President of the United States being among the spectators of the first flight. Is it not strange that the prophetic vision of an English poet should have been first realised in Germany, both in times of war and peace? When 'the nations' airy navies were grappling in the central blue,' German Zeppelins were hurling down bombs on British cities and towns, and now that war is at an end a German air liner of a very large type has been the first to travel through the air. British patriotism and British commercialism should combine to compass the early flight of R 100 and R 101.

The struggle between Labour and Capital in various industrial centres of India is assuming proportions that

The Revolt of Labour. must cause anxiety to all interested in the well-being of the country. With changed conditions in the outlook on life and the steady

rise in prices a complete readjustment of the relations between capital and labour has become a crying and urgent necessity. In Bombay, which is the seat of the largest mill industry in India, strikes of millhands have become a chronic and constant evil and the smooth working of the mills has become almost impossible. Legislation has been undertaken for the purpose of settling differences and a court of inquiry for this purpose is sitting in Bombay. Another committee is inquiring into the cause of the frequent riots in that city following in the wake of the strikes. Round about Calcutta there has been a strike among a large number of workmen employed in the jute mills, and regrettable clashes have occurred. The Bengal Government, like the Bombay Government, have promptly intervened and the leaders of the strikers as well as the representatives of the employers have been interviewed. The earnest desire of the Government to mediate and to put an end to the tension must be frankly recognised and appraised, and any unworthy suspicions of their motives must be brushed aside. In Bombay some people connected with the Gini Kamgar Union insinuated that the Government favoured the millowners in disputes between mill-hands and mill-owners. This is an utterly unfounded

accusation. All that the Government want is to find a *via media*, if possible, for the restoration of a workable understanding between the disputants. On several occasions the millowners have proved recalcitrant, which shows that they are not always amenable to the advice of even the Governor. The law can deal with intimidation and violence, but it cannot promote mutual goodwill between employers and workmen. The theory that the workmen are misled by mischievous leaders requires a good deal of explanation. It was very pertinently inquired before a committee in Bombay why the labour leaders should have so much more influence over the men than the employers. As a matter of fact, most of the former leaders of labour in Bombay are undergoing trial in Meerut. The Girni Kamgar Union has come into existence very recently. Why should the men be guided by this body instead of by their employers whom they have known long and who are their paymasters? When there is a prolonged strike the leaders of labour suffer as little as the employers of labour. It is the men alone who have to starve and suffer hardships of every kind. These repeated strikes are having a paralysing effect upon trade generally and is affecting the whole community. So far as the financial aspect is concerned the real losers are the shareholders. The millowners are not sole proprietors and that is one reason why they are so stiff-necked and contemptuous of the new forces that are asserting themselves every day. It is these men that must come down from their pedestals and adapt themselves to the new conditions. They must recognise that Labour and not Capital is ruling the British Empire at the present moment.

Two serious strikes, the first in Calcutta and the second in Lancashire, have been settled with commendable promptitude. In Calcutta the jute millowners, unlike their confreres of Bombay, met the strikers half way by agreeing to give the workers extra pay for extra hours of work with retrospective effect from July 1st and have promised that there will be no victimisation. The terms were reached at a joint conference of owners and labour representatives and the men have resumed work. The

cotton mills strike in Lancashire has been settled by both parties referring the dispute to arbitration and undertaking to abide by the award of the Board of Arbitration. The Prime Minister took personal interest in this matter and Justice Sir Rigby Swift has been appointed Chairman of the Arbitration Board. These two instances conclusively prove that no difficulty need be experienced if the parties to a dispute are in a reasonable frame of mind. The relations between Labour and Capital have to be completely readjusted, and the old attitude of employers towards their workmen must be abandoned. Let us hope that by mutual adjustment and common understanding, it will be possible for Capital and Labour in this country to live on the friendliest terms.

The conviction of the editor and printer of the *Modern Review*, one of the leading monthly magazines in the English-knowing world, on a charge of sedition is not an ordinary case. The periodical itself is of high position and long standing and has an international reputation. Besides a wide circulation in India it has a fairly large number of subscribers in Europe and America. It is an outspoken and acute critic, but has never been suspected of seditious tendencies. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor, is much respected for his high character and his ability as a publicist. He was the only Indian journalist who was invited by the League of Nations to Geneva a few years ago. He was offered passage and expenses but he declined the offer and paid all the expenses himself in order to retain his right of criticism unfettered and to avoid the somewhat awkward position of a guest. The circumstances of the prosecution are somewhat peculiar. Mr. Chatterjee was not prosecuted as the editor of the *Modern Review*, but as the publisher of a book called *India in Bondage* written by Dr. Sunderland, a Doctor of Divinity, and a well-known American writer. This book appeared as a serial in the *Modern Review* and covered a period of nearly two years. No notice was taken by the Bengal Government at that time. The proper course would have been to convey a warning to Mr. Chatterjee, if portions of the book were considered seditious. This was not done, nor was any action taken when the book was first reprinted from the magazine. The first edition was exhausted

Settlement
of labour
disputes.

and the second edition was nearly sold out when the printer was arrested on a charge of sedition. Mr. Chatterjee was not prosecuted till some time later. The Advocate-General of Bengal himself appeared for the prosecution before the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, who convicted both the accused and sentenced them to a fine of Rs. 1,000 each. We cannot say whether an appeal against this order will be made to the Calcutta High Court, but we have been struck by the peculiar features of this case, to which we shall advert when the Chief Presidency Magistrate's judgment has become final in due course, and the matter can no longer be considered *sub-judice* or subject to appeal to the High Court. But this may be stated with confidence that the many prosecutions which are being launched so freely in various provinces are not likely to do the least bit of good to Government, even if they result in the conviction of the accused. Far from rallying public opinion in favour of the Government, they produce (in the present temper of the people) an effect just the opposite of what is intended to be secured—an amount of ill-will, acerbity and discontent which no Government—and least of all a foreign one, can afford to create and deepen. But is wiser counsel likely to prevail? That is the question.

Although the distance from Peshawar to Kabul is not very considerable it is extremely difficult to get reliable information about the march of events in Afghanistan. The reasons are not far to seek: Peshawar bazar has always been a hotbed of wild rumours, though once in a blue moon the rumour may turn out to be authentic news. Just at present there are currents and cross-currents, and much of the news that filtrates down to Peshawar is part of an organised propaganda. There are several axes to grind, and every man tries to make his the sharpest. The ex-bandit and *de facto* Amir Habibullah has his agents in Peshawar and even in Bombay who are industriously proclaiming that the new ruler is carrying all before him and is getting a firmer seat in the saddle. There are other reports that Nadir Khan is gaining ground, that his leaflets are

done wonders and that some mullahs have denounced Habibullah as a "kafir." That is always the great danger in Afghanistan. The mullahs can always fan religious fanaticism and hence they are all-powerful. In the grave crisis through which Afghanistan has been passing, the Government of India as well as the British Government have preserved a correct attitude. Their mentality is above suspicion. At the same time when the ex-King Amanullah and his brother with their wives and children passed through India as fugitives, they were shown every consideration. It was a simple case of hospitality without any political complications. It is impossible to foresee or foreshadow the ultimate issue of the course of events in Afghanistan, but we believe all Indians, irrespective of religion and political opinion, have a genuine sympathy for Amanullah Khan and his cultured wife. As the grandson of Abdur Rahman, his legal and moral right is indisputable, while his attractive and charming personality has made a very favourable impression wherever he has gone. It is evident now that in his enthusiasm for progress and reform, he underestimated the power and influence of the mullahs, but if he could have carried his country with him Afghanistan would have become an important country in Asia in the space of another generation. Who knows what future is brewing for Afghanistan in the cauldron of fate? The fearful stories of the iron rule of the usurper are not much exaggerated. The landmarks of many years of progress will be swept away if Nadir Khan finally fails to win back the country to its old allegiance. The new evangel of emancipation resounding throughout the world was just being heard in Afghanistan when the words were choked down by the revival of the old ruthlessness known in so many parts of the world. Yet let us hope for the best, though it be at present but hoping against hope. Educated Indians are deeply interested in Afghan progress for more reasons than one. For one thing the advance in the reform movement in Afghanistan—equally with that in Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Persia and Arabia—is bound to broaden the mental horizon of the Indian Musalmans.

The Lahore conspiracy trial is *sub-judice*, and no comments can be made upon the proceedings. When the time comes, there will be a good deal to discuss both from the

Newspaper
Reporters.

legal and the public point of view. This case has attracted attention in and out of India in consequence of the hunger strike of some of the accused persons, the striking but strictly correct ruling of the Punjab High Court about the representation by counsel of accused persons absent from court on account of illness, and the astonishing demonstrations in connection with the case. All these incidents are known to readers of newspapers and at the present moment we are not concerned with them. But there is one subject which is in no way connected with the proceedings of the court and to which the trying Magistrate is not a party, and to which attention may be drawn without any reference to the case itself. Admission to the court-room is restricted and every person admitted is searched by the police. Newspaper reporters are given permits and they are also searched before admission. The police may have their own reasons for searching every one admitted into court, but that is no reason why the representatives of newspapers should submit to the humiliation of having their persons searched. No editor with a grain of self-respect should expose his representative to the ordeal of being searched as a suspect. We note that the Executive Committee of the Journalists' Association of India has made a belated protest condemning very strongly the restrictions placed in the Punjab on the representatives of the press reporting the proceedings of the trial as humiliating and unwarranted interference with the rights of the press. The remedy lies with the newspapers themselves. They should neither court nor submit to the humiliation of having their reporters searched by the police. We remember there was a proposal by certain newspapers to boycott the proceedings of the Simon Commission. Here there is no question of policy or a boycott but merely one of self-respect, and every newspaper should let the Lahore trial severely alone until the orders to search newspaper reporters are withdrawn.

Katherine Mayo's book, "Mother India," has reaped for India an extensive harvest of intense bitterness. It is part of a calculated and organised propaganda and has served its object extremely well. The large reading public in Europe and America has never

pause to consider that this woman has no right whatsoever to speak with authority about India. She was nothing more than a casual tourist who came for a set purpose and has deliberately and ingeniously mixed up falsehoods with half-truths. She has written other things that have not been so widely read, diabolical stories of women in India being driven to death in the name of the Swadeshi movement and under the invocation of the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Miss Mayo has the malignity of Medusa, but she is just the sort of writer to tackle the jaded and vicious imagination of the West. She is believed because her readers want to believe such things of the people of India, because they are challenging the supremacy of the West. The books that have been written in refutation of her falsehoods will never catch up with the original libels. Lajpat Rai's book is the ablest reply but it will never have the same publicity as the book to which it is an answer. Lies die hard and they cannot often be even scotched. From Macaulay to Mayo the campaign of calumny has never flagged and our sensitiveness is due to our weakness. We could let it all pass without being hurt, for no one can write a people down. No nation full of sin and vice can live long. India lived when the nations in Europe and America were not, and India will outlive many nations of the West. India needs no defence, no justification. We have to shake off the inferiority complex, for whatever the present condition of the country the destiny of India has not passed out of her own keeping.

To the many counter-charges that have been levelled against America there is no reply and none will be forthcoming. Americans are far too scornful even to glance at the accusing finger of India. Their immigration laws

America under shadow of the gun.

show what they think of the stranger within the gate, even if the stranger happens to be an apostle of light and peace. Morally there is a sinister similarity between the pen-propaganda of Katherine Mayo and the terrorism of American gunmen. There are the same callousness of heart and distortion of mental vision. Without pushing the resemblance it may be of some interest to know something about these American desperadoes, specially in view of the un-casiness said to be prevailing at Scotland

Katherine Mayo and India.

Yard in consequence of a report that agents of these American bandits are busy investigating the chances of shifting the scene of their activities to England, employing milder methods. In Chicago and other large American cities these gangsters of the under-world shoot their way to wealth, and corrupt the press, police and public. Such brigandage is unknown in any other part of the world. Motor bandits and the apaches of Paris are tyros in crime compared to these past masters. As certain American cities are growing too hot for them they are thinking, says a writer in the "Sunday Chronicle," of new hunting grounds and pastures new.

These gunmen have wives, sweethearts and mistresses known as "stool pigeons," who are employed sometimes as decoys and at other times as covers for their lovers. They live gay lives surrounded by every luxury, but they are always under the shadow of the gun and they have to place their lives in pawn. Once in the hands of the police they are subjected to the third degree of examination and are pumped inside out. Before that happens and once the police are on their trail these women, often of surpassing beauty, are sacrificed and killed by their own lovers on the theory that dead women tell no tales. Numbers of such women of whom the police were in search have been found killed and discovered too late. There are married wives with children living decent lives who know nothing about the income of their husbands and who make no inquiries for the penalty of curiosity is death. Others live a hectic life on the very brink of the grave which may open under their feet at any moment. America is hardly in a position to send a moral preacher abroad. She needs all her strength to pluck out the canker that is eating into her own vitals.

As a sequel to wage reduction dispute it is reported that grave situation of unemployment has arisen in Lancashire which has affected about half a million labourers and involved the closing down of as many as 1,800 mills.

The Problems of Unemployment.

It is hinted that the Lancashire industry is not able to stand the brunt of the world competition and that further research and invention must come to their rescue. In other words, the Lancashire industry which thrived by means of the policy of Imperial

preference and protective tariffs, not to mention the notorious excise cotton duty in India, has got pampered and has fallen backward in methods of production. It is a curious coincidence, however, that the boycott of foreign cloth movement in India has been growing in volume and strength and there is no doubt that it must have also made its effect felt by Lancashire industry.

There is no doubt that the Lancashire lock-out has greatly aggravated the tense situation caused by unemployment, to find a remedy for which it was the first and foremost avowed object of the Labour Government. Socialists and Labourites have already begun to heave sighs of impatience that the Labour Government had no definite socialistic policy or programme to put into operation at once, and that they are not prepared to wait for ages for Socialism to dawn upon them. Mr. MacDonald has so far only indulged in commonplace platitudes and pious wishes which might have done credit to any Liberal Premier, but beyond that he has given no indication of his policy. At one time, he spoke about expansion of Britain's market to revive home industries, and it appeared, as if the effusion of cordiality towards the Soviet for the 'resumption of normal relations' was a well-calculated move, but that too unfortunately broke down.

We have referred to the problem of British unemployment as it is as much—if not more—a crucial question in India—especially in these provinces of Agra and Oudh, where an official report on the subject has just been issued by the Government. The Indian problem is too big an affair to be dealt with adequately at the fag-end of a note on the British, but we have casually mentioned it here with a view to draw the attention of the readers of the *Hindustan Review* to the most pressing economic problem of the day alike in Britain and India.

The Lahore conspiracy case has precipitated a situation which is causing intense

The Principle of Hunger Strike.

anxiety as well as excitement throughout the length and breadth of India and is proving to be another source of trouble to the Government of the Punjab. The latest report, as we go to the press, is that thirteen accused of the Lahore conspiracy case have gone on hunger-strike and that seven other political

prisoners in the various jails of the Punjab have gone on "a sympathetic hunger-strike." Out of these thirteen, Bhagat Singh and Dutt (of the Assembly bomb-case fame) have been now starving themselves for 70 days, while the remaining accused are following their two "leaders" at close quarters. It is stated that several are in hospital, suffering from diseases resulting from hunger-strike. The cause of this hunger-strike was the demand of these accused that a special treatment should be given to all the political prisoners and that the standard of diet given to such accused or prisoners in political cases should be that permitted to European prisoners. It was not a strike for their own selves but for this principle that has elicited widespread sympathy for them, throughout the Indian section of the press. The Government, however, as expected, are said to have resorted to the but barbaric methods of forcible feeding of the hunger strikers. One of the accused was reported to have given the following graphic account to the trying Magistrate on the 25th July as to the treatment meted out to the hunger-strikers: "In order to break their hunger-strike seven or eight persons were employed to give them forced feeding. One person sat on their chest, the other on their heads, others caught their limbs and inserted food through tubes. Yesterday the condition of Jatindranath Das grew worse and a similar method of feeding had been resorted to in his case. When the food could not be administered through the mouth they inserted a tube in the nose also. As the result of this rough handling Das became senseless and his pulse failed and in order to keep up life they gave him brandy and injection. . . . The Government doctor told Das that he would teach him a lesson." All this is naturally shocking to our sense of justice and fairplay. Most pertinent to this subject is the Irish analogy to which Pandit Moti Lal Nehru drew the public attention in an interview, in the following words which deserve to be pondered over by the Government: "Hunger-strike is not a new institution. The British Government has had sufficient experience of these strikes and of the methods used to put an end to them. It is only necessary to mention the case of the Irish Sinn Feiners who went on hunger-strike for precisely the

same object as Bhagat Singh, Dutt and others have done, namely, to secure better treatment as political prisoners. The device of forcible feeding by much more humane means than those reported to have been adopted in the case of the Lahore prisoners had to be abandoned in Ireland when Thomas Ashe died of heart-failure in the process of being fed by the prison doctor. The sensation his death caused throughout Ireland and specially in Dublin, where after a great funeral there was one week's public mourning for the 'martyr' is a matter of history. The Government then resorted to what is known as the 'Cat-and-Mouse Act,' under which the hunger-strikers, when reduced to the last degree of weakness, were released only to be rearrested when they recovered sufficient strength. This method reduced imprisonment itself to a farce and had to be given up. No other effective device to stop the strike having suggested itself, the Government was finally faced with one of the two alternatives, either to redress the grievance of the strikers or to leave them to their fate. The latter alternative involved an abdication of one of the primary functions of the Government, besides the incurring of public odium, and the former had to be adopted. The strikers were given the same treatment as prisoners of war or political prisoners and the strike terminated."

The Punjab Government, according to the reports, is still trying the obsolete and highly dangerous method of forcible feeding. Some of the strikers are on the verge of death. The public sympathy goes out to them from every part of India and yet there is no sign of the Government realizing its paramount duty of saving human life, which it can easily discharge by doing the right thing. The situation is grave enough without the complications which the Punjab Government is creating. With these complications continuing, it is becoming graver and graver every moment. The prestige of the Punjab Government is not likely to suffer by doing what the Government of Lloyd George was not ashamed of. I can only utter a warning that the outlook is very serious.

**Obsolete and
Dangerous
Methods of
Forcible
Feeding.**

Men in the Public Eye



Mr. Justice Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava

THE elevation of Mr. Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava to the Bench of the Oudh Chief Court, as a permanent incumbent—he officiated for some months last year also—in succession to the late Mr. Justice Gokarn Nath Misra, has given universal satisfaction not only throughout Oudh, but equally so in the province of Agra and in other provinces. Nor is it by any means surprising, as the new judge had long since made his mark as a highly successful advocate, possessed of great forensic ability, and enjoying an extensive practice second to none at the Lucknow Chief Court Bar. Born in Lucknow in 1881—the son of the late Munshi Radri Nath Sahoh, Deputy Collector—young Bisheshwar proved himself a prodigy by passing the School Final Examination at the end of his thirteenth year, graduated at the end of the seventeenth, and was a full-fledged lawyer before he was twenty-two, when he started his practice in 1903. It is now more than ten years since he was enrolled as an advocate of the Oudh Court in 1912.

But to the benefit of the general public, Mr. Bisheshwar Nath has not been merely a professional drudge or a slave-like the average successful lawyer in this country—of the statutes and the endless myriads of precedents. He has been prominently associated with the public life of Lucknow and also these provinces, for many years, in various useful spheres of activities. As a member and subsequently the Chairman of the

Lucknow Municipal Board, as the honorary Chairman of the Lucknow Improvement Trust—the first non-official to hold this office—as one of the General Secretaries of the Reception Committee of the thirty-first session of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow in 1916, as the President of the fourth session of the Provincial Liberal Conference held at Allahabad in 1924, as a member of the Lucknow University Committee and later an active and prominent member of its Executive Council since its constitution, and above all as a peace-maker—"your assistance in composing communal differences has been of especial value," declared Sir William Marris on a public occasion—he has shouldered heavy and responsible public duties and discharged them with great credit to himself and with much advantage to the public. With such a splendid record of public services, it is not to be wondered at that he has been for years past the most popular figure in Oudh, especially in legal circles, as evidenced by his having headed the poll at the election, held last year, of the first Bar Council for Oudh.

Apart from the political, civic, educational and legal activities, briefly referred to above, Mr. Bisheshwar Nath is also—as befitting a cultured Indian—an advanced social reformer. For years past he has been prominently associated as President with the Hindu Girls' High School and the Hindu Widows' Home—both most useful and deserving institutions—besides several others. He justly enjoys a reputation for his charities and is well-known as endowed with generous instincts. Possessed of high character, he is at the same time (fortunately for humdrum humanity) not a puritan in the vulgar sense of that term, but a great social figure in Lucknow, and one who may be seen of an afternoon at the race-course in Calcutta on the Viceroy's Cup Day. Such is the now judge of the Chief Court of Oudh—a fine example of a highly educated, cultured, refined and patriotic Indian—versed in legal lore, a great advocate, a successful practitioner but above all one who justly bears the grand old name of "gentleman." His appointment, though a great loss to the public life of Oudh, has been a very substantial gain to the Oudh Chief Court Bench, and it is the prayer of his numerous friends and admirers that he may long be spared to adorn the Lucknow Court.

The New Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh



Principal E. A. Horne

IN the first week of September, Principal E. A. Horne leaves the Patna College, with which he has been connected since 1911, to take charge of the Muslim University at Aligarh as its Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Born in 1883, he obtained a first class Honours in History from the St. Andrews University and was appointed the University Berry Scholar in History for the year 1903-04. He took another first class Honours in Economics and Moral Philosophy in 1905. As a Carnegie Research Scholar in Economics, he made investigations into the conditions of Dock Labour in Glasgow in 1905-06, and of the Home Industries in East London in 1906-07, and worked with the Poor Law Commission. From 1907 to 1910 he acted as a Special Investigator in the Labour Department of the Board of Trade in London and was, for a time, also the manager of the Southampton Labour Exchange. He thus gained varied economic experience.

With such a brilliant career of study and research, Mr. Horne came out to Patna as a Professor

of Economics. At the Patna College, he has been more than a mere Professor of Economics—a personality and a force which has left its impress upon it. It is difficult to think of the Patna College without him. Every academic society of the College claims him as its best friend; specially the Chanakya Society—an investigating body into local economic conditions—which owes to him if not its very life, at least all its present influence. In the University of Patna, he has been an outstanding figure, as a Member of the Syndicate and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. To the management of its business and to the debates, he has contributed the valued judgment of a practical mind. He has also represented the University on the Inter-University Board.

In his writings and speeches, Mr. Horne is accurate, enlightening and deliberate and never seeks any vulgar effect. It was for this reason that the Government of India deputed him to America, in 1921, to give a course of lectures in that country on the new constitution, which were issued in an excellent book called *The Political System of British India*. Well-poised, self-confident and dignified, he is conciliatory to his colleagues and kind to his students to a degree. He is a man of the broadest sympathies. But his sympathies are not of the emotional kind. Few have a greater devotion to duty and love of work than has Mr. Horne. In all he does, he is thorough, business-like and accurate. To everybody, high or low, he is courteous and scrupulously just, with the result that he has made himself loved and honoured as none before in the same office. Mr. Horne is the finest type of Englishman who has served India. He deserves well of the country. India wants more men like him, but they are so rare. Though from Behar is withdrawn a great influence on its system of higher education, yet what is a loss to Behar is a gain to Aligarh. It is happy to think that to the affairs of that University will be now applied just those great qualities which, from all account, it sorely needs at present.

The Necrology of the Month

Last month it was our melancholy task to appraise the work and worth of as many as six eminent Indians, who had passed away in five different provinces. This month it has fallen to our lot to mourn the loss, amongst others, of two great missionaries—both truly servants of Jesus—one an Indo-American and the other an Anglo-Indian, in the classical sense of the term. The Indo-American missionary was Dr. Hume, who was born in Bombay, in 1847, brought up in America, served long years—as many as 52—in India and was back in America, where he passed away. He was intimately connected with Western India and was a popular figure in the Bombay Presidency. His connection with this country lasted for more than half a century and throughout this long period, he was a force for good amongst the people of this land, who will cherish his memory in esteem and regard. Politically he claimed to be an Indian and he attended several sessions of the Indian National Congress, before it became too "advanced" for him. He was liberal-minded to a degree and the very antipode of the old-type missionary to whom Hinduism and Islam were equally the work of the Devil. His devotion to the cause of India in general, and social progress and educational advancement in particular, was widely appreciated amongst his numerous Indian friends. His death—though at the ripe old age of eighty-two—is thus a distinct loss to the country he was born in, served and loved.

The death of Dr. J. N. Farquhar—at the comparatively early age of sixty-eight—is a yet greater loss to this country, for as an "Interpreter of India," he justly stood unrivalled, and his passing away will be mourned by a host of friends, Indian and European, in all parts of India. Since his retirement from this country in December, 1923, he had rendered distinguished service to scholarship as Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester and Wilde Lecturer in the University of Oxford, as well as by articles on Indian subjects in the leading reviews. But it was in India, where he spent thirty-three years of his life, that his most characteristic work was done and his influence is likely to be most lasting.

Born in 1861, Dr. Farquhar graduated at Oxford, in 1889. Two years later he came to India and settled in Calcutta as professor, where for ten years he gave of his best to the students who thronged his class-room. In 1902 he became Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, Calcutta. All the time he led the way in building up a new Christian apologetic, based upon a sympathetic appreciation of the finer elements of Hinduism. In 1911 appeared his popular

Primer of Hinduism and this was followed by *The Crown of Hinduism*, in which he endeavoured to show that Hinduism was a *preparatio evangelica* for Christianity. In 1915 he published his *Modern Religious Movements in India*, a comprehensive survey of the religious movements of the last century, for which he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters by the University of Oxford. And in 1920 appeared *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, a monumental work of research which has been accepted as authoritative by students of the subject.

Not less important than Dr. Farquhar's original work was his achievement as an inspirer of other workers in the field of letters. As head of the Literature Department, he gathered about him a group of writers in all parts of India and beyond its borders whom he encouraged to undertake research, along various lines of enquiry. In this literary 'movement' Indian writers co-operated with missionaries and with scholars in Britain and the Continent of Europe in what was in effect a Christian contribution to the understanding of India. The result of this collaboration took shape in several well-known series of books. In the popular 'Heritage' series some twenty volumes have been published, dealing with the various literatures of India, her art and music, and differing schools of philosophy, etc., and of this and the companion series some thousands of copies have been sold, representing a considerable contribution to the better appreciation of Indian culture.

Dr. Farquhar's work has left its mark on Christian thought in India and throughout the Christian world. He had faith to believe, when few had yet conceived the hope, that the religious genius of India would reveal its power anew in its interpretation of Christ. Our highly esteemed contemporary, the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay puts it: "To Dr. Farquhar belongs the credit of having broken, through a crude tradition, and pointed out that the Hindu religion had features which rank high in the scale of spiritual evolution. True, he held that the greatest height reached by Hindu thought fell far short of that attained by Christianity. But, as a Christian, he could not do otherwise. His books mark a distinct advance towards a better mutual understanding between religions." The premature death of such a catholic scholar, liberal-minded missionary and fair interpreter of Indian spiritual culture has naturally caused widespread regret throughout the country.

Besides the loss of these two Christian workers India has suffered that of yet another, connected with her both by birth and devotion to her cause—namely, of Commissioner Booth-Tucker, the Head

of the Salvation Army in this country. Born at Monghyr in Behar in 1853, he passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1876 and was posted to the Punjab. The chance reading of a copy of the *War Cry*—says the *Times*—awakened his interest in the then still young Salvation Army movement; and on his first long-leave home he made a study of its work and methods. The result was his resignation from the I.C.S. in 1881 to become a Salvationist. General William Booth with great prescience seized the opportunity to plant his flag in India—his first overseas field. Tucker was put in charge and went out with three helpers. Resolved to reach the poor, they adopted, to the amazement of European society, the life of religious mendicants and wandered from place to place barefooted and dressed in Indian fashion, eating only Indian food (much of it beggar), preaching, and gaining converts. Open-air operations were met by imprisonment, but a missionary movement so original in its methods grew quickly. It was the persistence of Tucker, who had himself exercised judicial functions, which led to the ruling of the Bombay High Court, tacitly accepted throughout India that the public streets in all towns are the property not of any particular caste but of the whole community, and every man, whatever his caste or religion, has the right of user, provided he does not obstruct or molest others in the exercise of that right. The years he spent in this capacity were fruitful in developing the social uplift side of a great organization spread throughout the land. He inaugurated silk and weaving schools, agricultural settlements, and reformatory work among released prisoners and Indian criminal tribes. The remarkable success of the fifteen settlements for

these tribes—has been attested by many distinguished administrators. He was awarded the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal in 1913, in appreciation of his work. By his death, at the age of 76, we agree that the Salvation Army has lost, within a few weeks, of the passing of its second General, one of its best known and most gifted leaders. Coming of a family which served the Government of India for generations, he abandoned early in life with great prospects before him, a career of high promise in the Indian Civil Service to cast in his lot with what was then a much derided organization; and it fell to him to establish the great work accomplished in India. His life is thus replete with valuable lessons to the younger generation of Indians, in particular.

In the premature death of Mr. G. R. Kaye of the Indian Educational service, this country has to mourn the loss of a veteran educationist and scholar. By dint of sheer ability, he rose to hold important offices in the Government of India Secretariat, where he served with credit for many years till his retirement in 1923. Since then he was employed in the India Office Library to continue the cataloguing of manuscripts in European languages relating to India. It is to be feared that by his death this important work has suffered a serious loss. But Kaye was no mere departmental drudge or catalogue compiler, and he never allowed the student in him to be crushed by the official. His *Indian Mathematics* (1915)—a historical sketch—*The Astronomical Observations of Jai Singh* (1918), *A Guide to the Old Observatories* (1920), and *Astronomical Instruments in the Delhi Museum* (1921) are valuable works on which his reputation as a scholar safely rests.

Mr. J. E. WOOLACOTT'S "INDIA ON TRIAL": A SYMPOSIUM

[The symposium clearly brings out the "worth" of Mr. Woolcott's book. It is noteworthy that the most outspoken condemnation of it appeared in one of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies—*The Times of India*—Ed. H. R.]

Mr. Woolcott—formerly, as he announces on the title-page, correspondent of "The Times" at Delhi and Simla—calls this book *India on Trial*. Whether he is the judge, the jury or the prosecuting counsel we do not know; but Mr. Woolcott is like the young gentlemen, so ridiculed by Macaulay, who, on coming up to the Universities, subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles and then spent the rest of the academic career proving that the Thirty-nine Articles were true. If young men today defended their Church with the fanatical zeal that Mr. Woolcott defends the Government of India, there would be no danger of decadence in orthodoxy—until some one laughed, and then the victims would realise that "trop est trop." This is the effect of reading Mr. Woolcott's book. The special

pleading becomes transparent. He can make the Nationalists the agents of evil, if he wishes. He can make the Government the instrument of infallible decisions. But we cannot forget that the Government is composed of human beings, and sometimes commits mistakes; neither can we forget that there are human beings—and sometimes quite likeable people—in the Nationalist movement. Mr. Woolcott should have been employed by the British Government during the war to show how wicked, how insane and mischievous were the Germans. But when it comes to writing on India, partizanship may be inevitable—in its own sphere it may be excellent—but one wants the play of intelligence as well. It does not really harm Indians—or any other people—if Mr. Woolcott

assumes that they are mentally warped: but it is hard upon the reader, for he too runs the risk of being numbered among the warped. This book is a string of leading articles. One leading article a day is enough for most people, even the youngest of us. A book of them is like a continuous succession of Sundays—a provocation to blasphemy. Of course, Mr. Woolcott is very well informed. He seems to have read the leading articles of many newspapers—including we suspect, *The Times of India*—with some care. He is certainly well acquainted with the writings of Mr. Rushbrook-Williams. This makes all the more inexcusable his occasional mistakes of fact: as for instance, when he speaks of the two Rowlatt Bills “passing into law,” when only one was passed. Mr. Woolcott should have been absolutely right about his facts; for he has nothing else to offer. He has no psychological insight, and he makes no attempts to understand the Indian point of view. Pity, so few writers on India have a sense of humour.—*The Times of India*.

II

Mr. Woolcott claims this book to be “a study of present conditions.” The only justification for this is that his chapters suggest that he has made some reference to Indian conditions by way of a prolonged denunciation of the Indian politician, interspersed with a rebash of quotations from and summaries of such documents as the Rowlatt Report, the Government of India Resolution on Non-Co-operation, minatory utterances of men like O'Dwyer and Winterton and the opinions of interested organisations like the European Association. Mr. Woolcott is unable to see how Britain can relax her control over India in any conceivable future. And why should she, seeing that India has reason to be grateful to her? That the gratitude India owes to Britain is so great that she should uncomplainingly submit to British wishes is, indeed, part of Mr. Woolcott's theme. In the first three or four of his chapters, Mr. Woolcott has pictured “a mythical India.” The India he paints there is indeed mythical; for whatever may have been the conditions in India in the pre-British period, they were not, compared with conditions elsewhere, as black as he paints them. Whatever advance there has been, Mr. Woolcott claims, has been due to British enterprise and initiative and if there is poverty and sickness—well, the trouble is that the customs and religious practices of the people stand in the way. He praises the Lindlithgow Report without, however, indicating that that Report constitutes a grave condemnation of the Government apathy. That these pretensions are no more than excuses for perpetuating the dominance of his tribe at the expense of the indigenous population is evident from what he himself writes in his book. The whole of Mr. Woolcott's book is an exhortation, a sordid plea, to the British nation to

preserve this “The greatest market in the world for British goods” and insurance against unemployment in Britain. It is part of that mendacious anti-Indian propaganda in which British vested interests are sedulously engaged so as to thwart India's demand for reforms. It has not even the merit of being clever.—*The Hindu*.

III

Mr. Woolcott has written this book for the education of the British people; but his “study of present conditions” is not at all free from anti-Indian bias. If the people in England were to rely solely on Mr. Woolcott for enlightenment about India, they would get a wholly distorted view about it and would start with a prejudice against Indians. Anybody innocent of any knowledge about this country, as most people in Britain are, who reads this book would go away with the impression that Indians are a God-forsaken people, that they are a lot extremely difficult to please and whatever you may do to make them happy, they would continue to be miserable and discontented. The best way for the British administrator was not to mind them, but to go on with his lofty mission of doing good to humanity of which fortunately or unfortunately they form part. We wish Mr. Woolcott's book had not been written, not because we are anxious that the British people should not know anything about our defects, but because our anxiety is that they should be enabled to form a reasonably fair and just estimate of Indian character. This is exactly what Mr. Woolcott's book will not help them to do. The author writes throughout as an apologist of Government. He paints the British administrator as a paragon of virtues whose altruistic mission is not understood by the Indian. Much more can be written about the contents of the book. But we have said enough, we think, to justify our contention that the representation of political public life in India which this book contains is a highly coloured and prejudiced one.

—*The Servant of India*.

IV

This book, it is obvious, is written with a definite and narrow aim. It is meant to warn the Simon Commission against the “danger” of taking political power even to a tiny extent more than it has already been done by the “misguided” and latterly “disillusioned” Samuel Montagu, out of the hands of the British officials who have done so very much for the “ungrateful” Indians and handing it over to men “inefficient” and “unfit” to receive it. Half the book consists of an eloquent account of the “good” done to India by the “most unselfish” and “least expensive” administration in the world. The other half is taken up by an equally eloquent account of the “inefficiency” of the Indian people—“by nature the gentlest on earth”—the conventional arguments against the claims of India for self-government and the inability of the Indian to maintain “law and order” even for a “single day.”

without British aid and guidance. The author supports these accounts with 'facts' and 'figures' selected or rather filtered with skill and care and with the statements of 'experts.' Lest the charge that his views have only the support of British officials and British representatives of vested interests in India be hurled against him, Mr. Woolacott has taken the trouble of calling a few Indians also to his aid. Who are these 'Indians'?—one may well ask. "That enlightened and patriotic nobleman the Maharajadhiraja of Bardwan"; "the trusted leader of the Moslem community, Sir Abdur Rahim"; and the inevitable Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah! Those who disagree with the views of the former representative of the Fleet Street oracle are either men lacking in courage, extremists, revolutionaries or Bolsheviks; the epithets being used according to the extent of disagreement. Mr. J. E. Woolacott's book, in short, is nothing but one long song in praise of the British in India. He is fully satisfied with every aspect of British Indian administration and the 'progress' that India is making under this 'benevolent' administration

in all directions. For the poverty of the people, famines, communal struggles and lack of education he has his own explanation. These, he maintains resolutely, have nothing whatever to do with British rule. "The root cause of practically every evil," according to this great 'expert' is to be found "in the propagation of anti-British slanders, and the pouring forth of an incessant stream of abuse of the Government and its officers, British and Indian alike." After this one does not feel like arguing with the ingenious diagnostician of all the diseases of India. The author sees the only solution for what is vaguely termed as the Indian problem in the British maintaining their rule in the country with undiminished power and control. The value of this book under review consists in the fact that it shows how very closely and carefully the foreign imperialists are following the crystallization of class interests in India and how determined they are in exploiting it for the prolongation of their stay in India. *India on Trial* merits attention since it supplies signs and portents of several significant developments likely to take place in the immediate future.—*The People*.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS

N. B.—The views expressed under this heading are not necessarily the views of the *Hindustan Review*.—Ed.

Thirty years ago

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has reconverted his "*Hindustan Review*" into a monthly journal with himself as its editor; and not unnaturally, on this happy occasion has made a review of the remarkable progress that India has made during the thirty years of the life of this journal. There is no doubt that an enormous change has come over the spirit of the people during these years; and it is certain that these years will make an inspiring page in the history of the political progress of India. What were the conditions thirty years ago? Well, Mr. Sinha points out that responsible government, as a political term applied with reference to India, was unheard of and was beyond the mental horizon of even the most advanced politicians of that time. Nor was Swaraj better known or better understood. "Till many years later, in fact, it was taken by the Executive to be synonymous with sedition, while any reference to independence or the complete severance of India's connection with the rest of the British Commonwealth, as an element of practical politics, would have given the shock of his life to so advanced a public man and publicist as, say, the late Mr. Tilak." Whether the reference to Mr. Tilak is quite correct or not, it is true that the atmosphere was demoralising and subservience-breathing. In the councils, the speakers had to be constantly 'my lordings,' 'your excellencies,' or 'your honourings' the presidents who were of course

no other than the official heads of the provinces, or the head of the country; and not unoften they assumed hectoring attitude towards the timid speakers who used to take the brow-beating lying down. If this was the atmosphere in the councils, that in the country was not much better. We dare say it will amuse even Pandit Motilal Nehru to read what Mr. Sinha writes of his older days politics. He could "only by courtesy be regarded as a public man, and that too of the most moderate school."

"Even so late as 1907 when he (Pandit Motilal) presided over the first session of the United Provinces Conference at Allahabad—dressed (in the hottest weather) in the then fashionable braided dark grey morning coat, fancy striped trousers and patent-leather boots, sweltering, sweating and all the time wiping his face constantly, melting as he was with profuse perspiration—he made a slashing and vigorous attack on the then exponents of, what was called, the "extremist" school. No one who knew him at the time could ever conceive of the Pandit Motilal of those days developing into khaddar-clad protagonist of the "independence" party of today."

The political transformation of Pandit Motilal is significant in more respects than one. It represents the wonderful transformation that has taken place in the spirit of the people of India. Gone are the days when a Sir Antony MacDonell could

shout at the top of his voice to a respectable member of his council: "No, no, no, Nehal Chand, this will not do." Gone are the days when, successfully, or unsuccessfully, a Lord Curzon could try to bully and brow-beat so eminent an Indian leader as Gopal Krishna Gokhale. No mistake there is a spirit of sturdy independence abroad and the old days timidity is gone for ever. Popular spokesmen in the Assembly and the councils no longer hesitate to deal with Government members on equal terms; and as for the President of the Assembly, Mr. Sinha is guilty of no exaggeration when he says that Mr. Patel "by his remarkable ability, intense devotion to duty, commendable courage and rare independence, has exalted the dignity of the great office which he so well adorns." The changes that have taken place are vast and varied. It is undoubtedly a greater and better India that we live in now; and if the truth is to be told freely and frankly, the progress that has taken place is not due to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms or any other actions of Government. It owes itself largely to the immense suffering and sacrifice which Bengal has undergone during these thirty years.

The late Mr. Gokhale was almost prophetic when he declared from the presidential chair of the Benares Congress: "What Bengal thinks today, India will think tomorrow." Bengal has ever been in the vanguard of progress—be it in the sphere of thought or of action. Bengal has sown the seeds of freedom at an enormous cost to herself; and India is now reaping the harvest.

—The Basumaty.

AN INCORRECT STATEMENT

Srijut Bhagavan Das Writes:—

I have read with very great discomfort, on p. 55 of the July issue of the Review, the infelicitous phrase, "author of a rival scheme of Swarajya." It is likely to cause misunderstanding in the minds of readers. The writer should have said, "One who collaborated with the late Deshabandhu C. R. Das in putting forth an outline scheme of Swaraj, which was published in 1923."

WELCOME TO THE NEW HINDUSTAN REVIEW: AS OTHERS SEE US

With its July number the *Hindustan Review* is reconverted from a quarterly into a monthly and it appears in a new and improved form. For many years now the *Hindustan Review* has deservedly had a high reputation not only in India but in Great Britain and America for the literary standard it has maintained and for having provided a comprehensive record of Indian progress and changes in all spheres of activity and a valuable indication of the trend of thought among educated Indians on political, philosophical, economic and social questions. The July number, which is an admirable production and augurs well for the success of the *Review* in its changed form, appropriately enough opens with an article by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the founder and editor, sketching the history of the periodical and briefly reviewing the political progress India has made during its thirty years' career. The *Hindustan Review* had a forerunner in the educational magazine, the *Kanyasulk Samachar*, which had been regularly published at Allahabad from 1899. This magazine was altered in form and greatly widened in scope when it was taken over by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in 1900. Mr. Sinha discovered splendid talent to help him with his venture from the start and the place of honour in the first issue he was responsible for was assigned to a political article on "Sir Antony MacDonnell and the United Provinces" from the pen of a "rising young publicist, Pandit Tej Bahadur Saprta—he was not even 'Dr.' at the time"—which

was followed by a literary contribution by that eminent lawyer and litterateur, the late Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, the *Samachar's* name was changed to the *Hindustan Review* in 1903 and it continued to be issued from Allahabad until the middle of 1921. Mr. Sinha then, upon his appointment as a member of the Governor's Executive Council in Bihar and Orissa, had to sever his connection with the *Review*. For various reasons its place of publication was removed to Calcutta and it was converted from a monthly into a quarterly. Since 1926 when his term of office as a member of the Bihar and Orissa Government expired, Mr. Sinha has always been anxious to give the *Review* another lease of life as a monthly at Allahabad, the place of its birth. It was removed here in January last and his intention of reconvertng it into a monthly has now been fulfilled. There is every prospect of Mr. Sinha's enterprise achieving the success it deserves.

—The Pioneer.

We welcome the *Hindustan Review* back again as an Allahabad monthly publication with Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha himself, the maker of the *Review* as its principal editor. We are glad that with him is associated Mr. P. N. Saprta, a chip of the block if we may use this expression. And they are assisted by Mr. Prem Mohaulal Verma, a competent student and writer. The review is printed by

the Indian Press in its excellent style. Mr. Sinha's retrospect of thirty years is both interesting and suggestive and recalls the pleasant memories of far off days. We have noted with melancholy satisfaction Mr. Sinha's tribute of affectionate respect to a brother for whose death Allahabad is still the poorer—that soul of goodness and honour, Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji. The contrast drawn by Mr. Sinha between our legislative councils as they were and are, deserves to be particularly noted by the younger generation of our public men and we reproduce elsewhere that part of his article. There are in the review several other readable articles which can be commended to students of affairs.

—The Leader.

III

The *Hindustan Review*—that well-known periodical—is once again a monthly and it is Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's privilege, rare in Indian journalism, to introduce its new monthly series three decades after he edited its first issue. To found, foster and maintain a journal of the standing of the *Hindustan Review* and to be yet at it after three decades is indeed a distinction, and we congratulate Mr. Sinha not merely on his making it once again a monthly but on the excellent number, the first of the new series, that has just been issued. It is rich both in get-up and the variety of the contributions. Mr. Sinha's opening article entitled "Thirty Years After" is an extremely readable and enlightening review of the great changes that have been crowded during this period and the transformation that has overtaken the mind of the people in their outlook on national problems. Among the other contributors are several eminent publicists and scholars. Apart from the Literary Causerie and Reviews and Notices, new features have been added to the *Review* such as "Men in the Public Eye" and a section is devoted to criticism, discussions and comments, providing for expression of views by men of thought on the important topics of the day. The policy of the periodical will continue to be what it has always been—to synthesise the seeming divergences of conflicting opinion and to focus and reflect the essential Nationalist ideas of India to the world outside. We have no doubt this policy will be unflinchingly pursued. The *Hindustan Review* has a record behind it of which it may well be proud and we offer our felicitations to it on its new rebirth and wish it a life as full of service in the future as it has been in the past.

—The Searchlight.

IV

We cordially welcome the appearance of the *Hindustan Review* again as a monthly. The *Review* was founded by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in 1900 and soon made its name as one of the best monthly

magazines of India. During the last seven years it was conducted as a quarterly, mainly on account of Mr. Sinha's appointment as the Governor's Executive Council member in Bihar and Orissa. It is now again published as a monthly with effect from July last. The July number contains most of the attractive features of the *Review*, its wide range of subjects, broad outlook on national life and excellent book reviews. The *Hindustan Review* has been all these thirty years a worthy exponent of the general awakening of the country. We have no doubt that in strenuous years to come it will continue to make a bold stand for general progress against all reactionary forces.

—The Bombay Chronicle.

V

It is a pleasure to find that the *Hindustan Review*, which had lapsed into a Quarterly in 1922 owing to the appointment of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha as a Member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa, is reconverted into a monthly from July 1929. Mr. Sinha is once more at the post of Chief Editor. In the first article of the July number Mr. Sinha recalls the memories of the last thirty years since the *Review* was ushered into existence. It falls to the lot of few publicists to recount the experiences of thirty years and still be in the full vigour of youth and activity. It is pleasant to hear Mr. Sinha speak of the times when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was "a rising young publicist" known as Pandit Tej Bahadur, when Pandit Motilal Nehru "dressed in the fashionable braided dark grey morning coat and fancy striped trousers" made slashing attacks on the extremists, when Mr. Gandhi was practically unknown and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—now in the running for the Presidency of the Congress—was just going to school.

It was in this atmosphere that the *Hindustan Review* was born. Comparing the conditions which prevailed then with those which now exist, Mr. Sinha is led to conclude that India has made great strides in political progress, and that if there is no great upheaval owing to the government's folly, and if communal relations are gradually improved, there is every hope that the road to Dominion Status will be smooth. The July number contains a number of well-written articles on various subjects from the pen of distinguished writers. It runs into nearly one hundred pages, and the get-up is all that can be desired.

—The Behar Herald.

VI

We welcome an old contemporary in a new "get-up." The *Hindustan Review* has re-appeared as a monthly journal in an attractive garb, and we find Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's name in the board of its Editors. We sincerely wish his return to his old love—journalism and the *Hindustan Review*. The latter has really suffered from his excursions into official life. Mr. Sinha contributes a really enjoyable article in the present

issue: "Thirty Years After." It may be presumptuous on our part, but we may venture to say that we will be really happy if Mr. Sinha takes painstaking interest in editing the journal and devotes a few hours every month to give us something of his rare style and rich diction blended with his sparkling humour. It will be a real literary treat to the readers of the *Hindustan Review*.—*The Express*.

VII

With the July issue, the *Hindustan Review* has become a monthly from a quarterly and we heartily welcome this transformation for we have thereby an excellent addition to our monthly periodicals. In the opening article, "The Hindustan Review: Thirty years after" which has been reproduced *in extenso* in many Indian dailies, our esteemed friend Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law, who is also one of the Joint Editors of the magazine, gives a brief but interesting history of the career of the Review during the last thirty years. His article is also a graphic survey of the outstanding political events of the country during the same period. The contributors to the magazine are all well-known persons. "The Need for Synthesis in Indian Politics" by Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.C., "The League of Nations after Nine Years" by Mr. K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., B.L., "The Indian Peasant in History" by Mr. W. H. Moreland, I.C.S. (Retd.), "Simple Life in the Himalayas" by Captain George Cecil, "Constitution-making in India by Politicians," "Prohibition a National Issue" by Mr. S. G. Warty, M.A., "A Study of Birth-control" by late Mrs. Lucy M. Peares, "Teachings of Indian Philosophy" by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, "A very Ancient Indian Seal" by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, "India Through the Ages" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "The Future Constitution of India" by Mr. P. M. L. Verma, M.A., LL.B., etc., are all well-written and thought-provoking articles and would amply repay perusal. We wish the *Hindustan Review* a bright and prosperous future. The magazine is published from 15, Edmonstone Road, Allahabad, and the annual subscription is Rs. 6 only.

—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

VII

The *Hindustan Review*, the well-known political and literary monthly, founded and edited for many

years by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha at Allahabad, was converted into a quarterly when he became a member of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and it was then removed to Calcutta. Now that Mr. Sinha has returned to public life he has again taken over the editorship of the journal (associating with himself Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's son) and brought it back to Allahabad making it a monthly again. From Mr. Sinha's survey of the past thirty years, which we reprinted the other day from the July issue (the first of the new series), it will be seen that the *Hindustan Review* has been doing steady and solid work in educating public opinion and in stimulating activities aiming at all-round national progress. It has always been noted for its sanity and breadth of outlook and the issue before us shows that its conductors are fully alive to the importance of making it a mirror of the many-sided interests of the nation. The journal deserves well of the public and we wish it a long career of continued usefulness.—*The Hindu*.

IX

The *Hindustan Review* under the able editorship of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-law, once occupied a unique place among Indian periodicals. Its reappearance under Mr. Sinha's guidance and control after a lapse of thirty years will be hailed by the reading public with sincere pleasure. As an exponent of the intellectual life of the country, and as an advocate of political and economic freedom the *Hindustan Review* did great service in the past, and we confidently hope that it will render still greater service to the nation in the future by contributing to the cause of Indian freedom. Mr. Sinha is a public man with a distinguished record of service to the country to his credit. His reputation as an editor has been well-maintained in the first issue of the new series of his *Review*. The articles are all well-chosen and ably written by men who have established their claims to be recognised as experts on the subjects they have dealt with. Mr. Sinha's retrospective survey of the events of the last three decades has added specially to the charm of the issue under review. Mr. Sinha has embarked upon his labour of love with the ideal of synthesising "the seeming divergencies of conflicting opinion and to focus and reflect the essential Nationalist ideas of India to the world outside." He is eminently fitted for the task and we wish him God-speed.—*Liberty*.



THE LATE DESHA-BANDHU C. R. DAS.

(See page 249)

"For Humanity sweeps onward,
Where today the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas,
With the silver in his hands;

(vide, p. 216)."

"To pass when life her light withdraws,
Not void of righteous self-applause,
Nor in a merely selfish cause,
In some good cause, not in mine own,
To perish, wept for, honour'd, known,
And like a warrior overthrown;

(vide, p. 253)."



THE LATE SJT. JITANDRANATH DAS.

(See page 295)

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"BACK TO NON-CO-OPERATION": OUR ONLY SLOGAN—II

By SRIJUT RAJENDRA PRASAD, M.A.

THE years 1921-22, when Non-Co-operation in India was at its zenith, were a most remarkable period in many respects. If you went to towns and listened to the voices of the people at large, you could not mistake for a moment that the resolutions and instructions of the Indian National Congress were awaited with more eagerness and carried out with greater regard than the declarations of Government emanating from their highest representatives. The whole psychology of the masses was completely changed. Instead of looking to Government for good or for evil, they had begun to look

up to their leaders, to themselves and to their own strength and organisation.

Legislative Councils, which but serve to dress the window and to show to the world the willing acquiescence of India in her bondage, lost much of their charm in the eyes of the masses. Had the law courts been completely boycotted as dens of gambling, educational institutions as dens of corruption for the youth, and the Legislative Councils as dens of subservience for the grown-up, then the intellectually equipped and the patriotic Indians would have been the true servants of the country. Here,



SRIJUT RAJENDRA PRASAD, M.A.

the true servants of the country. Here,

again, it would be wrong to suppose that this item of the programme was wholly negative in its effect and operation. Its positive aspect was one of the most wonderful phenomena seen in modern India. The propaganda for Swaraj was carried intensively within a few months from one end of the country to the other. There was hardly a hamlet which was not reached, and there was hardly a thinking man or woman who was not touched by that never-to-be forgotten wave of enthusiasm. It was a bliss to have lived in those momentous times, but it was the very heaven to have participated in that soul-stirring work of rousing an ancient and historic people from its slumber to claim its own at last. That awakening still exists. It only requires a master-hand to harness it to useful activities, so that the aim which is no less than the emancipation of one-fifth of the human race may be achieved before long. The only question is how best to utilise that awakening to the best advantage.

It is much to be regretted that the value and the strength of Council boycott, as an effective instrument for destroying the prestige and apparent justification of British Rule in India, were not fully realised by even some of the most prominent leaders of the movement. It is not my purpose here—it would be idle to do so now—to revive the old controversy about the boycott of Councils from within and from without, or of the change and the no-change policy of the non-co-operators. I must be permitted, however, to record my conviction that if (the late) Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru had, on their release from jail, stuck to the original programme, dedicated their great talents, mighty influence and undoubted devotion and patriotism to the service of the country in the spirit of the programme originally framed, India today would

have been stronger and better equipped for attaining her political freedom in the near future than she is at present. That great ideology which enabled people to turn their eyes from Government to national institutions, which made them look more to the sittings of the All-India Congress Committee than to the sittings of the Assembly and the Provincial Councils, which made them listen with greater respect to the speeches and the statements of a national leader—a Gandhi, a Das, a Nehru, an Ajmal Khan and a host of others—than to the carefully-worded adulations or threats of a Viceroy or a Provincial Governor, has been very largely affected for the worse (from the national point of view) by reason of the entry of Congressmen into the legislatures. I, therefore, cannot help looking upon the unfortunate episode of the change in programme of 1922-23 with a feeling that it was in an evil moment that the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee was appointed, that the only result of the Council programme has been to add another six to the large number of barren years of political experimentation, and to add to the many fissures and cleavages—which have always divided India to its great detriment and to the great profit of the foreigner and the exploiter, widening them where they existed from before and creating new ones where none was suspected at all. The present sad state of affairs in the country is an illuminating commentary on the great and grievous mistake made in 1922-23 by the change in the programme—from genuine, unadulterated non-co-operation to practical co-operation through entrance into the Legislative Councils.

The non-co-operation movement further aimed at removing two of the most crying evils in the Indian society—the evils of untouchability among the Hindus

and of drink. A strong public opinion has been created against untouchability and while it is a very difficult task to break an evil custom which has taken hundreds of years—if not a thousand or more—to grow and become crusted, the impetus that was imparted by the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi to the destruction of this socially perverse custom was great, indeed. It was similarly not a small achievement to have created such a strong opinion against drink even among classes most addicted to it as to cause a considerable reduction in the Government revenue from Excise in several provinces. If we had but a sympathetic Government, the ground was more than half prepared for total prohibition. But instead of drunkards being brought to book, those who preached against drink and drugs were in large numbers most unceremoniously and in many cases with very doubtful legality, even under the law, as it exists, clapped into jails.

The item of boycott of foreign cloth through *khaddar* (that is, handspun and handwoven cloth) remains as the last item for discussion. It is based on two undeniable economic facts. India is a vast country about 90 p. c. of whose population are dependent for their livelihood on only one industry—agriculture. Before the development of the British cloth industry and its trade in that commodity with India, these agriculturists utilised their spare time (of which there was plenty) in spinning yarn and a very much smaller portion also in weaving that yarn into cloth. This supplementary occupation has been destroyed, in various ways. Population has increased, pressure on land has become greater and other avenues of occupation for the agriculturists' spare time have become more and more restricted. The result has been the widespread and evergrowing poverty of

the masses consequent on their forced idleness during a great part of the year. Industrial development on Western lines has been slow and in so far as it has gone, it has served but to make the problem of unemployment more difficult of solution for India. Some new avenues have undoubtedly been opened. But these touch but a very very small proportion of the vast population, and that too at the cost of much that was culturally beautiful and valuable in their lives. The problem, therefore, is to find an occupation which will enable the agriculturist to add to his slender income without dislocating his home and agricultural work. Revival of hand-spinning and handweaving is considered by highly competent and qualified authorities as supplying such an occupation. While enabling the agriculturist to make himself and, through him the whole country, self-sufficient in the matter of cloth supply, it is further expected to create amongst the people at large that confidence in their own strength and capacity, which is always born of achieving something that is worth doing. I have not the space here to go more into details in discussing the pros and cons of the *khaddar* programme. But it can be stated without fear of contradiction that in spite of the opposition, open or tacit, and the apathy, which is harder to conquer, of the intellectual classes, it has been making steady progress, gaining converts in most unexpected quarters and is already able to provide supplementary work to thousands and thousands of poor people, mostly women, who were willing to work and earn a living but were unable to do so for want of some useful employment. A sceptic has to go to the centres where *khaddar* work is being done at present and to see and study for himself how it has served to lighten the burden of

the poorest, to bring cheer to the hunger-stricken and succour to the most deserving (because the most willing to work) poor in the land. The healthy change already effected in this direction has been truly marvellous.

These in the main were the items—destructive and constructive—of the Non-Co-operation movement. They were like the pillars of an edifice. Its foundation, which lay at the root of the whole edifice, consisted of the unity of all communities in India, and particularly of the most numerous and important communities, namely, the Hindu and the Mussalman. It was felt that in a country like India with such a big minority as that of Mussalmans—who are not segregated in any one particular province or district, but are spread over the whole country—it is essential that there should be no quarrels between them and the Hindus, that both should live side by side in perfect peace and amity, each anxious to yield a point to the other and each willing to make sacrifices for the common good of the country as a whole. There is no doubt that the Mussalman feeling at that time was very much agitated over the Khilafat question. The Hindus, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, wholeheartedly threw themselves into the agitation for the Khilafat, and it seemed that the Hindus and the Mussalmans would henceforth live and work together for the liberation of their common motherland. Other communities also did their best and the picture of an India with her different creeds and communities all living and working for the common good of their country was distinctly visible in the Non-Co-operation period. Non-violence and truth are the fundamental principles of Mahatma Gandhi's creed. In fact, he looks upon the two as one and regards each as proceeding from and ending in the

other. To liberate India by non-violence was his aim. True, all who joined the Non-Co-operation movement did not look upon non-violence as a creed to be accepted and acted upon, in *all* circumstances. But even they accepted it as the norm of their conduct and as the basic principle of the movement as an expedient. Non-violence was preached from countless platforms and even those who did not believe in it as a creed were no less enthusiastic and sincere in their preaching than those who accepted it as such. It was doubtless a miracle that the country put its faith in a weapon which does not appear to have been used in any earlier struggle for popular emancipation on such a vast scale. But the reason for this is not very difficult to divine. It was accepted by some as the only weapon available, by others as the best in the absence of any other and by some as absolutely the best that could be devised. If we look into the history of other nations' struggles for freedom, the usual weapon has been resort to violence. Now no one can justly condemn the use of force by a conquered people against their conquerors. It may even be an act of virtue under certain circumstances. All that is claimed for non-violence, as a means of securing India's freedom, is that it requires less sacrifice, can be quicker and more easily organised, is more effective in its operation, will (at the end of the struggle) leave India richer and stronger, and is, above all, the only means which India can safely adopt. It is besides morally infinitely superior to resort to violence. That the world is also slowly moving towards the same ideal is evidenced by the many attempts now being made to end war by war-resisters' organisations under various names all over the world. Even nations which are armed to the teeth and whose resources

are being used for preparation for war, find it necessary ostensibly to pay homage to the ideal of peace and express at least sympathy with proposals for disarmament. It does not require a prophet to say that if a disarmed India can win her freedom by the methods of non-violence, the way to the establishment of a world federation based on mutual trust and absence of exploitation will have been cleared. It is in this faith and with this vision that Mahatma Gandhi has been working—working not only for the emancipation of India but also for the emancipation of humanity at large.

The various items of the programme enumerated and discussed above were intended and expected to lead to a condition of affairs when the people, as a whole, would have been prepared to withdraw their support from Government and when, if necessary, disobedience of non-moral laws by large sections of them and subsequent non-payment of taxes would be resorted to. This could and can succeed only if there is a general atmosphere of absolute non-violence prevailing in the country. Not that in a vast country like ours there would be no slight disturbance of peace, but what is wanted is that there should be a general acceptance of the principle of non-violence, even as an expedient, at any rate, among the rank and file of workers who are expected to, and who do actually, influence the outlook and conduct of the masses at large. It will serve no useful purpose to revive here the controversy whether Mahatma Gandhi's call for a halt at Bardoli in 1922, as a consequence of the Chauri Chaura riots, was a right or wrong step. While I adhere to the view that had it not been for that wise and farsighted action on his part, the repression which would have followed upon the heels of similar occurrences elsewhere would have disorganised

the public activity of the country for a considerable time, it must be recognised also that many among the non-co-operators did not see eye to eye with Mahatma Gandhi on this point and looked upon his action as a retreat—an unfortunate set-back—which was wholly unnecessary and inexpedient and that too at a time when the country, in their view, was almost within reach of its goal. Both these points of view lead us into the region of "what might have been," and need not arrest our attention any further than to record the fact that after that event there was a great waning in the enthusiasm of the people or rather of the workers, and that the constructive programme which was so much emphasised in the Bardoli resolution and enforced, time after time, by the All-India Congress Committee and the Indian National Congress since, has never been able to claim that whole-hearted allegiance and faithful devotion which was and is its due, if the movement is to succeed. Faith in its efficacy has been lacking since, particularly among the workers. While they have never failed to express lip sympathy with it, they have never as a matter of fact put forth adequate efforts to carry it out. It requires slow but substantial and unostentatious work, and we have been drawn almost irresistibly into the easier and the more exciting programme of capturing legislatures and local self-governing bodies. I do not profess to judge the merits of the work done in the legislatures. But it cannot be gainsaid that the lure of the legislatures and boards has proved too much in the case of many non-co-operators and men have not been wanting who have claimed seats on these bodies as a mark of recognition of their service and sacrifice and gone the length of defying the Congress, if its provincial committees have chosen to favour the candidature of others. From 1923

onwards the Congress programme has revolved more and more round the legislatures, with the result that council activities have absorbed a great deal of the attention of the people, to the dire neglect of the organisation of the country for any serious struggle for attaining political and economic emancipation.

The appointment of the Simon Commission from which all Indians have been excluded and which is a direct negation of the much-advertised principle of "self-determination," led Indians of all schools of thought (including even those politicians who had co-operated with the Government so far) to unite not only in condemning it but also in boycotting it. This great national boycott which was sought to be first ignored, ridiculed and then suppressed by all means, including attack on peaceful demonstrators against it at many places, has now been admitted by the Viceroy and the members of the Commission itself as a most widespread one. After hundreds and thousands of lying messages had been wired about it from India to London, the Prime Minister felt compelled (in the course of his first speech in the House of Commons on India) to refer to the boycott of the Commission as follows:—"We regret very much that influential opinion in India and mass opinion also have not been favourable." In putting it in these terms, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was at least frank, for his statement was the first clear, official declaration that even the Indian masses were hostile to the Commission—official statements till then having only admitted that an influential section of only the intelligentsia were so disposed. The almost universal boycott has naturally created a stir and agitation in the country and glimpses of the scenes of popular enthusiasm of 1921-22 have been once again visible in 1928-29. The appointment of the Commission and the decla-

rations of Government officials that India with all her differences was unable to agree to any constitution acceptable to all classes, were regarded as a serious challenge to the nationalists and they formed a committee under the presidency of Pandit Motilal Nehru to draft a constitution. That Committee has prepared a draft constitution, which is popularly known as the "Nehru report." It has secured the support of the Congress, the Liberal Federation and of many other influential, political organisations. The portion dealing with the communal problem has evoked some differences, and the reactionary elements among the Mussalmans (who are opposed to some of its provisions for the protection of Muslim interest) have been considerably strengthened by the support lent to them by—of all others—the "Ali Brothers" and a few others from amongst those who were prominent among the Muslim non-co-operators. But it is noteworthy that while a few among the most prominent Muslim non-co-operators have joined the reactionaries in rejecting the Nehru Report, the vast majority of nationalist Mussalmans (led by the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Sir Ali Imam, Dr. Ansari and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad) have accepted it and have only suggested some modifications in details to make it more easily acceptable to some of its opponents. While the opposition to it need not be minimised, it should be also recognised that no other measure of such far-reaching consequences has secured such a large body of support within recent times in India. Almost all the political parties in the country have accepted it as adequate,—at any rate for the present. Among the communal organisations the Mussalmans are divided, each party claiming to represent the majority of Muslims. Some of the other communities have given it a conditional support,

accepting its provisions if they are acceptable to others and claiming special treatment, if such treatment is given to the Mussalmans. Considering the very large volume of support which the Nehru Report has received, while not ignoring or minimising the opposition to some of its provisions and keeping the door open for further negotiations for settling the outstanding points of difference, the National Congress held in Calcutta in December last adopted it as the constitution prepared by Indians for India and called upon the British Government to accept it within this year. The Congress has also laid down that in case it is not accepted by Government, it will organise non-violent direct action in January 1930, including civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes.

But Government on its side does not seem to be in a mood to consider this national demand in a spirit of reasonable compromise. Even the Labour Government is committed to the support of the Simon Commission and does not seem inclined to move before that Commission has submitted its report, some time early next year. The Prime Minister while frankly admitting (in his statement quoted above) the opposition to it of both the classes and the masses, has in the same speech reminded Indians of the good work which the Commission have done and appealed to them "to reopen the doors of their minds" and come round to the view to assist the Commission in their work. He seems to have failed to realize that Indians are fully cognisant of the work of the Commission and have always kept their eyes and ears open, and it is precisely because they have done so that the boycott of the Commission has become stiffer and more rigorous as days have passed, since scandalous incidents (including assaults by the Police on peaceful demonstrators) have

followed or preceded the itinerary of the Commission. The question now is—Is the country in a mood and in a position to enforce its demands? If so, what is the programme it should adopt? I do not propose to go into the idle controversy as to whether we should strive for "Dominion Status" or "Independence." To me it seems that precisely the same amount of effort and sacrifice will have to be put forth for attaining the one as the other, and thus to my mind there is no practical difference between the two. As I understand the matter, Dominion Status means nothing less than a partnership at will with the other parts of the British Commonwealth, and it will depend entirely on the attitude of the Britishers and the British Dominions, both before and after India attains her goal, as to whether India will exercise that option in favour of maintaining that partnership or of dissolving it. If, however, Dominion Status means anything less, many who are at present content to accept it will not care for it. If "Independence" means perpetual war with the British and the other Dominions, I do not think many who support that ideal now will like to keep India in that condition. The practical proposition for consideration is what steps can and should be taken to enforce the national demand as embodied in the Nehru Report. The present state of affairs is intolerable to all and can be perpetuated in future only by force, as it has been so long, and steps have therefore to be taken and means adopted to counteract it. Three programmes may be taken into consideration. The oldest and much tried one is that of "constitutional agitation." It is still accepted by the bulk of the moderate and liberal politicians—though some of them now are veering round in favour of boycott of

imported cloth—but has been definitely abandoned by the Congress and has been irrevocably rejected by that body as wholly inadequate. The next to be considered may be a programme of violence and open revolt against Government. I am not aware of any such programme, nor is it likely that it can be openly preached and organised by any section of the people, circumstanced as India is today. Government advertises, from time to time, the existence of secret societies, whenever it chooses to pass some repressive legislation. But it is admitted on all hands that violence has, at any rate at present, to be ruled out as utterly impracticable. Then there is the third and last alternative of non-co-operation, and that is what the Congress proposes to adopt for enforcing its demand on Government, on its failure to respond to the national demand at the end of the current year. Even if we are not prepared to accept non-violence on the ground of its ethical superiority to violent methods, it has to be adopted as the only way open to the people of India at present. But India should adopt non-violent non-co-operation not as the last resort of the weak and the helpless, not because she is unable to organise an armed revolt at present, not because no other method is available, but because it is the only method which can and will do for India and even for the world at large. Swaraj won by violence—assuming it were possible—will be the Swaraj of the strong. It is bound to create in

time mutual jealousies among our various castes and communities and sure to lead to a trial of strength amongst them. A civil war in India is sure to have repercussions outside it and to entangle many neighbouring countries in its meshes. The prospect of a civil war as a result of the establishment of Swaraj in the country cannot appeal to sensible Indians, and will not attract thoughtful people in its favour. For these cogent reasons, it seems to me that Non-Co-operation is the only safe method left open to us for bringing necessary pressure on Government. Whether we shall adopt the identical programme of 1921, or vary it in detail to suit present condition, will have to be decided by the next Congress at Lahore, when it finally makes up its mind to revive non-co-operation. But there can be no doubt that the country has to be made ready for some kind of non-violent direct action, on a mass scale, in the near future, and the last Congress laid down a programme for organising the country with that end in view, by strengthening Congress Committees throughout the country, and effecting a boycott of foreign cloth through khaddar propaganda. It is up to the nation to make good its promise and be prepared for the serious struggle before it. Let our slogan, therefore, be—"Back to Non-Co-operation," for *that* alone will bring India to her destined goal. The American poet Lowell's memorable lines seem to me to be quite apposite to the situation before India:—

For Humanity sweeps onward, where today the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas, with the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready, and the crackling faggots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday now in silent awe return,
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INDIA

By MR. C. VIJIARAGHAVACHARI

(Ex-President, Indian National Congress)

¹ "We must prevent, say, America making single-handed the decision that the Philippines are unfit for Self-Government; we must permit India to appeal beyond the decision of Parliament to the common will of a world unified into the League of Nations." (Professor H. J. Laakso: *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 229.)

It will be remembered that over three months ago on my return from the Calcutta meetings during the last Christmas, I ventured to make the statement that our political and economic salvation lay with the League of Nations. That was in the course of a conversation with a friend of mine and it was published in "The Hindu" on 2nd March last. I had intended to rewrite an article on the subject, the better to explain the whole position. But I have been unable to do so for two reasons. In the first place, I have been trying my best to get access to the literature of the League so as to be in possession of its full activities up-to-date. But I have not, as yet, succeeded in securing it. In the second place, my health suddenly collapsed and I am now an in-patient in Dr. Rajan's Clinic, Trichinopoly. Hence I have decided to republish the conversation as it appeared in "The Hindu" with this introduction, which I necessarily have to write under great disadvantages. I do so because I think it undesirable to postpone the performance of this duty of mine to the public any longer.

2. Criticisms have appeared of the expediency and the practicability of this suggestion and many friends have also written to me on the subject. Naturally enough, no one has blamed the suggestion, while some friends have praised it as a course worth trying. But to me it appears that all these criticisms ignore one vital consideration. Whether or not the League of Nations would save us and the world from a situation which is bound to develop into an economic and political disturbance of the highest magnitude, it is not clear what harm there is in our claiming its intercession at this stage. If the League of Nations is loyal to those ideals in the light of which its great

prophet and founder President Wilson started it, it is bound to take speedy notice of the Indian problem. If, on the other hand, the League has departed from those ideals, which I do not hesitate to deny, it deserves to be shown up. In either case India and the world stand to gain. I have therefore no doubt that the course which I have ventured to suggest is one which ought to be taken up by our leaders and tried as soon as possible.

THE CALCUTTA DECISIONS OF 1928

3. I may here permit myself to make a personal reference. The spirit which underlay the conclusions arrived at in the National Gatherings at Calcutta last December distressed me, as they must have distressed a great many others. There were those who, animated by a fervent enthusiasm and an impatient desire to see their country free at the earliest possible moment, proposed resolutions which stand redeemed only by the purity of their intention. There were those others, equally patriotic and no less ardent, who chastened their impatience with a lively practical sense. In trying to find a common formula, impatient idealists on the one hand, and practical politicians on the other, produced a compromise resolution replete with ambiguities. I shall not enter into a full examination of that compromise resolution. The only part of it which concerns me at present is that relating to Sanctions. I agree that what has been called the constructive programme, to be carried on uninterruptedly, is beyond controversy, a programme the most desirable. At the end of this year, however, should Britain not have responded to our demand for a self-determined constitution, as everybody is sure it would not, the Congress is to embark upon mass civil disobedience and non-violent non-co-operation. There can be no doubt that if all the other methods fail our deliverance is to come

from the employment of the Non-Co-operative method. That our culture lends itself to the easy use of this method cannot be gainsaid; but even with all our high spiritual attainment and training through the ages, let us disillusion ourselves of the actual dangers of this delicate instrument. We have had the experience of Mahatma Gandhi's movement. It did not succeed because even the Indian people lacked the strength and the character without which it is impossible to wield this godly weapon. We now know that to discipline the masses of our countrymen into sufficient fitness for working out successfully a programme of non-co-operation, would not only take a very long time, longer than we can wait with safety for the achievement of our objective, but it requires an amount of organisation and effort which in the present state of our country, political and financial, it is hardly possible to put forth. When I realised the immense difficulties of this method for use within measurable future, the idea of invoking the assistance of the League of Nations occurred to me as the only possible alternative. Let me not be understood as expressing any want of faith in the principles and the policy of non-co-operation. My faith in them stands reaffirmed. But I feel that it is even a higher course to adopt to appeal to the League, as by its intervention the League may save us and the world considerable suffering and enable us to achieve Swaraj easier and quicker. By its intervention the League cannot levy any suffering either in person or in property but non-co-operation is nothing if it is not a draft upon the popular capacity to suffer, and suffer terribly, in both person and property.

APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

4. The appeal to the League of Nations is a challenge to the conscience of civilised mankind. Almost every important self-governing country in the world which has pretensions to permanent and civilised institutions is represented on that body. Its ideals and its professions have been pitched to a humanitarian key; its watchword is international justice. To prevent war and to settle international dis-

pute by mutual discussion and arbitration rather than by dictation or by war is the object of its policy. To whom shall an oppressed people appeal for a peaceful settlement of its grievances against the oppressor, if not to a body inspired by such ideals and endowed with such opportunities? The League maintains, at great cost, several agencies for the purpose of facilitating its work; and India pays a very large proportion of that cost. She is entitled not only on humanitarian grounds but as a permanent and prominent member of the League, to call in the whole-hearted assistance of the League agencies for the solution of her various problems. The specialised skill which the League commands cannot be had anywhere else.

5. It is suggested that the League of Nations will not easily take cognizance of our appeal. I have discussed this aspect of the question in some detail in the course of the conversation. I adhere to the view that it is possible to bring the matter up before the League effectively in more ways than one. Article XI of the Covenant is most important in this respect. President Wilson himself referring to it said: "Article XI says that it shall be the friendly right of any member of the League to call attention at any time to anything, anywhere that threatens to disturb the peace of the world or the good understanding between nations, upon which the peace of the world depends. That in itself constitutes a revolution in international relationships. Anything that affects the peace of any part of the world is the business of every nation. It does not have simply to insist that its trade shall not be interfered with; it has the right to insist that the rights of mankind shall not be interfered with." This emphatic and impressive interpretation of the article by the father of it is most helpful to our cause. That to ignore the Indian situation would menace the world's peace is certain. That any member of the League may invoke its jurisdiction to interfere in this matter is equally certain. I believe that it would not be impossible to persuade one of the many member-nations to move in this behalf, having regard to the justice, urgency and peril of the situation. I need not here refer to the fact that the League has jurisdiction *suo motu* to interfere, as M. Briand's action as President of the League

Council in the dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia shows. I desire also to refer to the views of two very eminent thinkers.

INDIA'S POSITION IN THE LEAGUE

6. I invite attention to the passage quoted from Professor Laski's 'A Grammar of Politics' at the head of this introduction. If the Philippine question and the Indian question have to be ultimately decided under the auspices of the League of Nations, can it be suggested that the application for the League's intervention is entertainable only if it proceeds from the Philippine Government or the Government of India? The constitution of the League makes it clear that the *Governments* of the various countries are the constituent members. Accordingly the Government of India is the member of the League. But this is a most remarkable instance of a Government not representing the people whom it governs, which has been allowed to become and remain a member of the League. Today India is represented on the League not by the chosen delegates of her people but by the nominees of the British Government. Who expects that Britain will permit these nominees to put forth the Indian people's point of view to the League? The people can therefore only invoke the jurisdiction of the League through other available means. International justice which is the governing principle of the League's activities, gives her the implied power to act at the invitation of the real party on whose behalf the Covenant provides that the respective governments as representing that party, shall sit on the League Assembly.

7. Now, let me allude to the views of Professor Noel Baker, M.P., Professor of International Studies in the London School of Economics. He said, "Despite its defects, the League of Nations was at this moment of great importance to India. If India was to become one of the great nations of the world, it would probably be largely through the instrumentality of the League. In any case, her nationality, whether as a Dominion or as a completely independent State, would be aided and developed in large measure by association with that body; but he was not surprised that India took little interest in the League so long as her delegations are

nominated and instructed by Downing Street." This is the verdict of a gentleman who has studied the place of the League in the economy of the world. Let us hasten the day when we shall utilise the League through whose instrumentality we shall realise our place among the great nations of the world. Let us invoke their assistance in time so that our nationality, which is but in the making, may be aided and developed in large measure by that body. Let us understand that whether we shall be a Dominion within the British Empire or an Independent State outside of it, we stand equally in need of the good offices of the League.

BOGEY OF BRITAIN'S OPPOSITION

8. I appeal to my countrymen not to be daunted by the mere apprehension that the League will be prevented by Britain from entering into this question. We must ever be prepared to meet Britain's opposition, whether in a campaign of non-co-operation or in the chamber of the League Assembly, and the latter is by far the most easy. Besides we must remember that the small nations of the world which form the majority of the members of the League will be naturally sympathetic to our aspiration for freedom rather than to Britain's efforts to keep us in bondage; and as Professor Delisle Burns so clearly points out, the peculiar usefulness of the League arises from the opportunity it affords to the small nations to participate in and to influence the policy of the great powers. This influence will be more or less in proportion to the magnitude and the urgency of the interests involved. The Indian Swaraj question, both in its internal and international aspects, is of sufficient gravity and importance to the future of the world's peace that we may expect the experienced statesmen who meet in Geneva to take a just and rational view of it. It is in this hope and in the hope that my countrymen will explore every avenue that is open to us to reach the haven of Swaraj that I have ventured respectfully to tender my humble suggestion. So ardent and so devoted a friend of India as Mr. C. F. Andrews has recently told our countrymen that our eternal interests are best served by our continuance as members of the League of Nations. To the advice coming from him, pure, disinterested and well-informed as it is,

we are bound to pay heed. Also as a devout Hindu I revere Sri Krishna's sacred precept that action must be our duty, the fruit thereof is no concern of ours. The League may do what it likes but we shall not give room for the reproach that we failed to give it a chance.

9. The conclusion is sought to be drawn that because the Indian people do not enjoy self-government, India's membership of the League is an anomaly and that therefore the League for the present should treat our Government as an appendage to the British Government. So it is in fact, but it is this very anomaly which we require the League to remove. Either the League should in all honesty render every help it can in our efforts to become nationally an organised people and a real member internationally, or it should speedily decline to be party to Britain's game of enjoying an additional and undeserved vote in the League Assembly in the name of India. To send us out is perhaps not within the competence of the League because we are an original member and our people have always paid their quota to the League's expense promptly and without demur. The only inevitable alternative for the League is therefore to take action on our application.

10. Apart from the rights of parties arising from the interpretation of the League Covenant, it would raise the prestige of the League in a striking manner if it should interfere in major questions of this kind with the sole view of righting an age-long international wrong. Instead of going to the logical length of either ignoring the people of India or of sending out the Indian Government from the League, it would, we may be sure, take the far nobler course of altering the fiction of Indian representation into a fact. This will stand out as among the most beneficent achievements in all history.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE

11. If my countrymen are still sceptical of the usefulness of the League's intervention, it is probably because, in their pre-occupations with internal politics, they have not bestowed enough attention to the history of the achievements of the League. I have drawn attention to some of those achievements in the con-

versation. Since then details have come to us of the manner in which the League so successfully settled the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay. In December, 1928, whilst the League Council was sitting in Lugano came the news of a serious war-threat in South America. Bolivia and Paraguay had fallen out. M. Briand, the President of the Council, immediately sent out cables to the disputants reminding them that as members of the League they were pledged to try peaceful means of settlement. He secured the support of American and Argentine representatives. He then told the Bolivian and Paraguayan *Charges d'Affaires* that unless they adopted a more conciliatory attitude, the League would have to consider what further measures should be taken to preserve peace. Immediately, Bolivia, the more aggressive of the two States, cabled to the League that her troops had been ordered to cease fire. Almost at once Paraguay, who had been calling up reserves, set about the demobilisation. Both countries have agreed to accept mediation by the Pan-American Conference, and have signed a Protocol to that effect. It is noticeable that the Pan-American Conference was also sitting at the time. According to one interpretation of the Munroe Doctrine, the interference of the League of Nations would be violation of that doctrine. By the step he took, M. Briand impliedly extended the jurisdiction of the League of Nations, overriding this new interpretation of the Munroe Doctrine. He thereby did, indirectly, a great service to the many American States which were all resisting this novel interpretation which reduced all American questions to the category of domestic questions, and as such, incapable of being touched by non-American diplomacy. The prestige of the League has increased as a result of this achievement, especially as the U. S. A. has acquiesced in these proceedings. The next important event of the highest significance to the League of Nations' ideal is the Kellogg Pact. Although owing to a change of the Party in Power, America refused to join the League of Nations, a creation of the Democratic President Wilson's, she realised that the League ideal has come to stay. The Kellogg Pact is a clumsy and almost hypocritical homage to that ideal and a spurious imitation of some of the provisions of the League Covenant. After this, let no

one discount the permanent influence in international affairs of the League of Nations. It is yet too soon to say whether the sanctions are adequate to the successful carrying out of the decisions of the League. But this is necessarily of slow development, considering the novelty of this institution, and the departure it marks from the traditional methods of settling disputes and of healing economic ills.

12. Already the non-participation of America in the League is a serious disadvantage both to America and to the League. It is an irony that President Wilson, one of the greatest of the world's benefactors, who started the League on its career, should have encountered such extreme opposition to the League's idea from his own countrymen. It only shows that America erred in choosing for her President a prophet and a philosopher far in advance of her ideals; but the world gained by America's error. The League of Nations has come to stay. It is a privilege to belong to this sacred institution if we might do so as equals and not as mere licencees as we are today. While thus we resuscitate ourselves as equals of the other nations of the world, we shall not only take upon ourselves those difficult duties which a civilised people owe to their less fortunate brethren, we shall also be in an eminent position to make phenomenal internal progress.

ADVANTAGES OF LEAGUE'S INTERVENTION

13. The appropriateness of inviting so distinguished a body to take notice of the Indian question appears to me to be obvious. It is impossible to conceive of a fairer arbitrator between nations. It is impossible also to think of a more efficient agency to advise in the readjustment if not the reconstruction of the country's political and economic policy. The variety of experience and talent available through the League's agencies is unavailable through any other source. In this respect also its history for the short period of ten years fills me with hope. It has averted national bankruptcies, it has revived trade and prosperity among paralysed communities. Austria and Hungary would not be on the map of Europe but for the timely assistance of the League of Nations.

THE CRISIS IN INDIA

14. We in India have now reached a supreme crisis. I have always stressed and I am not tired of doing so now, that the persistent decrease of our average age and of our physical stamina to resist disease are unmistakable indications of this crisis. The causes of the decrease are attributed by our thinkers and leaders, among other reasons, to various social factors. But it appears as though the main reason for our present state is not fully appreciated. That reason is the growing poverty of our people as a result of a wilful pursuit of an anti-national financial policy. We ought, therefore, to invite the League of Nations to assist us in conceiving and applying sound national financial policy. China of Asiatic Governments is the most recent instance of a country emerging from anarchy utilising the expert assistance of the League in setting her financial affairs in order.

PROBLEM OF THE NATIVE STATES

15. There is then the problem of the Indian Native States. I have been of opinion that the relations between British India and the Indian States must be governed by principles of International Law. Substantial questions relating to fiscal and political policy have been raised; and it is clear that the Butler Committee has failed to satisfy the parties concerned. These are questions eminently within the province of the League, and I even think that in the present organization of international affairs the sole jurisdiction pertains to the League. Britain is said to occupy a position of paramountcy in relation to these States; but the exact scope and operation of this paramountcy in principle, has yet to be determined. It is obviously unjust to let Britain herself decide this matter. Having regard to the immensity and the importance of this question, I think it is the duty of the League acting within its express powers to take immediate notice of this question and award a settlement.

16. Next, the League has enunciated standards of justice to minorities which should be of the highest value in solving the minorities question in India. Self-Government in mid-European States would be farcical if the League had not formulated sound principles for the protection of minorities, principles which have given universal

satisfaction. Says a great author, "The development of a new technique in adjusting the claims of minorities to general policy leads to the interesting situation that instead of being sources of irredentism and friction, they are often means of reconciliation with the neighbouring peoples." Let us invite the League to apply this new technique to the problem of minorities characteristic of India. The National Congress has in co-operation with other bodies made many efforts to find an acceptable solution of this very important question. The Government all along not only left us severely alone but they have always adjusted their policy so as to keep alive and even promote these differences. Let us frankly confess the failure of our unaided efforts. In anguish of heart Mr. Jinnah told his countrymen, "If you wish to live as decent men in this country, you must settle the Hindu-Moslem question. If you want to cease to be Pariahs in this world, settle this question." Let us remember that the Hindu-Moslem question does not exhaust the problem of minorities in this country. In fact the political problem of India is solved the moment we can find a suitable solution to allay the fears and to safeguard the interests of the minorities of this country. The Sikhs and the Christians have displayed commendable enthusiasm for a nationally united India among religious minorities. It is not that they do not feel the necessity for special protection but that they know the immediate need of the hour to be the achievement of Swaraj. It is highly desirable to have an expert committee of the League to go into all these questions impartially and according to accepted principles. There is a greater likelihood of their recommendations being received favourably, as they would be in the position of jurymen, disinterested, and without any motive for partiality.

INDIAN MILITARY EXPENDITURE

17. This leads me on to the next most important reason why we should establish and maintain live contact with the League. The military expenditure in India has always been outrageously heavy and disproportionate to the actual needs of Indian defence. Our efforts have failed to reduce this expenditure. By our becoming active members of the League we shall get the benefits of its protection and shall be in a

position to largely reduce our armaments and to deflect the present wasteful expenditure to nation-building activities.

INDIA'S STATUS AMONG NATIONS OF THE WORLD

18. While thus in the internal organisation of our country we have everything to gain by invoking the assistance of the League, our position among the nations of the world will become assured if we succeed in turning our membership of the League into a reality. I envisage a future when India shall be a permanent or at least a semi-permanent member of the League Council. We are a nation in the making, and the genius of our times points to the irresistible conclusion that no nation can be made except as part of an international mechanism. I believe that if Afghanistan had become a member of the League, King Amanullah would have found himself stronger in dealing with the most lamentable and reactionary revolution in recent times. Let us warn ourselves against the consequences of such an isolated nationalism. Our object must be to secure an effective voice in the ordaining of world policy, as economically and politically, our interest in world peace and prosperity is as great as that of any other country in the world.

19. When once we gain such a status, our usefulness to the world would be unlimited. We shall be in a far better position than any other member of the League to undertake those arduous and humanitarian duties which the League requires some of its members to perform in respect of Mandated territories. Having ourselves suffered under intolerable servitude in which we have been involuntarily placed, we have exceptional intuition and experience to administer the League's mandate in the lasting interest of the world.

CONCLUSION

Let me now conclude. I have endeavoured to refer to a few aspects of the questions in a rambling way. I hope that at a later date I shall do all that is in my power to impress upon my countrymen the duty of utilising this method for the achievement of our ideals. I hope also to be able to

create sufficient interest in my countrymen so that the younger and more energetic amongst them might work it out with speed and decision. If the method fails we shall not be the poorer. But if it succeeds, what a saving of human suffering! The weapons of civilised warfare are available not only to warring governments, they are equally available to an oppressed people at war with their tyrant rulers. I cannot contemplate without shudder the possibility in our country of an anarchy so convulsive. And yet that is what stares us in our face if our freedom is not peacefully gained immediately. We have waited

too long; we cannot wait any longer. We must win our freedom anyhow. But we are bound to try every method of peace before we resign ourselves to the inevitable arbitration of the sword. God guide us with wisdom on this supreme occasion.

Note.—Since the above was written, the views of Mr. H. N. Brailsford, published in "The New Leader" appeared in "The Hindu" of June 15, 1929. Mr. Brailsford suggests that the League of Nations is the proper authority to safeguard the interests of Indian minorities. I am glad to find that my own views have received the support of this eminent authority.

HOW TO MAKE INDIA A NATION : ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN*

By THE RIGHT HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C.

THE Students' Brotherhood starts well indeed in having listened this morning to most instructive and interesting address. I may well congratulate the organization on its excellent inauguration. I too have made acquaintance of a gentleman who, being called to the high office of Vice-Chancellor, has proved how fit he is to guide the young. A ripe scholar, who is not afraid of making large quotations from the classics in such a place as Poona, is a person whom we may congratulate upon his courage. Some of us, I am afraid, have been banished from the world of books and good literature—exalting thoughts clothed in beautiful language we once knew—but are daily companions today of Blue Books and Reports; and our new inspiration comes either from the "Democrat" of Nairobi or from the "Chronicle" in Bombay. To be reminded of the great sayings that have inspired our race from the beginning

and to which it is never unprofitable to turn, not even in the moments of greatest excitement, seems to me to be called from the world—it may seem very paradoxical, but like many paradoxes it is true—of fleeting unrealities to the world of abiding truth. You, Sir, have done us this great service this morning and our debt to you is indeed great.

HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY

You have further had not only the wisdom but the bravery to call upon Hindus and Moslems to unite; and coming from a Vice-Chancellor who must not speak about politics, your exhortation that we should attend to political as well as social and religious reconstruction is indeed a novelty. What else it is, I will not venture to say; but I will remember to quote against you as often as occasion may

* An Address delivered to the "Students' Brotherhood," at Poona.

arise your saying that the Indian people are a nation. Well, are the Indian people a nation? If they are not a nation today, there is no duty higher than to make them a nation. Much that we have heard today in the statement that was made, in the songs, and in the Vice-Chancellor's address, takes us far indeed from the daily happenings about which we read and hear. To say that the human race is a brotherhood and that we must realise it is to report for the millionth time one of the greatest commonplaces of this world. Ever since such a thing as Religion was known, great teachers have laid down the duty of a love that knows no boundaries of race or country or colour. It has been the dream of all great workers of every kind—statesmen and philosophers, why even the princes of the market place have spoken indeed in terms that pay homage to the idea that man is organically one being and that until that fact is recognised and embodied in our daily lives we fall short indeed of that for which we are destined.

Weary as we are of hearing this great truth, it must be admitted that our progress towards its realization is painfully slow. How often do we hear the contrary maxims preached, "East is East and West is West" is only one of the many sayings which run counter to this great teaching. It is not in the realm of politics only that we fall lamentably short of this ideal. All along the line, whether you consider countries or civilizations, or all the institutions under which the nations live today or even the institutions which they seek to fashion for tomorrow—whichever aspect of the world's life you consider for the moment—you see abundant signs that we are far, far indeed, from realising this great ideal.

Castes, for instance, in this country have been a dividing factor. We have now learnt from experience which has been, I am afraid, much too costly that caste is a thing which, whatever it may have done once, now works nothing but evil. If we cannot get rid of it altogether, we are anxious, each one of us in his own way, to get rid at least of the spirit of caste, of the arrogance it brings, of the exclusiveness that it seems to prescribe as duty. Some of us, ardent reformers, promise to ourselves at an early date the advent of a day when the spirit of caste will be banished from India; but while in India we sometimes venture to delight ourselves with this vision, look abroad for a minute and you will see in that other continent with which we are so closely allied, in that continent of Africa from which I just now have returned, you find a form of caste growing up. You find there caste built upon what seems to have been the first foundation of caste even in India, *viz.*, the distinction of colour, for our own castes seem originally to have been built upon the differences of 'Varna,' *i.e.*, colour. But it is interesting or it is full of tragic interest to see that while one branch of the human race should be struggling to rise from the trammels and limitations and the bondage of the caste in one part of the world, that at the same time in another part of the world another branch of our race should try to revive this outworn system; and then, not like in India where the Government, all our public institutions, the Law and everything that we live under, is against caste and spends its strength in destroying it, not like in India where we received so much assistance in the demolition of caste, but, alas, calling the aid of law, legal institutions, schools and colleges, even railway trains and commercial systems, posts and telegraphs, every sort of

thing which we are accustomed here to consider as enemy of caste, is there used to build up this system of caste and to keep man apart from his brother men. Is it not indeed a proof that these great ideals for which the founders of our religion stood, that these great ideals which seem to slide so easily from our lips morning and evening, are really slow of accomplishment?

ONENESS OF MANKIND

I will grant that upon a large survey of our human experience we seem steadily from age to age to be making progress towards it. But if we delude ourselves into the belief that that progress is absolutely fixed and is now made independent of our will or of our work, we make a tremendous mistake. Our lecturer this morning has done good service in reminding us of this everlasting obligation to fight ever for the oneness of mankind and to seek to widen the limitation of everything that has hitherto taught us to proceed the contrary directions. While that fight has gone on, we now start everyday movements of various kinds: some take root and flourish and do their allotted task for man; others last only for a day, live feebly while they live and then die without being lamented at all. One way and another, in some places strongly, in other places feebly, man ever seems to be moving forward towards his destiny. The fight, however, must be fought, old and young among us, rich or poor, man or woman, none of us can afford to rest from this never-ceasing fight. We do not know

when it began. Its beginning seems to have been lost in the early days of our race. Nor can we foresee that time when we may lay down our arms and rest content that man has at last realised his destiny. The fight then seems to be ceaseless, but for that reason none of us dare to turn our back upon it. Every one of us has to be a soldier in the fight and the inauguration this morning is but an enlistment of soldiers whose hearts, I believe, are fresh and young, whose courage, I hope, will last and whose work will live long after some of us will have been laid in our graves. To the brotherhood, Sir which you have inaugurated this morning, you and I and others here wish a long and happy and useful career. When young men come to Professor Joag to deliver up their names, may they remember that this morning they have been enlisting themselves as fighting units in this vast army whose work knows no race, in which there is nothing like final triumph in which at the same time there is nothing like hopeless defeat, in which there is work and honour and plenty of reward for the gallant and heroic soldier. To this fight, then, you are called this morning, young men of Poona, and may he who never closes his eye to the welfare of his creatures watch your career and see that as you begin so well you will also progress mightily from day to day and before this brotherhood weakens and dies away, it will have built for itself a name and reputation which others afterwards may take from it and carry on the great if ceaseless work.

MEMORIES OF SAINTS IN BIHAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

ABOUT the time of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, which convulsed North India and certain scenes of which were witnessed at Arrah in Bihar, on the road from the Ganges to the beleaguered house which still stands near the house occupied by the District Judge of Arrah, and at Bechiganj to the west of Arrah where Major Eyre routed a straggling rabble of mutineers, there were some noted saints in Bihar. India has always been the land of saints and they have been always venerated by all classes of people, and the remarkable fact remains that Mussalman saints are held in equal respect by Mussalmans and Hindus alike. At the time of the Mutiny and for several years thereafter people used to tell strange stories of the miraculous powers of these saints. That is another weakness of the Indian character, though the faith in miracles persists throughout the world. No story about a saint in India is complete without one or more miracles attributed to him, though the goodness of a man is in reality a miracle in itself. Some of the stories that I heard as a child have clung round my memory and I can yet recall the names of three saints whose fame had spread throughout Bihar in those days.

TIKIA SHAH

Tikia Shah derived his name from the little cakes of powdered charcoal used for smoking tobacco in Bihar and elsewhere. A fire lighted by these cakes was constantly burning in front of the saint and people brought him offerings of these cakes with which the fire was fed at all hours of the day and night. The saint was known by no other name and no one knew the history of his life. Year in and year out he was seen sitting in a little hut on the bank of the Ganges. The wonderful thing about him was that nobody ever saw him leaving his seat. When food was brought to him he ate sitting where he was. The charcoal cakes were heaped up within his reach and when there was no one to tend the fire he would feed it himself. Late at

night when he was left alone he would lie down and go to sleep, but the earliest morning visitor saw him sitting as usual, silent, and contemplative, with the fire burning near him. He spoke very little, though men and women flocked to him and asked him for all kinds of favours. He never accepted any offerings of money and showed no interest in wealthy visitors. When a child suffering from some illness was brought to him he would look into its eyes for a moment and lay a gentle hand upon its head and stroke its body two or three times. Generally the child was healed.

Naturally, there was a great deal of curiosity among the people about Tikia Shah. How could he remain in his seat day and night without ever going out to answer the calls of nature? No man was allowed to stay all night in the hut as after midnight all visitors were told to depart. There was no attendant, no disciple. And people were afraid to play the spy upon the saint, fearing his displeasure. One dark night, or rather in the small hours of the morning a poor man, a small vendor of green vegetables, was passing by the river-side in a hurry. It was about 3 a.m. The man had gone to a village where he was detained till a late hour and he was now hurrying back to town to buy vegetable from the wholesale green grocers the first thing in the morning. He had no intention of spying on Tikia Shah and did not even think of him. The hut itself was at some distance. Suddenly out of the dark, between the swift-flowing glistening waters and the hut of the saint a tall, dark form coming out of the river loomed up before the affrighted seller of vegetables. There was no mistaking that imposing, swarthy form and the wet, matted locks clinging to the bovine head and the strong neck. Erect and straight as a pillar stood Tikia Shah, and the other man stopped dead in his tracks. "What brings thee here at this hour of the night?" asked the saint in a voice that set the man's heart pounding against his ribs. "Hast thou been sent to watch me?" The

man fell down at Tikia Shah's feet and faltered out, "As Heaven is my witness, Shah Sahib, I had no thought of intruding on your privacy. I am returning from the next village and was hurrying to the market to buy the few vegetables that I sell." Tikia Shah ordered the man to stand up and fixed upon him a gaze that seemed to penetrate the darkness. After a few moments he said, "Thou art telling the truth. Go and prosper, but beware how thou tellest any man what thou hast seen tonight! If thou sayest but one word it will be at instant peril of thy life!" The man waited to hear no more but ran away as fast as his legs could carry him.

From the very next day the man prospered and he prospered so rapidly that in a few months he became a wealthy man, built himself a handsome house and drove about in his carriage and pair. He used to send daily offerings of *akhia*, or charcoal cakes, to the saint but never ventured to appear before him. He took precious care not to mention to any one that he had seen Tikia Shah moving about outside his hut and scarcely even mentioned his name. His wealth, however, proved his undoing, for with it came the desire for good living, the love of wine, the entertainment of boon companions, the patronage of music and dancing. One evening in his cups he grew boastful, for it is ever true that when the wine is in, the wit will be out. One of his chums rallied him on his sudden acquisition of wealth while a dancing girl, sitting in front of him was making eyes at him. "Ay, ay," said master Newrich, "many people would like to know where my wealth comes from." He poured himself another cup of wine, drank it off, hiccuped and resumed, "Only a few months ago I hawked a basket of vegetables and did not earn even two annas a day. Whence comes all this wealth that you see? You want to know where is my gold mine? It is near Tikia Shah's hut. Have you seen him seeking his gold at night?"

As he said these words blood gushed out of his mouth and he fell forward on his face—dead!

The next morning, so ran the legend, Tikia Shah disappeared and he was not seen again.

PHOOL SHAH

Unlike Tikia Shah Phool Shah was restlessness personified. He was rarely at rest. He was seen always striding along with long swinging steps, tireless, never halting, never resting. If in the morning he was seen passing through one village the evening would find him in another village twenty miles away. Food was promptly offered to him whenever he asked for it but he rarely asked for a night's shelter anywhere, and he slept anywhere, under the stars and the open sky, underneath a tree, but hardly ever under a roof. The children ran at his heels and the village women came running after him to ask for a blessing. His one engrossing passion was for flowers, whence he derived his name just as Tikia Shah was named after the charcoal cakes that were kept burning before him. Over his long trailing robe of many patches and many colours Phool Shah was loaded with garlands of flowers of every kind and he carried flowers in his hands and in his garment. Wherever he saw flowers he plucked them and as he passed like the Wandering Jew people ran after him to give offering of flowers and garlands. Like Tikia Shah he never accepted money and was credited with the possession of miraculous powers.

Phool Shah's wanderings were mainly confined to the Shahabad district, but sometimes he would cross the Sone to the east and would pass through Dinapur to Patna, or he would turn north and cross over the Ganges to Chuprah. Once he was found plucking flowers from the Magistrate Sahib's garden in Arrah. The Sahib ordered the fakir to be arrested but as his men appeared to be loath to lay their hands upon the holy man the Magistrate ordered Phool Shah into a room. The saint meekly obeyed without a word of protest and the Sahib promptly locked him up. He then sent for the police and the Inspector hastened to the Magistrate's bungalow. When the Magistrate went to unlock the room he found the doors wide open and the culprit gone. The Magistrate fumed and threatened his men who swore that they had not gone near the room, nor had any one seen Phool Shah pass out. The Magistrate of course had no faith in miracles out of the Bible, but the Inspector of Police respectfully explained that the fakir

was a very holy man who coveted nothing but flowers and it might lead to trouble if he were arrested. The Magistrate made light of the superstitiousness of the people but let the incident pass.

Phool Shah was a most elusive personality with the wander-lust strong upon him. He wanted nothing but flowers and people tried in vain to find him a fixed dwelling or to tempt him to live at any particular place. Sometimes in the deep silence of the night village and townsfolk would hear a deep, strong voice proclaiming *Alhamdulillah! Alhamdulillah!* and the voice would pass into the distance, and silence would once more fill the night. "It is Phool Shah passing," the bearers would mutter in awe and again seek their broken sleep.

BASULIA BABA

Close to the Gangi to the north of Arrah lived Basulia Baba in a clean, small hut at a considerable distance from the public road. He was a slender, dapper little man with a fair complexion and of scrupulously clean habits. He did not look like a Sadhu at all. He wore a white *chhakalia chapan*, *kuridar* pyjamas, a white muslin cap on his head, and looked almost a dandy. He was both learned and

pious, but unostentatiously and profoundly modest. He was accessible to all, but he made no pretensions of any kind, though people persisted in demanding favours from him and firmly believed that he possessed supernatural powers. He accepted no help and no charity. In a shelf in the wall there was a bamboo reed pipe, a *bansi* or *basuli*, from which he derived his name. He never played on it in the presence of any man. But in the still night he drew from it exquisite notes of ravishing melody. People would stand away at a distance and listen entranced to his music. No one ventured to approach near for as soon as the player saw any one coming the lute stopped and there would be no more music that night. Those who had heard him play, and among them were ignorant people as well as others who understood music, praised his skill with rapturous extravagance. They said they had never heard any man playing such divine music. They felt themselves uplifted, they felt as if their very souls were being drawn out of them. They fancied that Sri Krishna's lute must have made such heavenly music in Brindaban on the bank of the Jumna.

It is worthy of note that the real names of these three saints were never known, and they were called merely after their personal habits or accomplishments.

THE GROWTH OF TRADE WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE : A SURVEY*

By "FACTS AND FIGURES"

REMARKABLE evidence of how trade within the Empire has developed is contained in a very interesting volume, called the Third Annual Report of the Empire Marketing Board. "The newness of many of the great exporting industries of foodstuffs and raw materials in the oversea Empire is

not" states the Report, "perhaps, quite adequately appreciated. Every one of the Dominions and many of the Colonies have advanced within the last fifty years from a relatively modest position into that of important contributors to and purchasers in the great markets of the world." There has been an extraordinary

* The Third Report of the Empire Marketing Board, 1928-9 - (Empire Marketing Board, 2 Queen Anne Gate Buildings, London, S. W. 1.) 1929.

development of the Empire's resources ever since the beginning of the present century.

A survey confined only to the leading exports shows that Australia's shipments of wool have risen in this period from slightly over 500 million lb., to about 800 million lb., and her exports of wheat from half a million tons to two million. Canada's wheat exports have grown from about a quarter of a million tons to approximately seven million tons and her exports of newsprint from next to nothing to two million tons. New Zealand's principal exports are wool and dairy produce; the first has gone up from under 150 million to over 200 million lb., and butter from less than a quarter million, and cheese from 100,000 cwt. to nearly one and a half million cwt. in each case. In the Union of South Africa shipments of wool have risen from 90 to 260 million lb. Newfoundland has developed since the beginning of the century, an export trade in paper to the annual value of £2½ million. India, which cannot, of course, be compared with the Dominions for newness, nevertheless shows a similar advance. Exports of nearly all her numerous products have shown progress in the present century. Raw cotton, her main export, has increased from 400 million to nearly 1,500 million lb. last year and tea from 190 million lb. to 360 million lb.

In the Colonies an even more marked development has occurred. Cocoa exports, for instance, have risen from less than half a million to 110 million lb. in Nigeria, and from less than one and a quarter million to 490 million lb. in the Gold Coast. Exports of rubber from British Malaya have grown from nothing to about 370,000 tons although some part of the rubber exported has its origin outside British territory. Tea from Ceylon has gone from 140 million to 228 million lb., rubber from 73 cwt.,

to one and a quarter million cwt., and copra from less than half a million to two million cwt. Bananas from Jamaica (8½ million to 17 million bunches last year) may be quoted as a further instance.

RANGE OF EMPIRE SUPPLIES

The development of the natural resources of the oversea Empire is thus being carried out with steady effectiveness. The significance of this to people in Britain may be seen more vividly, perhaps, from another angle. The range of Empire products available in that country is year by year spreading. A revolution in Empire supplies has happened within the lifetime of those who are now barely middle-aged. Memories are short in such matters and this revolution has hardly been noticed by the general public which has been so considerably affected by it. An article, not to be found in the land yesterday, appears as a curiosity and a luxury in a limited number of shops today, and comes down within reach of everybody tomorrow. But its former rarity is quickly forgotten and the new contribution to the variety of diet (and often also to health) is accepted without curiosity. That this should be so is natural. The additions made and being made by the Dominions and Colonies to our supplies deserve, however, to be emphasised in any consideration of the progress of Empire marketing.

Two generations ago, Britain derived only a very limited range of its requirements from oversea parts of the Empire. The fiftieth anniversary of the first shipment of frozen meat from Australia will take place towards the end of this year, while New Zealand's meat trade only began in the eighties. Fifty years ago only small quantities of butter and cheese came from the Southern Dominions;

the tea industry of Ceylon was no more than a few years old; Canada had not yet begun to export apples, and no pears, plums, grapes, or peaches from South Africa and no apples or pears from Australia had reached that country. Rubber from Malaya, bananas from Jamaica and cocoa from West Africa were equally unknown. A quarter of a century later, in 1904, these products had all appeared on the British market, some of them, such as frozen meat and dairy produce, had become firmly established, others were in their infancy. But there were still hardly any Australian currants or raisins; no New Zealand apples or pears, no South African oranges or grape-fruit and no Kenya coffee. Year by year the gaps were filled up. But as recently as the end of the war, there were no eggs from the Southern Dominions and scarcely any home produced beet sugar or canned fruits. In the last two or three years cigarettes made from Rhodesian tobacco have become familiar in British shops, cigarettes from Cyprus and Mauritius have been obtainable and canned fruit from Fiji, chilled salmon from Newfoundland and grapes from Palestine have, for the first time, been shipped to that country. Nor has this steady spreading of the range of Empire supplies ceased. New experiments in production are constantly reported and experimental consignments from many and scattered parts of the Empire give promise of an expansion in the future not less notable than in the past.

RECENT RECORDS

High record shipments of various Empire-grown foodstuffs have been achieved in this same brief period of two years. Australian sultanas and raisins imported in 1927 were 160,000 cwt. greater than in any previous season,

while Australian wine more than doubled its previous highest figure. Severe frosts towards the end of 1927 lowered these imports in 1928, but Australian apples, pears and canned fruit all made records. Imports of frozen pork and cheese from New Zealand in 1927 reached higher points than ever before, but in the cases of the first two were surpassed in 1928, while butter and cheese came respectively within two and three and a half per cent of the record, and apples and pears both established new records. Shipments of oranges, grape-fruit, peaches, grapes and wine from the Union of South Africa were all higher in 1927 than ever before. In 1928, grapes, oranges and grape-fruit declined slightly, but were larger than in any year before 1927, while pears, raw sugar and wine all made records. Wheat and tobacco from Canada, coffee from East Africa and tobacco from Rhodesia are other commodities shipped to this country in 1928 in greater quantities than in any earlier year.

Such figures suggest that the marketing of Empire produce is being actively pursued in Britain. Many agents, some of them outside human control (the weather, for instance) have intervened. But one conclusion may safely be drawn. The tide of Empire trade is flowing strongly. The Dominions and Colonies are able to supply more and more of the needs of Britain and, in return, that country is finding in the overseas Empire a growing demand for British goods. Already, with many of the Dominions and Colonies only on the threshold of their economic manhood, the overseas Empire, while it comprises only one quarter of the world's surface and population, absorbs nearly half the exports of the United Kingdom.

The Empire Marketing Board has found in this active, stirring world of

Imperial trade many new objectives in the last year towards the attainment of which its funds might properly and usefully be employed. It is naturally best known to the public through its publicity work, particulars of which are given in the body of the Report. But its other activities have been no less vigorously pursued.

These, seen as a whole, may be defined as the making possible of an Empire-wide efforts in scientific co-operation. Such hopeful developments of the last year as the establishment of eight new Imperial Scientific Bureaux, jointly financed by the Governments of the Empire, and the appointment of the Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture and Animal Health show how strongly the tide is flowing in favour of co-operation. Scientists and economists can between them offer four main contributions towards the furtherance of Empire marketing. First, they can help to develop to the full the at present barely tapped natural resources of the Empire. Secondly, they can help to render production as economical as possible by reducing waste in the field, in transit and in store. Thirdly, they can help to ensure that regularity of supply and uniformity of quality which are the two essentials of progressive modern marketing. Lastly, they can provide knowledge, on the one hand, of crop prospects and general trade conditions in any producing industry and, on the other hand, of the special demands and

preferences of the consuming public and of the traders through whom that public is reached. All the Board's expenditure on research and on economic investigation serve one or more of these ends.

It is essential in such work to take long views; the prizes at stake are tremendous and while the trend of trade cannot be changed in a day, there is no discoverable limit to the rewards that may fall to wisely directed research and well-planned economic organisation. Certainly no industry that seeks to hold its own and still more to advance under the prevailing conditions of world competition dare turn its back on the scientist or the economist. We are living in an age not of miracles, but enterprise. In conclusion, it need only be added that the Empire Marketing Board has been encouraged by the evidence it has received from official and commercial sources that its work is considered useful by those who may be termed its clients, that is, by the producers of the Empire at home and overseas. Without going into the question here of Indian exports and imports, from the political standpoint, it is sufficient to remark that there are many things which India produces in abundance, which can find a large sale in Britain, if only Indian tradesmen and merchants were enterprising enough. Those who may desire to obtain a larger sale for Indian produce in Britain should carefully study the Report surveyed in this review.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE THEATRE IN INDIA

By DR. P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A., PH.D.

NOWHERE in the ancient history of India do we find any specific references to dramatic performances upon a regular stage. The theorists of Sanskrit drama and rhetoricians do not mention the existence of theatres in ancient India for the production of plays. The only record left to us is Bharat's memorable work on Sanskrit dramaturgy called the BHARATIYA NATVASASTRA which discusses the technical details of stage-building and deals with the architectural methods and designs for the auditorium. This naturally leads one to suppose that there must have existed in ancient India theatres for which Bharat made his suggestions. But, unfortunately, as yet we are not in possession of any conclusive historical facts to corroborate such a supposition and to tell us where such theatres first existed and how their performances were conducted. A new light has, however, been thrown on the subject by Dr. Bloch's recent discovery of the remains of an ancient cave, which is believed to have been used for purposes of dramatic representation.¹ This discovery was made in 1903 at Rānagarh Hill in the area of Laksmānpur on the estate of Sirgūjā about one hundred miles from Kharsīā on the Bengal Nagpur Railway line. Dr. Bloch says, "that the plan of the small amphitheatre in front of the cave with its hemispherical rows of rock-out seats

rising in terraces above each other and with the pathways between them arranged somewhat like concentric circles and radiants, bears a somewhat similar resemblance to the plan of a Greek theatre cannot, I think, be overlooked. And it will likewise be admitted that the shape of a Greek theatre in an Indian building that served similar purposes has a strong bearing upon the question of the Greek influence on the Indian drama."² Dr. Bloch concludes by saying that the cave "evidently was not the abode of pious ascetics void of all worldly achievements, but it was a place where poetry was recited, love songs were sung and theatrical performances acted. In short we may look upon it as an Indian theatre of the 3rd century B.C."³ Dr. Bloch quotes the view of Professor Lüdgers that caves in ancient India were not exclusively the abode of ascetics and *sādhus* but were also the resort of dancing girls and their lovers.⁴ Professor Lüdgers, in support of his own view, quotes a number of passages from Kālidāsa and the most ingenious of all his suggestions is the interpretation of the word 'lenaśobhikā' (which occurs in one of the Mathurā inscriptions) as meaning 'a cave-actress.' Further, as regards Greek influences on stage-building and stage-architecture in ancient India, Dr. Bloch does not think it "in the least improbable that, if Indians became acquainted with Greek theatres, the

¹ See The Archaeological Survey of India Report (1903-1904), p. 123ff. For illustrations of the caves see Plates Nos. XVIII (a) (b) (c), p. 124.

² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

⁴ The Archaeological Survey of India Report, p. 127, and The Journal of the German Oriental Society Vol. LVIII, p. 867.

suitability of the arrangements of these must have led them to adopt similar structures for their own places of amusement. The Greek influence often stretches very far in India and in time, I believe, we shall be able to trace it much farther than we think at present."¹ Dr. Bloch also mentions in this connection the well-known statue of Apollo carved upon one of the pillars at Buddha Gayā and another similar figure discovered inside the Ananda cave. There is perhaps little doubt as regards Greek influence on the architecture of ancient India but it is still very difficult to judge (unless some more historical facts of an authentic nature are available) to what extent this one single discovery of an amphitheatre in the Sītābengā cave at Rāmgarh Hill might solve the much-discussed question of the Greek influence on the Indian drama.² But in any case, in Bengal for example, we know for certain that the first theatres there were not at all established in the line or tradition of the stage-architectonics of ancient India. They were an entirely new institution, produced by influences absolutely alien to the Hindu race. Of course, the popular folk-drama known as Yātrā has been in existence in Bengal from a time perhaps even before recorded history begins. Whether the Bengali Yātrā is a direct continuation of the ancient Vedic drama or whether it is connected with the dramatic activities of a much later period, has been the subject of discussion of various Indologists for years. The Bengali Yātrā as it exists today is generally regarded as a kind of community play, originating in the religious worship of

the various gods and goddesses of antiquity and serving as a convenient medium through which the social and religious feelings appropriate to the different festivals, find a natural expression. Further, the Yātrā as an acted play bears no resemblance to any dramatic representation of the modern European type as we find it today. The *mise-en-scène* of a Yātrā performance is simplicity itself. It is never produced on a permanent stage and it does not require any of the regular stage accessories and paraphernalia. With the flood of new ideas that came to Bengal with the coming of the English in the beginning of the 19th century, the Yātrā, like many other time-honoured institutions was replaced by something more modern. The country as a whole was passing through an experience which can only be described as an intellectual rebirth, resulting in a literary revolution. The impression of Western literature and art-forms was for a time almost overwhelming and the genius of the race was naturally incited to attempt new inventions and new experiments.

At the present stage of historical science in India, no such thing as 'continuity' can be discovered in her literary history. But to regard Hindu civilisation as being totally non-secular and ultra-spiritual is only to take a very superficial and one-sided view of Hindu history and culture. Sufficient information is not certainly available to give a well-connected historical account of the secular achievements of Hindu civilization but there is no doubt that pessimism or other-worldliness was not

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

² See Sylvain Lévi: *Le Théâtre Indien*, Chapter entitled "L'Influence Grecque," pp. 343-368; A. B. Keith: *The Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 57-68; G. N. Banerjee: *Hellenism in Ancient India*, pp. 240-265; E. Windisch: *Der Griechische Einfluss in Indischen Drama*, II, II, 3; Weber: *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVIII, p. 492 and XIII, p. 354ff; Winternitz: *Vienna Oriental Journal*, XXIII, 103ff; Klein: *Geschichte der Drama*, Vol. 3; F. Kellhorn: *Sanskrit Plays as Preserved in Inscriptions* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1891).

the only stuff out of which Indian social life was made. The spiritual attainments of the Hindu race could never have been so great as they are, if the collective and communal life of its social organisations had not been favourable. Indian History has its sociological backgrounds and there was never perhaps a greater need than at the present time to study the Indian as a social being and as the product of sociological forces and environments both in the past and in the present.

CREDIT AND BANKING IN INDIA*

By MR. O. S. KRISHNAMOORTHY

PART I

AN addition to the banking organisation is the institution of Co-operative banks.

The part which these banks play or are likely to play in re-organising our weak and disunited peasantry when our country is passing through great economic stress, is worth our great attention. The poverty of the peasantry owing to the low returns from the land and their inability to meet their indebtedness in time are the points which an impartial observer will like to take for his immediate consideration. A cheap credit and a practical organisation to sell their agricultural produce on a co-operative basis without the aid of middlemen are really wanted in our country.

In 1882 the question of having a land bank was mooted by Sir William Wedderburn, but the proposal did not appeal to the then Secretary of State for India. The recommendations of Sir Frederick Nicholson to finance the agriculturists through land banks was also left in abeyance. But in 1900 the findings of the Law Committee ultimately became the Co-operative Societies Act of 1904. This Act was meant to remove the indebtedness of the Indian ryots and to supply them with cheap and organised credits at more reasonable rates of interest than they will get from sowcars. Under the protection of the Act, many primary societies were formed but they could not cope up with the needs of the country. In 1912 another Act was passed for the formation

of Central Banks with primary societies and individuals as members of the Central Bank on shareholding and limited liability basis. The main functions of these central banks are to attract deposits from the public bodies, to supervise and guide affiliated societies and to do all acts that will improve the position of co-operative movements in the country. The primary societies in turn helped the villagers with cheap credit at a reasonable rate not exceeding 12% per annum. This too was found quite inadequate. In 1915 the movement reached a third stage with the publication of the report of the MacLagan Committee. It recommended the formation of provincial banks with mixed bodies composed of individual central banks and primary societies as members of the provincial bank on a shareholding and limited liability basis. We have at this stage three kinds of co-operative bodies each with a common purpose to work for the welfare of the peasantry. Of course, the network of this system will be complete when the representatives of primary societies sit on the board of the Central Banks to regulate their borrowing and lending policy and the members of the Central Bank sit on the board of the provincial banks to regulate their policy in order to ensure a democratic control over the movement. It was found by experience that an Indian ryot requires three kinds of accommodation. A short loan which is repayable within the course of the year out of the yearly profits. An

* Statement in answer to the questionnaire issued by the Banking Enquiry Committee.

intermediate loan which is repayable within the course of three to five years and a third loan—a long-term loan useful for the redemption of long indebtedness or for the permanent improvement of the lands or for the purchase of new lands. This latter kind of accommodation cannot be paid immediately and as such, a period of 20 to 25 years should be allowed. At present co-operative banks are getting short deposits and loans from banks and public bodies and as such they are able to accommodate short loans only. For meeting out the intermediate and long-term loans, special type of Central Banks to allow long-term loans to the ryots extending over several years, is to be established immediately under the auspices of the government. The bank will not only stop the usury rate in the Bazaar, it will also save the poor ryot from the greedy clutches of the Shylock moneylender. At the present rate of progress it will take years for the co-operative banks to respond to the needs of the country unless a central bank is established immediately with a network of branches all over the country. It will be useful to record here what Sir George Schuster told Mr. B. Das sometime back, "So far as rural banking was concerned, its problems presented the most important part of the whole field of the proposed banking inquiry, and he would certainly take steps to see that full advantage was taken of the experience of those who had been engaged in co-operative banking, the development of which offered perhaps the most hopeful line of advance in the matter of developing rural banking facilities."

PART II

We all know very well that banking is not new to our country. Trade with distant countries has existed for several centuries and as such commerce has always required to be financed. The body of indigenous bankers—Shroffs, Marwaris, Banias of northern and western India and Chetties of the South have made it a special business to finance agricultural trade of the country though in an age-old method. These bankers are now to be found in every part of India working outside the provision of the Indian Companies Act. They are bankers of the locality and they range from a village capitalist to a wealthy partnership concern.

On account of their long connection with local trade conditions of the place they carry on their business, they now take deposits at attractive rates say at 6-7%, they issue pass-books, they render statements of accounts, they finance agricultural industry at the time of cultivation, they purchase and sell local produce and finance imports. Though the rates charged on advances are very prohibitive, they do most of their transactions on credit basis and transactions are settled by means of Indian credit instrument—Hundis. They charge something like one anna per rupee per month with compound interest. They generally take interest in advance. Indian ryots or traders (small) living in fairly big villages have no other institutions to allow them credit than the indigenous banker. Another thing is that they observe less redtapism in their dealing with clients. That is why the ryots or traders approach them. When their private capital is exhausted, they go to banks where they have special limits for hundi discounts or for loans. There are many defects in their method of keeping accounts, the following are some of them: They do not publish statement of accounts and as such it is never possible to know the amount of capital they invest in their business nor is it possible to know the extent of profit they get or the losses they sustain. They are forced to submit a statement of their profit and loss account to Income-Tax authorities and it is not known how far these statements are genuine.

The need for providing cheap working capital to wipe out the enormous and accumulated indebtedness of the agriculturists is engaging the attention of our government during these recent years. The expansion of modern banking under the Western system and the use of English in all their transactions have never made the agriculturists or the artisans or the traders to appreciate the benefits of modern banking. Illiteracy is still on a very high scale. We have nearly seven lakhs of villages wherein the benefits of modern banking have yet to penetrate. What is really wanted is a closer touch between a borrower and a lender, *i.e.*, a bank working under a modern system having a cheap credit, with a ryot who is eager enough to utilise the benefits arising out of them in the improvement of his land and in a way improve his standard of living. This can be achieved only by the Imperial

Bank and the Indian Joint Stock Banks in conjunction with the Co-operative Banks, which are already working all over the country. The indigenous bankers can be liberated to do the special kind of discounting business as the London Bill brokers and discount companies operate. The discount companies in England play a prominent part in making London as a financial centre of the world transactions. This importance is largely due to the fact that holders of Bills of Exchange can obtain cash for them and it is these discount companies which deal in bills.

The discount companies work in close co-operation with the great banks of London especially with short-loan funds. Banks themselves discount bills and are competing and co-operating with discount companies. The discount companies take deposits at attractive rates and do other kinds of banking business. The terms on which a bill can be discounted are closely related to the prevalent rate of interest at which money can be borrowed and closely connected are the financial centres of the world with regard to the rates of interest. Supposing there is a fall in the New York rate as compared to London, bills tend to go to the former, but the variations in the rate are being stabilised by International Central Bank. Supposing in our country, if shroffs and other indigenous bankers (bigger capitalists) form themselves into discount companies and establish their business in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and other important centres of trade, they will not only regulate the supply of bills, but also the rate of interest in the bazars, thereby bringing the bazar under the influence of the Central Reserve Bank and the Indian Money Market. If the Shroffs adopt themselves to new conditions and rely more on doing business of a substantial nature like the bill brokers or the discount companies in London they will be very useful to the society and to the whole of the country. If we are to expand our banking organisation two things are essential—a Central Bank and a money market. Experience has clearly shown us that no credit system could be regarded safe which did not rest on the centralisation of the banking reserves and the mobility of the credit through bills of exchange.

PART III

Indian Banks, particularly Indian Joint Stock Banks are forced to keep sufficient cash in hand, with bankers and in investment 25% of the demand liabilities, with the result that banks lock up considerable cash which if used for productive purposes will ease the stringency in the money market. We have not got reserves of banks centralised and as such individual banks are forced to keep enough of cash in their vaults. We have in our country institutions like Joint Stock Banks to afford facilities for middle-class people in saving their deposits and there are post office savings banks which equally offer facilities for middle-class people to deposit their funds. There are Insurance companies which accumulate the savings of the people yearly and pay after lapse of 20—25 years. We can say that the effect of modern banking has not even reached even many of the towns. There are nearly 2,500 towns and seven lakhs of villages in India. If we have one Bank or branches of a Bank in every town it will not only alienate the hoarding habits of the people, but have many trained men to preach the gospel of banking, Cheque, and investments habits to the people in the villages. We have at present 500 banking offices all over the country and the banking reserve per head of population only Rs. 6. Another tragedy is that the earning capacity of an average Indian is very low and the facility for earning more is also less. At present villagers, if they have any spare money, they keep in earthen pots and bury them up in their courtyard and when occasion arises they excavate it and use for the purpose for which it was taken out. The object of burying is only to avoid the temptation of using that sum except for that special purpose for which it is earmarked. Of course, there is a tendency among the majority of the population to value gold and prepare gold ornaments. This habit can only be changed by slow degrees.

The only form of investment that is available for a middle-class man is the Postal Cash Certificates system. The postal cash certificate is very popular indeed and the continued popularity can be seen by the total receipts of ten crores of rupees between April 1923 and March 1925. In 1923 the sale of cash certificates was conducted

then in 10,713 post offices. To have the villagers in seven lakhs of villages in our country to invest in postal certificates is only to educate them on the advantages that the postal certificates afford to the poor and middle-class investors. We cannot expect the Government of India to open post offices in all the centres simply to educate the villagers on the need of investing in cash certificates. The sale of cash certificates can be entrusted to the village accountants who are responsible for the collection of revenue of the villages. They can be paid a small percentage of commission on the sales of cash certificates and the rate of the interest of the cash certificates should be enhanced, and the face value of it should be brought down to Rs. 5. The cash certificates should be printed in all the principal languages of the country so that an average villager can understand the face value of it. Like the currency notes which are popular in the villages cash certificates should also be received by them by mere sight of it. Funds raised by the sale of cash certificates should be utilized for the purpose of national education, sanitation, etc. It should never be remitted abroad. The work of postal savings banks is equally popular. Postal savings bank encourages thrift and it also forms part of the financial administration of the country. The Government pays a flat rate of 3 per cent on savings deposit whereas the Imperial Bank and other banks offer interest at 4-5 per cent per annum. The Government can pay 1-1½ per cent more than the existing rate thereby bringing the savings bank operation within the reach of poorer classes. In 1925 the accumulated savings of the Nation through savings bank was 25 crores. The issue of Treasury Bills by the Government during the busy season is not very much liked by the bankers as well as commercial bodies as the rates of the treasury bills lower down the market value of the Government securities and at the same time there is flow of deposit from the Bank. There was some trouble at the beginning of this year when 5 per cent loan 1939-44 was floated but a confidence was created when the highest authority in banking assured the public that Government will never come to the market to borrow money by means of treasury bills for some time to come if 27 crores of the loan have been subscribed. The loan was successful, the required amount

was subscribed but after some time the Government came out to borrow money by means of treasury bills. There was sharp decline in the money market. The result is a sort of prejudice has been created towards the issue of treasury bills.

Whenever new loans are floated Imperial Bank of India and other Indian Joint Stock Banks offer facilities to small and middle-class investors to purchase Government loans under instalment system. The applicant should pay only 20-25 per cent of the loan applied for. He should pay the balance in equal instalments within a period of one year or 15 months. The rates of interest charged for these advances are generally the rate of the loan and at times half per cent over the rates of the loan. The borrowers are at liberty to pay the instalment amounts before the time prescribed and take delivery of the loans. For purchasing Industrial shares they have no facility except the Company which is being formed takes a portion of the capital at the time of application, allotment, and first and other calls. We have in provincial towns opportunities to speculate at stock exchange, in cotton, in jute, and other exportable produce, but in some centres we have Race courses wherein people of all classes are attracted to make money as quick as possible, but the people in the villages are away from all these temptations and if they have any surplus of funds left with them they either lend it to their fellow-villagers or keep it up in their own vaults. The rate of interest they charge will be generally 25-50 per cent. Of course, the mode of recovery is in no way pleasing to record here. During the years of prosperity they celebrate marriages and other functions on a grand scale. If villagers are sufficiently educated to read and write and taught to use cheque books to draw money from the deposits they may have with banks it will economise the use of cash, currency notes, and the stringency in the money market is sure to be relieved by funds liberated thereby. Banking and investment habits in our country are very slow but after war, there was some growth of Banking habit as will be seen from the deposits which increased from 97 crores of rupees in 1913 to 215 crores in 1926; the paid-up capital and reserve from 49 crores of rupees in 1913 to 220 crores in 1926. To this may be added 6 crores of deposits from the co-operative banks and 23 crores in post office

savings banks and 13 crores by sale of cash certificates. The growth of Banking habit can be noticed further by the work done in clearing houses at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Rangoon, etc. We can say to that extent cheques and other instruments have been employed in displacing cash for an equal amount from circulation. In clearing houses the mutual indebtedness of the banks are settled by means of cheques. The amount of money passed through the clearing houses has been increased from 498 crores of rupees in 1914-15 to Rs. 1,680 crores in 1925-26. If more banks are opened in all important centres more potentialities there will be in the clearing house system. To create investment habit

in our country among middle-class people the formation of investment trusts will induce most of them to invest their funds in safe and profitable securities. The investment trust will serve as a medium to mobilise idle funds of the country. In England and America these trusts play a prominent part and they afford unequal opportunities to the middle-class investors to obtain safe investments at a good rate of dividend with no tangible loss. The funds of the trust are invested in first class securities and their management is more economical.

Let us wait and see what the Banking Enquiry Committee is going to do in improving our economic and financial conditions.

THE INFLUENCE OF FASCISM ON ITALIAN YOUTH

By SIGNOR RODOLFO GAZZANIGA

FASCISM has accomplished many good works since the day when Signor Mussolini took the reins into his firm hands to guide Italy back into the right path which she had lost owing to bad government, but not one of them is more important in its effect on the moral welfare of the country than the "Opera Nazionale Balilla" (National Balilla Association) for the education of the rising generation. It should be explained that "Balilla" was the nickname of an Italian boy hero of the 18th century, Giovanni Battista Perasso, who, in 1746, gave the first impulse to the popular insurrection that led to the expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa. The word is always used in Italy as a symbol of youthful courage and patriotism. The President of the Association is Signor Renato Ricci, a young and energetic man who fought as a Bersagliere officer during the war and is now Vice-Secretary of the Fascist Party and one of the deputies for Tuscany.

Signor Mussolini, with wise forethought, is anxious to "form" the boyhood of the nation who tomorrow will have the country's destinies in their hands and on whom the continuation of its present prosperity and prestige must necessarily depend. He considers that the best means of effecting this end is to integrate and co-ordinate in one vast organisation the triple influence of Church, school and family and to hand over to this organisation the moral and material training of a youthful army which must be thoroughly Italian in education, in feeling and in will-power.

An army! This word has aroused suspicion and indignation among the many enemies of Fascism, giving them an excuse to accuse Italy and Mussolini of dark designs against the peace of Europe and the world! But "army" as it is here understood, means something more and something better than an organisation for purposes of war; it means an organisation of national energies,

for defence if necessary, but also and above all, for keeping the country at a high level of progress, sure of itself and strong enough to go on marching forward in the van of civilisation, for its own benefit and that of humanity. So Fascism is educating boys, breaking them in to physical exercises, inuring them to fatigue, training them to be soldiers, yes, but also to be good citizens, worthy of the heritage transmitted to them by their fathers and elder brothers who at a heavy cost, snatched victory from the jaws of ruin and defeat.

The slogan "Librone moschetto, Fascista perfetto," sums up Signor Mussolini's views. From the "book" young Italians will learn useful knowledge to fit them for any position in life; with the "musket" they will be able to defend Italy's hard-won frontiers.

The National Balilla Association is admirably organised. It is composed of "Balilla" or small boys from 8 to 14 and "Avanguardisti" or the Vanguard whose ages range from 14 to 18. At the close of 1928 the "Balilla" numbered 812,242, and the Avanguardisti 423,959, altogether a total of 1,236,201 boys. These figures remain almost changed even after the recent Fascist levy, for if 89,574 of the Vanguard were then passed into the Fascist Militia, their place was at once filled up by 104,033 Balilla and the Balilla in their turn had their ranks completed by new recruits.

This imposing force of over one million boys is divided into 509 legions, commanded by 4,343 officers. 646 chaplains and 470 doctors are also attached to the Association.

Physical development has, naturally, a large place in the work of education, though always carried on within reasonable limits. So far, instructors have been chosen from among the gymnastic masters already attached to the State schools but in the future, they will be

drawn exclusively from young men trained in the Fascist Academy of Physical Education which has just been opened at Rome, with the following curriculum: anatomy, physiology, kinematics, anthropometry, physical therapeutics, the pathology of sports, philosophy, pedagogics, foreign languages, specialised sports, military technique, etc.; everything, in fact, that is needed to turn out first-class physical instructors in the widest sense of the word. The Academy is presided over by a Rector who is a professor of Rome University and by a Consul of the Fascist Militia, while the teaching staff has been carefully selected from thoroughly competent elements.

Athletics, sports and games of all kinds are encouraged by the Balilla Association which is active in organising competitions, trials of strength and test matches all over the country, as well as walks, excursions and summer camps. Ski-ing, boat-racing, fencing, swimming and shooting at a mark are not forgotten. It is difficult to overestimate the enormous benefit to Italian boys of all these open-air pursuits undertaken collectively.

Such things were but little thought of before Fascist days and schoolboys and students alike suffered in health and morale from leading too sedentary lives. In 1928 over 50,000 Avanguardisti took part in the different competitions.

The Association also organises local courses of culture and professional education (for motorists, telegraphists, agriculturists, etc.), and holds First Aid classes. It promotes concerts and courses of musical instruction and was responsible, during 1928, for 15,527 cultural and patriotic lectures. It possesses 347 libraries with 37,000 volumes and this branch of its activities is being largely increased.

The "Opera Balilla" is also provided with ambulances and since the beginning of the present year compulsory insurance against accident of every kind, is insisted on for all the members. A sum of 30,000 lire (about pounds 320) is paid in cases of disablement and 10,000 lire (pounds 110) are paid to the family of any boy accidentally killed. This insurance has been extended to the pupils of State schools whether they are or not members of the Balilla Association.

Space forbids any further details about the work carried on by the "Opera Balilla," but enough has been said to give a good general idea of the immense importance of the movement. The Fascist Government is determined that Italian boys shall be adequately trained, so far as is possible, to meet the difficulties of life in a brave, self-reliant spirit, while at the same time making the best use of all that Fascism has accomplished for the benefit of the Italian nation.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By AN "INTERNATIONALIST"

WE shall soon be celebrating the tenth birthday of the League of Nations. The exact moment is relatively immaterial. A little over ten years ago—on June 28, 1919—the Treaty of Versailles, with the Covenant of the League constituting its first chapter, was signed. Ten years ago next January the Treaty came into force and the League into being. Next September the Tenth Assembly of the League will meet at Geneva, and the occasion is to be celebrated by the laying of the foundation-stone of the League's new—and, it may be hoped, enduring—home.

Dates, of course, are only dates, and their use in this connection is to arrest our thoughts and remind us of what a few of us might otherwise forget. The tenth year, the tenth mile accomplished. In a sense that is simply a register of time or space, like the change of figure on a speedometer dial. But the speedometer dial, after all, calls to mind not merely the last milestone

reached, but the stretch of miles lying between that last milestone and the starting-point. So it is with the League's first decade. It is nothing for a man or an institution to have got to the end of ten years of existence. What matters is what he—or it—has got into those ten years.

And what has the League got into its first decade? It would be easy, and for some purposes it would be useful, to draw up what may be termed a catalogue of achievement—so many countries' finances reconstructed; so many wars averted or actually arrested; so many international disputes settled; such and such benefits conferred on mankind in the field of health, or social reform, or drug traffic, or transit. Even as it stands, such a catalogue would be impressive. "Even as it stands"—because by the nature of things it can never be complete. The real proof of the League's value is not the list of wars it has stopped, but the list of wars that were, so to speak, strangled not at

birth but long before. So long before, indeed, that they were never more than dim possibilities, for the reason—and the sole reason—that a League of Nations was in existence at Geneva.

We are celebrating ten years of a League in action. Let us not forget that we can be celebrating at the same time, if we choose to think of it, ten years of a warless Balkans. The one is beyond question a direct consequence of the other. No one with the smallest knowledge of recent European history, no one with the slightest understanding of the causes of quarrel between the various States juxtaposed in that turbulent peninsula—Bulgaria and Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania, with Rumania half in and half out—can doubt for a moment that war would again and again have broken out in the Balkans, and perhaps spread from there once more to all Europe, but for a League sufficiently authoritative to control, at any rate, those secondary States. If visible proof of that be needed, it can be supplied readily enough in the two familiar cases—Yugoslavia's move against Albania in 1921, and Greece's move against Bulgaria in 1925—when the sparks of war did actually fly skyward till the League swiftly stamped them out before the conflagration could spread.

But, on the whole, attention should be centred at the end of ten years, not so much on what the League has done and is doing, as on what the League stands for and is. You can look at it in different ways. It is an invaluable piece of international mechanism. It is a unique international forum. It stands alone as a meeting-place for the world's statesmen. But it is something more than all that. In a sense, it belongs not to the diplomats, but to the peoples—or, rather, it belongs only to the diplomats because it belongs first to the

peoples. It belongs to the peoples because what the League stands for fundamentally is a new outlook on international relations. Diplomacy has been revolutionised, values have been radically changed, because, the world over, men and women were convinced instinctively after the war that the old ways were bad, and new and better ways must be found. Values have been radically changed in the sense that the idea of war has gone down in the scale and the idea of peaceful settlement has gone up. To-day if ever the word war is uttered, there is uttered immediately after it—so immediately that the two ejaculations are almost simultaneous—Geneva. That does not mean that the League is a panacea. It does not mean that we can be certain that the League, as it exists to-day, could stop any and every war that broke out. No one but a blind optimist would speak with assurance as to that. But it does mean that there exists in the world at last a rallying-point for the forces of peace. Not merely for those who simply desire peace without knowing how to work for it, but a rallying-point where statesmen resolved to maintain peace, because they represent peoples determined that peace shall be maintained, can gather and set in motion machinery carefully and prudently planned, and whose efficiency has been tested more than once on a small scale against the day—if that day ever comes—when it may be necessary to put it into operation on a great scale.

That is much to have accomplished, for this particular need of the world had never been satisfied till ten years ago. But ten years is but a moment in the life of nations, and it is likely to be but a moment in the life of the League. No more than foundations have been laid. No more than a glimpse of what may be has been

gained. The quickest way to kill the League is to be content with the League as it is. No ground for such content exists. The League is incomplete, and disastrously so, as long as certain great nations stand outside it. It has failed so far over some of its chief tasks, notably disarmament and, to a less degree, the destruction of tariff barriers. It is hampered and handicapped at every turn because national jealousies, national suspicions, national antagonisms, still riot unchecked. The promise of the desired harvest is there, but the harvest still remains to be reaped. How the League will develop no man is farsighted enough to know with any certainty. What the League needs most to-day is not so much enthusiasm as hard thinking. There is room, it is true, for all kinds of

support, and those who stand firmly by the League as a great ideal can do it service equally with those who feel it their task to work out the practical lines of the League's development. Sooner or later, no doubt, the bonds between its members will be drawn closer on the lines of a federation, but as much harm might be done by moving too fast in that direction as by moving too slowly. There are some developments that must not be forced. In this case we may well rest content that, as the League reaches and passes its tenth milestone, it can count a daily increasing number of men and women in every country who can give it a service of mind as well as heart, a service based on instructed knowledge as well as on undimmed enthusiasm.

LATEST RESEARCHES BY INDIAN PHYSICISTS*

By SIR C. V. RAMAN, Kt., F.R.S.

THOSE who read the current scientific literature in different subjects and particularly in physics and in chemistry know that India has been taking a continual and rapidly increasing share in the advance of scientific knowledge. At least two or perhaps I should say three of the most fundamental developments in physics during the last decade made in any part of the world have been contributed by Indian physicists and to an increasing extent the work done in India has not only been recognised abroad but has also been a moving power and has influenced the course of scientific work and thought throughout the world. That is surely a very

remarkable phenomenon, even more remarkable than the development of the national spirit in other (perhaps less) prominent directions. This phenomenon has impressed scientific visitors to India and has been given expression to in no uncertain language by such an eminent man of science as Professor Arnold Sommerfeld, who recently visited several of the Universities in this country.

SOUTH INDIANS' CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE

To some perhaps it may be news that Chidambaram has already made

* Extracts from an Address at the Annamalai University.

significant contributions to physics. I miss amongst you to-day a familiar face and that is Mr. Ramachandra Rao who was the chief of the department of physics in this college, before it formed a part of this University. Mr. Ramachandra Rao has spent two summer vacations at Calcutta in my laboratory. Subsequently I induced him to try and see if even in the unfavourable circumstances of a college not equipped for higher study and research, whether it would not be possible for him to continue those investigations. He borrowed a certain amount of equipment, and carried on investigations which were published in a series of papers. About a month ago I received from a distinguished French physicist, Prof. Cubbon, a good-sized book on the molecular scattering of light. That book gives great prominence to the work of Indian physicists in this special field and indeed it may be said to a large extent it is based on the result of the work done in India and also in France and other countries. Mr. Ramachandra Rao's work is singled out for special praise. Every paper published by him has been quoted, his data exclusively drawn upon and the author goes out of his way to remark that the investigation really represented a beautiful piece of work to quote the language of the author. That surely is significant that the very first contribution made by a member of the staff of this University should find a prominent place in the literature of physics. Though Mr. Ramachandra Rao is not here to-day, he is, so to say, serving your University in another capacity by working in London and fitting himself for his new task in the changed circumstances of his old college. I was very pleased to notice in the columns of "Nature" a contribution by him describing the results of his work. And I could see from it that he had risen to

the full height of the opportunities provided for him in the laboratory of the King's College, London, and he was familiarising himself and taking part in the development of one of the most important branches of modern physics. I am sure when he comes back he will prove himself to be not merely an active and helpful teacher of physics, but also one who can communicate to others real enthusiasm for higher study and research.

MR. VAIDYANATHAN'S RESEARCH WORK IN MAGNETISM

If I have the pleasure of mentioning the contribution to physics of one who is already a member of the staff of this college, it gives me also great pleasure to refer to one, who is to become a member of the physics staff of this university. Mr. V. L. Vaidyanathan, M.A., who is shortly to join as Reader in Physics, has been one of the most active and indefatigable workers in my laboratory during the past four years. Mr. Vaidyanathan can rightly be claimed as a pioneer not only in India but perhaps throughout the world in a particular aspect of physical research, namely, the exact study of the magnetic properties of organic vapours generally. He showed during the time he worked there extraordinary experimental skill and perseverance in overcoming the difficulties of that research and he has published numerous papers on the subject of the magnetic behaviour of gases, vapours, liquids and solids, and "Nature," in its research columns, took special note of his contribution and pointed out their importance. Just about a month ago, he was led to a result which I believe is of fundamental significance in the theory of magnetism, namely, that the magnetic behaviour of certain solids, perhaps of many solids, depends on the state of

sub-division of the solids to the particle state. That is a most unexpected and interesting result and, I believe, it will influence the development of our ideas in the science of magnetism. So impressed am I with the importance of this contribution that in order to prevent the continuity of that research being broken I intend to make a loan for such period as is necessary for the research, with which Mr. Vaidyanathan is working for the present in his laboratory. The point is that I desire that that work should continue without any break whatsoever and it is for that reason that I deny to myself the pleasure of seeing that work continued in my laboratory and desire to see the Chidambaram University taking part in the exploitation of that fundamental work.

WORK IN THE FIELD OF X-RAYS

It is very interesting also to note that besides familiarising himself with magnetic investigations in a thoroughly practical manner Mr. Vaidyanathan also found time to take part in another branch of modern physics, namely, the study of X-Ray scattering and diffraction. X-Rays form a most important and significant part of modern physical research. He has published already two memoirs on X-Ray diffraction in liquids and a third paper written by him has been lying on my table. I hope that the memoir will also soon be published. I have mentioned only those workers from my laboratory who are connected or about to be connected with this university but feeling of optimism which I mentioned to you in the ability of Indians generally and of South Indians in particular to contribute to scientific advance of the world is based not merely on these two instances. They say that one swallow does not make a summer. But surely not

merely one but, with 20 or 30 swallows, one might reasonably anticipate the coming of the summer. I should like to take this opportunity of mentioning a few other South Indians who have not only made distinguished contributions to physics but are also actively engaged in the same beneficent task.

The work they are doing is such as needs no advertisement, but I desire to refer to them and to their careers in order that their example may prove a source of encouragement to many and more especially to such of you as are specially gifted and may reasonably find opportunities and possibilities of achieving greatness. But I do not wish before I proceed further that you should for a single moment entertain the idea that the only workers in my laboratory are South Indians. There are many from Bengal and from Northern India and Western India who have contributed to work done in my laboratory during the past ten years. South Indians I have chosen for the special reason which is intelligible to you that I see in front of me a predominance of South Indians.

OTHER SOUTH INDIAN SCIENTISTS

Dr. K. R. Ramanathan being one of the first to come to my laboratory has achieved for himself a solid reputation. He is now engaged in a work somewhat different in character from what he carried on in Calcutta and Rangoon, but still he has shown by his work at Poona that we can, within a reasonable distance of time, hope that he will secure recognition as one of the world's authorities on Meteorology of the upper air. Already his work in this field has attracted the attention of leading authorities and I feel sure that the fact that he occupies a highly salaried post in the Government will not in any way diminish

his zeal for the promotion of knowledge.

Mr. K. S. Krishnan, who till recently was associated with me occupies a very interesting position, namely, as a Reader in the Dacca University. I mention him not only for the reason that he has been one of the most active and distinguished of the younger generation in physicists, but I mention it also for the reason that his career in many respects is an inspiration to the younger generation. Mr. Krishnan first came to my laboratory five years ago. During this period he showed such great ability and he did such good work that I thought I should take the opportunity of securing for him some excellent appointment in Government service or elsewhere. But he would not listen to it at all. Later I felt that he had been in my Laboratory quite long enough for this reason that it was rapidly becoming a question of some importance whether he or I was the better physicist and for this reason I felt it was high time that he moved to another place where people would be quicker to realise that Mr. Krishnan was a physicist in himself and not for the reason of his association with me.

THE CALL OF SCIENCE

Having taken up, I would like also, if I might complete my reference to the galaxy of South Indian scientists, to say one or two words more. I do not for one single moment wish the younger generation to imagine that they are as good as anybody else. I do not wish to produce any notion of swollen-headedness. But, nonetheless, I would like to emphasise the fact that in intellectual endeavour, age is much less important than other qualities as ability, enthusiasm and grit and it is these qualities that characterise a successful man of science; so much so, that it is a thoroughly

understood fact that in the scientific world most significant and valuable contributions might come from quiet and unknown men. And to-day in science, there is always a welcome to really brilliant contributions coming from one—it does not matter how young or unknown he might be. I will not quote instances of this from the examples of western men of science. I will quote examples from India, and amongst South Indians. I want to mention this to indicate that you must not imagine that because you are still in the Junior or Senior B.A. that you are precluded from thinking for yourselves and that you need only read your text-books, conduct the practical tests in such a manner as to secure high marks and please your teachers and come out with a degree. Those of you who feel the impulse to study further than your curricula permit should not hesitate to obey that impulse. You may keep it a secret until such time as you choose. But, as Napoleon said, it is very desirable that every brigadier should feel that he has or may have the Field Marshal's baton in his pocket. In the same way, every student of science should feel that an opportunity may some day come to him to make some significant contribution to science. I will only quote two examples, and I will not mention names for fear this might travel to Calcutta or somewhere else and produce an overwhelming pride in the young men to whom I wish to refer.

TWO YOUNG ASPIRANTS TO FAME

In the *Physical Review* for May of this year, there is a paper by an American physicist which occupies a place of honour. At the end of that paper, there is a foot-note. The foot-note says that the results contained in that paper had been independently predicted by so and so of South India

in a Mathematical paper. I happen to know that young man and he is 18 years of age and is still in the degree classes in some college in this Presidency!

I will mention another man who is in my laboratory to-day and who is 19 years of age. He has already published some papers. These facts must inspire some of you at any rate, so to say and exhort yourselves to feel that you are here not merely as passive absorbers of knowledge but as possibly also potential radiators of the knowledge. The physicist will understand the relation between absorption and radiation of knowledge. Good radiators are good absorbers and *vice versa*. You cannot be a mere absorber of knowledge unless you are also a potential radiator of knowledge.

A NEW FIELD OF RESEARCH

An inaugural address to a science institute should probably in my opinion contain some scientific matter. For that reason, I should just like to indicate to you in very general terms a new field of research in physics which owes to a large extent its development to Indian work. I wish to give it in the broadest possible outlines and indicate the main significance of the result.

You all know that the sky is blue. You can see that at any time when the sky is not cloudy. Now this blue colour of the sky, as physicists have shown, arises in this way; that when sunlight traverses the upper levels of the earth's atmosphere, the molecules of air, that is to say, the molecules of oxygen, nitrogen and other gases in the atmosphere, scatter light. Just for example, you observe light coming from that lamp falls on this handkerchief and the handkerchief becomes visible by reason of the light scattered

by it. In the same way, molecules, though they are exceedingly small, nonetheless, each molecule scatters a very small quantity of light. We have an enormous number of molecules and therefore, the scattered light becomes perceptible, and it is this scattered light which becomes visible as the light of the blue sky. In the same way, we have another great natural phenomenon known to everyone who has crossed the ocean in a steamer. The sea shows an intensely blue colour; and some years ago, I showed that the explanation of this intense blue colour is very similar to the blue colour of the sky which I have just mentioned. The sunlight is scattered by the molecules of water and comes back to us after this process of scattering. In the same way, transparent solids as for example the clear ice which you find in glaziers, and in icebergs here, also the molecules of ice scatter light and I believe this scattering of light is reasonable for the blue colour of very clear ice. This phenomenon has been extensively studied at Calcutta and elsewhere but the impression prevailed that in this process of scattering, there was no real change in the nature of the light. Now, here I wish to make it clear why the sky is blue, if the molecules scatter sunlight. The reason is this:—Sunlight is not of one colour but of many colours, violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange, red and so forth. Now this whole galaxy of colours or spectrum as it is called when the sunlight, composed of all these colours, passes the atmosphere, the molecules scatter the violet, indigo and the blue much more than the other colours. And that is the reason why the light scattered appears to be blue. In reality, however, sunlight and scattered light are really of the same nature, that is to say, if you examine them through a little spectro-scope (a prism of glass) you will see

exactly the same spectra both in the sunlight and the scattered light. In the spring of 1928, a mode of scattering of visible light was discovered by a physicist working with a quite ordinary source of light and quite an ordinary spectroscope and with very familiar chemicals known for at least fifty years ago.

THE SPIRIT OF RESEARCH

The human mind knows no bounds to its interests. When the mathematician seeks for new worlds to conquer, he does not hesitate to leave beyond the main field of social subjects and to travel to any dimensional subjects, all kinds of new worlds which exist only in his mind, that he might unravel to the world. The human mind has a supreme duty to seek, to understand the world we live in, to try to trace back to the remotest past, the history of how we are here today. These acti-

vities are not inspired by a desire for gain. They are not inspired by a desire for honour. They are not inspired by any hope that such knowledge may be of direct benefit to humanity. They are inspired merely by the nature of the human mind to travel where it can, to seek new worlds to conquer. That, I think, is the real spirit of research and one such field for knowledge is furnished by the history of human civilisation. There is nothing so fascinating to a man as to solve the mystery of his existence, the mystery of the development of life in its manifold activities of development, of culture, of knowledge, and of intellectual power. Man ever seeks to know himself and he cannot know himself unless he knows the past and the culture of human lives. Such activities have in themselves their own justification. They need no extraneous justification at all.

FUTURE OF FREE COUNTRIES

By MR. K. R. R. SASTRY

MODERN Democracy has stood its trial; and though found wanting in its disregard of minorities and disappointing to those who expected it to act as a panacea for all growing ills, it is still the constitution of the twentieth century. If one excludes the states of Abyssinia, Afghanistan, Morocco, and the "picturesque dependency" of transitional India, all modern States in the world are democratic. Post-war constitutional development shows also a marked bias towards the republican form of Govern-

ment. Will freedom in these countries continue safe "for a century or two ahead?" What will be the results of the Russian experiment on the modern State and its future?

Viscount Bryce after a masterly study of modern democracies comes to the conclusion that "the future of democracy is a part of two larger branches of enquiry, the future of religion and the prospects of human progress."^{*} What is implied in this philosophical forecast is that democracy

^{*} Bryce: "Modern Democracies" Vol II, p. 663.

always presupposes the existence of certain virtues in the people. In so far as democracy can foster and develop these virtues, so long can its future be told with a fair degree of precision. Democracy assumes "not merely intelligence but an intelligence elevated by honour, purified by sympathy, stimulated by a sense of duty to the community."

This leads us to the possibilities of good work to be turned out by semi-public and voluntary movements. Closely on the heels of the excesses of the Industrial Revolution, the State was forced to legislate for the good of the factory-workers, and its spheres are becoming widened day by day as a result of the growing and unexpected problems of industry. Syndicalism, Fascism, and Communism are all influencing the trend of constitutional development in modern States. While a craving for the inalienable individual liberty still persists, the effective interference of the State in matters which were once never its concern, is being advocated and accepted as a *fait accompli*.

The tendencies to the formation of an "industrial bureaucratic oligarchy" are prominent in the horizon. In the most highly developed democracies, the permanent Civil Service and organized industry are already wielding considerable influence. A new aristocracy nonetheless oppressive in that it is based on wealth is trying to dictate the policy of advanced countries like U.S.A. In the huge trusts and combines of capitalists, one is not often able to see the

hand of the State at all; the power of organized labour to temporarily paralyse the normal activities of the nation has been used more than once successfully in such a conservative democracy as England; but in times of national exhaustion and economic helplessness there is a strong inclination on the part of everybody to invest the State with enormous powers.

Not in any Constitution as such lies freedom but in the prevailing standard of public morals lies the only key to a lasting solution of the problem. The Western conception of "maximum good of the maximum number" is too utilitarian to last for any length of time; the conception of an immutable Law of *Dharma* should be allowed a free play in matters political. The Western type of democracy has to adopt the Eastern functional idea of discharging *individual duties to the good of the State*. Modern democracy neglects the individual and his (or her) responsibilities and is thereby digging its own grave; and its impossible pabulum of equality has led to much bloodshed. Will not the existing freedom which is *per se* of a restricted kind get itself merged in the omni-sovereign State? In the growing economic discontent of the many, will not the wars between the proletariat and the capitalist lead to a revolution which may make the advent of a dictator quite opportune? Well might Bryce conclude, "Few are the free countries in which freedom seems safe for a century or two ahead."

THE CAREER AND LIFE-WORK OF C. R. DAS—II*

By PROF. HIRALAL CHATTERJEE, M.A.

V. AS A LEADER AND REFORMER

HIS puissant personality brought Mr. Chittaranjan Das at once to the fore.

He had perfected the science of sacrifice. The pageant of renunciation without the least thought of a dramatic pose took hold of the imagination of all classes, and people gazed with wonder on the triumph of the spirit immolating all its earthly possessions at the altar of duty. The whole Indian subcontinent palpitated with joyous admiration. Such an exalted stoicism had not been seen since legendary times, and the result was a tremendous outburst of popular enthusiasm for Das and the great cause he stood for. So at the zenith of his genius, he came forward to take up politics and he managed to impart an ethical halo to the discussions and controversies he initiated. The stalwarts who had irradiated the stage by propounding constitutional philosophy of the mid-Victorian era were easily displaced and relegated into the background. He did not light his torch from the dying embers of Gokhale and Mehta or of Surendranath Banerji. He seemed to have inwardly passed through a fierce scathing ordeal which had driven out of his character all the meaner dross. The explanation of such sudden conversions is always interesting and the psychological evolution of each man is an arresting study. Be that as it may, when he descended into the arena, he glowed with a keen moral fervour and found the mighty in their seats fooling the crowd with glorious lies. He saw that the day of pomposities of patriotism was over. The British Parliament had erected a huge simulacrum and had by superb political manœuvring imposed a faked constitution on the people. The prominent Indian leaders hypnotised by the catchwords of an alien bureaucracy, instead of laying out vast projects and planning pyramids were busy manufacturing wee little pins and exhausting their brains in devising petty adjustments. Das swooped down like a falcon and lifting the national

workers out of the mire, placed them on the lofty peak of passionate national ideals.

Both Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Michael O'Dwyer have emphasised this aspect of Mr. Das's character in their recent books. Das had an inveterate hatred against the present-day Western civilization and the evils it brings in its train. He, therefore, formed a resolution of steel to smash the old order. His was not the inert antagonism of men with pale hopes and middling expectations, but the active hostility of fiery hearts whose individual vehemence blazes a pathway through all camouflage and sophistry. He who in his odd moments had erstwhile been making a sheaf of dreams and hatching delightful illusions in verse, now stood before his audience in a wizard's role. The poet of reverie gave way to the man of action. The hard practical sense developed as a lawyer now dominated his thoughts and he launched his attacks with all the cool calculation of an old campaigner. He took his cue from Parnell and adopted obstructionist tactics to hasten the end of what he conceived to be a menace to national expansion. "Parnell's hatred of England," says St. John Ervine "far outran rational political resentment; he was filled with a passion, so sinister that at the outbreak of it the House of Commons, stupid as it was, would shiver." Similarly though he did not push himself to the verge of Parnellism, when Das entered the Council Chamber a perceptible tremor would sweep through all ranks and his impassioned logic would make breaches even in the carefully-constructed citadels of the bureaucracy. His public utterances shook the earth and rocked the sky. He challenged the accepted postulates of modern democracy. His temper revolted against the horrors of industrialism—a Frankenstein monster raised by the capitalists who interpret life only in terms of barren metal. He was firmly convinced that a remorseless vivisection was being performed with alarming rapidity and the whole soul of the people

**Life and Times of C. R. Das.* By (the late) P. C. Ray. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1928.

was in a long-drawn agony. He, therefore, lit his lamp and girt his loin and sallied forth to give battle to tried foemen. He took full advantage of the forces that became his steadfast allies to fight and to conquer.

Das steered clear of vacuous rhetoric, empty shibboleths and noisy declamations, and came to grips with the Government on what he thought to be momentous national issues. The following extract from Mr. Spender's *Public Life* describing the methods adopted by Joseph Chamberlain in the political field will broadly represent the lines along which Das chose to work:— "To Chamberlain political strategy was an exact science of which the principal rule was that there must be no half-way houses between party and party, that there must be no fraternizing in the trenches and no wandering in no man's land. He had behind him a large regional following in Birmingham and Midlands. This was his own speciality. Other man had a public distributed over the country; Chamberlain had a solid localized band of followers prepared to back him through thick and thin, to go wherever he led and even to transfer its allegiance from one party to another if he so decreed. It saved him from the vicissitudes of electioneering which affected public men and gave him a base of operations for any new departure." The words of Das were half-battles. He was courageous but not ferocious. His political faith is clearly adumbrated in the speeches which he delivered on various occasions and the quotation given below will indicate the main trend of his thought. He said on one occasion:—"What I want today is a clear declaration by the people of this country that we have got the right to establish our own system of Government according to the temper and genius of our people and we want that right to be recognised by our alien rulers." The Non-Co-operation movement in spite of its protagonists acquired its impetus from the economic situation and the post-war after-math of unrest. Its results have been absolutely nil. The timespirit would have wrought all that the *Satyagrahi* now vaunts of having achieved. The quest (namely, the attainment of full stature) is admirable but the method of pursuit is irrational in the extreme. There is now a distinct veering round to the older angle of vision, both as regards ideals

and the principal lines of procedure. Das, as the most powerful exponent of the new cult, accomplished nothing. It must be regretfully confessed that he remains an ineffectual angel beating in the void his luminous wings in vain.

But though in the sphere of politics there is no solid achievement to his credit, except that he created a tremendous flutter in the dovescots and awakened an interest in rehabilitating Bengal village life, his enthusiasm in the domain of religion bore splendid fruit. He turned his attention to temple reform, where in many sacred places men in power had established a reign of terror. There had hung about for ages past many of the Hindu temples in Bengal, a scandalous hive of men masquerading in the garb of priests. The votive offerings had been misused and diverted to bring means to gratify the lower instincts. The times were clamouring for a man who would come forward and cleanse the holy precincts. Das threw himself with characteristic energy into the cause and with Lutheran zeal and Miltonic wrath he set out to destroy the pontifical sway of the despots. He drew forth his magic Excalibur and smote down. For the time being he was eminently successful. The holy places were again filled with ministrants and choristers vowed to lead a life of chastity and hymns to God welled up from the depths of grateful and reverent hearts. It remains to be seen whether the improvement effected has been permanent.

VI. AS JOURNALIST AND POET

Perhaps the reader will be surprised to learn that so long as Das was grinding at legal precedents and rallying his forces against the dyarchical administration, he felt as if he were a pilgrim who had missed his way. He was yoked to a lumbering cart which kept floundering in miry tracks. He did not "find" himself in the midst of the parched surroundings in which Destiny had placed him. Law and Politics did not quite fit themselves into the texture of his inner life. They stifled all the divine cravings for light. They clung to him like poisonous fungus and sapped his strength. A hidden hunger gnawed at his heart urging him to make his mark in literary circles and to win renown as a poet. He however lulled his secret ambition to sleep

allowing his poetic impulses to sport near the fringe of grave matters like love, beauty, sorrow, death, but never drawing deeper measures from the chords. He started a Bengali monthly magazine (under the title of *Narayan* in 1915) which brought in a new outlook and created a new atmosphere of thought and expression. He was able to organise a brilliant team of writers who did not stand rooted in the old soil. Into the pages of this journal Das introduced the spirit of Zola and Ibsen and thus scandalised Mrs. Grundy who takes mighty good care to keep a tight hand on social formalities in speech or in conduct. The dragons of puritanism were up in arms. Those wedded to over-squeamish prudery condemned him in unmeasured terms. But the *Narayan* fearlessly pursued its way and the reviewers on the staff cast off the time-honoured shackles and laid the lines of impartial criticism of literary works. They placed their hands on the holy ark itself and even Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore came to be severely appraised by the commentators. A distinct linguistic change was effected; modern Bengali writers began to discard Sanskrit technicalities and terminologies and revealed the native virility of their tongue.

It was, however, the English daily, *Forward*, which he founded in 1924, which became the chief organ of the advanced school of politics. Das's manifestoes rang like Tennyson's lyric peal of Christmas bell, a message and a summons. He who had once pulped in little æsthetic phrases now utilised the paper as a pulpit from which to hurl thunderbolts at charlatans and place-hunters clinging like leeches to the body politic. He provoked the fire ambushed in the flint of national life, and though every now and then there was the spasmodic shriek of an unredeemed fanatic, as opposed to the incandescent purpose of an apostle, he was able to penetrate in a thousand subtle ways the whole region of rights, duties, human relations and social opportunities. There was much incoherence and inconsequence—yet he inspired popular sentiment as no journalist in Bengal with the possible exception of Anurobinda Ghosh had ever done before. Contention, in Lord Morley's words, is what engages most interest, kindles most energy, brings into play most force, is the centre of most efforts, but the national business cannot go

on without a vast abundance of underlying co-operation. It is here that Das failed to recognise the time-spirit of democracy. It is here that he was a martyr gone wrong. And yet, though it may savour of a paradox, tumult was not his element. It was (as Carlyle says of Luther) the tragic failure of his life that he was forced to dwell so much in turmoil. Thus though *Forward* was a great champion of Swaraj, it is not likely that its founder's name will go down as that of a great journalist or publicist, for the simple reason that journalism was not his métier and he was not in his element in it.

His lyric verses can be enshrined in a slim volume. *Malancha*, *Songs of the Sea*, *Malā*, *Kishore Kishore* and *Antaryame* constitute a bouquet sending forth a neo-romantic perfume. Das found an unmixed bliss in the realm of poetry. In the obstreperous sphere of political conflict his spirit could not spread out all its delicate petals. There is, of course, neither glowing imagery nor brilliant colouring, nor fiery passion, nor a cascade of glittering similes; there is here and there a touch of crudeness, there are certainly traces of immature art. His range of lyrical instrumentation was not wide. Like the linnet's throat, his pipings had a limited compass. He has not invented new metres and melodies. But his *Songs of the Sea* once enjoyed a great vogue and for a time he came very near sharing the laurels of Tagore. Perhaps after his labours in the domain of public affairs, he would have taken up his dear harp that had mouldered long in silence. But that was not to be—the iron hour froze the genial current too soon and deprived Bengal of another splendid legacy of song. Das in his lyrics strikes a keen personal note and identifies his thoughts and aspirations with the myriad-rolling, myriad-mooded waves—much as Shelley does with the "Wild West Wind." It has been remarked that Das rated his poetic work infinitely higher than his political propaganda and leadership. In fact, he went the length of deliberately challenging the supremacy of Dr. Tagore in the poetic hierarchy. And though it may make his wraith wince, we must frankly say that his poems lack the reflective temper—what Arnold calls the criticism of life. They do not gather in the harvest of a quiet eye. There is no pervasive

sense of the doubtful doom of human soul. The glory of the sum of things does not flash along the chords. We shall not turn to them for solace "when strident is faction and Demos is loud." Death, however, relentlessly quenched the fame after which he stretched forth eager hands, for it is likely that Das would have been able to make his mark had the Fates spared him for some years longer and had he been able to devote himself exclusively to literature.

VII. CHARACTERISTICS

We may now briefly sum up the striking traits of Das. In the foregoing sections we have incidentally dealt with the chief features of his career and character. He never attitudinized before the mirror of public opinion. He was too sincere to hold commerce with quackery. In his presence opposition was stampeded and panic reigned supreme. His unbounded hospitality and a thousand nameless acts of charity which poured sunshine into many a distressed home, "famed the flame of human love and raised the standard of civil virtue." But the simple lines on which Das built up his life and his infinite capacity for making friends were certainly the outstanding facts of a nature prone to emotional oscillations. We have had leaders who have worn a stately and solemn garb, who have lived in a Bastille of aloofness, who were like porcupines with horrent quills shutting all approach and intimacy, whose faces have always borne the impress of a bleak philosophy without any flashing creases of laughter. But a child could twine unasked a trustful hand in that of Das and find his comfort in his looks. His heart beat with titanic pulses and he lived to command rather than to cajole. He would not yield ready subordination where he saw counterfeit pass for current coin. Though he came under the hypnotic way of Mr. Gandhi who had (to use Carlyle's picturesque words applied to Disraeli) led great parties by the nose like helpless somnambulant cattle, he recognized the right view-point and scaled the heights of Sinai to scatter his own message to his countrymen and succeeded in leading them on right lines at a very critical time in the history of our great country. Das had

his limitations. He had not the massive culture of a Rash Bihari Ghosh, nor the majestic sweep of a Surendranath Banerjee, nor the clouds of glory that hovered round Pherozeshah Mehta, nor Gokhale's fine scholastic temper and profound political prescience - to say nothing of the saintly devotion from his early years to India of a Dadabhai Naoroji. Each of these gained in intellectual stature when confronted, in whatever field, with the accredited representatives of the Empire. The highly emotional nature of Das acted as a deterrent in many respects, and so while he impressed all with the splendour of his bounty and the splendour of his renunciation, he naturally missed an international wreath. But within the limits of his life and opportunities, he did great work and a highly creditable one, at that.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The obstinate question arises where is the flag of the nation? Is the pattern still being woven at Sabarnati? Is it still masked in the block to be hewn out by those who have picked up Das's mantle? The answer will take us into controversial regions and we would fain close with a hopeful note. Does not life go down with a better grace, asks Stevenson, foaming in full body over a precipice than miserably straggling to an end in sandy deltas? Das reckoned his life as a thing to be dashingly used and cheerfully hazarded and his happy-starred full blooded spirit shot up and became a constellation. He was of the same heroic stuff as those that sailed with Jason in the *Argo*, with Columbus in the *Santa Maria*, with the pilgrim fathers in *The May-Flower*, and he definitely changed the course of our public affairs. As his end drew near and the arch-enemy tightened his grip, a sense of having done his duty must have warmed his dying soul as envisaged by Tennyson in the ever-memorable lines we quote below - lines which are strikingly apposite to the character and career of that stormy petrel, Chitta Ranjan Das: -

At least not rotting like a weed,
But having shown some generous seed,
Fruitful of further thought and deed,

To pass when life her light withdraws,
 Not void of righteous self-applause,
 Nor in a merely selfish cause,
 In some good cause, not in mine own,
 To perish, wept for, honour'd, known,
 And like a warrior overthrown ;

Whose eyes are dim with glorious tears,
 When soil'd with noble dust, he hears,
 His country's war-song thrill his ears,
 Then dying of a mortal stroke,
 What time the foeman's line is broke,
 And all the war is rolled in smoke.

" Mr. SPEAKER, Sir " : The Hon'ble Mr. PATEL : AN APPRECIATION

By MR. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

AMONG the parliamentarians of to-day none has a higher place in the affections of the people than the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel. As the first Indian Speaker of the Legislative Assembly it is only natural that he should claim a place in their hearts second to that of none among his contemporaries. But in his case there have been causes at work which have singled him out as the people's man *par excellence*. If a blundering bureaucracy insists upon making a hero of him every alternate hour, Mr. Patel is not the man who will let the opportunity slip through his fingers. His encounters with the Government have been many and he has emerged from them all triumphant and victorious. The surprise is not that his laurels have been varied, but that they should be thrust upon him in and out of season. A carping critic with a penchant for vitriolic style, it was believed that he would never prove a calm and unperturbed Speaker of a people's parliament; but he has shown that he has in him the making of a far-seeing statesman and elusive diplomat. The Treasury Bench has realised that he is not to be easily outwitted by facetious cajolery or piquant protestations. He is more than a match for pedantic manoeuvres or subtle subterfuges. He can be argued and reasoned with; but

there is no overreaching him by the crafty devices.

THE RECENT ISSUE IN THE ASSEMBLY

These qualities have seldom been brought into stronger relief than in his recent encounter with the Executive which will live long in the history of Parliament as the first definite struggle between the forces of freedom and of reaction. The question was not whether a particular ruling was right or wrong, whether a particular bill was well or ill discussed; but whether a Speaker of a people's parliament was the sole judge of what is an honest and fair debate or is only a convenient understudy and keeper of the conscience of the head of the Executive. The question could admit of only one answer; and Mr. Patel answered it in the only manner he should. The Home Member may threaten; the Law Member may fumble; the Viceroy may censure and seek to circumvent. But they are nothing before the supreme fight for conscience which he was leading alone and unaided. How can a conscientious Speaker of a popular house declare a Bill fairly and adequately discussed, when the arguments have got to be suppressed, facts ignored, and inferences have to be imagined? A Legislative Assembly is not a club for the

mutual adulation of tongue-athletes; it is a place for serious thought, seriously expressed. Better far that such a legislative farce is given up than keep up an appearance that can deceive none: Mr. Patel was right when he gave away the show and that undoubtedly chagrined Lord Irwin more than the President's robust faith in the security of his own judgment. Even his worst critics shrink from questioning his right to the ruling he gave or the sweet reasonableness of it. The essence of the criticism is that he has a better heart than he need have. Of course that is a fault he cannot help.

PRINCIPLES *vs.* PERSONALITIES

The fight is not of his own making, nor did he court it. He realised the full implications of it and warned the Government of the risk they ran. But Governments have seldom been in a mood to hear or take counsel of their friends when once their minds are made up. The Government have every reason to be angry with Mr. Patel. He has consistently refused to play second fiddle to them and has brought under his stigma those who threatened to flout his authority; for the authority he holds is not his but of the people. He is only a trustee of those for whose benefit the powers are conferred on him. But he has enforced his authority without fear or favour and irrespective of the position of those who may come under his hatchet. Whether it is a Graham or Gour makes no difference to him, and Grahams and Gours are not representative either of the Government or the people. He has laid before him principles which he must sedulously follow and where principles count personalities must go. The one principle that has been guiding him is to copy the illustrious precedents of the Speakers of the

House of Commons, to watch and jealously guard the freedom of debate and curb the tentacles that authority may impose upon it. To follow the example of Peel, Gully or Lowther, to maintain intact the great traditions of the British Parliament, to dam against the inroads of the Executive—this is no small ambition for an Indian Speaker and is sufficiently provocative of the powers-that-be. The outburst of Lord Irwin is an appropriate measure of the success of Mr. Patel's experiment. In taking up the gauntlet against the Government, Mr. Patel had behind him the immeasurable strength of a whole nation's voice as Lord Irwin had of a straggling minority armed with untold powers. The spectacle of an official minority overawing the Speaker having the support of a Parliamentary majority by menacing threats is only relieved by the grandeur of the repulse to which the attack has led. The Speaker has won and the Government lie low, discomfited and crest-fallen. Though defeated they argue still, or let others argue for them,—which is worse.

THE SPEAKER'S EARLY CAREER

It is fatuous folly of the Government to have thrust this quarrel upon Mr. Patel. By temperament the President is a fighter. He loves a good fight as the Frenchman loves a good wine. He plunges into it with a cheer and a gusto which must make his foe tremble in his shoes. He has been trained to it by six years of active membership in the Bombay Council and a period of service in the Imperial Legislative Council that was. He has been Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and on its behalf he gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Reform Bill. His political faith was enunciated in unequivocal terms before

Lord Selborne. When the Congress decided upon non-co-operation, he fell in with that creed and swelled the ranks of those who adopted the Gandhi cult. But he was no hard and fast stickler to every convention. When he found the policy of negation not paying, he changed his faith and joined the ranks of the new party which went by the name of the Swarajists. A man who has such a varied experience is least likely to succumb to the fascination of power or the smiles of authority. He will not let himself be abducted by the siren calls of diplomacy. Lord Irwin should have known better the man who called the reforms "this little thing" to the very face of Mr. Montagu. So surprised was Mr. Montagu at seeing his great effort so curtly disposed of, that he pressed him to consider if it was such a little thing after all. Mr. Patel's reply was an emphatic "I do." Perhaps he did not count at that moment the possibility of his occupying the presidential chair five years later. But he was wedded to work the reforms for what they were worth and agitate for more. He had in him the qualities of an agitator,—a firm faith in the justice of his cause, a sharp tongue and an abundance of experience earned in the expansive college of professional life. He had the opportunities that crowd the path of a venturesome career. His political evolution is a history of the evolution of the political thought of the country during the last decade. He is a living symbol of the better mind of India and to risk collision with him is to risk a clash with whatever is steady and noble and great in the political ideal of today.

FIGHT OVER ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT

And yet the Government owe Mr. Patel a debt of gratitude for the manner in which "this little thing" has

been made to loom large. When this virulent Swarajist competed with a tried Nationalist for the honour of the Chair, there were many who winked at his audacity to wrest power and hand it over to the party of wreckers. It is not wrecking tactics that Mr. Patel has followed. It has been a constructive one throughout. He took up the thread where his predecessor left and has wrought for freedom from the trammels of red-tape. His greatest work is the separation of the Secretariat of the Assembly from the department of law. Sir Frederick White began this fight and Mr. Patel saw it through, though the odds against him were great. There was no scheme behind it save the smooth running of the machine. It incidentally gave a necessary escape from the cramping atmosphere of departmentalism. It was resisted to the last, as every other reform has been, and the citadel had to surrender only when resistance was no longer possible. Much yet remains to be done and will be achieved in due course, but the greatest affront that has yet to be faced is the threat of the deprivation of the right of the Chair to decide what is fair and adequate debate. That threat still hangs; the fight may have to be bitter and fierce. But if the Opposition is true to itself, it may yet be won under Mr. Patel's tried banner. We shall emerge from it no less victorious than in the past.

"HERE IS A MAN!"

The Assembly consists of many men of varied human experiences. It has older political workers, tried veterans of war. It has men of brighter career, deeper learning and of more considerable influence with large masses of men. It embraces men who have suffered for the country long and have

taken toilsome journeys to the end. But Mr. Patel towers over them all and stands today the cynosure of all eyes, the pillar of popular rights, the vindicator of the liberties of the subject for free speech and free expression. Position has invested him with a halo which he strives to preserve unimpaired. He has grown with office a moral stature unique even in him. The very antagonism of the Government has drawn out the concealed gem that lay imbedded in the thin veneer of obstructionist Swarajism. Not unoften have occasions disclosed the burning rays of the great. Some sink

under the stress of power, under the weight of exigencies. Mr. Patel shines resplendent amid the howls of an angry press—British and Anglo-Indian—and a purblind bureaucracy here. One day when the dust and turmoil of controversy have stilled, even his fierce enemies may feel that he stood fairly and well by his post; but that day may be long. At all events they are agreed in the unanimous acclaim, here is a man. It is no small tribute for the first Indian Speaker of the Indian House of Commons.

THE SIMPLE LIFE IN CEYLON

FAR OFF THE BEATEN TRACK—WHY THE LITTLE BIRDS TWITTER—
PROFITING THE SPIRITS

By CAPTAIN GEORGE CECIL

WHERE THE ARK RESTED

PEAR-SHAPED Ceylon, island of pearls and palms, and according to good Bishop Heber, "where only man is vile," rarely induced the white visitor to lead the simple life. Hotels, which are more or less comfortable await the intrepid globe-trotter, and a car will take him anywhere along the stereotyped route. Cut-and-dried is the itinerary; rather a tame business, in fact.

One can, however, escape from the track of the tourist, provided no objection is made to roughing it. Indeed, the liver of the simple life who elects to sample a certain retired spot half way up Adam's Peak (where the Ark is said to have rested) may lead the simplest of simple lives. For he will be alone with nature at an elevation of 4,000 feet, the only signs of life being an occasional Cingalese peddler or a native wood-cutter—chocolate-hued and picturesque—and various birds and animals. The last-named, by the way, sometimes prove rather too much of a good thing, particularly when

their friendliness renders them mannerless. The screeching of the parroquets is, at first hearing, nerve-shattering, and the spectacle of a snake coiled round a sapling is a trifle disconcerting. Of the monkeys more anon.

The simple life also may be led amidst the cocoanut trees which grow right down to the water's edge, fringing the sandy shore for miles and harbouring fire-flies and mosquitoes by the million. Still, this is not the real thing. No genuine simple lifer cares to know that he can depend upon sea fish for breakfast every day, and that a wire (from the neighbouring village) to Colombo will bring him fresh meat packed in ice, potted European delicacies, and the daily newspapers. So the globe-trotter with a sense of the fitness of things moves (like *Excelsior*) upwards, Adam's Peak being his object. Unless, of course, he is prepared to eat cocoanuts and to drink their milk, and, like Paul and Virginia, who declare the highbrows, were shipwrecked off Ceylon, to doze all day "neath the shade of the sheltering palm." The only simple lifer who ever followed this historical example

consumed the rich nut in such large quantities that he was forced to call in a native doctor. But all in vain; the *gourmand* succumbed to overeating.

The White man in search of mild adventure may live aboard a native half-decked country boat, going ashore in search of provisions. This, however, is not the simple life—the village general store destroys it.

WILD ANIMALS ALL THE WAY

He who visits blazing Ceylon in quest of a retired life, scorning the *effets* civilization provided by hotels, motorcars, a mountain railway, golf, tennis, dinner-parties, clubs and polite conversation, makes straight for a point at the foot of Adam's Peak. A sturdy hill pony carries him from ridge to ridge, till, finally, the intensely green valley below is lost in a blue haze of heat. At 2,000

behind the primeval trees. A mild bull-elephant may be heard trumpeting to his mate; the elk, a lordly creature, looks out from a barrier of rhododendrons; a sloth, awaking from its much-appreciated slumber, blinks a tired eye and woos sleep. Monkeys frisk amongst the boughs, or, making a chain, swing themselves from one tree to another. A wicked-eyed mongoose crosses the twisting pathway, intent on annihilating a snake; birds of astonishingly brilliant plumage twitter in their nests, fervently hoping that the bellicose animal will get the better of the reptile, whose mischievous partiality for their eggs they greatly resent. A little black bear slyly peeps from its rocky fastness, wondering, perhaps, if the white stranger will prove a succulent morsel. A connoisseur is he. . .

Another two thousand feet, and one has arrived at the chosen spot. The perspiring coolies, hardy and as strong as horses, al-



THE SIMPLE LIFE IN CEYLON

feet the air is appreciably cooler; and, if the gorgeously-hued and enormous butterflies give the change in temperature a miss, spotted deer startled by the ring of the pony's hoofs, dart across open spaces or coyly hide

ready are there, having taken a short cut. They have lit a fire, knowing that "Master" will appreciate a cup of tea, and the sleeping tent is pitched. The leader of the gang, who, on the strength of a sheaf of greasy

and much thumbed testimonials, has been engaged as cook and general factotum, stores the tinned provisions in a second tent. He proposes sleeping among the biscuit boxes, so that, should thieves come in the night, the delicacies entrusted to his care will remain intact. A thoughtful fellow whose caste, happily, forbids his eating the same food as the white man—whom he regards as an unclean feeder. Biscuits and potted meat are safe in his guardianship.

An hour later the sun has sunk (in a bloodred blaze) behind the tops of the distant trees; the coolies, braving encounters with black bears, have departed for a tiny mountain hamlet, there to pass the night; the fire-flies buzz and twinkle. The green parroquets are roosting; an owl, known locally as the "devil bird," toot-toots in a sepulchral key; the factotum (who answers to the name of "Jericho") is snoring near a clump of tangled undergrowth. Supper, consisting of tinned soup, cheese, biscuits, toffee, and bananas, which were picked on the journey up the mountain, is over. "Master" takes his ease in a long camp chair—an excellent Java cigar (a Colombo speciality) is in full blast.

The simple life has begun.

CURRIED PARROQUETS

One day is much the same as another, perhaps monotonously so. Up with the sunrise; a dip in the dashing stream, which, met by a cluster of arresting rocks, makes an ideal shower-bath; a cup of tea flavoured with buffalo milk, the animal forming part of the camp equipment. A stroll, with a gun, through the forest, where parroquets, which, if they screech discordantly, at least show to advantage when converted into curry, follows the modest early breakfast. But they are not easy to bring down, being strong on the wing and quickly hidden by the protecting foliage of the next tree. "Jericho" considers that birds should be potted sitting, so as to make sure of not wasting a cartridge. The Cingalee is, alas, no sportsman.

Mid-day is the simple life's lunch time, the *menu* including—with luck—a brace of the before-mentioned screechers, curried and reposing on a bed of snowy rice. Bread is unobtainable, while fresh butter does not penetrate as far as Adam's Peak. Still, it is possible to get used to biscuits, of which

mercifully, there are many kinds. Besides, one may bowl over a deer, or a bear, thus ringing the changes on venison and bear steak. Bananas (rather tough and stringy) are to be had for the picking: a sort of white raspberry grows everywhere; and cocoanuts are sold by the natives who, returning from an expedition to the palm-fringed coast, are laden with the filling, if indigestible, dainty. They also bring with them fish. These, however, are better suited to a cast-iron interior than to that of the European, for the spoils of the deep quickly succumb to the heated journey. Odoriferous are the contents of the trader's basket.

After lunch comes a ride through the forest, or an expedition to the summit of the mountain, where a hollow in a certain rock is thought by the Brahmans, to be the footstep of Siva. The Buddhists claim that Buddha was responsible for the dent, while the Mahomedans attribute it to Adam, whose sons they delight in styling themselves. A visit to a tea estate on the lower slope does not come amiss, and nowhere in all the wide world of hospitality is a welcome more sincere, the Ceylon planter being a perfect host. He kills the fatted calf, for the least distinguished visitor.

The simple liver who is a botanist may botanize to his heart's content. The variety of flowers is astonishing, English, Alpine and tropical examples abounding; each square yard literally is covered with them. And if he is an entomologist, the sun-lit hours are a joy to him, the most decorative butterflies imaginable delighting the eye. Positively a riot of colour, provided he looks for it lower down the mountain.

MONKEYS' ATTENTIONS

Supper ends the uneventful, but pleasant, day. The camp table—a collapsible affair—is set up in the open air, and "Jericho," having served the unpretentious meal, stands by with a hunting-crop firmly grasped in his sinewy brown hand. This is necessary, for the monkeys, waxing both friendly and bold, make for "Master's" bananas, the curried parroquets and bear steak also taking their fancy. But "Jericho" will stand no nonsense; he lays about him till the marauding creatures

retire to the topmost branches of the trees, where, from a coign of vantage, they gibber and gibe. Presumably, the menial understands their saucy remarks, since he answers them in super-infuriated Cingalese.

When brandishing the whip "Jericho" takes uncommonly good care not to flick the monkeys. To strike them would greatly annoy the spirits of the trees, under whose protection they have ever been. The *nāats* are easily offended, and it takes very little to alarm their followers. Consequently, should "Jericho" have the misfortune to catch "Jacko" a clip over the quarters, he immediately sets about rectifying his indiscretion. The tree in which the punished monkey has sought refuge is garlanded with yellow flowers; gigantic ferns are piled against the trunk; and the nearest priest is begged to inter-

cede. He does so, for a consideration, a *rupee* being the price of repentance. The sum, though a trifling one, represents a tenth part of the frightened donor's monthly income, and the priest assures the offender that he has been let off cheaply. Perhaps the sinner ought not to complain when it is remembered how very powerful the *nāats* are. The Cingalese firmly believe that the power of life and death is in their hands...

A month of simple living in the mountains of Ceylon is about as much as the average simple life can stand. Even at a 4,000 feet altitude it may be unpleasantly hot for the greater part of the sun-lit day, while there are moments when the solitude becomes oppressive, particularly if one's stock of books runs out. A terrible catastrophe...

IDEALS AND OBJECTIVES IN EDUCATION

By Mr. H. N. WANCHOO, M.A.

WHAT are ideals in education? What are objectives in education? Ideals are aims or ends towards which the process of education is directed. A process implies continuity in striving and objectives are landmarks which successively measure the advance of the educative process towards the ideal. Objectives are consequently steps, stages or intermediate aims in the direction of activity towards the attainment of the ideals in education. Ideals are abstract, intangible and incommensurable. Objectives are generally concrete, often precise and almost invariably commensurable.

2. To illustrate: The ideal of the educational system of pre-War Germany was to produce an efficient citizen of the State. In this conception the educational system was a machine of which the highly finished product was the individual citizen whose *raison d'être* was that superintendency of Hegelian philosophy, the State, an incommensurable idea. The immediate objective of

present-day India is to abolish her appalling illiteracy and mass literacy is susceptible of statistical measurement in terms of percentages. The Aristotelian ideal in education was to educate the select, the aristocratic, few for the right use of leisure, which when translated into modern phraseology is the conception of education for the sake of culture, an indefinable abstraction. A popular objective in education in India is what is rather erroneously called vocational education, a scheme of studies in which the practical and vocational bias is prominent. This objective which reflects popular reaction against the too literary and unpractical character of the Indian educational system is expressible in terms of curricula, based on a correct appreciation of child psychology, which will take account of the practical intelligence. Modern experimental psychology has established the educational principle of learning by doing which is translatable into a more rational scheme of studies and into a well-organised system of industrial and technical schools.

If the ideal of education is rightly conceived it must incidentally fit a person to earn his livelihood, an objective which should not however form the whole content of the ideal in education. The American ideal in education is to 'raise' a hundred per cent citizen of a free democracy, an intangible conception: the objective is to displace a classical education by a utilitarian and scientific course of studies dictated by a highly industrialised social order. The ideal in education of Ancient India was the attainment of wisdom, the enlightenment which is born of the realisation of the eternal verity in life, a concept of religious philosophy: one of the objectives in education founded on the ideal was the observance of '*brahmacharya*' i.e., moral continence.

3. Other conceptions of the ideals in education, such as the building of character or self-expression and self-realisation or the unfolding of the divine in Man are similarly abstractions: *per contra* the mastery of the three R's or the instruction of defectives or hygiene and temperance teaching, are concrete objectives in education.

4. Objectives change quickly, ideals much more slowly. A change in the ideals of education is generally a reflection of the alteration in the polity of the State, often it is the evaluation of changing social and moral values. A notable illustration of the former is the evolution of the German ideal in education, after the defeat of Prussia by Napoleon, which culminated in the Hegelian apotheosis of the State. Prussia seeking for her political regeneration found in Education her first line of defence. An example of the latter is the emergence of democratic ideals in education in America, that opportunities for higher education and for diffusion of culture should be as broad-based as possible, consequent on the rise of a social democracy which is more a sociological than a political phenomenon. For since the establishment of the American republic social evolution has rapidly out-paced changes in the Constitution.

Objectives, as they are attained, make room for other objectives. In England every child receives free compulsory instruction, up to the age of 14, through the elementary stage of education. The Post-War Education Acts are designed to advance the age of compulsory instruction up to the age of 15 and the Fisher Act of 1918 aimed at advancing the age of compulsion to 18 and

at the objective of compulsory secondary education for all. Want of funds has held up the enforcement of the provisions of the Fisher Act.

5. Ideals are dynamic and objectives are static conceptions: an ideal implies perfection which is not possible of attainment, an objective ceases to be such when it is attained. Self-realisation as an ideal is a dynamic aim in education, earning a livelihood is a static end of education.

6. An ideal is a complex whole, an objective is a product of simple factors. Herbert Spencer's ideal was composed of a trinity of aims, physical, mental and moral education. The ideal of Ancient India, attainment of wisdom, or the Froebelian ideal, the unfolding of the divine in Man, defy analysis. Success in examinations, competitive or otherwise, an objective which has dominated the Indian educational system, is a simple proposition of bread and butter studies.

7. This academic discussion of ideals and objectives is intended to clarify ideas and clear confusion of thought in diagnosing the ills of the development of the Indian educational system on the Western model and in passing judgment upon it. Definitions crystallise ideas and give precision to thought. They are an aid to detect fallacies and to clear thinking. The rest of this essay will be an attempt to prove that the present-day Indian educational system, both in its origin and development, has been handicapped by a lack of ideals. Modern Indian education has had objectives which have sometimes been confused as ideals or it had professedly no ideals.

8. Prior to the nineteenth century Indian education in common with the education in European countries, derived its ideals from the classical and theological traditions. While European educational systems looked for the fount of wisdom in the civilisation of Rome and classics of Greece, Indian education sought for spiritual inspiration from the wisdom of the ancient Aryans and for intellectual nourishment from the culture of Islam. The languages of classical antiquity, Hebrew, Greek and Latin in Europe, Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian in India were the recognised media of higher education, of intellectual advancement, of culture and each had a well-developed literature. They

were also something more; Hebrew was the language of the Old Testament, Latin of the New, Sanskrit was the language of the Vedas and Arabic of the Holy Koran. Consequently the classical tradition in education came to be also the theological tradition. Both of them had well-defined ideals in education although dominated as they were by classics and theology these ideals had inherited the narrowness inherent in the classical and theological conceptions of the aims of education. The mastery of the classics whether in the East or in the West was traditionally the occupation and the privilege of the select few, of the Mullahs and Pandits and the clerics and the patronage, sometimes the study, of the classics became the hobby of the leisured class which in the past constituted the landed aristocracy. As the language of the common people was assigned a subordinate rôle, the classical tradition was responsible, for undemocratic aims in education. It created an intellectual aristocracy and was content to do so. Theology found in classical education a valuable ally for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical supremacy, both in the East and in the West, over the common people. Priestcraft reinforced the undemocratic nature of the classical conception of the aims of education. Both exalted tradition over innovation, authority over intellectual curiosity, dogma over the spirit of free enquiry and knowledge above wisdom. Nevertheless Indian education, prior to the nineteenth century, held to its ideals and was not content with objectives, especially not with the objective of merely earning one's livelihood.

9. The early beginnings of Western education in the nineteenth century, were in Bengal and owed their origin to missionary enterprise. Founding English schools and colleges was considered the best means for the conversion of the people of India to Christianity and the most fruitful channel into which evangelical zeal could be directed. The spread of Christian ideals and Christian modes of thought and conduct, in themselves admirable, could hardly be a correct aim in education in India. Education was not valuable *per se* but as an Evangel. Hence arose the apparent paradox that the Gospel became the objective although as religious philosophy it partook the character of an

ideal. Christianity would have however retained partially its character as an ideal in education could it have divorced itself from dogmatic theology. Dogmatic theology stands inevitably for a Church, an Institution, and Christianity as an Institution was insensibly associated in the minds of the people as an objective of missionary effort in education, in spite of its admirable achievement in the field of education itself.

10. Missionary enterprise in education was however very early overshadowed by more secular aims and influence which manifested themselves in the development of Western education in Bengal and elsewhere in India. The English educational system was established ostensibly to introduce the people of India, according to Raja Ram Mohan Roy, to the arts and learning of the West, it became in reality a machine for producing subordinate officials required by the Administration. In its origin therefore this objective in education was confounded with the ideal of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's imagining. The above historical basis of the English educational system is established from the character of the new Education. It was entirely literary and dominated by the examination system leading to a diploma or a degree. Education intended as a passport to 'service' under the administration could not be other than literary and could not dispense with the hall-mark of a certificate conferred on the result of an examination. The English educational system initially had but one point of contact with the varied needs of the Indian environment, the requirements of the Governmental machine. An objective so conceived could not be other than narrow and cramping in its attempts to mould varied individual faculties on the same pattern thereby producing a deadly uniformity and in its disregard of the practical intelligence. At the outset of its career the new educational system was responsible for a great blunder in the history of Indian education. The idealism of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the undeveloped state of the vernaculars and the needs of the British administration combined to make English the medium of instruction not only of higher education but gradually of school education as well. English as the principal second language would have been in its place in the school curriculum but when it

replaced the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in practically all the school subjects, it not only retarded the development of the vernaculars as suitable media of instruction but, what was worse, it retarded education itself. Learning through English handicapped the child and made mass education impossible. It made English education attractive through its rewards and led to the decay of indigenous schools, the *talis*, *pathshalas* and *madrassahs* which provided at a low cost for the education of the masses. It has taken a century to retrace that false step and the process of replacement of English by the mother-tongue in the school curriculum is still in evolution.

11. In the sphere of university and collegiate education, it was then possible to justify the use of English as a medium for higher studies. Nevertheless English education coupled with its narrow objective of "service" produced undesirable reactions. It estranged the intelligentsia from the masses, leading to a sense of superiority in the former and suspicion among the latter. Lord Ronaldshay has pointed out that the noted litterateurs of Bengal of the last century felt proud to confess that they thought in English and even dreamt in English. In effect therefore an Indian became an alien in his own country. Lest this analysis should appear one-sided in character it may be conceded that higher English education introduced India to the sciences and the scientific method of the West and through the lessons of British history and of English literature which breathes a passion for political liberty taught India Nationalism. These results however do not disprove the thesis that the aims of the Indian educational system were mere objectives or at best objectives confounded as ideals: the incidental benefits conferred were bye-products, not conceived as conscious ends of the system. A closer examination of the organisation of secondary and university education will serve to emphasise the thesis. As elementary education of the masses was neglected, there was no organisation of primary education.

12. The school system was dominated by the school leaving certificate called the Matriculation examination which was the passport to the entrance into the lower ranks of Government service and into a university college. The school curriculum

was dictated not by the agricultural, commercial, professional, industrial or cultural needs of the environment, local, provincial or All-India, but was imposed *ab extra* by the university, which was not an organisation for teaching or for higher education but a purely examining body, for purposes of its Matriculation examination. An outside body like the university could not take account of individual needs, either of the pupils or of the environment, could not from its nature prescribe a scheme of school studies sufficiently elastic to allow for diversity of aptitudes, above all it neglected the practical intelligence which was beyond the scope of its examination. The schools consequently became coaching institutions in which even physical training was neglected in preparation for the Matriculation examination. The instruction provided, it did not deserve the name of education, was purely literary as the schools had neither the funds nor the equipment nor any use for practical studies like handwork in any form or for artistic studies like music and the Fine Arts. Drill and drawing, when schools made the concession of including them in their curriculum, constituted the Cinderella of school studies. Secondary education in the West also has, in the past, suffered from similar defects and has, at one time or another, been subordinated to an examination, but it has seldom been so completely divorced from the needs of the environment as in modern India, and has never been dominated by so narrow an objective as a school leaving examination certificate leading to an office stool or to a university diploma or degree which in its turn would be the stepping stone to an office chair. Girls' education, provision for which is still practically negligible, was modelled on the same pattern: indeed little concession was made in the scheme of studies for differences of sex or of vocation in life and none in the examination system. Until a decade, such was the state of secondary education. Since then the gradual inclusion of manual training, educational handwork, nature study, science, agriculture, commerce, music, organised physical training in the secondary school curriculum and the spread of boy scouting are making the school a vitalising force in the life of the people. The process is, however, in its initial stage.

The products of the English education

were fitted only to be clerks and schoolmasters. The system made the youth of the country unfit for practical pursuits, weaned them from their hereditary occupations, agricultural and commercial, and destroyed the dignity of manual labour. A barber's son, who had passed the High School examination, sought for a clerkship for which he looked obviously unfitted. He could have earned his living as a barber, it was doubtful whether he succeeded in his quest, anyway he would make an indifferent clerk. The system has created an educational proletariat. A number of government, technical, industrial and agricultural schools have now been opened. Many more are still required.

13. University education was, until the last decade, collegiate education, as the university was an examining body to which colleges in different parts of the country, often in distant provinces, were affiliated for purposes of the university intermediate and degree examinations. The college system was a higher replica of the school system and, as in the latter, the only allegiance the colleges owed to the university was to follow the courses which the university laid down for its various examinations. The idea of the university as a corporate teaching body radiating cultural inspiration and a centre for advancing the bounds of knowledge was non-existent. The colleges, each self-sufficient, taken up with preparing students for university examinations leading to a degree which was to be the open "sesame" to the doors of Government offices, were ill-equipped to discharge the latter function and contented themselves with being purveyors of knowledge at second hand. As the flux of seekers after a degree increased as a factory for the manufacture of graduates the college ceased to be, even to the small extent it had been, a fount of inspiring ideals. The university degree came to be not a hall-mark of culture but a saleable commodity in the clerkly, pedagogical and learned professions and even in the marriage market. The increasing number of graduates has also created a serious unemployment problem. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the establishment of colleges of law, medicine, civil engineering and later of education was a desirable variation from the purely Arts colleges; the sciences were later entrants

into the scheme of college studies. The professional colleges have also led to overcrowding in the learned professions, specially in the legal profession. Colleges of agriculture, forestry, mining and of technology, where they exist, are of more recent growth. The main objectives of collegiate education have however been government service and the learned professions, such as law, medicine, education and engineering. These aims have been destructive of the spirit of adventure and exploration in the youth of the country and have bred a 'safety first' mentality. The system has certainly produced great lawyers, administrators, politicians, reformers, statesmen, even poets and scientists but they have been all too few, and as some critics contend, they have been produced in spite of the system.

14. Although the defects of the educational system had begun to be realised by Indian educationists and thinkers at the close of the nineteenth century, it was in the second decade of this century that the full effects of English education became manifest in the increasing unemployment among the educated middle class who had been further rendered unfit by their education for agricultural, commercial or manual occupation. The Indian intelligentsia attempted to diagnose the ills of the educational system: it made men mercenary and did not make for building of character, its aims were secular and had no room for godliness, it neglected physical, moral and religious training, it made men unpractical and made no provision for vocational education, it was imposed *ab extra* and was not rooted in the needs of the environment, it had no use for knowledge for its own sake, it imparted instruction through a foreign tongue and made true education impossible, it estranged the masses from the educated classes and rendered an educated Indian an alien in his own country and lastly it utterly ignored India's past culture, traditions, philosophy, arts, learning and history and bred in the youth no love for their country. Each critic prescribed his nostrum for the symptom of the disease he diagnosed in the educational system.

15. The problem was not so simple. Modern Indian education, it will be seen from its history, had no well-defined aims and made objectives serve the purpose of

ideals. As objectives change quickly, so the early proselytising aims of the educational system succumbed to the attractions of "service." These were, as posts became scarce and seekers after service more clamorous, lessened partially by opening of professional colleges providing avenues of employment in the learned professions. The overcrowding in these professions led to the popular demand for more practical and technical education. More often therefore criticism of the educational system led to the substitution of one objective in education for another. The change in the objectives made the problem of Indian education appear simple; what was lacking was a comprehensive aim in education, that is an ideal. What Indian education needed was the force of a dynamic aim not the static end of an objective. This is merely a critical survey of the Indian educational system, consequently the evolution of ideals and what they should be are appropriately subject-matter for another essay. The forces making for the evolution of ideals are however briefly indicated.

16. There are political, economic, social and educational causes lifting Indian education out of the vicious circle of rule-of-thumb objectives on to the plane where a comprehensive aim may direct its activity and an ideal, a vitalising force, inform its purpose. Of these causes the political forces are apparently the most powerful. A reference has been made to the lessons in nationalism taught by British history and English literature, to these may be added the awakening of Asia in the twentieth century and the ferment of the War in which the doctrine of self-determination has made peoples more nationally conscious and consequently Indian aspirations for full nationhood are seeking for truer aims in education for their realisation. To the forces of nationalism is attributable that insistent objective of political India, the education of the masses. A comprehensive and true aim in education in the twentieth century must make education as broad-based as possible. The poverty of the people, the world-wide economic distress caused by the War and the increasing unemployment of the masses and the educated classes have led to the popular demand that education

should be of a more practical character to enable the sons of India to exploit her vast natural resources and to fit them for world competition in the struggle for existence. Of the social forces, the most notable are the women's movement and of the depressed and backward classes for emancipation and equality. The function of education is, it is contended, not only to provide equality in opportunity but it should have a humanising influence. Social abuses and anti-social customs, it is now recognised, are due to ignorance and superstition: the cultural and humanitarian light of education should dispel their darkness. Of the educational causes, the results of experimental psychology and the consequent advance of education as a science have altered the methods of pedagogy in the West and have also influenced methods of teaching in India. The labours of the Sadler Calcutta University Commission, 1917-1919, have resulted in the establishment of a number of unitary teaching universities whose function will be to advance, as well as to impart knowledge and to be centres of cultural inspiration. It remains to mention the last, more elusive yet potent factor at work in Indian education, the spiritual endeavour of India's religious reformers and thinkers. Dayanand's revival of Vedic ideals embodied in the Gurukul, Hardwar, U.P., Tagore's Internationalism in the foundation of the Vishva-bharati, Bolpur, Bengal and Gandhi's doctrine of Ahimsa and love as practised in his Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, Gujrat, are forces whose educational value is incalculable. It is a significant fact in education in India to-day that her foremost spiritual thinkers should have made experiments in education. To sum up, Nationalism is giving India an incentive for mass education, consequently its broad basis, poverty and unemployment are imparting a practical character to education, social causes a humanising and cultural mission, educational experiment and science method and her sages spiritual foundation. It remains to be seen whether the ideal will be well and truly conceived.

UN AL HUQ* : A POEM

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Well nigh a thousand years ago
 Lived Mansur al Hallaj, a weaver,
 In the city of Baghdad. A saint he was,
 And a Sufi of high renown.
 Realising in himself the divine essence
 He proclaimed, 'Un al Huq !
 'I am the Truth, I am God !'
 Out of deep conviction he spake
 And his faith was stronger than death.

Yet was he deemed a heretic
 And a man of foul faith.
 He was put to the question,
 But he had ever the one answer,
 'Un al Huq ! Un al Huq !'
 Apostate and blasphemer and atheist
 They called him and reviled him,

And they clamoured for his death,
 Death with torture to purge his sin.

They cut off his limbs one by one,
 And, behold, from each dismembered
 Arm and foot came the same
 Triumphant testimony and from
 The quivering tongueless limbs came the cry,
 'Un al Huq ! Un al Huq !'
 The severed head proclaimed
 The martyr's creed, 'Un al Huq !'
 They burned the mutilated remains
 And cast the ashes into the Tigris,
 And the very ashes formed the letters
 'Un al Huq ! Un al Huq !'
 And floated gently down the river.

—*Tuzkaratul Aulia*.

THE CAPTIVE : A POEM

By MR. CYRIL MODAK

Come to my garden of dreams,
 Under the moonlight,
 Coronet woven with gleams
 Shimmering white,
 Gleams of a poet's wild praise,
 Dancing so bright,
 Sweetest ! to you I would raise,
 Necklet of rubies that burn
 Burn with emotion,
 Round you I'd tie, though you spurn :
 And from life's ocean

All, all the jewels of song
 Hid in its motion,
 Dearest ! to you would belong.
 Taking your hands into mine,—
 Beauty incarnate !—
 Round them a garland I'd twine ;
 Sorry your fate,
 Bound with love's flowery chain,
 Bound now to wait
 Captive, nay, queen you would reign.

* This is an Arabic sentence meaning "I am the Truth" or "I am God."

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(A) ESSAY-REVIEW CRITICAL STUDIES

"THROUGH WRONG PERSPECTIVE"*

A New Study of Ancient India. By Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law.

Dr. Sarkar's book is a doctorate thesis of 225 pages. It is divided into two parts. Part I covers pp. 1-73 and discusses "Building Activities," "Furniture," and "Dress and Costumes." This portion of the book is a good attempt by a student of his subject. Passages like the foot-note 1 at p. 46 are excusable. "It seems probable that Mauryan monolithic pillars had their origin from the indigenous toddy-palms. . . The palm-leaf is of course the pre-historic material for writing."

But when we come to Part II, pp. 74-112, which deals with "Sex-relations," every reader would say like Dr. Winternitz that "there are many things in these chapters to which I would take exception."

For example, Dr. Sarkar writes the passages which I quote below :

"it seems not unlikely that, in the original tradition, Sita was the common wife of Rama and Lakshmana, just as it is clear that she was originally the sister-wife of Rama" (pp. 150-151);

"Rama had proposed Sita's transference to Bharata even before her abduction . . . as a convenient arrangement" (p. 151, n. 2);

"this original relationship seems to be confirmed further by Rama's suggestion that Sita might live as wife with Lakshmana, Bharata and Satrugna" (ibid.).

Now the authorities cited for these assertions are the Ramayana VI. 117, and Ram. II, 30, 8-9, 26, which do not lend the slightest support to the conclusions put forward by Dr. Sarkar. The former is a misrepresentation of an angry saying referring not only to the brothers of Rama but also to Sugriva and the Rakshasa Vibhishna (Ch. 115 end in Bombay edition). The latter

does not bear out the contention in the least, which seems unsupported by evidence.

Dr. Sarkar (p. 126) considers that 'Janaka-duhita' meant 'the daughter of Dasaratha,' and that 'Kausalya' the queen of Dasaratha was the sister or cousin of Dasaratha—"the famous Dasaratha seems to have contracted such a marriage with 'Kausalya' who can only have been a sister or first cousin (paternal uncle's daughter)" p. 125. Dr. Sarkar is his own authority here, which is not surprising, considering his novel views. People will not easily be found to agree with his final conclusion (at the last page) "that the Brahmans were chiefly instrumental in fostering and sanctioning the profession" of prostitution. We need not quote any more.

The author should have taken counsel from the friendly advice of Prof. Winternitz whom he had invited to write an introduction to his thesis (and not to have criticized him by appending footnotes) when the learned professor observed:

"Thus I certainly should not conclude from the Vedic myths that the Rishis of old did not see anything wrong in such connexions as that of Prajapati with his daughters, or of Pusan with his mother and sister. Surely the ancient Greeks did not approve of fathers eating up their children because according to the Greek myth Kronos devoured his children" (p. viii), (and further) "the stories told in the late Jataka commentary . . . cannot prove that Sita was common wife of Rama and Lakshmana, nor that Sita was their sister as well as wife" (p. ix).

It will be in the interest of good taste and scholarship to omit pp. 74-225 in the next edition, if called for. To do justice to the first part, the author should separate it and issue it independently, without detracting from its merits by appending to it Part II, which

*Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India. By S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1928.

contains numerous statements which are absolutely unwarranted by historical data or sound reasoning. In drawing attention to them, I have taken studious care to indulge in restrained language, but some of them are so outrageous that I would not be surprised if they evoke in other quarters a much more emphatic dissent and vigorous condemnation.

An American Interpretation of Modern India*—By Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Miss Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* was the work of a writer ill-educated in methods of social study, lacking in intellectual candour, and bent on providing at any cost a sensational book on India and her people. In contrast to it, is *Understanding India* by an educated observer with a keen historical perspective, who has tried sincerely to understand India in the words of the title of her book. Mrs. Gertrude Williams herself in a preface notes the contrast. "While I was turning my notes on India into a book," she writes, "*Mother India*" appeared. Miss Mayo and I were in India during successive winters. I was interested and surprised that another American woman, "unsubsidized, uncommitted and unattached" as she described herself, should bring away such different impressions of the country. I think that the difference in what Miss Mayo and I saw was due in part to the way we saw it."

Miss Mayo came with the commendation of the India Office, was escorted by the Criminal Investigation Department officials, and was guided and instructed by the Anglo-Indian hierarchy as to what she should see and say. Mrs. Williams followed a different course. "I travelled," she writes, "6,000 miles in India, and I travelled alone. I ignored the British convention which forbids a white woman, unless accompanied by a white man, to enter the close-built poorer quarters of Indian cities, even in broad daylight. I had no itinerary, but decided where to go as I went along. I visited Indian homes. I poked round in remote villages of aborigines. I travelled first, second, and third class. Much of the time I travelled without a bearer or servant, an almost obligatory accessory for the foreigner in India.

I wanted to buy my tickets and make the other petty contacts which a servant would have saved me. As I was entertained by Indians in their homes, I lost the sense of watching a spectacle. Instead of a panorama, moving in two directions, the Indian scene took on a third dimension. Without being sentimental or blind to India's failures, it is only just to remember that many of the customs for which she is most severely condemned prevailed throughout the world until the last few centuries, and still exist in our own backward communities." That accurately describes the key-note of the book. Mrs. Williams sees the shady side of Indian life as keenly as Miss Mayo, but does not regard it as peculiar to and inherent in Indian nature, impossible of being brightened by any effort of the people themselves. "If we wish to see the lives of our ancestors of a few generations ago," she writes, "we have only to visit India with its primitive village life and lumbering wooden-wheeled bullock carts, its one-roomed huts, its dirt and flies and smells, and its precious sense of leisure to sit in the sun." America has grown out of these things, and India, too, will, with the help of science and under the influence of national ideas, do the same. The great merit of Mrs. Williams' book is that she realises throughout that Indians are "of the same essential human stuff as ourselves."

Mrs. Williams' account of her experiences on the voyage to India are vividly described. "The first morning out, as I took my place at table, I said 'Good morning' to my English neighbours. The men looked embarrassed; the women looked blank. No one replied. I never spoke to any of them again, and they never spoke to me." Mrs. Williams had letters to English people in the various services but, on landing in Bombay, she decided not to present them. "The first Indian I went to see in Bombay," she writes, "was Mr. K. Natarajan. My only introduction was to tell him that I had been a reader of his admirable weekly paper, the *Indian Social Reformer*, for some years. He received me as hospitably as though I had presented the most august letters, and introduced me to prominent Indians as well as to his daughters and a group of delightful Indian ladies." We remember the

* *Understanding India*, By Mrs. Gertrude Williams. (Coward Macdonald, Publisher, New York, U.S.A.) 1928.

incident very well and have since recalled it often in conversation with other foreign visitors. Mrs. Williams walked into the room one evening with a scrap of newspaper on the margin of which Bishop Fisher had scrawled a few words indicative of his regard for her and her object in visiting India. In a few minutes, Mrs. Williams was completely at ease discussing her programme during her five months' tour in India.

She attended the National Congress at Belgaum which was presided over by Mahatma Gandhi. She was perhaps the only white visitor at that Congress. Belgaum has no hotel run on European lines, and Mrs. Williams had to shift for herself as well as she could. There are some vivid pen-pictures of what she saw and felt at Belgaum. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, "handsome and vital, with flashing eyes and a commanding presence," did not know Mrs. Williams, but when the latter introduced herself as an American woman travelling in India who desired to meet her, she had Mrs. Williams brought to the dais and had her sit near her for the rest of the Congress. Mrs. Naidu was very busy, she could reply only in monosyllables to Mrs. Williams' questions, yet "she was kindness itself in looking out for me, and introducing me to all the Pandits and celebrities of the movement." Mrs. Williams describes Pandit Motilal Nehru as "fastidious and distinguished, looking like an European financier in fancy dress." The late Mr. C. R. Das was "tall and broad-shouldered, wrapped in a home-spun toga, whose deliberateness of bearing reminded me of American Indian chieftains I used to see on the frontier army posts of my childhood." She also met the leaders of the National Social Conference and she remarks that meeting the leaders of these two groups at the outset of her travels proved an ideal introduction to Indian life and thought. Referring to the Social Conference group, she observes that they feel that India will not be ready for political agitation and organization until she has reformed her glaring social abuses. This is not quite correct at the present day. Social reformers have come to feel that under self-government alone would it be possible to have social reforms properly carried out. They are, therefore, heartily co-operating with the other Indian nationalists in working

for Swaraj. From Belgaum, Mrs. Williams went to Goa and there she discovered, contrary to what she had been told, that a white woman can sleep with doors open, without being disturbed.

Mrs. Williams admits many things in Indian life jarred upon her. But then she reminds herself that looking back a few generations, the chronicles of Europeans in the Middle Ages furnish close parallels to India's present state. As regards some of the cruelties and hardships, the afflictions of Indian women, the illiteracy of men and women, cruelty to animals, and lack of sanitation, "I could" she says—and she was a journalist for five years—"match all the current gossip as to Indian misery with incidents from the police court blotters of any Western nation." "I should hesitate to describe as decadent a stage of civilisation from which we ourselves, have only recently emerged." And not wholly yet. It is this constant corrective of historical perspective and introspection that constitutes the special quality of Mrs. Williams' book. Nor is she at all satisfied that the civilisation of the West is the only or the best kind of civilisation attainable. She quotes Henry Adams' bemoaning the chaotic effect of this "acceleration of vertiginous violence." A few more centuries of progress at the present rate, she candidly says, would lead to a condition which is unthinkable—a delirium. She makes it clear that she does not want and does not approve of Indians embarking on a wholesale imitation of the West. The underlying ideas of civilisation everywhere are the same but they must be worked out in accord with the genius and requirements of each race and community by itself. The practical difficulty arising out of foreign rule is just this, that the subject race is incapacitated for thinking out the solutions of its special problems in the light of its own appreciation of its needs. Mrs. Williams refers to the shoddy imitations of the west she found in some ambitious quarters. All imitations must be shoddy, and in India we are now faced with the alternative of imitation or stagnation. British Viceroys and Governors profess that they wish India to evolve on her own national lines. But the facilities for doing so under the present regime are very few. Even under Swaraj, India will have to adapt to her own needs, much

gleaned from the West. But that will be adaptation and incorporation and not the mechanical imposition of institutions and practices in all their alien incongruity on the instincts and traditions of the Indian people.

The World of Islam since 1925* By Mr. Mehdi Imam, Bar-at-Law.

This book is a supplementary volume to the *History of the Peace Conference*. Owing to the complexity of affairs in the Islamic world it has been found necessary that a special volume should be devoted to the survey to the position of the Islamic countries in 1925. A further volume as a counter part to this survey is expected to be published to deal with the outstanding events since. The present book covers the history of the Islamic countries from the Peace Settlement until 1925. In this sense the book is an independent treatise and may be read apart from the other books in the same series. Mr. Toynbee has divided the scheme of his survey into three parts. The first part is concerned with the general summary of the countries in question; the second part with North-West Africa and the third part with the Middle-East and India. In addition there are several interesting appendices particularly the letters of His Highness the Agha Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali in regard to Turkey. Another useful feature is the maps of North Africa, North and Central Arabia, the Vilayet of Mosul and the Islamic World in 1925.

In the general introduction Mr. Toynbee is careful to point out that the movement traced in this survey of the Islamic world is not a movement confined to the Islamic people, but a movement in which the entire body of the Eastern people were roused from the sleep of ages into an unexpected energy, to throw off the ascendancy of the Western Powers and at the same time to maintain their independence and integrity in the eyes of the world. It is further pointed out that there is a similarity in the struggle for liberty led by Kemal Pasha in Turkey, by Abdul Karim in Morocco and Zaghlul Pasha in Egypt. In each of those instances a dictator has arisen to guide the destinies of each struggling State, a dictator with almost super-human power of endurance and confidence, a dictator who

watched with ceaseless anxiety every encroachment by foreign powers and who while assimilating foreign culture necessary to the development of the State yet rejected in the Western civilisation whatsoever might appear to be incompatible with the progress of their respective countries. In each instance the Dictator had to face insuperable difficulties before climbing to a position of power.

Mr. Toynbee further in his general introduction gives an interesting discussion of the antecedents of the Ottoman Caliphate, the abolition of the Caliphate by Turkey and the progress of secularization in the Islamic world. He traces the effect of the removal of the Caliphate upon Indian Moslems and he is of the view that "this intervention had little direct effect upon the Peace Settlement in the Middle East which was determined of the outcome of the Anatolian War."

In regard to the constitution of the Turkish State, Mr. Toynbee expresses the opinion that that constitution was exclusively based on Western precedents and was inconsistent with the political experience of the Islamic society. The constitution of Turkey contained three articles: (1) The Turkish State is a Republic; (2) Religion of the Turkish State is Islam, the official language is Turkish, the seat of Government is Angora; (3) Sovereignty belongs without restriction to the nation. Mr. Toynbee is apparently of the view that a "strictly orthodox Moslem could not have drafted a constitution for a Turkish Republic but only a constitution for the Islamic community. On the analogy of the Turkish Constitution of 1924 he would have opened as follows:—

Art. 1. Islam is a theocratic community.

Art. 2. The incumbent of the Islamic Caliphate is the Ottoman Padishah: the language of Islam is Arabic: the Holy Places of Islam are Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem."

It seems that in this view Mr. Toynbee has entirely overlooked the new spirit of progress which has been breathed into the dead bones of the East. The religion of Islam, like the religion of the Vedas, is when regarded in its pristine purity essentially progressive and in no way opposed to modern

civilisation. In fact the germ idea of democracy which is the spring of modern life finds expression in a clear form in both the Vedic and the Islamic faiths which are both capable of being receptive of modern ideas. Moreover today religion has been, after the experience of centuries, separated from the life of the State. Religion in the modern conception relates to the individual, the political affairs to the public. It is, therefore, inconceivable that the modern State of Turkey would have been associated in so far as its national outlook was concerned with the religious aspect. Though no doubt that so far as the members of the Turkish community are concerned, they have in no way renounced their belief by the separation of religion from their political outlook. In this respect it appears that Mr. Toynbee has not clearly grasped the fundamental change working in the under-current of modern movements in eastern countries.

The second part is concerned with North-west Africa. Mr. Toynbee deals in succession with the reaction of the North-west African people against the Western ascendancy; the origin of the French, Spanish, Italian struggle for sovereignty in North-west Africa; the reaction against Italy in Libya and against Spain in Morocco. The rise of Abdul Karim and his gallant struggle against the combined forces of Spain and France form a fascinating page in this book. He shows correctly that only a swift and decisive victory on the part of Abdul Karim would win the independence of the country and that a protracted struggle would mean exhaustion and in fact resulted in the collapse of Abdul Karim's forces. From this point the author considers the relation of France with regard to her status in Tangiers; the nationalism and reform in Tunis and Algiers; and the delimitation of the Frontiers between Italian and Libya and Egypt.

The third part brings under survey the Middle-East, the relationship between Egypt and Britain and the question of the allocation of the waters of the Nile. Mr. Toynbee in regard to Egypt points out a curious fact of international law. When Britain recognized Egyptian independence in 1922, in the eye of international law the sovereignty of Egypt belonged to Turkey. By the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey had relinquished her right to sovereignty over Egypt. But it had not

transferred those rights to Britain or Egypt and therefore the two latter parties had to settle between one another as to the definite status of Egypt. As a technical question of international law as Turkey had surrendered its claim, Egypt should have been found to be the rightful owner of her own property. But as a matter of fact in international politics there is little difference between a trespasser and a rightful proprietor!

The author next turns to the Arabian peninsula and the rise of the Wahabi power and the fall of the house of Hashim. During the War the position was that the Western powers were hiring Arab rulers to fight their battles for them and after the Peace Treaty Arabia continued to be the field of various struggles between the divided clans. In this part of the history the events are complicated owing to the numerous petty struggles ending with the proclamation of Ibn Saud as the sovereign of Hijaz and the Islamic Congress in 1926. After this the author describes the question of frontier rising between Ibn Saud and the State of Iraq and Trans Jordan and the mandated territories of Syria in Palestine.

A special chapter is devoted to the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine by Leonard Stien. The chapter is full of facts and figures, and the author appears to have a bias against the French administration in Syria. The other chapters deal with the frontier questions between frontiers of Syria and Turkey, Iraq and Syria and lastly Turkey and Iraq in which Britain is the foremost protagonist. The last two chapters of the book are devoted to the situation in Persia, India, Afghanistan and the Frontier Tribes.

As a whole it may be said that Mr. Toynbee's book contains an abundance of matter and is written in a careful and elegant style. As a historian he is to a large extent impartial. He shows a keen appreciation of the dramatic personalities ranged before him in this *Survey*, viz., Kemal Pasha, Abdul Karim and Zaghul Pasha. Perhaps it may be said that these three characters, taken together with Signor Mussolini, are likely to obtain an abiding place in the history of the making of nations, when that history has been viewed by posterity in the light of the judgment that will be passed by succeeding generations. At present, we who are living in the midst of stirring events

and dramatic activity, we who are as it were actors in the tragedy of civilisation are unable to maintain that detachment, and that independent outlook that is necessary to form an adequate estimate of historical character.

(B) BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES

1. LATEST BOOKS ON INDIAN POLITICS BY EUROPEANS

India on Trial. By J. E. Woolacott. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London.) 1929.

Mr. J. E. Woolacott is well-known to us in this country—and particularly in the provinces of Agra and Oudh—as the editor of the *Pioneer* in its unregenerate days. No wonder, then, that he is a hopeless reactionary and an anti-Indian die-hard. Put shortly, his whole object in *India on Trial* is to retard—if he can—the course of constitutional progress and political reform in this country. It is by keeping his main object in view that one can at all appreciate Mr. Woolacott's heroics. He tries to show how essential it is for India that the British connexion should be maintained, and describes the great work of 'regeneration' which has been carried out by British administrators. An account is given of the alleged evils brought about by the agitations of the past ten years, which led (*ala* Woolacott) to rebellion, massacres, and an attempted invasion of India by Afghanistan. These deplorable events are traced directly to the dissemination among ignorant and excitable people of gross mendacities regarding the aims and actions of the British. The menace arising from subversive teaching, the writer contends, has become more serious owing to the intrigues of foreign Communist agents, which have recently caused widespread labour troubles, accompanied by many outrages, including the derailing of railway trains, riots and murders. So much, according to Mr. Woolacott, for the past. As regards the future in view of the inquiry now being conducted by the Royal Commission, the chapters on the working of the Reformed

Constitution are of especial interest. Mr. Woolacott tries to furnish striking proofs of the utter irresponsibility of the Legislative Assembly, and cites *official* testimony as to the gross maladministration which exists in the domain of local government. He also explains why it is that the Reforms have led to an accentuation of the differences between Moslem and Hindu, and he deals with the oppression of the depressed classes, the importance of the Indian States, and the great benefits which India has derived from the investment of British capital and the activities of British merchants and industrialists. A chapter is devoted to the social work of Christian missions among the masses. So far the book is a typical Anglo-Indian production. The future governance of India is of profound importance not only to the Indian people but to the Empire. The writer discusses the main issues involved, and a perusal of his book should assist the reader to an understanding of questions that are of vital concern alike to India and to Britain if he desires to understand and appreciate the position and arguments of those amongst the Anglo-Indians—and unfortunately they are many—who are hostile and inimical to India's political and economic progress and constitutional development on right lines. But on the sound principle that a prudent man should know the case of one's opponent, we commend this book to the attention of the educated Indians.

An Indian Commentary. By G. T. Garratt, I.C.S. (Retd.) (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London.) 1929.

For one who was for years a member of that very close bureaucracy, the Indian Civil Service, Mr. G. T. Garratt betrays in his *An Indian Commentary* a remarkably liberal and progressive mentality and his book merits appreciation. By 1930, the

Simon Commission will have made its report, and the policy of the British Government will determine the future, not only of India, but of Asia. It must also profoundly affect the relations between the white and coloured races throughout the world. There has never been a time when a broad and tolerant understanding of Indian questions was more necessary. The author, who has served not only in the Indian Civil Service but also with the Indian Army, has had unusual opportunities for hearing and appreciating the views of the educated Indians. This book is an attempt to present this intricate subject, clear of all propaganda, and to find a common and reasonable basis upon which Indians and the British jointly can discuss the future. The author's suggestions for constitutional reform are ingenious and varied, and, though they do not go so far as the Nehru Report would imply, they form a basis for consideration by those entrusted with the function of formulating proposals to be placed before Parliament. We have no doubt that some such ideas are already under consideration by the authorities responsible for the Government of this country. Though educated Indians are not likely to agree with all that the author says in his book, nevertheless it is marked by a rare spirit of fairness in dealing with Indian problems and is characterized by a deep and genuine sympathy for the efforts of our people to attain responsible Government. As such it merits wide circulation.

Modern India : Its Problem and Their Solution. India and the Labour Party. By V. H. Rutherford. (The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1.) 1929.

Dr. Rutherford is undoubtedly one of the greatest and truest friends of India and worked as such when he was a member of the House of Commons. His two books—*Modern India* and *India and the Labour Party* are slashing and vigorous attacks, the former on the policy (past and present) of British rule in this country and the latter on that of the Labourites. *Modern India* (originally issued in 1927) has just appeared in a popular edition and should be read by all educated Indians. It is an informative,

convincing and thought-provoking survey of the results of British administration in various spheres of activity—economic, educational, political and administrative. It is a powerful plea for the immediate establishment of responsible government in this country. . . . In his exposure of the Labourites, the author is emphatic in his condemnation of them on account of their defection from the Blackpool resolution in favour of self-government for India. Both the books merit serious consideration.

RECENT SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Nationality : Its Nature and Problems. By Bernard Joseph. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London.) 1929.

Dr. Bernard Joseph's *Nationality: Its Nature and Problems* is a work which deserves wide appreciation for its many merits. The author is a French Canadian lawyer, now practising at the Bar in the French mandated territory of Palestine. As a resident of the Province of Quebec he has had ample opportunity of becoming personally familiar with the peculiar status of nationality enjoyed by the French Canadians. Having also spent several years in Palestine (where he has studied at first hand the fascinating experiment of the re-assertion of their nationality by the Jews) he has become acquainted with the Nationalist Movement in Egypt and amongst the Arabs of Palestine and Syria. Starting with these advantages, it is not surprising that his work is a critical study of the entire question of nationality. Its various attributes, race, language, tradition, religion, culture and national consciousness are all analysed in an effort to establish the importance of each in its formation, development and preservation. The principal nationalities of the world are considered in detail in order to establish the fundamental basis of nationality. The book deals further with the various problems affecting nationality, such as its relationship to cosmopolitanism, the State, patriotism and war. It indicates the real nature of nationality and its importance in the social order. The work is thus a comprehensive exposition of nationality, and will be found highly useful by students of the subject. There is a chapter devoted in it to the discussion of

the problem of nationality in India, which is a useful summary.

The Protection of Minorities. By L. P. Mair, M. A. (Christophers, 22 Berners Street, London, W. 1.)

Miss Mair's *The Protection of Minorities* deals with one of the most burning political problems, both in Continental Europe and in India. The object of this book is to present to those interested in international affairs a summary of the cases which have been brought before the League of Nations under the provisions of the minority clauses in the Peace Treaties. It recalls the essential material of each of these cases and the manner in which it has been dealt with. It has throughout been based upon official sources, verified with the utmost accuracy, and is characterised by complete impartiality. India being at present engaged in constitution-making, she is deeply concerned in the solution of this problem of protecting the interests of her minorities. True, her problem differs materially from that of the European countries; nevertheless much guidance can be obtained from a study of Continental conditions in this respect. For this reason Miss Mair's excellent book should interest a large circle of thoughtful readers in this country, to whom it renders accessible a vast amount of useful information not easily available.

The British Empire. By Sir Frank Fox. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., 4-6 Soho Square, London, W. 1.) 1929.

First issued in 1911—eighteen years back—Sir Frank Fox's *The British Empire* has been so largely rewritten as to be a new book rather than a new edition. Though largely descriptive, it is a highly useful work. The British Empire is here surveyed by one of the leading authorities on Imperial affairs. All the essential facts are clearly and simply stated, showing the immense territory and enormous population under the British flag, the widely differing methods of government applied to different conditions, and the vast range of raw materials and commodities produced throughout the Empire. All this important detail is set off by thrilling passages of history and by vivid impressions, gleaned

at first hand by travel, of various features of Empire life. With its many-coloured illustrations, painted in widely scattered corners of the world by experienced artists, the book is an epitome of the British Empire, for every reader interested in the fortunes of the greatest political entity in the modern world.

The History of Government. By Charles Petrie. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, Strand, London, W. C.) 1929.

Mr. Charles Petrie's *History of Government* is a work of great merit. In it the author shows that government is not purely an affair of political institutions but is closely related to the intellectual, social, and economic life of the peoples it controls; while there is always in existence a never-ending conflict between authority and liberty, with victory inclining now to the one and now to the other. The future of democracy and the decline of parliamentary institutions are critically examined, and the significance of Fascism and Communism is discussed also at length. Altogether, the book under survey is highly suggestive and thought-provoking and deserves serious attention at the hands of the students of the subject. It would make an excellent text-book.

The New British Empire. By L. Haden Guest. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.) 1929.

After Dr. Haden Guest resigned his seat as a Labour Member of Parliament, he made a prolonged journey for the purpose of studying the problems of the British Colonies on the spot at first-hand. This book visualises the British overseas Empire as it is today, and discusses its problems and its possibilities as they are discussed in Brisbane, Sydney, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Wellington and Cape Town, as well as in London. So far so good, but evidently India has no place in Dr. Guest's mind as a factor in the British Commonwealth, since he ignores it altogether. That is, indeed, a great pity, for judging from his writing in this book, his observations on India would have been both interesting and instructive. His *New British Empire* though the result of travel is decidedly not what is called a book of travel. The author has

composed his book not on the lines of that of Lawrence Sterne but Arthur Young, with the result that it is thoughtful and suggestive and presents a vivid picture of the problems of British Colonial Empire. The book is one of realities and responsibilities, some pleasant and some unpleasant, and deals with the Empire as it is now and with its possibilities of raising the standards of civilization throughout the world.

Outlines of Social Philosophy. By J. S. Mackenzie. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1.) 1929.

More than forty years back Professor Mackenzie wrote an excellent Introduction to the then nascent science of Sociology. The march of time and progress in that science made that book obsolete in about three decades from its original publication. In 1916-7 the author delivered a course of lectures on the same subject at the London School of Economics and Political Science and these form the basis of his new textbook called *Outlines of Social Philosophy*, which has superseded the earlier work. The new edition of this work is designed to expound the leading principles of Sociology in such a way as to be intelligible and interesting to beginners and at the same time to supply some material that might be useful to more advanced students. The *Outlines* is pre-eminently successful in the object aimed at, since it is lucid, sound and comprehensive enough to cover the whole field succinctly. There can be no two opinions that it is out-and-out the best Introduction to the subject of Sociology.

The Unifying of Civilization. By G. D. Watkins. (Christian Literature Society, Madras.) 1929.

Professor G. D. Watkins' book, *Unifying of Civilization*, is a reprint of a course of lectures on the League of Nations—its origin, constitution and work. The lectures were prepared at the beginning of 1928 but so rapid have been the changes in and growth of the League, that they have already come to need being supplemented. The signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact, in August, 1928, is the most important international event that has happened since. The author traces the

history of the League idea from the earliest times and concludes with a suggestive chapter on "India and the League." Readers will find Professor Watkins' little book a useful addition to their collection of works on current history in general and the organisation of the League of Nations in particular. It is a useful addition to the literature of the League of Nations.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

The Agra Double Murder Case. By Sir Cecil Walsh, K. C. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, E. C.) 1929.

Sir Cecil Walsh's *The Agra Double Murder Case* is a document of extreme importance to all students of the psychology of crime, and illustrates once again that truth is far more interesting than fiction. It is a true story of intrigue and deliberate, plotted murder in a society of which very little is known in Britain—the half-caste civil and military service, now generally lumped under the term "Anglo-Indian." Mrs. Fullam, instigated by her lover, Lieutenant Clark, poisons her husband. She observes his agonies, tells Clark that he must make the "tonic" stronger, and when Mr. Fullam fails to die, writes letters full of pious submission to the Divine will, and tries a still stronger drug. As the result of this deliberate plot to kill by poison, Mr. Fullam dies and his widow is now happy with her "bucha," save for the obstinate vitality of Mrs. Clark, who, as her husband sadly declares, is poison proof. Finally Mrs. Clark is done to death in her bed by a gang of hired assassins. Suspicion is at last aroused. Yet all this time the conspirators are not only plotting but corresponding and it is these letters—as the author rightly points out—which are of the greatest psychological interest. One wonders what sentiment made the murderers keep love letters which gave the whole history of the crime and which eventually were their undoing. It is an instructive book for the student of character. Here is Mrs. Fullam, a well educated Englishwoman with a good husband, comfortable home, and children, who becomes violently attached to an Anglo-Indian of very little culture, described by one who knew him as "a man of quite repulsive character and

with almost repulsive appearance." Mrs. Fullam's almost daily letters to Clark describing the effect of the "tonic powders" on her husband and how his malady was thought to be "heat stroke" are extraordinarily interesting from a medical point of view. One chapter, which is devoted entirely to this aspect of the case, has been written by a member of the Indian Medical Service. The author—who was for many years a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad, where the trial was held—introduces this extraordinary story in the following terms:—"The annals of crime contain few stories of passion, intrigue, and murder, temporarily triumphant, but ending in sudden and swift retribution, so sordid, and at the same time so remarkable and engrossing, as the Agra double murder, which took place in India during the years 1911 and 1912." Sir Cecil has displayed great skill in marshalling the facts, concentrating on salient points, ignoring irrelevant matter, and presenting an extremely lucid sketch, which has been taken by some, we are told, to be a work of fiction. We are not surprised to learn it, for the story is more sensational, enthralling and thrilling than the average "thriller." It should be read by all—lawyers and laymen alike.

A Treatise on the Laws of India. By A. Eggar, Bar-at-Law. (Butterworth and Co., India, Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta.) 1924—29.

Mr. Eggar's series entitled the *Laws of India* is framed upon entirely original lines. It deals with subjects classified by their interrelation and not alphabetically. Its present form is condensed into a work reference rather than a complete compendium in order to enable the author to cover the ground and shape the scheme before amplifying the details. Part III was published in 1924 dealing with the Government and Parts I, II, and the Supplement to III are now published in one volume. Part I handles various subjects with a view to fitting them into their place in the system rather than perpetuating and elaborating customary methods. The history of the old courts has been sketched with a view to show the relevancy of equitable doctrines in the "Indo-English System." In Part II the author has abbreviated the

outlines of International Law. He omits the details of the laws of War and depicts the law of State as a development of the law of individuals dealing with nationality and domicile almost in the same way as in Part I. He deals with personal law which follows people in India. Coupled with this he deals with the law of State in so far as it has developed and he puts into its right place the subject of "conflict of laws" as a matter of international recognition of jurisdiction. The Supplement to Part III opens with a comparison between the constitutions of the various portions of the Empire showing how Crown Colonies are developing into responsible government and describing the latest developments in this direction in all parts of the world. For this matter alone the treatise should be of interest to everybody who has followed the trend of Indian politics. But the author's summary of the work of the Legislative Councils in India is highly instructive. He does not endeavour to tabulate the dry rules for elections and so on, but he has digested something like 50 feet of volumes of Legislative Council debates and extracted therefrom all the gems of rulings of the presidents and has strung them together in a sequence whose logical argument holds one's attention to the end of the volume. Altogether, Mr. Eggar's series, when completed, will be a very notable contribution to the literature of Anglo-Indian law. Dealing, as it does, with the constitutional law of India, the book should have an immediate interest for all concerned with the framing of a new constitution suited to the requirements of the country.

The Harvey-Nariman Libel Case. Edited by S. M. Surveyor. (31 Humam Street, Fort, Bombay.) 1928.

We welcome the appearance of this volume giving a full report of the proceedings of the Harvey-Nariman libel case. It will be recalled as one of the most sensational trials which led to the washing of much dirty linen of the Bombay Development Department in public; but after the revelations made in the course of the proceedings no one can deny it was quite necessary. There can also be no doubt that by exposing the irregularities and waste of public money connected with

this Department, Mr. Nariman rendered a conspicuous public service. While his speeches and interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council and those of others on this subject and the proceedings of the Sir Grimwood Mears Committee give us some insight into the working of this Department, nothing perhaps brings us so intimately into touch with its working as the record of this case. The editor has done well in giving a brief history of the Department, as also important extracts from the Mears Committee's Report as a preliminary to the proceedings in the case itself. We have no doubt the publication will be of great use in enabling those interested to understand the question of Bombay Development, but very much so, it should appeal to all public men in the country, who have to discharge their duties in the face of considerable opposition and difficulty. But for his pluck, grit and stamina in fighting out the case to the bitter end, a publicist and legislator of Mr. Nariman's position would have found himself in serious difficulties—aye, even lodged in jail—for merely discharging his duties. The report of this trial, therefore, deserves a wide circulation.

Indian Election Petitions. Vol. III. (1926—8). By Jagat Narain, B.A., LL.B. (Eastern Law House, College Square, Calcutta.) 1929.

The first two volumes of *Indian Election Petitions* were compiled by Sir Laurie Hammond—now Governor of Assam. Mr. Jagat Narain's treatise contains reports of cases decided in the years 1926—8, after the third election had been held under the Government of India Act, 1919. The editor has made the publication useful for ready reference by the addition of head-notes and an index. It is obvious that as days pass, election laws will come into greater prominence in our body politic and the statutes on the subject will need supplementing by a knowledge of the case-law. The reports of cases will thus form a very valuable repertory on which to draw for such knowledge. Hence the great usefulness of the two volumes compiled by Sir Laurie Hammond and now supplemented and brought up-to-date by the excellent compilation under notice.

Consolidated Government of India Act, 1915—9. (Ram Mohan Lal, University Road, Allahabad.) 1928.

The dozens and scores of statutes enacted by the British Parliament relating to India were consolidated in the Government of India Act, 1915. It was substantially amended by the Reform Act of 1919 and there have been some minor amendments since. There are few unofficial texts of the Act—with the latest amendments—available, in handy form and cheap price. The edition under notice is, therefore, welcome as it is likely to serve a useful purpose. This edition of the Government of India Act (as amended up-to-date) is primarily meant for the use of the university students, preparing for their law examinations. But it will be none-the-less equally useful to publicists, journalists, legislators and public men in general. Its handy size, neat get-up and small price are strong recommendations in its favour. It should command a large circulation amongst educated Indians.

The Trial of the Lancaster Witches Edited by G. B. Harrison. (Peter Davies, Ltd., 30 Henrietta Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

The firm of Peter Davies has given the reading public some notable reprints recently, but perhaps the most important of them is Mr. G. B. Harrison's edition (enriched with an illuminating Introduction) of the book, originally issued in 1612, called *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, under the new title noted above. A modern text of it was issued in 1843, but the present reprint is a page-for-page one with the original and is thus all the more useful. The book is admittedly the most important account of a witch trial in England in the seventeenth century, as it gives an accurate picture of judicial methods and procedure in such cases. The text of the author was revised by the presiding judge and is the more valuable on that account. The present reprint should be welcomed.

LATEST TOURISTS LITERATURE

Paris with the Lid Lifted. By B. Reynolds. (The American Book Supply, Co., Ltd., 86 Strand, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

Mr. Bruce Reynolds' *Paris with the Lid Lifted* is not a guide-book in the ordinary acceptance of that term, but it is a most desirable supplement to guides to the gayest city in the world, and as such it deserves welcome. What this book tells you is, "How to have a good time" in Paris, and not only how, but *where and when*, and all you need is *Money*. It is thus—as its compiler intended it to be—a book for that congenial, convivial, liberal-pursed person, who believes that pleasures were made to grasp and not to reject; who knows how to take hold of a good time and wring it dry; and who doesn't quibble over pennies. In one word, it is for the American tourist who comes to Paris to enjoy Paris; to play in Paris, and to *love* Paris. But though that is so, it will be useful to others, as in it you see Paris as Paris is. What is written here, is Truth. We stop, lest we say more in our appreciation of this much-too-truthful account of the French capital.

Cook's Traveller's Handbook for Southern Italy. By R. Elston. (Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.) 1928.

In Mr. Roy Elston, Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son have found an ideal compiler of guide-books. The new editions of Cook's series of guides, which Mr. Elston has brought out during the last few years, are excellent—being informative, practical, accurate and up-to-date. We noticed last year in terms of appreciation Mr. Elston's latest edition of *Cook's Handbook to Northern and Central Italy*, and the work is now completed by the issue of the *Traveller's Handbook to Southern Italy*. This volume covers not only the southern portion of the Italian peninsular mainland, but also the islands of Sicily and Sardinia—the Italian island of Corsica being left out evidently because it is under French rule. As in the earlier volume, so in the one under notice, the text embodies a series of concise and practical accounts of the main routes in Southern Italy, describing the towns and places of importance, with helpful details to aid the traveller in visiting the scenes and sights to the best advantage.

The two volumes together constitute one of the best guides in English to the kingdom of Italy.

The Lake of Como and Its Valleys. By G. Olivieri (A. E. Laghi D'Italia, Milan, Italy.) 1928.

Sr. G. Olivieri's *Lake of Como and Its Valleys* is a very helpful supplement to a guide to Italy. It is an attractive, pocket-sized handbook, neatly printed and copiously illustrated. The text gives all the information that the average tourist to lake Como and its surrounding countryside would require. The usefulness of the text is enhanced by its being embellished with a plan of the town of Como, excellent maps of the surrounding country, and up-to-date practical information. No visitor to Como can do without it.

The Lure of London. By R. T. Hopkins. (Cecil Palmer, 49 Chandos Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

Mr. R. Thurston Hopkins's *Lure of London* is an excellent example of that growing class of literature which may be called supplement to guide-books. It is an up-to-date adaptation of his earlier book called *This London*, (published in 1927) with five new chapters, specially written to bring the text abreast of the latest events and incidents. It now covers much ground of great interest and is a very welcome addition to the topographical literature relating to London. It should appeal to all lovers of the modern Babylon.

Baedeker's Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Baedeker's Egypt (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany.) 1929.

We extend a cordial welcome to the latest editions, issued during the current year, of two well-known Baedekers—those for the three new states of Central Europe (Austria Hungary and Czechoslovakia) and also for one of the oldest countries in the world—Egypt. The last editions of both these handbooks had appeared before the Great War. The three central European states then constituted one state—the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The disruption of this state and its

constitution into three separate ones has naturally led to the re-writing of the earlier work. The new edition—which like all Baedekers is quite up-to-date—embodies information down to May last, and is fully abreast of events in every respect. The volume on Egypt is even more comprehensive and equally abreast of latest events, its record too of facts coming down to May last. This work had to be most carefully revised and largely rewritten not only because of the many changes wrought by the march of time since its last edition, but also because of the numerous discoveries made during the last few years, as the result of exploration and research, which have revolutionised Egyptian archaeology. These results are exceedingly well systematized and summarized in the new handbook to Egypt, which is almost encyclopædic in its scope. For the rest, both the new editions possess all the characteristics of Baedekers—accuracy, soundness, informativeness, compactness, lucidity and up-to-date-ness.

Summer in Italy and Winter in Italy.

By Major W. Stormont. (Italian State Railways Agency, 16 Waterloo Place, Regent Street, London, S. W. 1.) 1929.

Major Stormont is admittedly a great authority on Italian travel and his two handy illustrated manuals—called *Summer in Italy* and *Winter in Italy*—are highly useful repositories of practical and descriptive information about the various centres in the Italian peninsula, which are sought after by invalids, tourists and pleasure-seekers. While the two volumes supplement each other, they no less form complementary hand books to the various guides to Italy. *Winter in Italy* gives full particulars about Ligurian Riviera, Lake Garda region, Naples area, Sicily, East Adriatic, Sardinia, Italian Africa and some famous cities like Rome, Florence and Milan; while *Summer in Italy* deals fully with the Alpine valleys, the Dolomites, the Italian lake district, the sea-bathing resorts, the Spas and the Apennines resorts. They are both thoroughly up-to-date and teem with practical information. To tourists and residents in Italy, they are indispensable.

RECENT WORKS OF REFERENCE

The Statesman's Year-Book, 1929.
(Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, W. C. 2.) 1929.

The reference annual of the greatest value to publicists is the *Statesman's Year-Book*, of which the edition for 1929, is the 67th publication. It would be idle to say anything in praise of this most valuable work of reference to students of current public affairs, as its merits are acknowledged all over the English-knowing world. It has long been recognised as the one indispensable book of reference for the statesmen, the politician, the publicist and above all the journalist. Each edition of it is thoroughly overhauled, judiciously revised and fully brought up-to-date in the light of the official and other authoritative information, and the book is a marvel of condensed data—accurate, well-informed and complete. The book is now divided into three parts, the first dealing with the countries constituting the British Commonwealth, the second with the United States of America and the third with the "Other Countries." Historical and statistical information about each country (and about each State or Province separately, of the Federal Commonwealths or Republics and the Indian Empire) is given under most of the following heads:—constitution and government, area and population, religion, instruction, justice and crime, pauperism, finance, defence, production and industry, commerce, shipping and navigation, internal communication, money and credit, weights and measures, and diplomatic representatives. The information being derived from official sources, the results recorded in the *Year-Book* are as full and accurate as it is possible to obtain. A very useful list of books of reference supplements the account of each country or State. The events of the past year have necessitated many changes in the new edition of the *Statesman's Year-Book*. Special attention has been given throughout the book to revision of the bibliographies, which are fully up-to-date and include the latest works; while well-drawn maps about the areas with political changes in boundaries are a valuable feature and add much to the usefulness of this statistical and

historical annual survey of the States of the world.

Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa, 1927-28. (Superintendent, Census Office, Pretoria, South Africa.) 1929.

The *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, is a most valuable compendium of statistical data and facts and figures relating to the South African Commonwealth and is a model book of reference. The new issue supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, laws, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial conditions, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, "native affairs," land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservation, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufacturing industries, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. Thus the *Official Year-Book* is a monument of industry and is distinguished from its predecessors by various changes, necessitated mainly by the increased scope of the valuable information condensed and rendered accessible. Separate sections are assigned to the treatment of new subjects now prominent, and several have been rewritten and rearranged and various other features of interest and utility have been introduced. Altogether the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*—which includes in its scope also Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland—is a work of reference of which the Government of that Dominion may well be proud. It reflects the highest credit on the editor, on the organization of the statistical department, as also on the resources of the Government Press at Pretoria.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology: for the Years 1926 & 1927. (Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.) 1928-29.

The first and second issues of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, are valuable

contributions to the reference literature of India. Their general arrangement is conducive to facility for reference, and the series will be widely welcomed as supplying a long-felt need. The bibliography proper contains full information regarding all books and articles, which have appeared in 1927 and 1928, dealing with the archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, ancient history and geography of Greater India, and, indeed, of all countries which have undergone the influence of Aryan civilisation. The introduction to each volume surveys the chief discoveries made in the field of antiquarian research during the year under review: Excavations in Sind and on ancient sites elsewhere; discovery of Græco-Buddhist sculptures; explorations at Nagarjunikonda; excavations in Siam; research in Netherlands, India, etc., all find place. The volumes are illustrated by means of first-class collotype plates. If only the series will be kept up, the volumes of the *Annual Bibliography* will be most valuable to and highly useful for scholars and students of research in the history of Greater India.

Hand-Book of the Ceylon National Congress: Edited by Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Joint Honorary Secretary, Ceylon National Congress. (Messrs. H. W. Cave and Company, Colombo.) 1928.

By reason of its being a Crown Colony and not (like Burma) attached politically to India, the affairs of Ceylon are not quite familiar even to educated Indians. We therefore welcome the bulky volume of nearly one thousand pages, called the *Hand-book of the Ceylon National Congress*, which is an excellent compendium. This very useful publication contains full information relating to the Ceylon National Congress. The book begins with a description of the pre-Congress period, embodying the proceedings of popular organisations such as the Ceylon National Association and the Ceylon Reform League. We agree that a description of the affairs of the pre-Congress period is "essential to a correct appreciation of the origin, aims and actions of the Ceylon National Congress which grew out of, and was at the beginning to a great extent dependent on,

the activities of those bodies." All relevant documents are arranged in a chronological order with the necessary explanatory notes. The first session of the Ceylon National Congress was held on 11th December, 1919. The bulk of the book is occupied with the presidential addresses, welcome addresses, speeches made by delegates and the resolutions passed at the Congress (1919—1928). The appendices furnish very valuable information including the constitution of the Ceylon National Congress. Well got-up, copiously illustrated and strongly bound, this volume is a highly useful repertory of sound information about Ceylonese politics and should be read by all interested in Ceylon affairs.

Ferguson's Ceylon Directory, 1929.
(The Ceylon Observer Press, Colombo.) 1929.

We welcome the current edition of that famous reference annual, *Ferguson's Ceylon Directory*. It is quite an institution in the Crown Colony of Ceylon, as one of the oldest publications of its class and kind in Asia, and justly enjoys a pre-eminently high position amongst annual works of reference. It deals comprehensively with almost every phase of civic, political and industrial activity in Ceylon and contains a mine of useful information relating to plantations and estates, railways, steamers, motor routes and traffic regulations. All the sections have been carefully overhauled, with the result that the *Directory* is thoroughly abreast of the latest events and incidents. Replete with information on almost all Ceylon matters it will be highly useful to all who have anything to do with that island. Great credit is due to the publishers for keeping up the high standard of this indispensable work by careful revision for each new issue. The latest edition has been completely revised and fully brought up-to-date and its contents are far more accurate than is usually the case with the average directory. *Ferguson's Directory* is the one indispensable reference annual dealing with Ceylon on a most comprehensive scale, and its new edition is, therefore, always welcome. It is to Ceylon what *Thacker's Directory* is to India.

The Year-Book of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1929. ("Orbis" Publishing Com-

pany, Ltd., Prague, XII Fochova 62, Czechoslovakia.)

The new *Czechoslovak Year-Book* has seen the light on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, and it is beyond all doubt a most informative store of sound and accurate information about the Republic. It covers an extensive ground, is well-written (in English), well illustrated and well got-up, in limp covers. It successfully portrays a faithful and impartial picture of the political, cultural, social, educational and economic conditions of Czechoslovakia, and is thus a highly meritorious addition to annual reference works in English. All seekers after accurate knowledge about the country will find it not only valuable but indispensable. We earnestly hope that this highly useful work has come to stay.

Chronology of Events in China, 1911—1927. (Chatham House, 10 St. James's Square, London, S. W. 1.) 1929.

Sir Frederick Whyte in introducing the *Chronology* writes that "no one engaged in the study of modern China can do without it." We wholly agree. The fact that it has passed through three editions justly establishes its utility and popularity. Every student of modern Chinese affairs must keep the *Chronology* handy for reference.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Except for its size which is unwieldy and inconvenient—and which should be reduced to a handier format in the next edition—we have nothing but unstinted praise for *The Importance of Java Seen from the Air*, by Mr. H. M. De Vries (G. Kolff & Co., 72 Petjenongan, Weltevreden, Java, Dutch East Indies). Embellished with numerous excellent photographic reproductions, it gives (not in Dutch but in English) full particulars about the various islands of the Dutch Indies—particularly Java—their products, activities, interesting scenes and sights, economic possibilities, transport development, and much other useful information of great value and importance, alike to the traveller and the permanent resident. The volume reflects the

highest credit on the enterprise of the editor and the publishers.

Old Buddha (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., London) has nothing to do with Buddhism or its founder, and in so far the title of the book may seem as a misnomer. The explanation is that the author of this book, Princess der Ling, was chief lady-in-waiting to the Manchu Empress, Tzu Hsi, known to the world as "Old Buddha." With sympathy and fidelity she tells the story of her life, her quiet youth and girlhood, the Emperor's sudden choice of her as secondary wife, her growing influence at Court till she became the dominant personality in China, and her experiences in the Boxer rebellion, up till her death not many years ago. The book gives the actual story of China's forbidden Court and is the first authentic account of the Empress herself by one who was her special favourite. The book has thus a two-fold value—personal and historical—and it is a valuable contribution to the history of modern China.

"Hafiz is the most Persian of the Persians," FitzGerald once said. "He and old Omar Khayyam ring like true metal." Omar is known to every reader of English, but Hafiz, his successor and superior in Persian poetry, has remained almost unknown. Hafiz has had to wait long for his FitzGerald; those who have read Mr. Clarence Streit's new version, in English rubaiyat, are convinced that he has found him at last in the beautiful edition (The Viking Press, New York, U.S.A.). It will not be surprising if Hafiz now wins a popularity that Omar Khayyam has long held undisputed. In these 101 quatrains are embodied the same rich oriental beauty and wisdom that have made the older poet a favorite of three generations; super-added to Omar's qualities is a note of subtlety which won for Hafiz in his day the epithet "Tongue of the Hidden" and which will especially appeal to a modern and mature generation. As Hafiz is still popular in India, this translation ought to find a large circulation in this country. The volume contains, in addition, an account of the life of Hafiz and an essay on the translation of Persian poetry which will be valued by all amateurs of literature as well as students.

Mr. Stanley Unwin's *The Truth about Publishing* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London)—which has just appeared in a third edition—may now be said to have attained the dignity of a classic on the subject it deals with. It has been justly acclaimed in Britain, on the Continent and in America as the most accurate, impartial and comprehensive account of the mysteries of the publisher's business. . . . An elementary text-book on publishing and allied topics is *Books from the MS. to the Bookseller* by Mr. J. L. Young (Sir Isaac Pitmans & Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.2). It will be found useful by students of the subject.

Two books which are not fiction, but the facts in which are truly stranger than even fictitious narratives are *Great Stories of Real Life* (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street, London, W.C.2) and *Fatal Kisses* by Mr. Elliott O'Donnell (John Hamilton, Ltd., London). The former—a new edition in one handy volume of a book which appeared some years back in two large ones—is a highly interesting collection of 57 stories of crime and romance in which famous writers have recalled some of the astounding dramas that have, from time to time, thrilled mankind; and it is decidedly better reading than avowed works of fiction. . . . As regards *Fatal Kisses*, it is unquestionably true that all through the history of mankind kisses have proved a factor to be reckoned with. Not infrequently the fate of nations as well as individuals has hung on them, and fully alive to their all-powerfulness, Mr. Elliott O'Donnell in this volume gives some very remarkable instances of it. Briefly, in these pages the author reviews a procession of women, for the most part lovely as houris, but with hearts like granite; and in a word a passion leading to every sort of intrigue and tragedy is the basis upon which he has built this interesting and at the same time entertaining and exciting book, which the reader will find far more enthralling and absorbing than any average fictitious story.

Poems of Eva Gore-Booth (Longmans, Green and Co., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta) is a complete collection, with a biographical

Introduction by a qualified writer. This volume includes all Miss Gore-Booth's published poems and thirteen not hitherto issued in book form. A sketch of her life by Esther Roper is included and in addition there are about twenty letters to three friends written during the last three years of her life. The fragment called "The Inner Life of a Child" was found after Miss Gore-Booth's death and is known to refer to her own experiences as a child. The book, as a whole, is an interesting addition to English poetical literature of modern times.

We noticed appreciatively, in a recent issue, Mr. Dudley Stamp's text-book of general geography, called *The World*, primarily meant for Indian schools. But two other publications have lately appeared which deserve to be commended to public notice. These are *The World* by Messrs. O. J. R. Howarth and W. A. Bridewell (Oxford University Press, Bombay) and *World Geography* by Dr. John Murray (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London). Both these are excellent text-books—the former being the more comprehensive of the two. Dr. Murray's *World Geography* is intended for an intermediate course, while *The World* is for advanced students. Both books are well up-to-date. But neither—nor any other, to our knowledge—has reached the standard and comprehensiveness of Dr. Mill's famous *International Geography*, a new and revised edition of which will be, indeed, very welcome.

The late Dr. N. MacNeill's well-known *Literature of the Highlanders* (Eneas Mackay, Stirling, Scotland) has just appeared in a new edition, edited with an additional chapter by Mr. J. A. Campbell. This book presents an account of all that is interesting in the literature of the Scoto-Gaelic race from the earliest times to the present day. It is the most complete and comprehensive account of the literary production of the Gael yet published in the English language. Dr. MacNeill traces the beginnings of the literature in the far distant past; he follows the progress of Gaelic letters throughout their many vicissitudes, and demonstrates that virility of the language which enabled it to survive the "slings and arrows" which assailed it from so many hostile quarters. His work is con-

tinued by the editor in a supplementary chapter which supplies an extensive bibliography of the past twenty-five years. In its present form the book will continue to hold its own as the standard work in English on Gaelic literature.

Mr. Shamsul Ghani Khan—Headmaster, Government Training School, Ajmer—has written an instructive work in his *Educational Theory of Comenius* (Army Rotary Press, Delhi), in spite of the unnecessary inclusion in it of Mr. Gandhi's autobiography. The author believes that "Comenius has still a message for statesmen and ecclesiastical leaders as well as professed educationists" and therefore he has tried to keep in view the needs of all classes of readers by presenting it in a manner most appealing to the modern reader. His aim in this book, accordingly, is to give the educational theory of Comenius in such a way as to appeal to the modern reader. He has also striven to keep in view the needs of statesmen, ecclesiastical leaders and professed educationists. The book is well-written and will serve a useful purpose amongst educationists, though we doubt if it will appeal to statesmen or ecclesiastics.

The literature relating to Indian States is growing apace and is to be welcomed. We noticed a batch of books in the July issue of the *Hindustan Review*. We have now before us *Work in England of the Deputation of the Indian States People's Conference*, *Indian States Committee's Report and Public Opinion Thereon*, and *Important Utterances on Indian States' Problems*—published by the Arya Bushan Press, Poona. All these publications are timely, opportune, and highly informative. They should appeal not only to readers in the Indian States but even more largely to those in British India, for India is one and indivisible and political partitions cannot affect the common interests of Indians, as a whole.

The numerous books (original and translated) issued by the Calcutta University are notable contributions to the literature of research and scholarship, in various branches of knowledge, and their *Descriptive Catalogue of Publications* (last edition, August, 1928) is a valuable bibliographical guide containing

much useful information about a large number of standard treatises, many of which we have noticed in the highest terms of appreciation, from time to time. One of the latest of their standard works is an excellent rendering into English by Margaret Graham Wier, M.A. of the classical treatise by Dr. J. Wellhausen (in German) called *The Arabic Kingdom and Its Fall*. It is an indispensable work for the student of the subject.

Selections from Carlyle, edited by Mr. A. H. R. Ball (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) and *Thoughts from Tagore* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) give us the pith of the two great writers. But the Carlyle book is better edited—as it is embellished with an excellent Introduction, suitably annotated and the sources of the selected passages are indicated. All these are wanting in the Tagore book. But they are suitable Introductions to the works of the great literary figures—one of Scotland, the other of India.

Two new editions of useful books have just appeared. Mr. F. L. Brayne's *Remaking of Village India* (Oxford University Press, Bombay) is a new edition with some slight changes of his *Village Uplift in India*, which was noticed at length in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*. We welcome the book under its new name and in new form and wish for it an extensive circulation. The other book is a revised edition of (the late) Sir Victor Horsley's *Alcohol and Human Life*, edited by Dr. C. C. Weeks (K. H. Lewis & Co., Ltd., 28 Gower Place, London, W. C. 1.) This new edition, fully brought up-to-date and thoroughly overhauled, in the light of the latest advance in knowledge on the subject of alcohol, is a notable acquisition to medical literature, and deserves wide appreciation.

The three latest additions to that highly useful series—"Benn's Sixpenny Library" (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) are Mr. Claude Jenkins's *Medieval European History*, Dr. J. Holland Rose's *Napoleon* and Sir James O'Connor's *History of Ireland*. Each of these is an excellent piece of work and an astounding marvel at the very low price at which the series is offered.

That remarkable series of reprints of

classics—justly designated "The World's Classics" (Oxford University Press, Bombay) is forging ahead, with excellent additions each month. The latest four added to the series are Anthony Trollope's *The Kellys and the O'Kellys* and *Ayala's Angel*, the second volume of the new anthology called *English Verse*, and the *The Four Gospels and the Acts of Apostles*. The two novels by Trollope will appeal to all lovers of good fiction. The anthology of poems ranges from Campion to the Ballads, and the series when completed will form an excellent collection of English poetical literature. The Biblical books are presented in the authorised version and are admirably and neatly printed. Once more we commend the "World's Classics" to the lovers of good, sound and useful literature.

The famous publishing firm of Mr. John Murray (Albemarle Street, London, W.) has just issued new editions of some famous books. It is a happy coincidence that brings out the new edition in one volume of Captain Scott's book on *The Voyage of the "Discovery"* within a month of that famous vessel's start on a similar voyage to the South Seas, where her company hopes to continue the investigations which were begun in the 1911-14 expedition. This new edition of the book, at seven-and-sixpence, comprises the complete record of the voyage as told by Captain Scott, omitting only the two appendices of geological and zoological observations. Dr. Nansen has written a new Preface; and sixteen pages of photogravures, and a map, are included. Another book, *The Sherlock Holmes Long Stories*, which has just been published contains the four novels concerning Sherlock Holmes, i.e., *A Study in Scarlet*, the first long story Sir Arthur Conan Doyle ever wrote; *The Hound of the Baskervilles*; *The Sign of Four*; and *The Valley of Fear*. This new book, together with its recently-issued companion, *The Complete Sherlock Holmes Short Stories*, comprises all the literature concerning the famous detective, and should appeal to a very large circle of the readers of the best detective fiction.

Prof. B. G. Sastre is well-known to students of History and Politics as the author of that excellent and sound text-book, *The Growth of Indian Constitution and Administration of*

which we have just received the third edition, It has been re-written and brought quite up-to-date. Its appearance at the present juncture when the working of the Indian constitution is being examined by the Statutory

Commission will be welcomed by all who are interested in this all-absorbing question of the day. The book can be had of the author at Willingdon College, Sangli.

THE MONTH : FROM THE EDITOR'S ARM-CHAIR

ADMIRERS of the famous Savoy operas will recall the beautiful choros, composed by Gilbert and set to music by Sullivan. "The Seven: the Worldly-Wise" ending with the words: "Then Seven: the Worldly-Wise." Well, we have them in our midst in the personnel of "the Committee appointed by the United Provinces Legislative Council to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission," which (according to the *Leader*) was "not wanted, nor trusted." These seven highly "representative" gentlemen, in the Report now submitted by them, have evidently taken their cue from the worldly-wise men in the Gilbert and Sullivan opera. Their Report is a fairly bulky document, and it is clearly regarded by the authors as a memorable contribution to Indian constitutional literature, analogous to the Durham Report of classic fame. It is notable in many ways: for a Report of 124 pages (of large type) it has an "explanatory note" by one member of 127 pages (of small type); for the Chairman's "condemnatory note" to the member's "explanatory note" and for the said member's "recriminatory note" on the Chairman's "condemnatory note"—issued as a manifesto in the press—which he concludes as follows:—"as my silence might be misconstrued, I have no other alternative but to reply!" Need we add that the member who is the author of the 127-page "explanatory note" (in small print) to the 124-page Report (in large print) is none other than "our local Stubbs," Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan of the Allahabad University "apology" fame? To discuss adequately the "learned" Doctor's very original views propounded in his "explanatory note" and his subsequent "recriminatory note" on the Chairman's "condemnatory note," is clearly beyond the scope of an editorial note even in the *Hindustan Review* and we shall leave this (in the words of the *Pioneer*, "truly amazing, lengthy, offensive and communal") manifesto, issued in the guise of an "explanatory note," to the well-deserved censure justly passed upon it by the Chairman himself, in his five-page scathing condemnation of it—though in wholly inoffensive and very restrained language. To us the best part of this bulky volume is the Chairman's "condemnatory note" on Dr. Khan's

so-called "explanatory note," which (rightly says the *Pioneer*) "has been executed in a manner by the Chairman which thoroughly endears that gentleman to us," a sentiment which appeals to our loving heart. Turning, however, to the Report itself, what is one to say of it? It seems to have been clearly compiled on the cynical principle (propounded by Oscar Wilde) that the best way to avoid temptation is to yield to it! Taking evidently this Oscar-Wildean view of their duties and responsibilities, which the Chairman and the majority of the Committee seem to have regarded as a manifestation of that "sweet reasonableness" (for which the Chairman—perhaps not unjustly—claims special credit to himself in the Report), the majority have flung themselves into the open arms of the "minority"—the two Muslim members—and yielded to their gentle caresses and soft blandishments, by accepting almost all their suggestions, based purely on communal considerations, irrespective of logic or principle. The result, it is not surprising, is a scheme—if it can be called by any such name—which if accepted and given effect to, will make the present dyarchical confusion even worse confounded. The Report has been justly submitted to effective criticism from many quarters—Indian and Anglo-Indian. The *Pioneer*, which characterizes it as "a curate's egg Report"—which means the same as that written of it by the *Leader* that "parts of the Report are good, while more of it is bad"—further says that its recommendations are "vitiated by over-burdening the proposed constitution with safeguards," and that no "constitution can really have hopes of permanent success" which is not "based on logical principles," but "on the methods of a bargain basement." This is as emphatic a condemnation of the committee's so-called "unanimous" recommendations as any can be. But it does not stand alone. So sane, sober and sagacious a leading Indian journal as the *Hindu* of Madras, condemns the committee's proposals no less severely. It says of them: "Nominally unanimous, the proposals put forward are patently the result of an exigent opportunism and they will be, at least, as unworkable as the dyarchic scheme which is recommended to be scrapped," as they "aim at

rearing the edifice of provincial autonomy on an unstable foundation, honey-combed with communalism." Could there be a greater and a more reasoned condemnation of this precious Report? But the *Hindu* does not stand alone in this view of the committee's proposals. Other leading organs of Indian public opinion like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Leader* have taken precisely the same view of them. The latter denounces, quite justly in our opinion, the suggestion for the establishment of a second chamber in these provinces—that too with the glorious constitution for its composition and powers suggested in the Report—as "the worst" amongst the many reactionary proposals, and calls it "a sixth wheel, a perfect nuisance and a positive mischief." In this one may detect the influence of the "Country League," exerted upon the Chairman through the medium of Mr. C. T. Allen the prime mover of the League, and his (the Chairman's) greatest "business and bosom friend combined." But we need not pursue these criticisms further. In fairness, however, to the distinguished authors of this truly monumental Report, we should quote in its favour the verdict of at least one journal—the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore. This paper describes the Report as "a statesman-like document." This declaration ought to prove to the members of the committee a soothing unction, and a veritable balm of Gilead to their lacerated hearts, at the "reception" accorded to their Report by the leading and influential organs of public opinion—Indian and Anglo-Indian. We wish them joy of the compliment paid to them by the *Muslim Outlook*. But we wonder if the committee really believe that the vast bulk of the educated Hindus in these provinces would welcome their proposals, which are manifestly impractical, frankly communal, patently anti-national, glaringly unsound and hopelessly amateurish.

While the Assembly is still debating the Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure in respect of under-trial prisoners who

Das: "The Indian Mac-Swiney."

resort to hunger-strike, Jatindranath Das—one of the principal strikers in the Lahore Jail—has gone to his rest, as the result of the hunger-strike, which (in his case) extended over a period of 63 days. His death—very prematurely at the age of 25—under tragic circumstances, for what Das had brought himself to believe to be in the interest of the country, has evoked throughout the length and breadth of India a feeling of the profoundest sorrow, coupled with great admiration—even on the part of those who did not share his views—for his truly heroic conduct. We publish elsewhere in this issue a character-sketch of the deceased, which would show what tenacious stuff he was made of. The *Pioneer* thus states the circumstances which led to the tragic death of this youth of truly heroic mould: "The sub-committee appointed in the Punjab succeeded at any rate temporarily in persuading the accused in the

Lahore conspiracy case to stop their hunger-strike. This committee, which was composed of four non-officials, acknowledged the "reasonable attitude of the Government" and the co-operation they received from prominent Congress leaders with whom they conferred. The sub-committee recommended that Jatindranath Das, one of the hunger-strikers, who was in a very critical condition should be released immediately. The Punjab Government at once announced that there would be no opposition to any application for bail for Jatindranath Das. But fresh difficulties then arose. When a friend of Das applied for bail and offered to provide the necessary sureties for him, he refused release unless it was unconditional. The Government declared that they could not allow his release unless on bail and they further explained that Bhagat Singh and Bakeshwar Dutt, who are two of the accused in Lahore conspiracy case but who have already been sentenced to imprisonment for life for the Assembly bomb outrage, would not be given any concession as political prisoners nor would they be kept along with other under-trial prisoners. Upon this Bhagat Singh and Dutt and five remaining under-trial prisoners resumed their hunger-strike." And so matters drifted till Das found himself left with no alternative but to court and face death heroically, for what he believed to be the cause of his mother-land. Now whatever one may think of the rationale of his conduct or of the soundness of his view of advancing India's interest, no Indian (who is capable of appreciating the situation brought about by the repressive policy of Government) can fail to admire the heroism of Das or sympathize with his single-minded devotion to what he regarded the cause of the country. The Government will not, of course, look upon the matter in this light, nor even the non-official European in this country. But the Indian's perspective is bound to be different in judging a question like this from that of either the Government or his non-official European-fellow-subjects. No wonder, then, that Pandit Motilal Nehru had no difficulty in carrying against the Government, a vote of censure in the Assembly by a motion of an adjournment of the House, as soon as the sorrowful news of the tragic self-immolation of Das was received. But the best contribution to the debate on the subject of hunger-strikes in jails was made by Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his speech on the Government Bill, referred to above. Said that great advocate and skilful parliamentary debater: "Finally, let me emphasise that there is a political aspect to the bill. Do you happen to have no imagination? Have you got no statesmanship left? Don't you see that at the rate which you are prosecuting people throughout the country, you soon need a special department for the purpose? Do you realise that there is universal resentment against your policy and programme? What has been your attitude towards constitutional reform? What about your amazing attitude over the Skeen Report? If you

wish to create an atmosphere for a good reception for the impending announcement in Parliament, change your policy.

"Your troubles, as a result of obstruction of the trial, are very little compared with the big issues that are arising. Deal with the situation as politicians, not as bureaucrats, who can only see one way and ask for more powers every time. Treat the prisoners decently or split your case. But, most of all, try to concentrate your mind on the root causes and then the money of the taxpayer would not be wasted in prosecuting men who are struggling for the freedom of their country."

We have very great pleasure in commending these sound and forceful observations to the Government, but we wonder if they will care to pay the least attention to them. As a vernacular newspaper put it some years back, the Government of this country have "no eyes to see and no ears to hear." That is their greatest misfortune, but it is also that of the country. Let us hope that pressure of public opinion—which if rightly directed, effectively employed, properly organized and skilfully utilized—has wrought in the history of the world greater revolutions than are dreamt of in the philosophy of those who believe only in the use of force, or even "non-violent direct action," will bring, before long, to bear upon the Government that healthy change in their mental-outlook which is so much and so badly needed at present, alike in the interest of Britain and India.

In the June number of the *Hindustan Review* there appeared an instructive article on our press agencies from the pen of Mr. S.

The Free Press of India. Sadanand, Managing Editor of the Free Press of India. Until its establishment in January, 1925,

a monopoly in supply of Indian news, to the entire press of India, was enjoyed by only one agency, the Associated Press. Since the inception of the Associated Press, close association has existed between the Government and this agency and it has been receiving considerable sums which has served the purpose of a State subsidy. Further, the proprietary interests in the Associated Press were completely acquired, soon after the Great War, by Reuters—a wholly British news agency. The inevitable result of the change was that when there was a national awakening in the country and considerable impetus to national activities in consequence, in the years that followed 1919, it was found that the nationalist press, as well as the different aspects of the national movement, laboured under a very serious handicap owing to the want of an independent Indian news agency. The Free Press of India owed its inception directly to the recognition of this great handicap. It was conceived and founded by that very enterprising and highly experienced journalist—Mr. S. Sadanand—and subsequently a distinguished body of publicmen (amongst whom are Sir Purshotanandas Thakurdas, Sir Phiroze

Sethna, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Mr. G. D. Birla) identified themselves with the activities of the Free Press, and, due to their generous support, it has been functioning in national interests as an independent news agency. The Free Press has already rendered valuable services in the country in disseminating correct data about nationalist activities in particular and Indian progress and aspirations in general, and thereby educating public opinion on sound lines in regard to Indian public affairs. Thus the activities of the Free Press have considerably helped to bring into strong relief national sentiment and done all which an efficient and impartial press agency can do in the matter of giving publicity to correct information. But the attitude of the Government of India has been stepmotherly, from the beginning, towards this agency. The result is that the Free Press has had to carry on its activities under the very serious handicaps which were enumerated in the article published in the June number of the *Hindustan Review*. The capital of Rs. 100,000 with which the Free Press was working has been used in building up the institution so far, and the directors and their friends, who have so far found the money, have now made an appeal for an additional capital of Rs. 200,000. The capital of the company has been accordingly increased to Rs. 300,000 and it has also been made a public company. The shares are of the value of Rs. 500 each. The appeal for funds is on the basis of the Free Press of India becoming a self-supporting and permanent institution at the end of three years. The directors have studiously refrained from making an appeal for funds on the basis of commercial possibilities, as in the absence of impartial treatment by government it is not possible to derive the fullest economic advantage from the Free Press. It is, nevertheless, to be hoped that all patriotic Indians who believe in the great advantage of having in our midst an efficient and well-organized Indian press agency, independent of government control, will come forward to contribute their aid towards the success of this most deserving press organisation, which is an asset to India's political progress.

The conviction of Mr. Ramananda Chatterji on a charge of sedition for publishing a book written by a venerable American writer

What is Sedition? who is a Doctor of Divinity leaves one greatly puzzled as to what is

understood by sedition. We are not referring to S. 124 A of the Indian Penal Code for that is comprehensive enough, if not always quite comprehensible. There is one phase of the case that has been overlooked. In law the responsibility and culpability of the author and the publisher is the same. Dr. Sunderland is perhaps unable to undertake the voyage to India in his advanced age, but suppose he were to cross the Herring Pond and offer himself for trial before the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. Suppose further that the respectable C. I. D. obtained sanction to prosecute. What would happen if on the first day of the trial

the Consul-General of the United States were peremptorily to demand the discharge of Dr. Sunderland as an American subject who could not be tried by the government established by law in India? As far as one can have a conception of the situation the trial would be adjourned, the cables between India and England and England and America would be busy for a few days, and then Dr. Sunderland would be quietly discharged and the prosecution withdrawn. Would that prove that the publisher and the printer are more guilty than the writer? Another question we should very much like to have answered is whether the offence of sedition is interchangeable in the sense that what is sedition in Ireland or Egypt is also sedition in India and *vice versa*. Take, for instance, the writings of George Bernard Shaw. No great writer was so severely handicapped as he was for many years, but he overcame all difficulties by the brilliance of his genius and the virility of his personality. He has now wrested the Nobel Prize for Literature and his plays are the greatest attraction on the stage. No censor and no Government can now ban his books, though his denunciations of the government can scarcely be equalled for their sweeping trenchancy and pitiless sarcasm. Let the reader read the "Preface for Politicians" to *John Bull's Other Island*. The scathing indictment of the British Government in Ireland and the British Protectorate under Lord Cromer in Egypt is far more severe than anything written by Dr. Sunderland about India, and yet no action can be taken against the free circulation of Bernard Shaw's plays in India. Obviously, then, sedition is relative and only actionable when it is labelled 'made in India.'

Chupra is merely the headquarter station of a district in Bihar but may we venture to suggest to the great protagonists of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Moslem League to take a page out of the new book that has been just opened in this town of Bihar? Will not

Hindu-Mahomedan Relations.

our Muslim friends of the League and Anjuman be amazed and shocked to hear that the leading Mussalmans of Chupra attended a public meeting to celebrate the birthday of Sri Krishna? The meeting was convened by Mussalman gentlemen, among whom Dr. Syed Mahumud and Mouvi Makki are prominently named, at the Town Hall, and both Mussalman and Hindu speakers delivered impressive speeches. Mr. Shamshad Ali Khan, the District Magistrate, quoted verses from the Gita and Koran to show that the teaching was essentially the same. He declared that the Lord Krishna was either a Prophet or manifestation of God. Some time ago the Hindus took prominent part in the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet, and it will be interesting to learn what the Mahasabha thinks of it. The citizens of Chupra, Hindu and Mussalman, have set a shining example to the whole country. Which is more profitable, this mutual confidence and appreciation, or the gentle pastime of slitting one another's throat? Indian nationalism

is setting up a new religion which Hindus and Mussalmans can join with equal favour and sincerity—whole-hearted devotion to the Motherland.

There is a considerable flutter among railway authorities in consequence of a ruling of a special Railway Magistrate at Allahabad that a passenger travelling without a ticket cannot be forcibly ejected from a railway compartment by railway servants. This view of

the Magistrate has been strengthened by a later case in which a police constable, who happened to be travelling without a ticket actually lost his life. He was turned out of the compartment, hastened to the booking office and purchased a ticket, and while attempting to board the moving train met with an accident and succumbed to his injuries. When this case came up before the Magistrate he observed that the expulsion of the constable was an unwarranted action and if the crewman had dealt with the constable under Sect. 103 or Section 132 of the Railways Act the accident would have been averted and there would have been no loss of life. It is high time that an emphatic public protest were made against the employment of crews on railways. The whole system is pernicious and even immoral. These crewmen consist of young men picked up in every part of India, men who have no qualifications but are merely pitchforked into these jobs by the recommendations of people who may have friends in railway offices. The system is supposed to be an experiment and there is no contract of any kind with the men employed. They receive paltry salaries and may be dismissed at an instant's notice. The system is immoral because the services of these men are retained by results. Every crewman has to earn something for the railway every month, otherwise he loses his job. It is his business to recover fares from travellers travelling without tickets, to weigh luggage on running trains—they are provided with handy spring scales for this purpose—and to charge for excess luggage, and to practise a general espionage upon railway travellers. The crew system takes it for granted that railway travellers are always out to defraud the railways. These crewmen are careful to leave first and second class passengers alone, knowing that a complaint from them would cost them their jobs, though it is notorious that a certain class of these passengers habitually carry excess luggage without paying for it. Intermediate and third class passengers are fair game for these crewmen, who harass them to an extent that can scarcely be conceived. Sleep for these unlucky passengers is out of the question as these crewmen keep hopping in and out at every station. The tickets of the passengers are examined twenty times during the night, their luggage is knocked about and frequently weighed. It is a common sight to see these men coolly appropriating the seats and berths intended for passengers, stretching themselves at ease and going to sleep while the passengers have to shift for

themselves as best they can. Such a system would not be tolerated on any railway out of India, and even here it ought not to be allowed to continue. There is absolutely no justification for the crewmen being permitted to disturb the passengers at all hours of the night.

Certain cases that recently came up in the Allahabad High Court have drawn public attention to the immoral and unlawful traffic in girls and women that is carried on in certain parts of India.

There are men and women systematically engaged in this trade, who find it profitable. A girl or woman, either unhappy or foolish, is inveigled on some pretext or other, taken to another part of the country and sold either as a wife, or for immoral purposes. Commenting on one such case Mr. Justice Sen of the Allahabad High Court observed that the Census returns showed a disparity in number between the male and female population in certain western tracts, but that was a problem that did not concern courts of justice. In dismissing the appeal of the convicted persons he very rightly observed that when such an offence was brought home deterrent sentences should be imposed. As a matter of fact, this infamous traffic is not confined to any particular people or country. It is extensively carried on in Europe and America and is widely known as the White Slave Traffic. In the West it is exclusively a traffic for the purposes of prostitution. In India it serves two purposes, marriage as well as the degradation of women. In another case that also came up at Allahabad a man and a woman had been convicted of abducting a married girl of 19 years of age and attempting to sell her to a Jat in the Nabha State for a wife. The piteous appeals of the young women so moved the Jat that he refused to buy her. For her obstinacy she was thrashed and slashed with a knife, and was afterwards sold to another Punjabi for Rs. 500 at Haripur near Abbottabad. Subsequently she was traced and rescued, and the two original abductors were convicted. The abduction of girls and women, or their seduction by plausible pleas to live a life of shame is carried on in every part of the country. The Devadasis of Southern India are to be found in temples. It is, however, only in the Punjab and Sind that girls and women are sold as wives. This is not possible in other parts of the country because of the prevalence of the caste system. There is no caste among the Jats, and in Sind the only two classes are Amils and Banias, with a very small percentage of Brahmins. The traffic in women is very prevalent in the Punjab and is known as *bardasfiroshi*. Perhaps, the traffic is on the decline, but it is perfectly certain that very few cases are detected and the offenders are rarely brought to justice. Usually, a girl or a woman disappears from her village and nothing is heard of her again. If there is a hue and cry it dies down after a short time. When, therefore, the law tracks down the miscreants

engaged in this nefarious trade the punishment should certainly be severe.

When our countrymen feel greatly exasperated by the tit bits in Miss Catherine Mayo's mischievous book it may be well to remember in good company that she has brought up the rear of a procession of proficient.

Macaulay's stilted and theatrical rhetoric reviling the Bengalis is classic literature. Rudyard Kipling's contempt for the educated Indian is concentrated in "Kim" and prodigally scattered over some other books. If, however, it is urged that a woman should be more careful than a man in retailing a libel we can find Miss Mayo a lady companion, who was not exactly a traveller but one of the rulers of India through one of her husbands. There is a novel called "My three Husbands" (Methuen & Co.), which has passed through two editions, if not more. The story is supposed to be written by a woman who cheerfully narrates how she put three husbands under the sod, one after another, and is looking out for Number Four, though she is a grandmother. What would a woman in India think of another who has buried three husbands and is on the prowl for a fourth? The first hubby was a military officer and his Christian name was Edward. He came out to India with his wife and apparently spent some time in Simla. One day while the couple were passing a "native" ogled the wife. Edward promptly knocked him down and kicked him up. We shall now let the fair writer continue the story in her own words:—

"Those were the days when the Indian Government knew how to govern—India. I remember once that because the frontispiece of a London illustrated paper depicted one of our Royalties—a princess—standing beside some Indian Raja that particular page was removed before its circulation in India was permitted. In those days white women were respected. If they were not respectable they were politely told to leave the country. In those days our menfolk were fit to govern, and we did our little best to make them fitting mates.

"When first I started housekeeping I found things rather difficult and very new. One had so many servants who knew that one was new. Naturally they tried to take advantage. One day one of the Johnpanies (Jhampanis), said something as I got into my rickshaw that made the others smile. I didn't know what he had said but he looked cheeky. Edward was indoors. So I jumped out and kicked him all the way down the street. I was quite cool. There was rather a commotion, and Edward came running out with an awful look in his eye. When he saw what was happening he stopped and waited for me to finish.

"I have shot tigers on foot with Edward, and have had all sorts of hair-raising adventures, but never did Edward look so proud as when I kicked that wretched Johnpany. And all the time I was thinking how unpleasantly hot I must have looked."

Are any comments necessary? Why attempt to adorn the lily?

Messrs. Tata Sons, Limited, are the Agents of three hydro-electric concerns, the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company, Limited, the Andhra Valley Power Supply Company, Limited, and the Tata Power Company, Limited. It is announced that it has been arranged that the Agency will be shared with an American Syndicate on the favourite American basis for profits, fifty-fifty. The American Syndicate will acquire a half share in the Agency and as a consideration has paid Rs. 37,50,000 to Messrs. Tata Sons, Limited. The Agency will be converted into a private limited company consisting of seven directors, four to be nominated by the American Syndicate and three by Tatas. Of the four directors to be nominated by the American Syndicate two will be American experts and two Indians. This arrangement does not in any way affect the proprietary rights of the shareholders of the three joint stock companies. It is further stated that the control and management of experts from America should have a favourable effect on the earning capacity of the companies. This arrangement has been confirmed at a meeting of the Board of Directors of Messrs. Tata Sons, Limited.

A statement of facts is necessary to elucidate the new situation that has been thus created. As maybe easily surmised the flotation of these three companies was due to the initiative of the Tatas. They found the engineers, they formulated the schemes, they provided funds, which were afterwards recovered from the share capital, for the spade-work. They are permanent Agents for these companies, their agency rights are secured by the Memoranda and Articles of Association, and are not subject to interference or modification by the shareholders. In floating so many as three hydro-electric schemes the Tatas had in view several openings for the utilisation of the energy so provided. The numerous cotton mills of Bombay obtained their power and lighting from the Tata concerns, the Bombay Tramways Company, which also undertakes the lighting of Bombay streets, purchased power from the Tatas. Lastly, the Great Indian Peninsula and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways have electrified the local and suburban railway service and they derive their source of supply from the Tata Power Houses. All these companies have fairly lengthy contracts with the Tatas for the supply of electric energy. Recently, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway has been extending the electric railway service to Poona on the Madras line and Igatpuri on the main line to Calcutta. The Tatas naturally expected that the additional power required for working these extended services would be requisitioned from them. In this they have been disappointed because the G. I. P. Railway, which has now become a State Railway, has erected

a power house at Kalyan and laid down machinery at an enormous capital outlay. Since the contract cannot be repudiated the energy supplied by the Tatas will be used up to Kalyan, but beyond that station the Railway will harness its own power. The contract with the Tatas is for a period of fifteen years and it is quite evident that it will not be renewed after that period as the Railway is generating its own energy. Owing to the labour situation the cotton mills remain closed down for the better part of the year and the Tatas are paid only the guaranteed minimum amount. Thus they have been let heavily down through no fault of their own and they are justified in seeking other channels to make the companies remunerative. The present depression of trade has affected the Tatas like all other business firms and certain undertakings proved unsuccessful from the outset. The Tatas themselves have always behaved honourably and admirably. They have repeatedly foregone their commission as Agents. They have guaranteed loans for companies. Some undesirable elements have been eliminated. The real complaint of the public is that the chief aim of the late J. N. Tata and the reason why his enterprises so readily won public support were that India should become a manufacturing country on a large scale and for this purpose should have its own experts. This expectation has not been fulfilled. The Iron and Steel Company has always employed foreign experts and no Indians have been trained as steel engineers and put in charge of the works at Jamshedpur and the same thing is true of the hydro-electric concerns. It is from this point of view that the lapse of the Tatas is to be most regretted.

Repeated and chronic strikes of millhands have handicapped the cotton mill industry of Bombay very heavily, and as an inevitable consequence several millowners' munificence have been very hard hit. Up to 1919, or thereabout, the industry was very prosperous and large dividends were declared twice a year. On a share of the face value of, say, Rs. 500, as much as Rs. 250 was paid as dividend. There was a wonderful boom in these shares which were often quoted and negotiated at more than ten times their face value. And now there are no dividends, the quotations have fallen heavily and the slump in every business is extensively depressing. Credit is so low that it appears to have touched bedrock. On one hand, the millhands are starving and outbursts of violence are of daily occurrence, while on the other, some of the best known millowners are in desperate straits and tottering on the brink of ruin. The entire atmosphere of trade is panicky and though there may be a good deal of exaggeration and wild rumours the solid substratum of truth is sufficiently alarming. Among the firms that have been finding difficulty in tiding over the crisis is the great firm of Burrimbhoy, of which Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim is the head and another member, Sir Fazulbhoy

Burrinbhoj, holds a prominent place in public life. The traditions of this family and firm are high and stainless and they have more than once lent a helping hand to other firms in difficulties. Most unexpectedly his Exalted Highness the Nizam has come to the help of this firm and has lent it 50 lakhs of rupees from his privy purse on easy terms of interest. It is not a business deal but an act of real patriotic munificence. The Nizam has followed the struggle in Bombay with close personal interest. He is a robust optimist and has firm faith in the industrial development of India. Ten years of persistent trade depression have brought about an almost intolerable strain on several great captains of industry. Industrial unrest is seething throughout India and has had a paralysing effect upon most industries. It is impossible to praise too highly the action of the Nizam. It shows his interest in the prosperity of India as a whole; it proves the community of real interest between the Indian States and the British Indians in spite of the insidious attempts made to divide them. If the example of the Nizam were followed by other princes whose wealth should be an important national asset, all attempts to wean the Indian States from the Indian national movement would be effectively frustrated.

Amidst the conflicting and doubtful stream of news that trickles down from Afghanistan to India there is one little wisp of

The Pen is mightier than the sword.

truth which is of great significance. Nadir Khan, it has been stated, has been carrying on a vigorous propaganda against Habibulla by means of leaflets which are lithographed and distributed broadcast. These have proved so successful that the usurper has been designated a heretic and the tide of public feeling has turned against him. The quantity of paper had been exhausted and Nadir Khan had sent for more from Peshawar. This campaign has proved more effective than the armed expeditions. It is said that Habibulla has become so exasperated that he put to death, out of hand, a number of propagandists who had been seized. The saying is being repeated that the pen is mightier than the sword, but it is really remarkable that this should have happened in Afghanistan where the majority of the population is believed to be illiterate. When Italy was struggling to throw off the yoke of Austria the red-shirted guerrillas of Garibaldi were not alone in sapping the power of Austria. Joseph Mazzini, living as an exile in England, was flooding Europe with his denunciations of Austrian oppression. When Louis Napoleon proclaimed himself Emperor of the French after the *coup d'état* Victor Hugo was banished from France as a red-hot democrat and the passage of the illustrious exile to the island of Guernsey was strewn with mighty fulminations against Napoleon *Le Petit*, the little man, who had aspired to the Crown of Napoleon the Great, and the thunder-bolts forged by the pen of the great French writer never ceased till Napoleon III

yielded himself a captive to William I of Prussia at the debacle of Sedan. The late Mr. Okakura, the Japanese thinker and patriot, and author of "The Ideals of the East" told some visitors in Calcutta that at the time of the Japanese Revolution he and some of his friends were calmly writing leaflets for propaganda work while shots were flying and blood was flowing in the next room. That is why tyrants in all times and all climes have dreaded the pamphleteer more than the pistolier. Voltaire and Rousseau were nothing more than the writers of books and yet they brought about the French Revolution as certainly as if they themselves had led the sansculottes against the aristocrats. It is to be feared that educated Indians have not yet fully realized the great utility and tremendous power of propagandist work carried through the medium of the printing press, in various forms—leaflets, tracts, pamphlets, periodicals and books. Hence, perhaps the insistence by the younger section of public workers for "direct action."

With President Patel we all may breathe a sigh of relief that the Legislative Assembly incident is closed. The public

The Legislative Assembly Incident.

and probably the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly believed that the Public Safety Bill was the real bone of contention, but that was not so as may be judged by the statement made by Mr. Patel and the correspondence read out by him. Mr. Patel was of opinion that the Meerut trial and the Public Safety Bill could not proceed together and he ruled out the Bill. The Governor-General issued an Ordinance on the same lines as the Bill. Both were within their rights. If it is contended that the ruling was wrong the retort is obvious that the promulgation of the Ordinance is also wrong. The power of the President to delay or rule a Bill out of order has now been taken away; the time may come when the power of the Governor-General to issue an Ordinance as a law may also be taken away. In fact, it will be about the first thing done when India gets Dominion Status. The President of the Legislative Assembly can only exercise such powers as are left to him. But the new rule cannot affect a past ruling and so the Public Safety Bill cannot be re-introduced in the Assembly, nor can the Ordinance become permanent law. The point upon which President Patel took a firm stand was his position in the Assembly Chamber itself. In closing the last session the Governor-General in the course of his speech in the Assembly referred to the ruling of the President in terms which the latter interpreted as a censure upon himself and he accordingly addressed an emphatic protest to Lord Irwin. Mr. Patel rightly claims to be the sole and final authority on all questions relating to an order arising in the House and his conduct can only be impugned upon a notice of motion in the House itself. In no other manner and by no

other authority can a ruling of the Chair be challenged or criticised on the floor of the House. Lord Irwin, in his reply, fully accepted this contention and denied any intention of criticising the ruling of the President. The correspondence is remarkable: the President is firm, emphatic and dignified; the Governor-General is tactful and conciliatory. Therefore, while the President is to be congratulated upon his courageous zeal for upholding the traditions of the Chair the Viceroy is also to be felicitated upon his tact and accurate appreciation of the situation.

While the Magh Mela Committee of Allahabad is making all arrangements for the smooth passing

The Coming Kumbh Mela at Prayag.

off of the great fair in the coming cold weather the representatives of the people should display unremitting vigilance in watching the conduct of traffic. It is estimated that the attendance of pilgrims will be much larger than at previous Kumbh melas and all sorts of conveyances will reap a rich harvest. Overcrowding in carriages may be inevitable, but the worst offenders in this respect are the railway companies, which earn large sums of money without making any provision for the congestion of traffic. Pilgrims are treated without any consideration for their comfort or accommodation, and this should no longer be tolerated. Railway companies must either provide a very large number of new carriages, or they must refuse to sell tickets when they cannot find sitting room for the passengers. It is not only the citizens of Allahabad and the members of Legislative Councils who must take up this matter, but the entire Indian Press must initiate a timely agitation for the suppression of what is nothing less than a gross scandal. It is useless to make any reference to the railway companies. They find it profitable to thrust in 200 pilgrims where there is room only for 50, and they will not give up the present practice unless compelled to do so. It is for us who profess to have the interests of the masses of our poor countrymen at heart to take action and organise a vigorous agitation to stop a public evil and a heartless indifference. Men cannot be treated as sand bags and heaped and pressed upon one another and if the railway authorities will not do their duty volunteer organisations should undertake to watch the overcrowding of trains and set the law, which is very clear, in motion.

Close on the heels of the Assam floods came the terrible plight of the Punjab and Sind. Such

The Floods in the Punjab and Sind.

an extraordinary combination of destructive agencies has not been heard of since the legends that have come down in mythology in different parts of the world about deluges that flooded the earth and destroyed all life. Last year vivid but wholly imaginary accounts were published of the bursting of the Shyok dam. The Shyok river is high up in the Himalayas and a feeder of the Indus. The passage of the

river was entirely blocked by a solid wall of ice, which had grown thicker and more solid every year. But last year the dam held and did not burst. This year it gave way and the immense volume of water pent up behind the great ice dam rushed down to the plains. This by itself did not cause much damage and it was believed that the crisis was past. But even while and even before the imprisoned waters were racing down the hill stream the flood-gates of heaven were opened and all the five rivers of the Punjab, excluding the Indus which was already swollen, were in full flood. The average rainfall of the Punjab is between 20 to 30 inches, but most of it falls in the winter when it benefits the wheat crop. The south-west and the Bengal monsoons do not give much rain to the Punjab, but this year the rains began in July and continued to give very heavy rain to north and west Punjab all through August. The Jhelum in Kashmir was in flood and Srinagar, the capital, was in grave danger. Parts of North-West Punjab suffered severely, several villages were washed away, there was some loss of human life and a large number of cattle perished. Many people were marooned and had to be rescued in boats. In Sind the danger threatened to be far more terrible. Sind is practically a rainless tract, the annual rainfall rarely exceeding six inches. This year the full force of the monsoon was switched on from the north of Bombay Presidency to Sind, flooding the Province with torrential and continuous rain. In its wake came a frightful epidemic of cholera, decimating the population in several villages. As if this was not enough thick swarms of locusts descended in various parts of the stricken Province and destroyed the crops. The peril of the flood came after the locked up waters of Shyok had been carried down to the sea through the Indus. It is impossible to form an adequate notion of the nightmare of horror and prolonged suspense through which the inhabitants of Sind have been passing day after day and night after night for weeks together. The authorities have been in hourly communication and consultation. The water level has been anxiously watched hour after hour from Attock down to Sukkur. All protective bunds have been raised and strengthened in feverish haste. Low-lying villages and towns have been evacuated and trains have been held in readiness day and night to remove people from the scene of danger as soon as the telegraph brought intelligence of the rise of the flood above the danger level. At the very last, the full gravity of the impending disaster was averted, though of course many parts of Sind have suffered severely. The theory that finds favour with the engineers is that the bursting of the Shyok dam was a blessing in disguise. The swift rush of waters helped to scour the Indus and deepen the river bed with the result that the retaining capacity of the river channel has been considerably increased and a much larger volume of water may pass down without raising the surface level. The sympathy of all India will go out to the Punjab and Sind in their distress and travail.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTH

MR. CECIL BURNS—DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT—SIR CHARLES SWANN—MR. BERNHARD BARON—
MR. EMILE BERLINER—BARU AWADH BEHARI SINGH—SRIJIT JATINDRA NATH DAS

MR. CECIL LAURENCE BURNS, for many years Principal of the Bombay School of Art, who has died at the age of 66, left an abiding impress on the modern development of the arts and handicrafts of Western India. Having studied under Hubert Herkomer, and exhibited both in the Royal Academy and the New Gallery, he was appointed Principal of the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts in 1897, and two years later came out to Bombay to be principal, decorative artist, and architectural sculptor of the School of Art there. He retired in 1918. During his tenure the school grew in scope, numbers, and influence during the two decades of the administration of Mr. Burns. He founded the valuable architectural school and a pottery department, and made the institution a much more effective instrument in the promotion of artistic discrimination in industries, such as the weaving of the finer classes of decorative textiles and ornamental metal work. Additional studios and technical laboratories were provided in his time. Nor was his influence confined to the school. He secured the extension of drawing classes in Government schools and the appointment of an inspector of drawing. In his death Indian Art has lost a discriminating champion.

Dame Millicent Fawcett was born on June 11, 1847. When only twenty years of age she married Henry Fawcett, who had been blinded by an accident in his youth and who became a member of Parliament, Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge University, and Postmaster General in the Liberal Administration from 1889 to 1884, when he died. Four months after her marriage Mrs. Fawcett made her first speech at a public meeting on women's suffrage. From that time forward she pursued an exceedingly active political career, concentrating almost entirely on the emancipation of women and, although she had strong political opinions, refraining from party entanglements. Until the death of her husband in 1884, Mrs. Fawcett lived in Cambridge, and it was in her house that the first meeting was held to promote the foundation of Newnham College. It was from Newnham that her only child, Philippa, in 1890, passed the Mathematical Tripos and was placed "above Senior Wrangler." Mrs. Fawcett was also intimately concerned in the opening of the medical profession to women, and she took her stand by the side of Josephine Butler in her long struggle against the State regulation of vice. She did a prodigious amount of speaking and writing during her long life, and all she said and wrote was sane and correct. Her little "Political

Economy for Beginners," appearing in 1870, was widely used in schools, and she also published "Tales in Political Economy" (1875), "Essays and Lectures" (with Henry Fawcett, 1872), "Some Eminent Women of Our Time" (1889), "Life of Queen Victoria" (1895), "Life of Sir William Molesworth" (1901), "Five Famous Frenchwomen" (1906), and two little histories of women's suffrage (1912 and 1920). But her chief record was her leadership of the suffrage movement from 1867 to 1918. In 1925 she was created a Dame of the Order of the British Empire and also received the honorary degree of LL.D. from *St. Andrews University*.

Sir Charles Swann, Bart, who died last month at a very advanced age (between eighty and ninety) traced his descent from a German family, and the name which he bore until the great war and by which he was known to the older generation of our public men was "Schwann." He was a Gladstonian Liberal and took very great interest in Indian affairs, during the long period he sat in the House of Commons. His devotion to the cause of India had become marked even before the nineties of the last century. When the first National Congress deputation visited England in 1890—composed of the late Messrs. George Yule (president of the 1888 session) R. N. Muthulakshmi, Surendranath Banerjee and Messrs. Moropanth Joshi and Eardly Norton—Sir Charles took the leading part in facilitating their work as propagandists, and the present writer was present at a great reception he held in their honour at his mansion in London. Since then his interest in India never flagged and he was steady in his support of our constitutional progress. The death of so good a friend of our country deserves to be noted as a great loss to our cause.

Death is announced of Mr. Bernhard Baron, the tobacco manufacturer and philanthropist, at the age of 79. Born in Russia of Jewish parents, Mr. Baron emigrated to the United States, where he got employment in a tobacco factory. When after some time his wages were raised to 16s. a week he contrived to save 10s. a week, and with this bought cigarette papers. Cigarettes were not much smoked then, but with his savings and some money lent him by a tobaccoist he made cigarettes and sold them at first to private customers. More and more customers came, and he started a shop. Constantly experimenting, he invented his famous cigarette-making machine, but could not find a purchaser in America. He came to England and sold it for £100,000. With the proceeds he bought the tobacco business of Carreras, Limited, which under his management went to extraordinary

heights of prosperity and made its owner a millionaire. In 1905 Mr. Baron became a British subject. Mr. Baron in the last few years gained a well-deserved reputation as a model employer and as a philanthropist. His factories were the last word in up-to-date-ness and comfort; his employees were constantly reminded of his personal interest in them by individual acts and by the substantial sums given them either as bonus or in schemes for their benefit. Thus he equipped a home in Brighton as a convalescent home, and in 1926, when Carreras Limited, declared a 50 per cent dividend and £300,000 was distributed in bonus shares, a goodly proportion went to employees.

Death is also announced at the age of 78 of Emile Berliner, the inventor. Born in Hanover, he emigrated to the United States in 1870. He attracted attention by the discovery in 1877 of the loose contact telephone transmitter or microphone, and was the first to use an induction coil in transmitters. This led to a number of other telephone improvements, and it is on Berliner's work that much of present-day long-distance telephone practice is based. He was also the inventor of the gramophone. While Edison had before him brought out a talking machine, it was Berliner who devised the disc machine and perfected the present method of multiplying records. He is thus the father of the present world-wide industry. He devised acoustic tiles and cells for improving the revolving aeroplane engine, and under his directions his son Henry built the first successful helicopter. In his later years he devoted a great deal of time and energy to combating the dangers of impure milk and was instrumental in saving thousands of lives.

Following upon the premature death of that great Sanskrit scholar—Mahamahopadhyaya Ram Anur Sarma—Bihar has lost heavily again in the passing away of Baba Awadh Bihari Singh, Professor of Arabic and Persian in the Greer Bhumihar Brahman College at Mozuffarpore. The late professor was an eminent and distinguished scholar of the two languages and literatures of Arabia and Persia and he was the only Hindu who occupied so high a position in Islamic studies. He upheld with great credit the high reputation which the Hindus of Upper India have long enjoyed—in fact, for centuries past—of having attained remarkable proficiency in the cultural languages and literatures of the Muslim world. So steeped was he in them that it is reported in the Bihar papers that a strenuous effort was made by some Mussalmans to claim his body for interment according to Islamic ritual; and that even the Subdivisional Magistrate was moved about it. Ultimately, however, the relations and the friends of the deceased succeeded in satisfying the Magistrate that he had lived and died a Hindu and so his body was allowed to be cremated. We had read of similar claims having been set up in regard to the body of the great saint, Kabir—but it is the first such occasion in the history of modern India.

Jatindra Nath Das was born in Calcutta in 1904. He passed the Matriculation examination in the year 1920. During the Non-Co-operation days in 1921 he left his college and joined the Congress Committee as a worker. When there was a great flood in West Bengal in 1921, he went to the flooded area and did his best to remove the distress of the people. As soon as he came back from that place, he was arrested for civil disobedience but was released after four days. His father then stood in his way and he left home to serve the country. Towards the end of the year 1921 he was again arrested for civil disobedience and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. When he came back from jail he again threw himself into the service of the country. He was again arrested in the year 1922 while picketing, and was sentenced to three months imprisonment. When he came back from jail after three months he was confined to bed for about a month and a half. After this his father recalled him at home.

In the year 1922, he took admission in the Ashutosh College, Calcutta. In 1924 he was elected Assistant Secretary of the South Calcutta District Congress Committee and he carried on his duties with vigour and enthusiasm. In the same year through his untiring effort he founded the South Calcutta Tarun Samiti. The aim of this Samiti was to help poor widows, disabled men and other deserving persons in all the ways possible. The workers of this Samiti used to collect alms on every Sunday. There was a library and arrangements were made for games and physical training of the youths. In the year 1925 he was again elected Assistant Secretary of the South Calcutta District Congress Committee and also the South Calcutta Tarun Samiti. Towards the end of that year, he was arrested at the dead of night under Bengal Ordinance. He was first kept in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta and then after some time was transferred to Midnapur Central Jail, where during the hot days of May he got sunstroke and was on the point of death but owing to the timely help of several of his comrades in jail he was saved from death. Owing to this he was brought back to Central Jail, Calcutta, for treatment but was transferred to Dacca Central Jail, Bengal.

After some time he was transferred to the Mymensingh Central Jail. Here Das was prosecuted on charges of assault. At this he went on hunger-strike. He was on hunger-strike for 23 days when owing to the intervention of Bengal Government he gave it up. The Superintendent apologised to him and all his grievances were redressed, but he was transferred to Mianwali Jail in the Punjab. Here his health began to decline very rapidly. When his relatives wanted to see him they were refused permission. His suffering reached there such a climax that he was thinking of going on hunger-strike again. During Jatindra Nath's stay at Mianwali Jail his only younger sister was at the point of death and though he repeatedly asked permission to see her for the last

time he was refused. The result was that his sister could not get any proper treatment as her old father could not maintain her. However when he was brought to Calcutta, he was allowed to remain at home by the side of his dying sister under strong police escort. After a few days he was taken away and was interned in a small and uninhabited village of Chittagong. After a few days of his departure from home his sister expired. This was a very tragic death. But Jatindranath did not lose heart. Jatindra was released from detention on the 29th September, 1928. When he came back he lost no time to serve the country, though he was physically unfit for serious work.

During the last Congress at Calcutta he spent all his efforts to form a strong and well-disciplined Volunteer Corps. When the Congress was over, he took charge of the South Calcutta Corps and was the Officer-in-Command. He joined his college again and was prosecuting his studies in the B. A. class of the Bangabashi College, Calcutta. The Volunteer Corps was becoming a very large and well-organised force. As soon as the last Bengal elections were over, he was arrested on the 15th June last in connection with the Lahore conspiracy case and taken to Lahore to stand his trial.

The vision of the formation of a national militia always loomed large before him and he concentrated all his energy on the organisation and formation of a permanent volunteer corps and when the Congress was in session in Calcutta he was the Major of the Bengal Volunteer Corps. Such was his passion for the organisation of volunteers that he went from door to door in the scorching rays of

the sun to induce young men to join the movement and it will be no exaggeration to say that the South Calcutta Volunteer Corps owed its origin and existence to the untiring energy and activity of Das. The Volunteer movement was always in his brain and when he was arrested on June 14, 1924, his parting words to his friends and co-workers were "Perhaps I shall not come back, but keep the Volunteer movement alive and see that it does not collapse." Even on his death-bed in Lahore Jail, he requested all his friends who went to interview him to make the volunteer organisation a living force.

But his activity was not cribbed, cabined and confined to the four corners of the volunteer organisation only. He had an eye on the physical and moral welfare of young men and in that behalf he helped to establish libraries, study circles, and gymnasiums in South Calcutta.

Now, we come to the last chapter of his life and activities. After Jatin Das was lodged in the Lahore Jail, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt went on hunger-strike and he followed suit. "I will fight it to the finish" he said and he has right bravely fought it to the finish. Nothing could make him change his mind and even when, on the verge of death, Government offered to release him on bail, his bold reply was "conditional release is no release," and he spurned the offer of Government. His iron will, deathless determination, dogged tenacity of purpose and love of country did not desert him till the last hour of his life. He was a true soldier of his country's cause and died like a hero and a martyr, and nobly and valiantly lived up to his own great ideals.

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE

THE NEW CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

MR. T. G. RUSSELL, whose appointment as the Chief Commissioner of Railways in succession to Sir Austen Hadow is officially announced, was born on January 19, 1887. He was educated at Glasgow Academy and graduated from the Glasgow University in 1907. He served an apprenticeship with Messrs. Niven and Haddin, Civil Engineers of Glasgow from 1907 to 1910 and then joined the engineering staff of the North British Railway. He was appointed as an Assistant Engineer of the G. I. P. Railway in November 1913, became Resident Engineer in 1919 and Assistant Secretary to the Agent in June, 1920.



MR. T. G. RUSSELL

He acted as the Deputy Agent from May to November, 1922, and then again from June, 1923, to November of the same year. He held the post of Controller of Stores from November, 1923, to April, 1925. He also served on the Committee appointed to investigate the O. and R. Stores Department methods. From March 1926, to November, 1926, he acted as the Agent of the G. I. P. Railway and was confirmed in that appointment on May 27, 1927. He was appointed to act as a member of the Railway Board in August, 1929, in place of Sir Austen Hadow. Mr. Russell has always displayed keen interest in railway publicity matters and it can be said that the success of the Central Publicity Bureau is in no small measure due to the enthusiastic support he gave it as an agent of the G. I. P. Railway. He has always been keenly interested in welfare work and sports among the railway employees. He was mainly responsible for the electrification of the suburban lines and the Igatpuri-Poona Sec-

tion of the G. I. P. Railway. The Bhor Tunnel, a great engineering feat, is the work of Mr. Russell. He has given proofs of high administrative ability and his appointment is sure to be welcomed by all interested in the development of railways in India.

The India Office in a communiqué issued lately said that Dr. Drummond Shiels visited the Military College at Sandhurst where he met Indian Cadets and inspected their quarters. All Cadets, Indian and British alike, live exactly under the same condition. Major-General E. S. Birdwood expressed pleasure at the general standard of the Indian Cadets, some of whom, he said, were most popular members of the College.

BENGAL MILITARY OFFICER

We give below a short life-sketch of a young Bengali military officer, Lt. S. K. Ghose, who was among the first batch of Indian students sent to



LT. S. K. GHOSE

the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in August, 1925. Lt. Ghose is now a permanent officer of the Madras Pioneers Regiment stationed at Bangalore at present.

Lt. S. K. Ghose is the son of Rai Saroda Charan Ghose Bahadur who is the Government Pleader of Mymensing. Lt. Ghose was born at Mymensing. He was a promising student and was to have appeared in the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University in February, 1922, but having been nominated by the Government of Bengal for admission into the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College which was going to be established at Dehra Dun, joined that College on the 2nd February, 1922, just three weeks before the Matriculation examination commenced.

He was among the first batch of students with which the college began and was then the only Bengali there. He studied in that college for three years and during that period kept a uniformly good

record. At the age of 19, he passed an All-India competitive examination held at Simla for the selection of candidates for admission into the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. In August, 1925, he sailed for England and joined the said College. There also his record was highly satisfactory. After two years' training at Sandhurst he returned to India with a King's Commission in His Majesty's Army. He was first appointed as a second Lieutenant and was placed with the West

Yorkshire Regiment, which is a British Regiment then stationed at Mhow for a further course of training. After a year he was transferred to one of the Indian Units, namely the Madras Pioneers Regiment then stationed at Mandalay. While there he was promoted to the rank of a Lieutenant in June, 1928. He is now a permanent officer of the said Regiment now stationed at Bangalore.

Mr. GAUBA'S "UNCLE SHAM": A SYMPOSIUM.*

"MAYOING AMERICA," A VITRIOLIC RETORT TO "MOTHER INDIA"

IF imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, Miss Mayo has every reason to be proud of the book and its author. He dips his pen in the same inkpot and adopts the same devices of vivid detail, forceful phrase, flamboyant adjective, facile promise, rapid conclusion and sweeping generalisation. Authorities are used (though in Mr. Gauba's case more conscientiously) to suit the case intended to be presented—to set out the amazing "disclosures" that are already within the keeping of the author. The figures of men and institutions that emerge, are, therefore, caricatures rather than characters.

To this book applies the same criticism that Mr. Gaudhi has applied to "Mother India"—it is a drain inspector's report. The tendency of the book is to create a disgust at, and horror of, American life, society and politics and it may just succeed in creating such an impression on the minds of the unwary reader, who does not read statistics for pleasure or profit, and who does not always argue in a perfect syllogistic form. It may be claimed that every statement made in the book is heavily documented, and that mostly from American sources. That may explain, but it cannot extenuate, the offence. The author himself admits that there is much that is noble and charming in American life, which he saw at first-hand when he was graduating at an American university, and that his book is not intended to be an indictment of American life as a whole.

Intended to make the flesh creep, the style of the book is as vigorous and trenchant as the author could make it. It has nothing to do with the clever fencing and elaborate apologetics of the late Lala Lajpat Rai's *Unhappy India* which was also a reply to Miss Mayo. It has none of the childish pleas and wearisome paraphrases of Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's *Father India*. It is a book, as is claimed by the publishers, which "scores a

hit" right away from the title. It is, though it is denied by the author, sufficiently vituperative, if not vindictive to make it "readable" by a certain type of sensation-seeker. The writer carries the war into the enemy's territory. "The mote in your eye," says Miss Mayo. "Yes, what of the beam in yours?" says Mr. Gauba.—*The Pioneer*.

Miss Mayo's "Mother India" has provoked many more or less effective replies both by responsible Indians and by fair-minded Europeans and Americans, but few of them were written on the principle of carrying the war into the enemy's camp, though casual attacks on American morals and private life were inevitable. The book before us, on the other hand, has for its sole purpose the exposure of the weaknesses, the vices and the hypocrisies both latent and patent in the everyday life of "the most civilised country in the world." It is, confessedly, a reply in kind to the nasty and mischievous propaganda of which "Mother India" has set the fashion. Mr. Gauba has produced a drain inspector's report which is at least as well-documented as Miss Mayo's and infinitely more crushing in its conclusions. The ethics, at any rate the propriety, of the *in quoque* argument in such matters, may be conceivably questioned. But granting that the thing had to be done it could not have been done more effectively than in this volume of 200 pages with its tell-tale illustrations in black and white. Mr. Gauba quotes extensively from authoritative writers and a whole host of responsible administrators and divines. In the course of his seventeen chapters he exposes the enormous extent of political corruption, jobbery and terrorism in the land of liberty, the terrible inhumanity that looks upon Negro lynching as the most delectable of pastimes, the venality of judges, the extensive immorality that thrives in schools and colleges under the very nose of the authorities, the phenomenal increase of adultery and divorces and the cynical disregard of every one of the Ten Commandments by rich persons who pay lip-service to Christianity and save their conscience by subscribing liberally for the conversion of the

* *Uncle Sham*. By K. Gauba. (The Times Publishing Company, Lahore.)

heathen. There are obvious exaggerations, in some of the indictments where accuracy seems to be sacrificed to effect. And his description of Miss America's unhealthy and unnatural preoccupation with sex is in places too horrible to be true. But an America which glories in propagandists of the type of Miss Mayo cannot expect to be treated with greater charity than it metes out to strange people and alien civilisations. Miss Mayo has often declared that America and Europe may be as bad as India, but whereas the Christian conscience and the Christian religion are ever actively protesting against these immoralities in the former, in India Hinduism (or Modern Hinduism, as some of her imitators would qualify the statement) actually encourages them. The ignorance and mischievousness of this specious plea so far as it concerns Hinduism has been thoroughly exposed by other writers, but Mr. Gauba, in one of his most effective chapters, makes short work of the myth about the virile protestant condition of the Christian.—*The Hindu*.

Extreme moral purists are likely to turn away from the book in disgust; perhaps they may have reason to do so. But the book is to be looked at as a reply to Miss Mayo's on India and it is its only reason for existence. The author in his foreword, makes it clear. On this basis the author, in his brilliant flowing style, states the claim of Uncle Sam to be the moral giant of history and to undertake the administration of the globe. In the first few chapters the author describes the constitution of America and the rule of the bosses appearing therein. And then he proceeds to deal with the treatment America gives to the Negroes in face of their vaunted democracy. He gives details of the inhuman way in which the Negroes are ruled and also exposes the false charges that are usually brought against them. In the chapters on the virgin, the fairies, the sowing, and so on, the author goes deep into the vices of the Americans and shows how deeply the Americans, men and women, are immersed in a sort of behaviour much worse than that which Miss Mayo describes of Indian men and women. The grease spots of American civilised life are held forth before the reader in all their hideousness. The noticeable fact is that every statement, however shuddering is supported by quotations from American authors and officers of eminence. Prohibition too is described as an experiment in anarchy in so far as in almost all clubs and other places of public and private enjoyment, drinking riotously goes on. The last chapters complete the story of the transformation of Uncle Sam into Uncle Sham by dealing with the bluffing attempts of America at making war an out-law and also to solve the problem of armaments. In brief, the country from which the unblushing, Amazonish hired traducer of Mother India hailed has been cruelly but truthfully exposed. Had the book been published in the absence of Miss Mayo's book, it would have been unjustified. At present it shows the necessity of 'Physician, heal thyself.'

The book is well-illustrated and written in a flowing style. Those, who have read the book of Miss Mayo, should necessarily go through these pages descriptive of American life, manners and morals.—*The Mahatma*.

Here is the inevitable reply to Miss Mayo. Although America as a nation had not much to do with the mendacious lies and gross exaggerations of *Mother India*—perhaps a section of English politicians had a far greater responsibility in the matter than any group in America—it could be easily imagined that some Indian would pay back Miss Mayo in her own coin and slander her country as freely as she had slandered India. The temptation was very great indeed and the task so easy. To give a horrible picture of India Miss Mayo had to resort to the Abbe Dubois' 18th century Jesuit exaggerations and spinster thirty-year old memorials about child marriage. These she supplemented by imaginary pictures, by misreported interviews and misquoted (or misleadingly quoted) texts. These things would hardly be necessary, even if a picture of America ten times as horrible as that of 'Mother India' by Katherine Mayo were needed. A week's daily papers printed in America would provide enough material. If more respectability were needed, a year's literature of protest by writers of fame like H. L. Mencken and Judge Lindsey will do. No misquotation, no exaggerating comment would be needed. Merely the will to slander is needed. Mr. Gauba is eminently endowed with that quality. He does his work firmly, relentlessly. The result is a thoroughly Mayoesque book—the same sweeping generalization; the same morbid emphasis on sex and salacious stuff, but not Miss Mayo's misquotations.—*The People*.

"Uncle Sham" is a daring damning, even scandalizing, attack on American civilization in all its aspects. The writer does not attempt to defend India against her critics. He does not profess to have written his book in any missionary spirit. He frankly confesses his purpose to be to show to Miss Mayo and those presumptuous snobs who look with contempt on India, that American civilization even in its meridian days hides many more skeletons in its cupboard than Indian civilization in its days of avowed degradation. Mr. Gauba has shown that if one were to make a study of American life merely as a drain inspector, one would discover much more dirt, much more filth, much more squalor hidden in it than in the drains of slave India. Like Miss Mayo, Mr. Gauba has quoted eminent American authors to support his charges. And it may be noted in this connection that while Miss Mayo's worst charges were based on hearsay evidence, proved later to be in many cases false and unreliable. Mr. Gauba quotes from books and writings of responsible Americans and has given adequate evidence to substantiate his worse charges. Those who know America well may say that "Uncle Sham" is a distorted caricature of American life just as

those who know India have characterised Miss Mayo's 'Mother India' as such, but none can say that the parts quoted by Mr. Gauba are wrong or untrue. We do not admire such attempts at mutual mudslinging, and do not think this game helps

very much the cause of civilization. But Mr. Gauba can certainly assert in his defence that the game was first started by people from the other side of the globe.—*The Hindustan Times*.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS

N.B.—The views under this heading are not necessarily the views of the 'Hindustan Review'—Ed.

THE LATE SIR CHARLES SWANN

By Mr. S. Haldar

NEWS has been received in India of the death of Sir Charles Swann, Bart., a friend of Gladstone and formerly a leading member of Parliament. Sir Charles died on July 13 at his home at Birkdale after a long illness at the age of eighty-five. He sat as Liberal M. P. for North Manchester for more than thirty-two years, from 1886 till his retirement in 1918. As a broadminded man of liberal opinion and as a genuine friend of India, he was an Englishman whom India must regard as worthy of maternal remembrance. He had visited India only once but he availed himself of that opportunity to meet many educated Indians and to attend the sittings of the Indian National Congress.

His interest in Indian affairs was manifested in Parliament where, as a writer in the *Manchester Guardian* has observed, "he kept those affairs if not to the front, at any rate within earshot and sight"—a not very easy task for any parliamentarian to execute. He was a particular friend of the late Mr. Monomohan Ghosh.

Amongst his fellow-students in University College, London, in the early sixties of last century was the late Rakhal Das Haldar, who is still remembered in Chota Nagpur as a Survey and Settlement Officer. In 1861, Haldar, who enjoyed Christmas under the hospitable roof of Mr. Schwann (for that was his name until he changed it in 1914) referred to that gentleman in his diary as "a liberal maintaining that India should be left to the Indians. He holds that England should educate Indians to govern themselves; highly approves of able Indians being appointed to responsible posts" (*A Mid-Victorian Hindu*, page 123).

In 1903 he wrote to the present writer: "I always felt much respect for your father and learnt from him and Mr. Monomohan Ghosh to take an interest in Indian fellow-subjects and to value their high intellectual gifts and ideals." It was under the auspices of Sir Charles Swann and Mr. Samuel Smith that, in 1905, Mr. Gokhale conducted a political campaign in the interest of India in Yorkshire and Lancashire with considerable success.

WANTED FIGURES OF NON-CO-OPERATORS

By Mr. A. E. Clarke

The opening article in the August *Hindustan Review* "Back to Non-Co-operation: Our only Slogan" by Sjt. Rajendra Prasad, M.A., has attracted my attention in particular.

I am sure it would be of general interest if the writer published lists dealing with Bihar and the United Provinces.

1. Practising lawyers who have abandoned practice.
2. Title-holders who have done likewise as regards titles.
3. Gurukals giving numbers attending each.

"UNTOUCHABILITY"

By Mr. Charles Hooper

There is an old saying that comes down to us in the Latin: "In vino veritas" ("There is truth in wine"). I am a strong believer in temperance, but on several occasions in my life when grave problems too perplexing for my ordinary reasoning faculties to solve have confronted me, I have partaken of alcoholic beverages, and been helped. On such occasions the reasoning faculties were impeded, but a light that seemed to clarify my problems dawned in my soul or deeper recesses of my being. The following anecdote, which has a bearing upon the "untouchability" problem of India may interest your readers:—

On one of the occasions I have referred to I was in a public drinking establishment pondering a problem that whichever way it was solved, was to affect the whole course of my future life. There was a good-looking fellow there, a very decent-looking fellow he was too, despite the fact that he was rather far gone in drink. In that language that intoxicated men employ, a language that has little or no meaning to the reason, but seems intelligible to some deeper reason of the spirit, he addressed some words to me. What he said solved my problem, and determined my course, a course that I have never regretted taking, and that I might not have taken if I had not met this man. While he was speaking, or while I was replying to his

words, I took out a rather soiled handkerchief, and applied it to my mouth. He reached out his hand, took my handkerchief and with a gesture full of meaning applied it to his own mouth, and then fell at my feet as if he had been struck by lightning or felled like a bullock by an axe.

I never could fully account for all the details of this curious incident, but I have always regarded this man's application of my soiled handkerchief to his own mouth as a pronouncement of the Spirit

of God against the "untouchability" doctrine, and as a sign that we should regard none of our fellow-men as common and unclean. Surely the incident could have had no other meaning than this. I have often thought of it, and it has made me entertain better and more compassionate feelings towards my fellow-men, flesh and blood like myself, who are struggling along, as best they can, through this Vale of Tears.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW "AS OTHERS SEE US"

WE extend our heartiest greetings to this journal on its re-incarnation as a monthly under Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's very able editorship. Those who have the pleasure of being acquainted with it know that it has an inspiring history behind it, which Mr. Sinha reviews briefly in the July number under the heading: "The Hindustan Review: Thirty Years After." In the course of the review, Mr. Sinha reflects on the great advancement made in the political field during the last 20 years. In 1900, he points out, "the whole of British India was represented in the then Imperial Legislative Council by but four members." The heads of the administration were the Presidents of the Councils, Imperial and Provincial, and "the speakers had to be constantly 'my Lording,' 'your Excellencying' or 'your Honoring' them on pain of their displeasure." Public activities were carried on in those days in a "rather demoralizing and subservience-breathing atmosphere." All that has gone, never to return, and the *Hindustan Review* claims credit, during the 30 years of its existence, for "popularizing sound political ideas, disseminating healthy opinions on current controversies and contributing generally towards India's advancement." The claim is very modestly stated, and while this "Independent Nationalist" journal has a past on which it is able to look back with pride, we sincerely wish for it a future that will be increasingly bright. It is very well printed and nicely got up with an attractive cover, and provides plenty of interesting fare in the shape of articles, reviews and notices. Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru (son of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru) and Mr. Prem Mohan Lal Verma are now associated with Mr. Sinha as Joint Editors.—*New India*.

be heartily welcomed by every one who honours fearless advocacy and independence of thought. In the August issue there is a striking contribution by Sriji Rajendra Prasad, under the caption, "Non-Co-operation: Our only Slogan." It is not concluded, but it is evident that it sets out to make an unanswerable case for the revival of Non-Co-operation. The movement of Non-Co-operation, to paraphrase Babu Rajendra Prasad's exposition, was really a rediscovery by India of her lost soul.—*Svarajya*.

The August number of *The Hindustan Review* is a distinct improvement over its previous issue. It contains several extremely well-written and interesting articles from the pen of eminent writers and publicists on a variety of subjects, and the place of honour is very fittingly given to a brilliant article by Babu Rajendra Prasad on "Back to Non-Co-operation." Some new features have been introduced in this number and the *Review* is particularly rich in its Literary Supplement which contains essay-reviews, critical studies and bird's-eye-view critical notes on a large number of recent publications. This section is informing and educative. We have no doubt *The Hindustan Review* will soon once again come to occupy its proud position as one of India's foremost periodicals which it did some years back, but in which respect it had suffered considerably on account of its being converted into a quarterly, during the period its distinguished editor, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, acted as Finance Member of the Government of Bihar and Orissa. We wish the *Review* every success.—*The Searchlight*.

Free from the shackles of office, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has synchronised his return to public life by once again assuming the editorship of *The Hindustan Review*, which he has reconverted into a monthly. Its transformation from a quarterly into a monthly, in its present attractive get-up, and the rich fare it provides for its readers, with its virile editorial comments on public questions is to

The Hindustan Review has been turned into a monthly and has entered on a new phase of life under the editorship of so virile and respected a person as Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Originally it was founded in 1900 and for those thirty years the *Review* has been an independent but strong force in the field of Indian Nationalism. The traditions of the magazine are to be maintained hereafter. As Mr. Sinha says: "the editorial policy will be, in future as in the past, what may be called

Independent Nationalist—namely, Nationalist, but not necessarily identified with any of the various Nationalist parties." The magazine is otherwise also very useful. It contains learned articles and literary reviews from eminent men. Mr. Sinha's close association with the journal is a guarantee of its success as a powerful force in aid of Nationalism. —*The Maharashtra*.

In arrangement and bulk, the August number of *The Hindustan Review* is a distinct improvement on its predecessor. If equally interesting features are introduced in the succeeding issues we have no doubt the *Review* will take its place among our best monthly magazines. And that too, we trust at no distant date.

The magazine opens with a beautiful, up-to-date portrait of Mahatma Gandhi. The place of honour in the issue under review has rightly been given to a masterly contribution by Babu Rajendra Prasad entitled "Back to Non-Co-operation: Our only Slogan." It should be carefully gone through by the reader as it contains brilliant and suggestive analysis of the Indian political situation during the last ten years. The second part of the article is expected to appear in the next issue. "An Oasis in a Desert" by V. V. Oak (U. S. A.) is fascinating while the student of finance will find much food for reflection from "Indian Finance under Sir Basil Blackett (1923-28)" by A. Ramaiyya. The concluding portion of the eminently thought-provoking and suggestive article of Mr. Prem Mohan Lal Varma, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., "The Future Constitution of India" appears in this issue. "The Inferiority Complex" by an Old Musafir ruthlessly exposes the much vaunted Christian policy in India. Other interesting articles are: "How the Labour Government can Conciliate India" by S. G. Warty, M.A., "India Through the Ages" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "International Labour Conference" by Capt. W. J. Ellison, "Morley as a Man of Letters" by S. K. Sarma, B.L., "India and the Labour Government" by Munsifi Lawar Sarin, M.L.A., "The Ethics of Plato" by Rangildas M. Kapadia, "Bolshevik Russia" by M. Mahmudulla, Bar-at-Law, "Career and Life-Work of C. R. Das" by Prof. Hiralal Chatterjee, M.A., "Uncle Sham: An Exposure of America" by C. L. R. Sastri.—*The Anurita Bazar Patrika*.

A Retrospect By Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha

In an article in the July number of the *Hindustan Review* Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha who has revived the monthly series of that review takes a very interesting retrospect of the last thirty years. In 1900 he tells us there was not a single Indo-English periodical except the *Advocate* of Lucknow, and hence his *Review* was welcomed as an organ of Indian public opinion as then voiced by the Congress. It is interesting to note that Mr. Sinha's *Review* was the only monthly which received an invitation to Lord Curzon's Delhi Durbar along with other journals, showing the high position it occupied as an exponent of progressive Indian opinion. Recalling some of the incidents of the last quarter of a century, he says that in 1900 the whole of India was represented in the Imperial Council by only four members, who were technically the nominees of the Governor-General. Responsible government was beyond the mental horizon of even the most advanced politicians of that time. "Swaraj" was taken by the Executive to be synonymous with sedition; what strange tricks the whirligig of time plays in its career! In the Councils of those days the members had to keep on repeating "my Lord," "your Excellency" since by failing to do so they would incur the displeasure of the head of the Government who was the President ex-officio. It was a common thing, he says, for the Viceroy to thump the table violently when giving point to the manuscript eloquence; but the non-official member was supposed to address the Sovereign's representative with bated breath and in downright whispering humbleness. Lord Curzon, Mr. Sinha tells us, not unoften attempted to hector and even to bully his non-official colleagues into submission. This of course led to scenes when a member was not inclined to take it lying low and Mr. Sinha says that he was present at one of these memorable scenes between Lord Curzon and Mr. Gokhale during the debate on the Universities Bill. Instead of the demoralizing atmosphere of those days we have now our representatives working on equal terms with the members of Government under the guidance of elected Presidents. The mere recalling of these reminiscences will show, he says, the vast and varied changes for the better which have come over our public affairs since the inauguration of the last Reforms.—*The Scream of India*.



SRIJUT BHAGWAN DAS, M. A., D. LITT.,

the sins of Hindus and Muslims, on the cross which he set up within himself of his own will.

The Government's war on high-spirited, noble-hearted, patriotic boys, even if sometimes over-passionate, as boys cannot but be, continues. Weeping outwardly, Mother India laughs at heart. Her travail has not been in vain. Noble sons are being born to her at last. And their souls are passing successfully through the *Pajna*—fire of initiation in uttermost self-sacrifice.

The Government is waging war impartially on old men and on learning too, as it is on ardent patriotism and on youths, whom it would cherish with proud affection, if it were a true-hearted Government. Ramananda Chatterji, grown white-haired in public service of high quality, service by righteous education through his worthy journals, spreading sound information and patriotic sentiment, has been fined and sentenced to imprisonment in default, for doing such public service.

The work of determent of patriots would have been more effectively done if the Government had extradited the venerable Dr. Sunderland, still more white-haired, the original offender, for publishing whose writing Ramananda Chatterji has been thus treated, and put him in prison here. The Extradition law would not allow? But a great diplomatic government knows how to satisfy its needs. Savarkar was secured from French territory. A wiser and true-hearted Government would have honored Ramananda Chatterji, and persuaded him to accept the task of a privy councillor, and taken counsel with him diligently how to make the country happier. This Government fines him and threatens him with jail and proscribes a book from which it should have taken lessons and gathered wisdom. But it is quite all right. First deserve and then

desire. Heroic youths like Jatindra-nath Das and sober sages like Ramananda Chatterji must first help the Indian people to become deserving by showing them how to make self-sacrifice for the sake of the country.

British history tells us that in the days of William and Mary, when the deposed King James II sent over, from France, to England, a semi-secret proclamation calling on all loyal men to restore him to the throne, the Government of William and Mary got hold of it, and itself printed off many more thousands of copies and distributed them broadcast, but *with comments* which sufficed to make it contemptible. If the conscience of the present Government of India is clear, if it is sure of its facts, if it knows that the statements of books like Dr. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* and Sunder Lal's *Bharat men Angrezi Rajya* are false—then, commonsense seems to say, the best thing for that Government to do would be to publish convincing refutations and circulate them free of cost, or at cost-price, and invite the public to read them, side by side with the books it thinks to be false. It has much more of the people's money at its command than the publishers of the proscribed books. It is already spending lakhs upon lakhs on its Publicity Department. It has got immense stores of facts and figures in the public archives. It has got hundreds of clever men of literary capacity at its beck and call, paid from the public's funds, in its service, and willing and able to do anything for it. It could very easily publish refutations which would convince and enlighten the mind of the public—if the proscribed books were really calumnious. Disaffection is not cured, affection is not created by bludgeoning and bullying and suppression of evidence, but by sweet reasonableness, by sympathetically giving of right information, by sober removal of

misunderstandings. Bludgeoning and bullying and suppression of evidence can only strengthen presumption of guilt and make the disaffection worse. To the common man this seems to be a truism; but to the diplomat, apparently, it is a falsehood.

Hegel, the German philosopher, has written that the only lesson of history is that men never learn any lesson from history. The late Lord Curzon "the pompous," pompously declared in public that "we" ("the British" as distinguished from "you," the Indians) will not commit the mistake which the Romans committed, *viz.*, that of admitting the "conquered" provincials to the privileges of Roman citizenship, whereby they, as he thought, brought about the decline and fall of their Empire; though Plutarch has recorded the exactly contrary opinion and declared that that was the main cause of the growth and strength of the Empire, and later historians have decided that the causes of that decline and fall were others, *viz.*, concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, decay of character at the centre, practical slavery of large masses, employment of foreigners in the army, etc. And so, Lord Curzon forthwith, and fortunately for India, perpetrated the partition of Bengal, which started the work of the regeneration of India's soul, and prepared the way for the tremendous political upheaval that had followed in India since the Partition.

Let us be grateful to the Government as the instrument of the Beneficent Providence which shapes our ends; even as Kunti, the mother of Pandavas, was to Krishna: "May misfortunes come to us again and again, for so only are we thrown back upon and have vision of Thee, who art our own true higher Self." It is true that the scriptures declare that though it needs must be that offences come, yet woe unto those through whom they come. But India, because glad in the soul though hurt in the body of her sons, prays that the British people, through whom such offences have come and are coming to her, may suffer no other woe than repentance and change of heart and of conduct.

The simple and brief life-story of Jatindranath Das should be published in every Indian language, with a portrait, and kept in every Indian home, to inspire the new generations. The son has now become a *pitri*, a noble and ideal ancestor. And the life should especially give a full account of the last sixty-three days during which he progressed so rapidly and so greatly in soul, dying, dying, losing consciousness more and more, and yet ever resisting the forcible administration of food, until the very end. Out of the evil done to his body by the Government shall come great good to India. He was well-named: "Servant of the Lord of self-restrainers." Servant of God, well-done!

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN EAST AFRICA*

By PANDIT HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU, M.L.A.

(Of the *Servants of India Society*)

I

THE Indian question in East Africa touches not merely Indians abroad but the 320 millions of Indians in India. Our position abroad is judged not merely by the position that we occupy in our own country, but by the status that is accorded to us in small colonies like Kenya, Tanganyika and Fiji. If, therefore, we are solicitous of our national self-respect, if we desire that we should be able to meet the citizens of all other nations on terms of equality, it behoves us to realise the importance of this question and to combine all our energies in order to secure opportunities for our honourable existence for Indians overseas. The question of East Africa is a crucial question. It is as true today as in 1923, when Mr. Sastri said it that if Kenya is lost all is lost. If we let this opportunity go by, not merely may it not recur, but the Indian community might be submerged for ever in East Africa.

II

The main portion of this article will deal with the position of Indians in Kenya, for it is there that the fight for equality has to be principally waged. But before I deal with the various questions confronting Indians at present in that country, I should like to draw attention to the atmosphere which prevails in East Africa. The baneful influence of South African policies on East African Europeans, I confess I

understood only after reaching Mombasa. Theoretically there are a number of colonies stretching from Cape Town to the Nile, but, speaking broadly, in spirit and in atmosphere you will find there is one stretch of territory extending from South Africa to Kenya. The new-comer is struck in many ways by the atmosphere of racial inequality which prevails in East Africa. But rather than give any impression of mine, I will (in order to be on absolutely certain ground) state the opinions of responsible South Africans on this subject. We all know that the influence of South Africans was thrown into the scale in favour of the whites of East Africa in the struggle between Europeans and Indians in 1923. The opinions recently expressed by a distinguished South African throw further light on this important question.

Mr. Hofmeyr, the late administrator of the Transvaal, recently went to East Africa and after his return from there he contributed a series of articles to the South African Press. The articles are full of interest to any one who wishes to study the Indian question in Africa. It will suffice for my present purpose if I draw attention to one passage which shows how closely linked are the future of East Africa and South Africa in the opinion of responsible Europeans in Africa. After dealing with certain points in which both East Africa and South Africa are interested, Mr. Hofmeyr says: 'But most important of all is the inter-connection between the problems of the

* Substances of addresses delivered (and especially adapted for publication in the *Hindustan Review*) before the Government of India's announcements on the subject made in the Assembly.—[Ed. H. R.]

south and of the east and their actions and reactions upon one another. In 1923 when the settlers of Kenya were in the thick of the struggle over the Indian question, they looked to South Africa for help. It is to our advantage as well as to theirs that the Europeans in East Africa should regard us as a potential source of assistance in the present and the future. It is of real interest to South Africa that European civilization should be established on a firm basis throughout the highland belt which stretches through East Africa. It is of real interest to South Africa that policies in regard to native questions should not be initiated to the north of us which in these days of shrinking distance cannot but complicate our own handling of such questions in the future. As true as ever it was, only with a wider sphere of applicability, is the message of the Rhodes' statue in the gardens of Cape Town—Your hinterland is there. It is thus clear that the Europeans in East and South Africa regard themselves as belonging to one race and one family. Rightly or wrongly, they imagine that they must stand or fall together and it is for the protection of purely European interests that they want to unite themselves from the south to the north.

III

The most important question which faces the Indian community in East Africa at present is that of a common electoral roll. The question cropped up in 1923 but at that time the Imperial Government had given an adverse decision. The question had been revived by the report of the Hilton-Young Commission and it was a pleasant surprise that notwithstanding the suspicious circumstances in which the Commission was appointed, they recommended that the ideal to be aimed at was a common electoral roll with a uniform franchise.

It was understood that this would be the main question which was to be discussed with Sir Samuel Wilson who was deputed by the Colonial Office to ascertain the views of the European and Indian communities on the issues arising out of the Hilton-Young Commission report. But we were surprised when told by Sir Samuel Wilson (notwithstanding the statements made by the late Colonial Secretary in Parliament that no restriction had been placed on the inquiry to be conducted by Sir Samuel) that his Majesty's Government had decided that it was not desirable to reopen the question of a common roll in view of the fact that it had been settled only four or five years ago. It was even more surprising to find that Sir Samuel Wilson himself was under the impression that the Commission had made no recommendation with regard to the question of a common electoral roll. I am disclosing no confidential information, in saying that in the preliminary statement which Sir Samuel Wilson made to the Indian deputation he expressed his own belief that there was nothing in the summary of the recommendations appended to the report to show that the Commission desired to establish a common roll. We had, however, no difficulty in removing his misapprehension on that point as in the summary of recommendations was to be found one in favour of the replacement of it. It was eloquent of the atmosphere that prevailed in the Colonial office that the permanent Under-Secretary of State should have even momentarily retained such an impression. It was known that in view of the crucial importance which Indians attached to this question they had, generally speaking, refrained from participating in the elections to the Legislative Council. It was expected, when Mr. Sastri was deputed to East Africa, that the Government of India

had been formally asked to assist the Indian community in placing its views not on minor points but on this important fundamental question before Sir Samuel Wilson. The position thus required to be explained. Who was responsible for creating the impression that the Government of India's representative would be free to argue the case for a common electoral roll, His Majesty's Government or the Government of India? Considering the deception—I use the word deliberately—practised on the Indian and the British public by the late Government, I would not be surprised if it was His Majesty's Government and not the Government of India that was to blame in regard to the deputation of Mr. Sastri.

The Hilton-Young Commission had not unconditionally reported in favour of joint electorates. They regarded it as an ideal to be aimed at. The chairman, however, dissented from this and upheld communal electorate. They thought that it could only be achieved with the consent of the European community and suggested that in order to obtain their consent their fears on certain subjects should be set at rest. At present the number of Europeans including officials was about 12,500 or nearly half that of Indians, and they were afraid that in a system of joint electorates the European voters would be swamped by Indians and the men who were elected on their behalf would really be representatives of the Indian and not of the European community. The Hilton-Young Commission, therefore, desired that the High Commissioner (whose appointment it proposed) should try to fix a reasonable civilisation franchise, so that there might be no fear that the Indian community would figure on the electoral roll in proportion to its population. Once a tentative basis for the civilisation franchise was accepted, the High Commis-

sioner was to collect the figures of European and Indian voters in each constituency and place them before the two communities in order that they might consult together in the light of actual facts and see whether it was possible for an amiable settlement to be made. Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons that it was impossible for any Government to settle this question without the consent of the Europeans. Had he carried out the recommendation of the Commission and tried to bring the Indian and the European communities together after instituting the preliminary enquiry suggested by them, his duty so far as the Commission went would certainly have been discharged. But the Indians' grievance was that His Majesty's Government while drawing attention to one part of the recommendations in the House of Commons, ignored the other part. They made the condition emphasized by the Hilton-Young Commission only an excuse for shelving the whole question, and made up their minds without making any effort to bring about the agreement suggested by the Commission.

IV

The next question to which it is necessary to draw attention, is that of Federation. At present all the East African colonies had separate Governors and Legislative Councils and it seemed from the terms of reference of the Hilton-Young Commission that His Majesty's Government desired that a federation should be brought about with the purpose of securing a uniform policy in some essential matters like the development of communications, railways and harbours, unification of tariffs and so on. But even this limited federation was not welcomed by Indian opinion in any part of East Africa. The memorandum placed before the Commission

by the Indians in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika opposed the idea of federation even in the limited sense foreshadowed by the terms of reference, but the report of the Commission itself created the fear lest the federal authority should control not merely the economic policy but also the native policy. Those who were even cursorily acquainted with the problems of East Africa knew that the policies of Uganda and Tanganyika in this respect were far different from the policy pursued in Kenya. It was natural that as the native policy coloured the whole administration and gave a bias to officials, Indians should not look upon the idea of federation with any favour. If the East African colonies were brought together under one federal authority (be he called a High Commissioner or a Governor-General) it was almost inevitable that European influence should be strengthened in every colony and that it should affect the decisions of the authorities far more than it had done in the past. Besides, as there were 12,500 Europeans in Kenya, 5,000 in Tanganyika and 2,000 in Uganda a federation would not merely increase the strength of Europeans, but would give a preponderating influence to the Europeans in Kenya. Knowing already what European dominance means, the Indians of Kenya were naturally afraid lest their position should undergo a considerable deterioration as a result of this federation. The Indians of Uganda and Tanganyika though better situated than the Indians in Kenya, were afraid that the policies of Kenya which were already slowly entering their territories might after the federation find readier acceptance and bring about their complete subordination to Europeans. I may again quote the valuable testimony of Mr. Hofmeyr, the late administrator of Transvaal, who said: "Why did the settlers of Kenya

emphasize the issue of federation? It might have been represented as the submergence of Kenya's white civilization in a black East African kafir state. That risk, however, the settlers' representatives were prepared to take, partly because the indications were that closer union was an acceptable policy to the Colonial Office, and they hoped that by linking with it their request for constitutional advance they would have a better chance of getting that request granted, but mainly for a similar reason to that which prevents many people in South Africa from being frightened by talk of our submergence in an African kafir state out of their desire to co-operate with the British European communities to the north of us. It is probable that the co-operation of South Africa will strengthen those European communities, and in the long run this would mean much to South Africa." After this declaration there can be no doubt that a federation of the East African colonies would tend in the long run to accentuate those racial policies which are, even now, to be found in their most exaggerated form in Kenya.

V

The third thing in connection with the report of the Commission related to the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council. The Commission desired in consequence of their recommendations relating to federation that certain changes should be made in the composition of the Kenya Council. The Europeans desired that they should obtain self-government and they had made it clear in their evidence before the Commission that without a step in advance politically they would agree to no scheme of federation, however feasible it might be economically. They sent a telegram to His Majesty's Government soon after the publication of the report of the Commis-

sion, threatening to take vigorous action if their ambition was thwarted. Under the influence of the Europeans of Mombasa, who were saner than the upcountry settlers, they later tried to explain away these words and disclaimed all intention of using unconstitutional means. But the fact remained that Europeans had expressed their determination in no uncertain terms not to accept any form of general government in future which did not give them a better political status hereafter. The Commission, it had to be said to its credit, had strongly and unequivocally repudiated the demand for self-government on the part of the whites of Kenya. It recommended that the policy of the White Paper of 1923 should remain intact, that His Majesty's Government should regard themselves as trustees for the native and that self-government ought not to be granted to the whites who would in that case constitute an oligarchy ruling over millions of people different from them in religion, race and colour. But while deprecating the grant of responsible government within any measurable future and also pronouncing against an unofficial majority consisting of elected or of elected and nominated members in the Kenya Legislative Council the Commission nevertheless made proposals which would result in the long run in increasing the European strength.

The Kenya Council consists of 38 members, 20 officials, 12 unofficial Europeans, 5 Indians and one Arab. The Commission proposed to reduce the official strength from 20 to 16 and suggested that four more members should be nominated by His Majesty's Government to represent native interests. This process was not to end here but to be carried out progressively as time went on. It was plain that the Commission desired that these representatives of native

interests should be Europeans. The result of this would be that the strength of unofficial Europeans would be increased from 12 to 16 and that eventually they would control the Council. This greatly detracted from the recommendation of the Commission with regard to the general question of the Europeans being granted self-government or a majority in the Legislative Council. Sir Hilton Young, the Chairman, went farther than the Commission and proposed that a non-official European majority should be created. The Indian deputation who were opposed to the scheme of the majority were not likely to agree to the much more mischievous scheme of Sir Hilton Young. They made it absolutely clear that they could not in any case consent to any increase of European influence in the Kenya Legislative Council. In case the recommendations of the majority of the Commission were adhered to, the deputation suggested that native interests should be represented in the Legislative Council by an equal number of Indians and Europeans.

VI

So far no trouble had arisen between Indians and natives. If natives were not going to be appointed to the Legislative Council to voice their own grievances and if it was necessary to nominate men belonging to other communities, it was essential to preserve at least the present racial balance. This could only be done by nominating an equal number of Indians and Europeans to represent native interests in the Kenya Legislative Council.

I am afraid, however, that the Europeans in Kenya will not agree to the present position. I am further afraid that they have the ear of His Majesty's Government. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that we are afraid

that they made a favourable impression on Sir Samuel Wilson, that the late Conservative Government was favourably inclined to their views. I have, of course, no first-hand information with regard to the opinion of Sir Samuel Wilson himself, but it appears from a statement of the Nairobi correspondent of the *Times*, who may be expected to be well-informed on the subject, that Sir Samuel Wilson and the Europeans of East Africa have arrived at an agreement with regard to the composition of the future Legislative Council. It seems that the principle of a non-official majority has been accepted. "The Council," to use the words of the *Times*' correspondent "would include four or six nominated members who would be representative of general interests and also perhaps two experimental portfolios for European elected members." That is, two Europeans would to a certain extent occupy the position which Ministers do in India. Now these proposals bear a suspicious resemblance to those made by Sir Hilton Young. It appears, therefore, that the Conservative Government were preparing, under the cloak of an enquiry conducted by Sir Samuel Wilson, to throw overboard the report of the majority and to accept the recommendations of Sir Hilton Young with regard to the Legislative Council and the common roll.

VII

These were the problems, which the Indian deputation placed before Sir Samuel Wilson in East Africa. There were, however, other questions of an important character about which I should say a few words. One of those is that of residential segregation. It had been ruled in 1923 by His Majesty's Government definitely that there should be no residential segregation in townships, but it was stated in the memorandum

presented by the Kenya Indians to the Hilton-Young Commission that European areas were still maintained in several townships. In Mombasa the Kenya Government recently sold residential plots by public auction from which Indians were excluded. The legality of this step was contested and the Supreme Court of East Africa had decided the other day that the Kenya Government had no right to prevent Indians from bidding for the plots but they were entitled to prohibit the residence of Indians or Africans in those plots except as domestic servants of Europeans. If the policy of 1923 was to be adhered to, we have a right to ask that the Government of Kenya should refrain from pursuing its anti-Indian policy and that residential segregation which is still persisted in in important places should be definitely abolished.

VIII

Another important question related to the appointment of Indians to the higher ranks of the public services. Any one who has read the report would see that while various recommendations had been made in order to improve the position of Europeans and to pave the way to self-government, there was scarcely anything which tended either to enhance or to consolidate Indian influence. Indians had never claimed to rule over the colony. They had never asked that they should be masters of its destiny. They had throughout admitted that it was the function of His Majesty's Government to govern the colonies. There is another direction in which we should ask for a fair field for the exercise of our capacities without injuring the interests of the resident communities, native, or European—the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the public services where they were conspicuous by their absence.

There was not a single Indian who occupied a superior position either in the Colonial Civil Service or in any of the technical services in Kenya. The Indian deputation had made a strong point about this matter before Sir Samuel Wilson. They had a permanent population in East Africa and it was only reasonable that they should be represented in the services. A due share in the public services was no less their right than a due share in the membership of the Legislative Council. This question is being examined at present by a Commission of which the present Under Secretary for India Dr. Drummond Shiels, is a member. If there were Indians occupying responsible position in the service the angle of vision of the Government would be changed to a certain extent and the needs of the Indians would be taken into consideration in a larger measure. The existence of Indians in high places would also tend to raise the status of the Indian community in the eyes of unofficial Europeans. From whatever point of view we look at this question, it appears not one whit less important than the constitutional question which had engaged attention for the last ten years.

IX

These are the salient questions which today demand the attention of the Government of India and the Indian public. A deputation has recently come from East Africa in order to stir public opinion as to the gravity of the issues which confront Indians in East Africa. It is to them a question of life and death. If we lose in East Africa, we lose everywhere. It is necessary, therefore, for us to give the Indian deputation a patient hearing and to draw the attention of the newspaper-reading public day in and day out to the importance of the problem which we are called on today

to solve. But the Government of India must shoulder a special responsibility on this occasion. In 1920 they took a stand which has enabled the Indian community to maintain itself even in that feeble position in which it exists today. In 1923 again it was the help of the Government of India which prevented the complete domination of Indians by Europeans. We trust that the Government of India will not falter but will pursue at this juncture the very same policy which it did in 1919 and 1923. I say this with special reference to the question of a common electoral roll. In 1923 when the Government of India backed our claims both in East Africa and in London, it was known clearly that the Europeans had rejected the proposal of a common roll made by the India Office and the Colonial Office. The opposition of the Europeans to a common roll did not then prevent the Government of India from whole-heartedly supporting the Indian community. The position is in no way different now. It is true that we have a different Viceroy and that the Viceroy's Council is differently constituted. Lord Irwin held a responsible position at the Colonial Office and he might then have committed himself to certain conclusions. But today he is the head of the Government of India and we are entitled to ask that a change in the Viceroyalty and the composition of the Executive Council should not imply a change in the policy of the Government of India. We are entitled to ask that the fullest influence of the Government of India should be thrown into the scale on our side. If a conference can be held between Europeans and Indians such as that recommended by the Hilton-Young Commission, we shall not oppose it. But in any case the course of the Government of India is clear. Not merely for the sake of Indians but for the sake of the

future development of the colony, for the sake of the development of a common East African citizenship, they are bound to continue in their old policy and ask that justice which was denied to Indians in 1923 should at last be granted to them now.

X

In conclusion, the present arrangements for dealing with emigration questions seem to me to be extremely unsatisfactory. My visit to East Africa has convinced me that if we are to deal with the problem of emigration in a proper way, we must soon devise a new agency. We have hitherto regarded the questions of Indians overseas as consisting merely in attempts to prevent fresh disabilities being heaped upon our countrymen, but we must in future take a larger view of it. We must try to promote their welfare and take advantage of such opportunities as offer themselves for advancing their interests in other lands. There are unlimited opportunities for Indians in Tanganyika today. It is a mandated territory where under the terms of the mandate no racial restriction can be placed on Indians. If we had had a proper authority to deal with emigration, I am sure this

question would have received much greater attention by now. I suggest, therefore, that the present arrangements should be improved and we should have an agency whose task ought to be to look at these problems from the national point of view, to find out where there are opportunities for Indian advancement and to bring them to the notice of our countrymen so that they might have room for fair expansion. It would thus be seen that the position of Indians in East Africa is a very difficult one and requires the utmost vigilance on the part of the Indian Government and the public. Our case should be pressed on His Majesty's Government with all the force of which the Government of India are capable. The advent of the Labour Government to power has undoubtedly created a new situation, which it is the duty of the Government of India to take the fullest advantage of. Not only has the Labour Government not prejudged any question, but it was recently stated on behalf of the Labour Party in Parliament that the party held itself free to introduce a civilization franchise should it find itself entrusted with the task of carrying on the Government by the electorate. The moment is thus opportune and it now rests with us to exert ourselves to reach the goal.

THE SECOND CHAMBER: A STUDY IN CONSTITUTION

By MR. MUKANDI LAL, B.A. (OXON), BAR-AT-LAW, M.L.C.

Deputy President, U.P. Council.

THE British Second Chamber, the House of Lords, is one of the two most ancient second chambers—the other being that of Hungary. I propose to begin with the House of Lords. It is not the result of pure accident or man's ingenuity. To begin with it was a council of King's dependable advisors. It is the legacy of Norman kings. Originally it consisted of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Thegus and the Knights. The commoners were not admitted into it. Only the leading men of the realm were invited to advise the king. It was an obligation rather than a privilege to attend King's Council.

The king summoned them as was done by Henry II: "To attend the Common Council of the kingdom we will cause to be summoned the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls and greater Barons under seal by our letters; and besides we will cause to be summoned in general through our sheriffs and bailiffs all those who hold us in chief." It was so far Commune Concilium—single chamber. Nevertheless the king summoned his "councillors" in a different manner as if they belonged to separate bodies: "Members of the Baronial Estate were summoned in person; the Estates of the clergy, partly in person and partly by representatives; the Estates of the Commons, wholly by representatives; and all for the primary purpose of contributing to the financial necessities of the crown and kingdom. From this

fact it might have been anticipated that Parliament would eventually organise itself either in a single chamber or more probably, in three chambers, corresponding to the (French) three Estates."¹ In spite of this difference in the manner of summoning it was still one chamber, so far. Mr. Freeman is of opinion that formation of the Parliament into two chambers rather than into three or four was purely accidental. So long as the Commune Concilium was not divided the king made a distinction in summoning the Concilium. The Commune Concilium became the House of Lords during the minority of Henry III as the supervision of administration had been thrown into the hands of barons who were the members of the Council of Regency. The fact that the House of Lords retains to this day the power of a Court of Justice (which the House of Commons does not) also proves "the gradual transformation of the Commune Concilium in the House of Lords. . . . It may shortly be premised that the distinction between the Commune Concilium and the House of Lords is to be found in the gradual growth and ultimate triumph of the hereditary principle."²

In the fourteenth century process of disintegration and separation commenced. The Knights separated from the Barons and effected a union with the Burgers, and thus formed the nucleus of the Commons. On the other hand the Spiritual Peers united with the Barons and constituted the

¹ *Second Chambers*, by Marriott (1927), pp. 5-6.

² *English Constitutional History*, by Medley, p. 140.

House of Lords. They still met in the same house. On all formal occasions, even after the separation and split into two Houses, on all formal occasions the Parliament met as a single assembly. Until 1547 even the Journal of Parliament was one. In the opinion of Mr. Pollard the separation into two houses was not complete even at the time of the House of Lancaster.¹ Dr. Stubbs who holds rather conservative view says: "The two Houses of Parliament had, at last, since the accession of the House of Lancaster, been fully recognised as co-ordinate equal and mutually independent assemblies."² All constitutional historians are agreed that the first record that is available of the separate sittings of the two houses (House of Commons and House of Lords) is not to be found until 1332, though Hallam thinks that the House of Lords had acquired separate individuality and present name in 1315.

II

Thus the House of Lords—the British Second Chamber evolved in the first-half of the fourteenth century. But in the personnel it made practically no difference until very late. "A glance at the history of county representation will suffice to prove that socially the knights—certainly down to 1832—belonged, in very large measure, to the same class as the Baronage. Not infrequently they were the sons or brothers of members of the second chamber."³ Even today there is hardly any difference between the composition of the House of Lords and that of House

of Commons; any commoner of distinction and wealth can obtain Peerage and become a member of the House of Lords. Until 1856 the Peers objected—and succeeded in their objection—to the conferring of life peerages to enrich the House of Lords by knowledge and administrative experience. A distinguished lawyer was not allowed to enter the House of the Aristocracy in 1856. But by the Appellate Jurisdiction Act of 1876 the Crown was given statutory power to appoint two "Lords of Appeal in Ordinary" to assist the hereditary peers in the discharge of their functions as the final court of appeal. It would now be clear that political motives affected the composition and number of the House of Lords.

It is interesting to note that in 1170 A. D. there were only 29 lay peers though their number is over 700 now. Henry II summoned only 29 Temporal Lords to his first Parliament. Tudors and Stuarts were very generous in creating peers for political reasons. In the year 1688, at the Revolution there were 166 temporal peers. During her reign Queen Anne created forty-five new peers⁴ out of whom twelve she created "in one batch in order to facilitate the task of the Tories in concluding the Peace of Utrecht."⁵ Fearing the political motives of the sovereign the Earl of Sunderland introduced a Peerage Bill in 1719 to fix the number of peers for all time; and allow the Crown to create a new peer for every peerage which became extinct. If the bill were not defeated by the "sturdy commonsense" of Sir Robert Walpole the number of the lay peers would have been limited to 200 and there would have been today 500 less

¹ Pollard's *Evolution of Parliament*, p. 122.

² Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, § 771.

³ Marriott's *Second Chambers*, p. 7.

⁴ *Two Second Chambers*, p. 13.

⁵ *The House of Lords in the Twenty-third Century*, p. 416.

lords in the House of Lords. The argument advanced in favour of the Bill was "that successive factions should have the power of swamping the House of Lords, and that the House of Commons could never be really independent so long as its leading members were constantly looking to the Crown for promotion to the Upper House".¹ This Royal Prerogative, has "at every great crisis in our parliamentary history, been held in reserve, and has been known to be so held. This knowledge has actually averted revolution, and has preserved the constitution intact."² This threat was made use of by the king at the time of the Reform Bill of 1832. The Lords had twice rejected the Reform Bill. One ministry (Lord Grey's) had resigned. Duke of Wellington was not able to constitute another. The king intimated that "he was prepared to create a sufficient number of new peers to carry the measure through the House of Lords."³

"In his reign of thirteen years George I introduced twenty-eight new peers... In thirty-two years George II conferred sixty-five titles, thirty-nine of them being on new men. In the twenty-three years of his reign George III made forty-seven new peers and fifteen promotions."⁴

Most striking case of creating new peers for party or political reasons is that of Queen Anne who created forty-five peers in her reign of twelve years. In December, 1706, she made ten new peers. "In December, 1711, January, 1712, there took place the famous elevation of twelve persons to the peerage, at one time. This was denounced because it was done for an obvious party purpose; but the

rewards extended to the faithful Whigs on the accession of the first Hanoverian to the throne are hardly less striking. Within the first twelve-months of his reign George I had bestowed twenty new titles and added eight new peers to the house. Ten more titles followed in 1716."⁵ Such creation of new peers was for avowedly political reasons and for political ends. For instance, Queen Anne created a dozen peers "in one batch in order to facilitate the task of the Tories in concluding the Peace of Utrecht."⁶

This Royal Prerogative has, in the words of Sir John Marriott, "at every great crisis in our parliamentary history, been held in reserve, and has been known to be so held. This knowledge has actually averted revolution, and preserved constitution, intact."⁷ The king or his ministers have made no secret of it. They have openly threatened to use this Royal Prerogative for political ends. When the Lords twice rejected the Reform Bill of 1832 the king threatened to secure a majority in the Lords by creating new lords. Grey's cabinet had resigned. Wellington was unable to form another ministry. The king made it known that "he was prepared to create a sufficient number of new peers to carry the measure through the House of Lords."⁸ Similar situation was created in 1909. The Lords had turned down Commons Finance Bill. To the popular ministers in charge of the Finance Bill "the rejection of the Budget was only the latest in a series of systematic attacks by the Second Chamber upon the principle of representative government."⁹ On December 2, 1909, Lord Asquith (then

¹ *Second Chambers*, p. 14.

² *Second Chambers*, p. 15.

³ *The House of Lords in the Eighteenth Century* (1927), by Turbervilles, pp. 416-17.

⁴ *Second Chambers*, p. 13.

⁵ *Second Chambers*, p. 14.

⁶ *Second Chambers*, p. 15.

⁷ *Fifty Years of Parliament*, by Lord Asquith, Vol. II, pp. 75-76.

Mr.) moved the following resolution in the House of Commons :

"That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provisions made by this House (of Commons) for the service of the year is a breach of the constitution and an usurpation of the rights of the Commons."

In 1911 the Commons decided to disable the House of Lords from rejecting or amending Money Bills, and to make a Bill law which had passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions even though rejected by Lords repeatedly. After the second dissolution of Parliament in one year the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Commons took an undertaking from the king: "His Majesty would assent to a creation of peers sufficient in number to guard against any possible combination of the different parties in opposition, by which the Parliament Bill might be exposed a second time to defeat."¹

When this threat of emasculating the Lords reached their years, Lord Rosebery made the following observations in the House of Lords: "We stand now at the parting of the ways. . . . After the second reading of the Bill, . . . the House of Lords, as we have known it disappears. . . . There will still be a force left in this House to oppose and even sometimes to thwart the dangerous measures of the Government. If this Bill be allowed to pass, and the Empire will be spared the sight of a scandal which may go far to weaken the hold of the centre of the Empire on its component parts, and we shall be left, at any rate, with a certain

amount of vitality. . . . on the other hypotheses, we shall be left with no power at all, flattened out completely, with an addition of hundreds of peers, added to the House under most degrading franchise, and the ruin of this ancient constitutional Assembly will be as complete as its worst enemies would desire."²

III

In spite of the persuasions of Lord Rosebery actuated by the natural instinct of self-preservation and exclusiveness the Lords accepted the Parliament Act by 131 votes to 114. And according to Sir Courtney Ilbert "the resistance of the Lords was only overcome by an authoritative intimation that the king had been advised by his ministers, and had consented, to create a number of peers sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case."³

The main provisions of the Parliament Act which has completely emasculated the British Second Chamber are:

1. A Money Bill if not assented to by the Lords within one month becomes law on king's assent.
2. Any other Bill if passed by the Commons in three successive sessions in spite of the Lords' rejection or amendment becomes law on king's assent.
3. The life of Parliament is reduced to five years from seven years.

The passing of the Parliament Act has reduced the British Second Chamber to an important ceremonious body which can never obstruct and thwart the legislative activities of the Popular

¹ *Fifty Years of Parliament*, by Lord Asquith, Vol. II, p. 102.

² *Fifty Years of Parliament*, Vol. II, p. 103.

³ *Parliament*, by Sir Courtney Ilbert, p. 219.

Chamber. The Lords did realise this danger and about the same time when Parliament Bill was being discussed in the First Chamber Lord Lansdowne, in the Second Chamber, by way of a reply to Cabinet's threat of increasing the number of peers to secure a support, moved an address to the King to allow him to introduce a Bill to limit the prerogative of the Crown in regard to the creation of peerages. The Cabinet did not object to such prayer of the Lords. The Bill called the "Reconstruction Bill" was actually moved by Lord Lansdowne. But, "If it became law, a large number, indeed a majority, of the existing members of the then House of Lords knew that they would have no hope of ever sitting there again."¹

Therefore, "no more was heard of the Bill, after it had received the perfunctory tribute of a second reading."² Similar attempt to deprive the Crown of the prerogative of creating peers was made by Earl of Sunderland who introduced the Peerage Bill in 1719 and 1720. The effect of the passing of the Bill would have been that the number of lay peers would have been fixed at two hundred for all times. "The main argument for the Bill was that it was undesirable that successive factions should have the power of swamping the House of Lords, and that the House of Commons could never be really independent so long as its leading members were constantly looking to the crown for promotion to the Upper House."³ Sir John Marriott, M. P., who is one of the leading lights of the Conservative party thinks "the crown would

have been deprived of one of its most valuable prerogatives; above all, that the safety-valve of the constitution would have been permanently closed."⁴

IV

TO END OR MEND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The conclusion to which an impartial observer and student of constitutional history of the mother of Parliaments is bound to come is this that so far as the British Second Chamber, the House of Lords, is concerned it was never established to serve any particular purpose. In fact it was to begin with the main or the principal body of king's advisors. The gradual development of two houses did not make any difference so far as the constitution and practical effect was concerned. Until the Reform Act of 1832, "The members of the House of Commons were, in the main, drawn from the same classes as the members of the House of Lords, represented the same opinions, interests, and were, in many cases, directly nominated by individual peers."⁵

Therefore, it made no difference. But since 1832 when the franchise was widened and democratic ideas advanced and people began to analyse the duties of the State toward Society a friction was bound to take place. This friction took a definite shape in 1909 when the Lords rejected the Finance Bill. "The rejection of the Finance Bill in 1909, following as it did, the rejection of other important Government measures, brought the difference between two

¹ *Fifty years of Parliament*, Vol. II, p. 96.

² *Second Chambers*, p. 13.

³ *Parliament*, by Ilbert, p. 213.

houses to a crisis."¹ The crisis established the supremacy of the House of Commons and converted the House of Lords into an impotent body which may only approve of the action of the Commons but may not stand in their way. And but for historical and national reasons the House of Lords would have been abolished by now.

Proposals for the abolition of the House of Lords have been made several times. In the Long Parliament, during the Commonwealth, on March 19, 1649, "the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, finding by too long experience that the House of Lords is useless and dangerous to the people of England to be continued, thought fit to ordain and enact... that from henceforth the House of Lords in Parliament shall be and is hereby wholly abolished and taken away."² With the restoration of the Monarchy the House of Lords was revived. However, public opinion has been steadily growing in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords. In 1867, Walter Bagehot wrote: "With a perfect Lower House it is certain that an Upper House would be scarcely of any value. If we had an ideal House of Commons perfectly representing the nation it is certain that we should not need a higher chamber... beside an ideal House of Commons the Lords would be unnecessary, and therefore pernicious."³ Twelve years later Lord Bryce (then Mr. Bryce), advocated the abolition of the House of Lords.

In our own days Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman on June 24, 1907, moved in the House of Commons:

"That in order to give effect to the will of the people, as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other house to alter or reject the Bills should be restricted, that the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

During the course of the debate on the above resolutions members freely talked of the abolition of the Lords. Mr. Henderson, one of the ministers in the present Labour Government who was then the leader of the Labour Party in Parliament moved the following amendment to the resolution:

"That the Upper House being an irresponsible part of the Legislature and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished."⁴ In his speech in support of the amendment he said even the reformed House of Lords would "be the means of hindering the passing of progressive legislation in general."⁵ Therefore he advocated total abolition of "any chamber which is irresponsible, which is not responsible to the nation."⁶ Mr. Asquith also made a confession that from his youth he had freely expressed his opinion in favour of total abolition of the Second Chamber.⁷

In 1917, 30 members of both the Houses met in a conference under the chairmanship of Lord Bryce to consider the question of ending and mending the Second Chamber. The report was presented to the Parliament in Parliamentary paper, CD.9038. They thought the Second Chamber "should be

¹ *Parliament*, p. 218.

² *Bicameral Legislatures*, by Mukund Lal, *Modern Review*, October, 1919, p. 430.

³ *The English Constitution*, by W. Bagehot, p. 107.

⁴ *Hansard, Parliamentary Debates*, June 24 to 26, 1907.

⁵ *Hansard*, June 24 to 26, 1907.

different in type and composition from the popular assembly" and that it should "act as a moderating influence in the conduct of national affairs and yet not have so much power of delay as to clog the machinery of Government." They were of opinion that the Second Chamber should not have equal power so as to be a rival to the Lower House and to oppose people's will which is expressed through it. They laid down two fundamental principles which should guide those wanting to reform or establish a second chamber :

(1) That a second chamber should be responsive and responsible to public opinion.

(2) That it should contain the largest available number of able and experienced men of eminence.

In the light of the above principles the Parliamentary Conference recommended that the House of Lords should consist of :—

(a) 246 members to be elected by the members of House of Commons, and

(b) one-quarter of the members of the Second Chamber to be elected by the joint committee of the two Houses of Parliament.

Some Prominent members of the conference suggested a purely elected Upper House whereas Mr. Sidney Webb who has himself become a Peer now suggested that after Norwegian fashion Commons might elect hundred members of the House of Commons after each Parliamentary election to sit in the Second Chamber during the life of that Parliament.

Bryce's Conference was followed by a cabinet committee. On its recommendation the ministry adopted on July 19, 1922, following resolutions and placed them before the House of Lords :

1. That the Second Chamber should consist of in addition to the present Peers—

- (a) Members elected from outside ;
- (b) Hereditary Peers elected by their order ;
- (c) Members nominated by the Crown—the members in each case to be determined by Statute.

2. That with the exception of Peers of the Blood Royal and the Law Lords, every other member of the reconstituted and reduced House of Lords shall hold his seat for a term of years to be fixed by statute but shall be eligible for re-election.

3. That the reconstituted House of Lords shall consist of approximately of 350 members. The proposals which were the result of 50 meetings of the Bryce Conference and ministerial committee appeared in King's speech three times. In the Lords Lord Selborne referring to the proposals said : " If real power, such as Lord Bryce's Report had laid down as essential were given to this House, I would vote for great and drastic reforms in its constitution ; but if we are to be put off with a sham, then I will have nothing to do with wrecking the ancient constitution of this House." This attempt to reform the House of Lords was made by the Conservative Party. Their spokesman in the Lords Lord Peel propounded a new doctrine of the position of the new

second chamber. He said it was "not intended to oppose the people but to oppose the House of Commons when that House did not respect the settled opinions of the people."¹

The idea that appealed most to the impartial critics of the Lords regarding the composition of the House of Lords is given by Mr. Lees-Smith, M. P.

"We are thus left with the election by the House of Commons itself as the only means of securing a second chamber which has a representative character and is at the same time, quite free from the danger of contesting the authority of the Lower House."²

However, captivating this theory—election by and out of their own number by the Lower House—may appear in the opinion of the advanced political thinkers there is no necessity of Second Chamber anywhere at all. On this point Ramsay MacDonald, commenting on the American Second Chamber—the Senate,—has said: "Such an assembly, without historical traditions, and without the inheritance of ancient dignity, would

be but a sham Senate, as the plutocracy is a sham aristocracy. A senate grows; it cannot be made. Moreover, *it cannot appear at any period in National evolution, and its time is past. We can now have Senates no more than we can have trial by battle.*"³ According to the past (Labour) Chancellor of Exchequer and present Foreign Minister Mr. Philip Snowden: "*The Labour Party is opposed to a Second Chamber, no matter how much such a chamber is constructed.*"

A distinguished partisan of Labour Mr. J. M. Robertson is of opinion: "*The Survival of a Second Chamber is purely fortuitous. It is a device to thwart democracy.*"

I conclude the part of my Essay with the words of the French political philosopher Abbe Sieyes: "*If a Second Chamber dissents from the first, it is mischievous. If it agrees with it, it is superfluous.*"

I will discuss in the subsequent articles the new second chambers of other countries and the proposals of various Indian Simonite Provincial Committees.

WANTED: A WIDER OUTLOOK IN EDUCATION*

By THE RT. REV. E. H. M. WALLER,
Lord Bishop of Madras.

IN all Convocation addresses the speakers discuss from one angle or another University Ideals; and indeed there can be no more important topic

in an assembly of this kind. I will only refer to the fact that the early great Universities in all lands were distinguished from the ordinary schools,

* House of Lords, July 2, 1922.

² *Second Chamber in Theory and Practice*, p. 247.

³ *Socialism and Government*, Vol II, pp. 49-50, by Ramsay MacDonald.

* Convocation Address at the Madras University.

because they sought to prove all truth wherever it might be found; because they considered truth to be essentially one and sought for a synthesis of all knowledge. The primary object of a University then is the devoted search for truth wherever it may be found. This devotion to truth and to truth alone has made the great universities international in their character, cosmopolitan in their constituency. During the renaissance of Europe the great universities of Spain and Italy were the training ground of European scholars from every country of the West. It was in them that Moorish, Spanish, Italian and Jewish scholars handed on the wisdom of Greece and of the East to the newly-awakening countries of the West. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge threw their doors open to scholars from the continent and in return such universities as Leyden in Holland received many students from Britain. Learning is not the monopoly of any one country; it is above nations and above geographical limitations.

Turning to India we find in the schools which used to gather in her sacred towns and from which her ancient literature issued the same all-absorbing search for truth. Before the Christian era, to give one instance alone, the great Code of Manu, a law-book in verse, covering all phases of life in India, was being shaped in the famous schools of learning which gathered round the great teachers of the day. The Upanishads were the result of free discussions of the great problems of life, under the leadership of sages, to whom gathered earnest students from all over India. And as an illustration of the far-flung influence of these earliest schools of learning in India, we still have the journal of Fa Hien, the Buddhist pilgrim, who

travelled from China to visit school after school in the sacred places of Buddhism. It may be that to-day we shall have difficulty in recognising such schools as these as the prototype of the modern University. But my point is that in the early days, whether in Europe or in Asia, the unflinching search for truth has been the persistent characteristic of schools of learning from the earliest ages. In them were hammered out by unremitting toil and inexorable honesty of thought ideas which have moulded the world in religion, in government, in science and in art.

Can anyone say that such work is not of primary importance in India to-day? We live in the daily clash of unrelated ideals. From every quarter of the world there are pressed upon us new ideals and new remedies for the difficulties under which we suffer. And they come to us disguised in catchwords which hide their meaning and catch the unwary and the unthinking. They may have a meaning in the land of their origin, but is that the meaning they have for India? And if it is, is that meaning going to help us in our special needs? For no two countries are absolutely alike; and India, with her own wonderful past, has special problems and special needs which cannot be met by the unthinking application of remedies and ideals evolved in other lands and under totally different circumstances. We need above all things honest thinking and wise guidance based on deep search for truth. It is this that our Universities should be giving to us. And in order to do it they have to lift themselves far above the clash of parties and the strife of politics and concentrate on the search for truth. Truth can never be found, if the solution of the problem is dictated from the first by fear of its consequences or by material interests. Still less can it be reached,

if the conclusion is to be based on the supposed interests of a section of the people. And that is the reason why Universities should be above all politics, subject to no economic interests, unafraid even of religious dogmatism.

And turning for a moment to the second function of a University, that of training up young men and women to take their part in this inexorable search for truth, that is the reason why it is the greatest betrayal of the very law of its being, that a University should allow its students to be used in party struggles of whatever kind. In ancient India the sages held their schools in beautiful gardens, remote from the common life of men. There they pondered on the truths of the universe. There they instructed the young who were to be so entirely free from other influences that they were not even allowed to take on them the responsibility of domestic life. Their minds were to be concentrated on the search for truth and truth alone. Does all this mean that our Universities are to contribute nothing to the common life of the nation? That they are to spend their time in discussions of abstract ideals, remote from practical reality? Certainly not. There is no department of life which is not founded on ultimate realities. In common with the whole world India is facing new problems in every department of her life. Whether we look at politics, economics or religion, we see the clash of unrelated ideals. In the midst of all the changes questions have to be thought out afresh. And the ultimate principles based on the world's experience of centuries have to be adjusted to the needs of to-day. Who is to guide India in this search for truth? Who but the learned men who constitute the mind and the soul of the country?

II

There are two great fields of research which lie open before the mind of India to-day. The first is the most difficult, open only to the few who are ready to give their lives to it; it is the general field of the philosophy of life—a philosophy which needs fresh expression in every generation, as fresh experience gives to the world new light. India is suffering to-day from the conflict of old and new ideals. In the contact of East and West fresh problems have arisen which the experience of neither can solve alone. In India itself we see the old philosophies and the old foundations of society subjected to attacks and to disintegration. We see old and new ideals at bitter feud with one another. And we need thinkers, men who will guide her to a fresh synthesis; men who will study the experience of East and West alike and formulate for the world the principles it so sorely needs. And where can we look for them except in the seats of learning, in the Universities of the country?

The second field of research which is crying out for students lies in the various departments of the nation's life. The main difficulty in India to-day lies in the fact that she is trying to crowd into one generation the problems of centuries. And in each one there is a lifetime of hard and honest study needed. Industrial and economic problems are crowding upon us; and we find that the ready-made solutions which come from other lands do not fit our case. We have to work out our own salvation. Research work is needed in industry, in medicine, in co-operation, in land tenure, in hygiene, in agriculture—to mention only a few of the most obvious. Indeed, it would be difficult to find any great question

concerning which honest research is not needed in this country; and it should begin in the Universities. There never was a time when the Universities had a greater opportunity of serving their country than they have in India to-day. If the old schools of learning moulded the India of ancient days, the Universities have to-day a far wider opportunity and a far greater diversity of interests. South India has produced in the past men and women whose names are famous in history for their learning and their writings. Let them be an inspiration and an encouragement to us to-day.

The third great function of a University is the teaching of the young. And here we need again to rethink our ideals. I believe that the granting of degree to students is a comparatively modern invention. In the old schools in Europe and in India, it was sufficient that a man had studied under some great master; that he had caught some of his enthusiasm for knowledge and was eager for further study and anxious to pass on the truth to others. It may be that this old ideal is impossible in a modern world: but if the successful passing of an examination is the chief criterion of success, we have fallen far short of all the ideals of learning in either West or East. Think of the old schools of India where the pupils lived and learned at the feet of their *gurus* and carried the knowledge acquired by hard toil and simple living to their fellow-countrymen. We often hear it said that we need a national culture developed in our education. And it is profoundly true. The first thing we must have to secure it, is an indomitable love of truth: a determination to face all the facts: a fearless judgment which will weigh the facts and use them all. Education, national education, is not simply a means of preparing for a profession;

still less is it a means of securing a qualification to be hawked about in the market. It is rather a preparation for life by learning how to use knowledge already gained and how to acquire more; and more than that, it is the acquiring of an instrument to serve the country by bringing truth and reality into the reach of all. The late Mr. S. R. Das, whose practical zeal for education is well-known, once made a remark to me which impressed me profoundly, because it revealed not so much his judgment of another man, as his own highest ideal. He said of the then Viceroy, "He is a man who thinks honestly." It is difficult to think of higher praise for any man.

And yet it is an ideal within the reach of all. It is just as much attainable by (say) a schoolboy or an undergraduate tempted to try to pass an examination by unfair means, as it is by a man on whose honest thinking depends perhaps the well-being of thousands of lives. And education should be primarily a training in real honest thinking. By nothing else can the problems of India be solved; by nothing less can the ordinary lives of ordinary men and women contribute to the lasting good of the nation. But without education this honesty of thought is difficult to attain. Conclusions based on partial knowledge and on one-sided views of facts must necessarily be misleading—even dangerous. And so it comes about that education is the most vital of all the subjects with which we have to deal in India to-day. As I have tried to show, we need the higher research work which will give us a synthesis of Eastern and Western thought: we need the particular research work which will give us the material to solve many particular problems in the nation's life: we need the education which will enable the youth of the country who fill our schools

and colleges to appreciate and use the knowledge acquired by the specialists. And above all we need the self-sacrificing devotion to truth, which enabled the students of ancient India to live their hard and simple lives, content if only they might penetrate a little further into the secrets of the universe.

Is all this too vague and Utopian? Is the market value of a degree to outweigh all other considerations and to defeat the very meaning of a national culture? I do not believe it. For centuries the schools of learning in India thought only of the pursuit of knowledge and that ancient spirit is not dead. Is it too expensive? Can the Universities of to-day with their carefully-drawn budgets and ever-increasing maintenance charges afford to promote research work of the kind I have been indicating? If it is to be done with our present resources, it sounds impracticable. But we have had an example in the last two years of a University founded by one Indian philanthropist. Are there no more men in the country ready to endow research professorships and studentships and thus to open the way for a real national culture? I believe, there are many, who would be ready, as the princes and rich men of ancient India were ready, to provide the means to enable earnest students to study the many problems on which we need guidance to-day, if only they were shown the need. And lastly are there the students who are willing to face the sacrifice and the toil involved in giving their lives in this way to the service of the country? Once again, the answer is not in doubt. From this University even now men and women go out to other countries to seek knowledge and culture; even now the sacrifice entailed on parents and students alike is very great and it is cheerfully borne. If the higher ideals and possi-

bilities of a wider education were clearly presented, if the opportunities for service, which lie before the student, were made more tangible, there would be no lack of students ready to devote their lives to it.

I have tried to sketch an ideal of what a University might be. But the practical steps required to realise it are difficult. Nor is this is the place to do more than indicate lines of action. If the Universities are to be centres of research they must obviously secure the means by which their professorships, studentships and libraries can be increased and this can only be done by benefactions from individuals. No Government can afford to finance such work beyond very narrow limits. Moreover if the University is to play the part in the national life which I have sketched, it must be independent of political control: but if its whole means of existence are dependent upon a vote of a Legislative Council that ideal is impossible of attainment. The University should have its own laboratories and libraries supported by its own funds, its own professors and research students, for whose support it should secure its own financial arrangements.

III

But even were this ideal realised, there would still be the problem of the great numbers of students who pass through the University but fail to find any sphere in after-life. The scope of our education is still too narrow. If the Universities are to be the pioneers of a national culture they must widen their outlook. It is not enough to be independent financially and in the conduct of their own affairs. They must be independent also in the scope of their studies. It has been forcibly pointed out that our educational system is

not the natural expression of the life of the country. It is still alien to the thought of the people. It is valued as an entrance to a limited number of professions. The idea that the University is the place where the problems of India may be thought out, has not yet penetrated their consciousness. And so, I would plead for a great extension of the scope of its activities. Why, for instance, should religion be barred from its faculties? All the life of India is bound up with its religions. And there are ever new questions raised by the conflict of religions in India on which there is need of fearless and honest thought. Again, in the various departments in which the need of research work has been indicated there is an immense amount of study required. The poverty of India is a well-worn theme. The plain fact is that in the last century the population has increased by about one-third: and the resources of the country have not been developed at the same rate. Without serious research by trained men willing to give their lives to it, there is no hope of amelioration. If the Universities could show the way, they would open many fresh avenues of employment, and they would greatly increase the possibilities of development in the country.

There are so many possibilities which lie before a University in these days that it is difficult to avoid being

discursive. I will finish by mentioning one great need—the spread of education throughout the villages of India. If any scheme of universal education is to be carried through it will require hundreds of thousands of teachers. But along with that, it requires a great awakening of the people themselves to realise the meaning and benefits of education. Education at present tends to take the youth away from their homes and their villages. It is the door to a life outside; it is an escape from the home life. And the result is that the education which was expected to provide a maintenance and nothing more is proving a delusion and is, as a matter of fact, simply swelling the ranks of the unemployed. And there are not wanting those who cry out against it and would abandon it altogether: the remedy is not the abandonment of education but the widening of its scope and a revision of its aims. And so we come back to our main theme. Our education should be a preparation for life, not simply a qualification for an already overcrowded profession. Its chief aim should be the training of the student in honest thinking and in a fearless facing of the facts of life. And it should be an inspiration for the best service which any man or woman can render to their country—an indomitable presentation of truth based upon toil and sacrifice.

IS INDIA PROSPEROUS ? AN INDICTMENT

By MR. L. R. TAIRSEE

AMONG public speakers and writers no one commands greater attention and eclat of the bureaucratic gods and of the greater goddesses of the Anglo-Indian press than one who waxes eloquent over the prosperity of India and the contribution made by Britain to this prosperity. Various schools of Indian political thought may differ with regard to India's ultimate goal, and the constitutional questions connected with it, but they are all agreed that the British connection has not worked for that prosperity of the country which is possible otherwise and that the continuous and continued exploitation and step-motherly treatment of Britain towards this country in the matter of development of industries and agriculture has left India in an anæmic condition, if it will be worth while having Swaraj when it means taking over of practically financially dead body.

It is a healthy etiquette that Consular Officers should not dabble in the politics of a country. The American Trade Commissioner, who has recently returned to Washington, has apparently broken this salutary rule, and dilated upon "the rapid improvement in India's economic situation and the favourable conditions prevailing practically in all branches of industry." In this country particularly despite the advice of Dr. Drummond Shiels, the new Under-Secretary of State for India, economics and politics are too closely interwoven to be separated—in fact they are organically related to one another like fingers to a hand or the heart to the lungs. I believe that the same is the case with regard to other countries though sometimes we are tried to be duped with the interested

formula "business is business and has nothing to do with politics."

The prosperity or otherwise of a country is the acid test of its rulers; it is because of this that interested propaganda is being carried on in all parts of the world by the shrewd diplomatic foreign men and women to misrepresent India as prosperous and with ever-growing prosperity. It is a part of the same sinister propaganda that the social and religious institutions of the people and their moral and mental characteristics, are condemned and traduced. Are the men and women who carry on such propaganda aware of logical implication? If things are as they allege, they condemn *ipso facto* British rule after its innings of a century and a half. The deep and grinding poverty of the people is an eloquent condemnation of that rule, which, instead of finding ways and means to relieve it takes steps which have the further effect of sapping the vitality ever oozing out of the country. And yet, critics who have breakfasted, lunched and dined on Government publications, and in Clubs and Government Houses, find nothing better to say on their return to their native countries, than: "India stands to-day on a firmer economic basis than she has ever done. Her credit, internal and external, has never been so good. The agriculturist is prosperous, stocks of imported goods are light, exchange has been established, taxation has been reduced and the outlook of the export trade is promising."

Let us examine these soap bubbles. Let us take the statement that favourable conditions prevail practically in all branches of industry. What are the

actual facts? It cannot be denied by these Pharisees that the cotton textile industry of Bombay, which is the staple industry of the Bombay Presidency, is going from bad to worse, and even an itinerant globe-trotter with Government goggles on, can see how the industry has been faring under "discriminating protection." The constant representations in the press and the interviews of Government members with representative commercial organisations should have shown anyone but a bat that all is not well in the country. Then there is the iron and steel industry, the woes and vicissitudes of which are writ so large that he who motors or aeroplanes can read them. The shipping industry, waiting to be inoculated by the Haji serum is in no better condition. Look at the insurance premia, nearly ninety per cent of which go out of the country. This being so, I wonder that a man occupying the responsible position of the Trade Commissioner of the United States of America should have the temerity to make reckless and unfounded statements contrary to all facts regarding the so-called prosperous condition of Indian industries.

No country in the world considers its prosperity in terms of increasing imports at the expense of its exports. And yet politico-economists whose own country is protectionist with a vengeance add insult to injury by congratulating India on her increased imports. They have nothing to say about the disaster which has followed in the wake of the artificially increased ratio. Surely the Trade Commissioner of an important foreign country like the United States cannot be supposed to have stopped in the country keeping his eyes hermetically closed to the effects of the increased ratio which are seen in strikes from one end of the country to the other, unemployment, depression and weak

response to Government loans. India's credit—I mean internal credit—is so great (!) that the Government of India had to offer handsome terms for the last two years for their loan requirements, and despite this, cash subscriptions of a little over 12 crores were obtained this year, where 18 crores were called for. As to her external credit, the Secretary of State for India had to offer better terms than what are obtained by some of the British municipalities and petty colonial and foreign governments.

I do not say—and do not wish to be understood to say that the British rule in this land has been entirely bereft of any benefits. But I join issue when it is claimed that British rule has proved a supreme blessing for this country and has made India prosperous. While recognising what Britain has done for us, we would be failing in our duty if we were not to point out the serious defects of British administration and all the sins of commission and omission for which it is manifestly responsible. Blue books, reports of Commissions and Boards of Tariff Enquiry are generally dull reading. But those on India are interesting exhibits as they form record of one of the greatest tragedies of foreign rule. In them Britain has written down her own indictment against herself and has given to the world the history of her exploits, and explanations.

We welcome the desire of Mr. Snowden—the new Chancellor of the Exchequer—to increase the purchasing power of the Indian ryot. Let him, when he is well-settled in the saddle, acquaint himself with the affairs of this country and realise how the Government of India has so formulated its financial and economic policy that the purchasing power of the country has shown signs of increasing decrease. In this connection I may refer to the speech of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola at the Madras Session of the

Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in 1927, wherein he said that it was a short-sighted and narrow economic vision which made Britain indifferent to the economic interests of this country, and pointed out that a really prosperous India would be Britain's best asset. A rich and satisfied customer is the best asset of the seller. From this point of view, not dissimilar to that of a landlord to his tenants, the long-sighted interest of Britain should be to see that her customer is rich and prosperous and not poor and famishing. But Britain

economically thinks of India in terms of an outlet and opening for unemployment at home. This argument—*argument ad interestum* if one may so call it—also presupposes rich and prosperous, and not poor and famished India. This as nothing else can should plead with Britain the cause and prosperity of India. To-day Britain and India stand on the crossways halting half-way between the past and the future, and let us hope they will take the road that leads to brotherhood of men and nations.

SINS OF 'COMMISSION'

By MR. J. COOPER, A.L.B.

THE word 'Commission' has a mixed taste to Indian palates just now, particularly when coupled with the good old English name of Simon. That particular Commission, however, is too recent an event to be viewed with the impartial eye of the historian, while having too little of freshness to possess any 'news' quality. This, then, may be accepted as the writer's explanation and excuse for not referring to it in the following pages. Any implication that may therefore be suspected or suggested is obviously either incidental or imaginary.

The history of British Colonial enterprise has contained the alleged *raison d'être* of many Commissions. Their lengthy and expensive procedure has been followed in every case by equally lengthy and possibly as expensive publication of the minutes of evidence, the report of the commission, and the minority report,—when any. The bibliography of British Colonial Policy would be singularly incomplete unless these ponderous tomes were included, and yet it is to be feared that, except while the heat of the momentary

conflict of economic interests makes them of topical popular concern, they are apt to disappear from the narrow limits of the limelight—shed by the joint enterprise of the advertisement manager and the politician turned critic. The Stevenson Committee is the most recent of these contraptions of officialdom affecting Eastern economic conditions, and after a space of four short years its practical influence is terminated. What lasting influence its conclusions will have on the basic theories of tropical agricultural development, it is too soon to judge. The War-time Committee on Edible and Oil-producing nuts and seeds was its immediate predecessor in this field. That, again, has not produced the startling effects that might be expected from so great an expenditure of time and printing ink. The present condition of the plantation of oil-palm in the Dutch East Indies is apt to raise doubts as to the validity of certain *ex cathedra* statements that were made before that committee, both by trading experts and Government officials, while the recent trend of British colonial economic policy on the West Coast of Africa would lend weight to the theory that Bernard Shaw's *dictum* that "the

minority is always right" is not invariably merely Shavian. The minority of one on the Committee on Edible and Oil-producing nuts and seeds [What a lot he must have cost the British tax-payer in compositor's time and ink and paper!] has apparently been silently vindicated, although no public recantation of the doctrine enunciated by the majority has been given equal—or even, any—publicity.

These conclusions, however, are admittedly conjectural. In both cases the Commissions and the conditions they dealt with are too near to the observer for adequate perspective to be obtainable. An earlier one, of similar scope and similar constitution is available, though, in bulky quarto form, and with that pristine freshness of print and paper [in my copy, anyhow] that belies its age but proclaims its unpopularity as reading matter. It is to this relic of official conscience-quietening of the past that my reader's attention is drawn, and in its stately pages we may trace the ghostly stalkings of an ancestor of the commercial autocrat, the 'take all and pay nowt' stay-at-home Imperialist investor who has been responsible for the formation of all of these Commissions.

But, enough of this preamble. Enter, then, the "First Report from the Select Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting, together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 24th February, 1848." The general condition of British public opinion on matters Colonial it is somewhat difficult to gauge just at that period. In fact, it is doubtful if the use of the expression "public opinion" has any rightful excuse. Colonial policy was still a more or less private family affair, just bursting forth intermittently into periods of unwelcome publicity such as followed the trial of Warren Hastings or the War of Independence. Some standard of comparison can be arrived at, though, if we note the curious coincidence that seven years after the publication of the Committee's report there appeared Charles Kingsley's "Westward Ho!"—or to give it its less known but more descriptive title, "The Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight, of Burrough, in the County of Devon, in the reign of Her

Most Glorious Majesty Queen Elizabeth." *Rendered into Modern English by Charles Kingsley.* Cambridge, Macmillan and Co., 1855.

The outstanding feature both of the book and of the contemporary criticisms is the underlying sentimentalising about what can only be described, from the advantageous position the perspective of the present day gives us, as a more or less honestly conducted programme of Imperial expansion primarily based on economic necessities. To substantiate our statement it is only necessary to quote one or two excerpts from the 'Times' review of the work:

"Men who knew little even of their own country had beheld the wonders of a 'Torrid Zone' and the expanse of a world compared with which England itself was but a speck; . . . they were lifted out of the sphere of their natural capacity."

And—

"Thus the English adventurer of the reign of Elizabeth went forth from her Council-board with a complicated mission. . . . He chased galleons, or caught negroes or was ready, like old Drake, to sell his prisoners to the 'Mowers' with little remorse. But he prayed with fervour as he went filibustering."

Again (without a smile!)—

It has evidently been the aim of its author to depict the force of English character when nobly roused for national objects, and he has judged rightly to illustrate by real examples, of which he has shown a hearty appreciation."

Indeed, it is doubtful if the reviewer discovered or the author intended any satirical force to be attached to his broad statement that—"Those were days in which Her Majesty's service was also as little overridden by absurd rules of seniority as by that etiquette which is at once the counterfeit and the ruin of true discipline. Under Elizabeth and her ministers a brave and a shrewd man was certain of promotion, let his rank or his age be what they might."

When it is realised that the sentimental person, even when sincere, is apt to be ineffective—and both critic and writer (and we may reasonably presume the large public following of the pair of them) are certainly sentimental and possibly sincere; and when it is granted that efficiency

given common honesty and a sufficiency of publicity to ensure the continuity of that honesty both in policy and *personnel*, is the main requirement of any modern administration; it becomes increasingly difficult to believe that within these quarto volumes of Parliamentary Reports we are going to find the solution of the economic problems of present-day international and inter-racial relationships within the Empire. The inference is, of necessity, more or less tentative, but there is a considerable amount of collateral evidence to substantiate it.

Without wishing to unduly stress the point, it is worth while referring again to the fact that the findings of the two other Committees mentioned were discredited in a very short space of time by the natural trend of economic events. That unmannerly habit history has of repeating itself makes the quarto pages of 1848 rather interesting reading. Here is the evidence of *Leonard Wray, Esq.*, on the 14th February of that year,—

"564. Do you know whether a Dutch ship from Java does bring sugar cheaper than a British ship?—I know that, because it is often the topic of conversation in Singapore, where a great many Dutch ships trade. The Straits' merchants have a great deal to do with Batavia, and I have often heard a discussion on the subject at merchants' tables."

"565. Do you know at how much cheaper a rate sugar would be brought home in Dutch ships than in English ships?—I do not, I spoke of foreign ships generally; I have seen extremely fine American ships come out of the Straits, as fine ships as a man needs to see, and those ships sail cheaper than English ships."

Before the Committee on Edible and Oil-producing nuts and seeds there was much abortive discussion of the rebate system of freights from the West Coast of Africa, and arrangements entered into and evaded by the competing British and German companies were given equally lengthy and similarly fruitless publicity.

The records of 'secret' history—particularly of 'secret' commercial history are

all though copious not easily accessible. By reading between the lines, however, it is possible to arrive at a fairly accurate picture of the real state of affairs. It is probable [although, admittedly, not absolutely certain] that the original precursor of the China Sea Pool did not ante-date this conversation. But it is certain that such a pool was operative prior to the opening of the Suez Canal.

In view of the admitted aims and objects of the Commission, it would be surprising, if we did not from bitter experience realise the hardened traditions to the contrary, to find so little appreciation of the possibilities of future developments.

As the project of the Suez Canal had already been mooted—although the preliminary surveys at that date were admittedly inadequate and largely conjectural,—it is amazing to find such an exchange of question and answer [the former emanating from no less a person than the noble chairman] as the following—

"577. If the repeal of the Navigation Laws did cheapen freight, you probably think it would reduce the freight on sugar from the Province Wellesley to twice the extent that it would reduce the freight from the West India Islands, and would thus give an advantage to the East over the West?—I should suppose that it would reduce it in the same ratio, but it is only under certain circumstances.

"578. If the repeal of the Navigation Laws benefited the West Indies 1—a hundred weight, it would benefit you 2—a hundred weight?—I do not doubt but that it would benefit the Strait's planter in the same ratio it did the West Indian.

"579. What is the sailing distance from the Straits of Malacca to England?—I believe it is roughly calculated at from 12,000 to 15,000 miles."

Incidentally, on August 6th of this same year (1848), H.M.S. "*Doedalus*" officially reported having sighted a sea-serpent off St. Helena! There is no suggestion, however, that this extra risk affected the rates of freight and insurance from the East Indies *via* the Cape.

* FIRST REPORT.—The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present condition and prospects connected with and dependent on Sugar and Coffee Planting in Her Majesty's East and West Indian Possessions and the Mauritius, and to consider whether any and what Measures can be adopted by Parliament for their Relief, and who were empowered to report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.

Illuminating passages such as these appear at rare intervals among the 8909 questions and answers which form the bulk of this evidence. Beyond this there is simply a re-statement of accepted facts, or a retrospective sigh over the disappearance of the 'good old days' of slavery. These are so numerous that only one or two can be quoted here.¹

"1683. Can you give any hope to the West Indians of any great emigration from the heart of Africa?—I think it is hopeless, unless we carry on the slave trade; if we abolished the slave trade the slave population of Cuba and Brazil will be soon governed by the number of women comprised in their present Negro population, while our colonies will be prepared to go on with a natural increase of population, and be every year better off than they were before.

1684. You think that is the only hope, for the West Indians?—The only hope, in my opinion, is the restoration of the differential duties until the abolition of the slave trade is effected; then, I believe, the consequence of the abolition of the slave trade will be that those West India Islands will be in a greater state of prosperity, comparatively with other sugar-growing places, than they ever were.

1685. Do you think any amount of emigrants would come from the East Coast of Africa?—No."

Next we have a sample from an enlightened planter, Mr. E. Chapman, of Mauritius. [The italics are ours.]

"3558. This police is pretty nearly as inefficient as any police can be, is not it?—It is inefficient, not only from the materials of which it is composed, but the legal power does not exist of interfering with the labouring classes, unless it be for felonies, larcenies, etc.

3560. The power of squatting is one of the reasons that renders your labour inefficient, is not it?—We owe that exclusively to the Government, and they have done it with their eyes open; they have seen those people squatting there, paying no tax and no rent, a man who can live upon a bag of rice during a month, earned by lurking about the streets seeking casual jobs, will not work.

3562. Therefore it rests entirely with the Colonial office to reform all those bad laws which you speak of?—*We must have stringent measures, with a view to enable us to continue to produce sugar.*

The alternative of Chinese labour [who does not recollect with glee the posters of the 1906 election?] crops up some sixty years too soon.²

"603. Mr. Wilson you told the committee, that as soon as it was known in the Straits that a new estate was to be cultivated, the "owner of that estate had applications made to him immediately, in great numbers, by the labourers, or those who employ labourers, for the purpose of entering into contracts with him?—That is the case.

604. You have always a large supply of Chinamen as labourers in that country?—A very large supply.

607. Therefore all the advantages that are derived by cheap labour in the Straits Settlements, in consequence of the large number of labourers, would be lost in Demerara in consequence of the small number?—*Not so; the present difficulties which stand in the way of cultivation would be lessened by every Cargo of Chinamen that came there.*

Imperial Trade credits also make their bow to an unappreciative public eighty years, before their time. This from the vote of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, 19th October, 1847.

"... The wealthiest, the most powerful, and the proudest governments in the world, have not been ashamed to borrow. *Is there any reason why they should be ashamed to lend?* And to lend for the purpose of revenue? In well-regulated governments the state can obtain money at a lower rate of interest than any private individual or association, because the security for repayment is better; *it can also afford to lend at what, to any other, would be greater risks, because it has greater power and more effectual means of assuring itself of payment.*"

And this from the evidence of H. Hunter, Esq., 21st February, 1848.

"2599. Has not there been in the Mauritius a general system of borrowing money upon the crops; have not the great

¹ Hon. Captain Denman, R. N.

² In the Evidence of Leonard Wray, Esq.

houses that have failed lent large sums of money upon the crops?—Not on the crops so much as upon the working of the estate altogether.

2600. In many cases they have advanced the whole capital of the estate, have not they?—Yes; many estates have been taken over by those houses.

2602. Does not that system encourage people to go into that sort of business of growing sugar who would not otherwise do so?—I think not."

Oh, Mr. Hunter!

As was but to be expected in this nine thousand long procession of question and answer there is a lot of irrelevant talk, but every now and again the truth crops up; the real trouble is that they want the slaves back.

Hear *Mr. J. Blyth*—23rd February, 1848.

"3201. You stated that you considered that what had ruined the Mauritius, was the introduction of foreign slave-labour sugar ?

. . . . I ask for protection against free-labour sugar till we have the means of obtaining free-labour at the same cost as other free-labour sugar manufacturers.

3202. You desire protection against all foreign sugar. . . . ?

The cheapest class of labour is that which is extorted from slaves, when it is required, and as much of it as seems to be consistent with the interests of the slave-owner."

Next *S. B. Moody, Esq.*, on 2nd March, 1848.

"5470. Do you know how many hogs-heads of sugar they reckon to each slave in Louisiana?—About 2,000 lbs. weight of sugar they reckon to an acre in Louisiana, and about 4,000 lbs. to a slave; that is, from planted canes. In the West Indies we get about 4,000 lbs. from an acre, and about 2,500 lbs. from a labourer.

5471. The land in the West Indies produces a great deal more sugar, but the free-man produces less?—Yes."

Follows *J. Tollemache, Esq.*, M.P. on 9th March.

"8011. Do not you think that the reduction of wages would induce them also to be more continuous in their labour?—I believe it would; I believe, as far as the people are concerned, they would be socially

quite as well off as they are at present. You will see them with the most expensive sort of parasols, etc. I saw some labourers come to demand an increase of wages from Sir William Codrington, and one of them had a parasol with fringe round it, and an ivory handle. I mention this to show that *it would be no hardship to the blacks if they had a reduction of wages; I believe it would be better for them.*"

The logical conclusion therefore being, presumably, that it would be best for the 'blacks' if they had no wages at all. Incidentally, the question of the fringe seems to attack the principles underlying the inter-racial relationships—an *infringement* of prerogative, so to speak. Is there still a proprietary right attaching solely to the white race in things 'with knobs on'?

Space can only be spared for one more 'die-hard.' He is *T. Naghten, Esq.*, on 11th March, 1848.

"8863. What has ruined the cultivation of coffee and cotton?—The high price of labour has been one thing, and the low price obtainable for the produce here.

8864. Is it the competition of the United States of America that has destroyed the cultivation of cotton?—Entirely; the slave labour of America has thrown out the cotton.

It is difficult to understand why the free-labour of America did not throw it in again thirteen years later! When it comes to the question of a Legislative Council, it is almost impossible, however, to believe that this conversation took place eighty years ago.

"4319. Are you able to inform the Committee whether the planting and mercantile interests are fairly represented in the Legislative Council of the island [Mauritius]?—The members are elected by the Government, but I must say with great impartiality: they are selected from their talents, standing, and consideration in the colony.

4320. The result of your observation is, that the men most efficient for representing the interests of the colony have been always chosen?—To the best of my recollection they were. It has sometimes occurred that gentlemen have declined the offer of a seat in the Council.

4321: Has not the Council always been party to the various tax ordinances under which the revenues of the island have been raised?—Yes; since the establishment of the Council.

4322. Do you think that there is any reason to complain of undue government influence in the Council in biasing the votes?—*Not in the least; they are perfectly free; the government officers are just as free as the unofficial members. I remember one instance only of the governor having signified his desire to the official members that they should vote with him.*

This from the Auditor of the island!

The 'results' of the defunct Stevenson scheme are admirably summed up in the financial column of the London "Star."

The price of rubber has been depressed by the monetary developments in the United States, but the dullness is probably only temporary. Mr. Herbert Wright, the Chairman of the Eastern International Rubber and Produce Trust, takes an encouraging view of the outlook. He has stated that absorption in the United States and on the Continent has shown a remarkable increase. The surplus accumulated during restriction has disappeared. There is no immediate large increase of tappable areas in sight.

Growing demand for more roads means a demand for still more tyres. On the estate side Mr. Wright does not anticipate very large increases in crops during the next few years. The planting and manufacturing interests are together striving to turn out

larger quantities of improved finished goods at costs which should permit of a great extension in consumption. Grovers are improving their organisations in the hope that crops and prices may be maintained at reasonable levels.

On the date this appeared [12th August, 1929] the price of rubber was 10½d. per lb. Stocks were—

London 31,444 tons.

Liverpool 4,481 tons.

The method is lengthy, and the diction not of the form usually associated with funeral rites, but Mr. Wright evidently intended a courteous 'Resquiescat in Pacem!' We may as well leave it at that.

A paragraph in Dr. John G. Vance's Review of Mr. John D. Gregory's "On the Edge of Diplomacy" is worth repeating here.

"Cold wisdom, in passing, is his worst and deadliest of all human achievements, worse than vanity, worse even than folly. It is the wisdom after the event, which turns, perhaps, on a fact, unknown at the time, unsuspected, and perhaps, even undiscoverable. That is why this cold wisdom should be anathema in any civilized society. It is the appropriate wisdom of later historians, not of contemporaries."

This both justifies and explains the writer's disclaimer at the head of this short study. Without claiming the 'appropriate wisdom of later historians' he yet occupies, in regard to the incidents discussed in these pages, that worthy's favoured position. And the view obtained therefrom seems to be

¹ *English Review*, April, 1929.

² Hutchinson & Co., 21/-

³ A view confirmed by current editorial opinion entirely disconnected from tropical problems. This from the 'Southern Daily Echo' of 10th August, 1929.

The most obvious conclusion from the published list of ten of the twenty members who are to serve on the Royal Commission on Licensing is that no hopes or apprehensions of immediate legislation on this subject need be entertained. So far, we think it would be difficult to quarrel with the choice either of the Chairman of the Commission or the lines on which the members are being selected. It is estimated that at least three years will be necessary for the inquiry, which may include a trip to the United States of America to study prohibition in action. Probably this is an underestimate. Certainly, if a Commission, constituted as this one is, should arrive at a unanimous agreement, any Government might quite reasonably accept its findings. We shall be very surprised, however, if this happens. If the Secretary of the Temperance Council of the Churches and the President of the Brewers' Society can be got to agree about the facts, which is rather a large supposition, they will certainly differ on the conclusions to be drawn from them on the appropriate action to be taken. Meanwhile, if the Government is pressed, as it probably will be, by ardent teetotalers to do something to deal with the liquor problem, Ministers will be able to make the perfectly legitimate reply that they cannot anticipate the findings of the Royal Commission. By the time those findings are available—in 1932 at the earliest—nobody knows what Government will be in office. A Royal Commission remains the most effective of all methods of shelving inconvenient questions.

occupied largely by two outstanding features—the innate ingrained conservatism that prompts every Commission in turn to refuse absolutely to view the "prospects" that it is appointed to explore, and its cautious determination to 'commit' nothing at all—neither itself nor a *fourth part*. In fact, a voice from 1848, that of Mr. D. C. Guthrie (a name since closely connected with Eastern trade developments) in answer to the noble Chairman, sums up the whole position delightfully:

"Your Lordship may be aware that it is not customary on receiving deputations of parties for Her Majesty's Government to communicate anything; . . . to tell the truth I have never had any conclusive statement at any of those audiences; we have had a great deal of sympathy and a great deal of kind expression of feeling, but I am not able to acknowledge that we have had anything more."

Mr. Guthrie is still correct.

MANUFACTURING CANADIAN OPINION ABOUT INDIA

By MR. ARTHUR HAWKES

A PECULIAR disservice is being rendered the empire by the Canadian tour of Mr. B. C. Allen, retired civil servant and former member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. Mr. Allen is delivering speeches to patriotic organizations against the demand of our Indian fellow-British subjects for self-government as we have it in Canada. The reports of his addresses do not indicate that Mr. Allen has said a word in favor of even the future self-government of that country, which the King has endorsed. His evidence and arguments are clearly against any immediate extension of the degree of self-government which has been in operation for several years under Dyarchy. That dyarchy Mr. Allen calls an audacious experiment which shows where he stands. That dyarchy is the clumsiest device possible in the twentieth century, Mr. Allen himself makes clear to those who have followed Indian affairs.

Dyarchy is a system under which there are, in the Indian provinces, transferred and reserved affairs. The Indian ministers are concerned only with transferred affairs; but they are denied the sort of

responsibility which our own provincial ministers exercise. The executive councillors deal with reserved affairs and completely control all finance—so that nothing is really transferred. This, Mr. Allen calls an audacious experiment in self-government! The truth is that Mr. Allen is talking about India exactly as bureaucrats talked about Canada when responsible government was regarded by British statesmen as a menace to the peace and order of the realm.

A brief example of a few of Mr. Allen's bogies makes this clear. India (according to him) is not entitled to self-government because her people are illiterate. If they had home rule the wild tribes of the mountains would swoop down upon the half-continent and ruin it. The Mohammedans and Hindus would convert their country into a Donnybrook. And the peasantry don't want political capacity—they are well satisfied, and prefer foreign rule. Really, it would seem that Mr. Allen supposes that nobody ever heard of India until he was sent to enlighten us, so that Canada might be cited as against any larger extension of self-government than might

be recommended by the Simon Commission.

Who would suppose, from anything Mr. Allen tells us, that during the Great War, over 1,330,000 Indian soldiers fought valiantly in three continents at a cost to India of over \$770,000,000? What bunkum to pretend that after a hundred and seventy years of British rule in India, with such an army in existence, the country would be at the mercy of Afridis and Afghans if India were governed by what Mr. Allen calls "the well-educated Occidentalized section of people," including: "(1) great poets, (2) profound philosophers, (3) eminent judges, (4) noted literary men, and (5) wealthy merchants"—of which five classes a word presently.

There are sixty million Mohammedans in India, and two hundred and forty million Hindus. The two classes, it is said, would run into civil war if we did not keep them from each other's throats. There has been much co-operation between these Asiatic counterparts of Orangemen and Quebecois. The exclusion of all Indians from the Simon Commission was opposed by moderate, as well as extreme, leaders of both sections. The bureaucracy which Mr. Allen so well represents would prefer to keep Moslems and Hindus disunited. Lest this seem too strong a statement, here are a few quotations from some of our countrymen: Col. Coke, Commandant at Moradabad: "Our endeavors should be to uphold the separation which exists between the different religions and races." Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, wrote officially, after the Mutiny: "Divide and conquer was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours." Sir John Strachey, an eminent British Indian Civilian and writer: "The existence side by side of hostile creeds among the Indian people is one of the strong points in our political position in India." Lastly

Lord Olivier, late Secretary of State for India, wrote: "No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in favor of the Muslim community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but more largely as a makeweight against Indian nationalism."

The peasantry don't want political power, and, therefore, the educated classes should be denied further increases of it. This is the apotheosis of illiteracy if you like. Who but Mr. Allen would argue that the learned must be denied the rights of citizenship because the ignorant don't want them? When it was proposed to confer the franchise on the agricultural workers of the British Isles the audacious innovation was denounced by the Allens of that time. Lord Salisbury said the laborer did not want a vote (he was like the Indian peasant, evidently)—he would prefer a circus. There is no room to explore this question of illiteracy which is more comprehensively dealt with by Lajpat Rai in his book *Unhappy India*—a reply to Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. There is the broader question as to why the eleven millions of Indians now in school and the two and a half millions of well-educated men, who produced great poets, profound philosophers, eminent judges, noted literary men and wealthy merchants (who are incapable of doing for India the sort of work Mr. Allen did before he retired on pension) why are these millions unfit for self-government?

When the East India Company began to rule India, about the time Quebec was taken, the British people were on the whole illiterate. Before 1870 there was no attempt to have a national system of education. There is in Toronto a captain who was young enough to go through the Great War and who testifies that when he took the Queen's five skilings he was the only man in his platoon

who could read and write. Does anybody say that Britain was not fit for self-government because the mass of her people were illiterate at the time Canada and India were taken and Napoleon was destroyed by unlettered British soldiers? Ah! It will be said, look at the educated classes in Britain then! Is it not clear that this highly imperial matter, on which it is sought to pre-empt Canadian opinion hostile to Indian aspirations, narrows down to a comparison upon this very aspect of a perilous situation:

The proportion of college men among two and a half millions of educated Indians—the poets, philosophers, judges, merchants of Mr. Allen's give-away—is surely as high as the proportion of college men in Toronto. Suppose these men constituted a province by themselves—and they together are more numerous (leaving out their women and children) than the population of our four western provinces—would they be entitled to as great self-government as our excellent Prince Edward Islanders, who a few years ago would allow autos to run on the king's highway only on two or three days a week? If not, why not? Why are these millions of educated men not as able to lead their countrymen as a few thousand Englishmen who regard themselves as exiles in the land they rule.

Pending an answer to these questions, it is pertinent to point out that Mr. Allen is one of the many thousands of civil servants who have been enriched by India, and who draw pensions from the peasants, poets and philosophers, who are unfit to govern themselves, the pensions being part of the tribute estimated by the financial authority, A. J. Wilson,

at \$150,000,000 a year, thirty years ago.

There is open lamentation in India that the audacious experiment disliked by what Lord Olivier calls British officialdom, has already meant fewer lucrative opportunities for the families which have been in Indian Office for several generations. No man in a British parliament can vote on a contract in which he is interested. Profiteers by Indian subjection are sent here to manufacture our opinion. But what of the solemn British trusteeship, of which we hear so much? There are many good features in what we have done in India. But our own praise of our own trusteeship is overdone. I leave it with a quotation from Sir William Joynson-Hicks, His Majesty's present Secretary of State, which incidentally ridicules Mr. Allen's contention that India is not held by the sword: "We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. This is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword—and by the sword we shall hold it. I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for the Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

Is it not about time that Canada was abandoned by the super-imperialists as the ideal preaching ground for the doctrine that great poets, profound philosophers, eminent judges, notable literary men and wealthy merchants are unfit to govern their own country.

AGRICULTURAL TOUR IN INDIA*

By PROF. N. GANGULEE, C.I.E.

OUR first meeting was held in the Legislative Assembly Chambers this morning at 10.30 a.m. The proceeding was formally opened by reading the Royal Warrant. Then we listened to a short address from the Chairman. It contained a very appropriate quotation from the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy delivered in June at the Conference of Ministers—"Indian agriculture is the foundation upon which the whole economic prosperity of India rests and upon which the structure of her social and political future must in the main be built."

And the Chairman himself ended by saying "that our duty is to advance the prosperity and the well-being of the cultivators of India, one of the most important, and potentially powerful agricultural communities of the world."

No, the note of pessimism that has found expression in the various comments from our press and platform, since the announcement of the appointment of the Commission, cannot be helpful. The question of the improvement of the conditions of existence of the agricultural classes has in recent years aroused public attention in almost every civilized country. But the solution is still to seek.

In course of our enquiry we shall collect information and opinions which will enable the Government and the educated public to seek the solution of the problems of rural India in a concerted manner. If our enquiry succeeds in bringing into focus all the varieties

of factors which require to be considered in a campaign for rural betterment, we shall do well.

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATION CONFERENCE.

(October 23, 1926.)

Our visit to Poona synchronised with the two important agricultural functions of the Bombay Presidency. One was the Agricultural Show and the other, the Provincial Co-operative Conference. I was pleased with the prospect of getting an insight into the work of rural reconstruction in the Presidency. While the Agricultural Show would bring into focus the progress made in agriculture and in matters affecting rural prosperity, the co-operative conference would indicate the extent to which the movement has succeeded in attaining the triple object of a "better-farming, better-business, and better-living."

The 15th Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference met in the hall of the Fergusson College and was largely attended by delegates from almost each district of the Presidency. The impressiveness of the gathering was, I thought, enhanced by inviting an administrator of an Indian State, Sir Manubhai Melita, the Dewan of the Baroda State, to preside over the deliberations of the Conference. That there can exist no line of demarcation between British India, and the Indian States in regard to the matter of rural development

* Being an account of the places visited by the writer as a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. The Commission commenced its labours on October 11, 1926—Ed. H.R.

is obvious. In every movement which is directed to solve the economic and social problems of India, both British India and the Indian States should co-operate to their mutual advantage, and I am confident that the co-operative movement is one of the most fruitful efforts by which Indian States can be brought into closer contact with the measures designed for the uplift of the Indian masses. His Excellency, Sir Leslie Wilson opened the Conference and the presence of a number of officials indicated that the movement had also brought together the officials and non-officials on a common platform.

But, the sight which strikes a visitor is the assembly of co-operators from different parts of the Presidency. The spirit of association for mutual benefit is inherent in human nature, and it is on that spirit the co-operative movement relies for its vitality; judging from the statistical records, the progress of the movement in the Presidency has been very rapid. The number of societies in 1910-11 was 256 with a membership of about 20,000; and in the 1926-27 there were over 5,000 societies with a membership of nearly five lakhs. The working capital has also increased during these years from Rs. 14 lakhs to 104 crores. But these figures, however gratifying they may be, do not reveal the precise character of the movement in the rural economy of the country. The movement is still largely nursed by official agencies. In many instances the co-operative societies are understood to be used mainly as a source of facile credit. The wider awakening which this movement should inspire is yet to come but it is true that the ground is being prepared for achieving real progress.

Sir Manubhai's presidential speech was really illuminating. He dwelt exhaustively upon the true meaning of

co-operation: "Co-operation" he said, "is the new religion of thrift, self-help, self-sacrifice and social service. In these days of ultra-individualism and capitalism, it is the only safe anchor-sheet for the barge of society." His remarks reminded me of what the famous French writer Roma in Rolland, wrote in "John Christopher":—"Co-operation strikes at the same time at the dead abstractions of the socialistic state and at the sterility of individualism,—that corrosion of energy, that dispersion of collective forces in individual frailties."

Unfortunately I could not be present at the conference throughout the presidential speech; but I am tempted to make a brief reference to some of the principal points emphasised by Sir Manubhai. In the first place the urgent need for long-term credit either for liquidation of past debts or for permanent Agricultural improvements was emphatically put forward. It was interesting to know from his speech that the subject of Land Mortgage Banks had received the attention of the Baroda Government. The Report of the Committee appointed by His Highness recommended the establishment of a Land Mortgage Bank on co-operative lines, i.e., the loans would be given only to members holding shares of the bank. The issue of debentures with a limited Government guarantee for the repayment both of principal and interest is contemplated and a portion of the share capital should be contributed by the State. Although the guidance and supervision of the State officials would be required in the beginning, the ultimate aim should be to invest the responsibilities of the management of the bank with the borrowers themselves.

While advocating the establishment of Land Mortgage Banks, Sir Manubhai pointed out the difficulties that had to

be surmounted before they fulfilled the purposes of giving out long-term loans. One of the great obstacles is excessive subdivision of holdings. In Baroda, we are told, permissive legislation has been adopted under which the work of consolidation can be undertaken if two-thirds of the population of a village agree to check the evils of excessive subdivision of land.

The scope and limitations of co-operative marketing, the serious waste and disadvantages arising out of fragmentation of holdings, the need of rural industries specially in precarious tracts, and the question of arresting the increasing tendency of litigation were discussed at length in the presidential speech. It is significant that the need of an all-round rural reconstruction policy is realised and that the organisers of the co-operative movement are not contented with mere expansion of credit societies. The frame-work of the movement consists of the provincial co-operative bank, the district bank and their branches and the unions and societies. The next step is to build up the organisation bearing in mind the inseparable inter-relations that exist between the social and economic activities of rural life; and this task has to be the main objective of the Co-operative Institutes.

In many ways such institutes can render most valuable services to the co-operative movement; and in the Presidency of Bombay the Provincial Co-operative Institute, a creation of late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, has given a powerful impetus to the work of educating the rural population in the principles of co-operation.

The objects of the institute are as follows:

(i) To strengthen and improve co-operative societies by supervision, and above all, to create a community of interest among the primary societies.

(ii) To organise an effective educational campaign throughout the province.

The Institute organises every year a Provincial Co-operative Conference; and its Divisional and District branches organise Divisional and District Conferences in their respective areas. Recently attempts are being made to hold such meetings in smaller areas than a district.

The Central Education Board has undertaken to systematise co-operative education. It also organises training classes for secretaries, supervisors, and others engaged in the field of co-operative activity.

At its central office in Bombay, the Institute has a good library and reading room, which is open to all the members. There is also an Information Bureau which has rendered a useful service through its legal committee by way of giving legal opinion to all Co-operators free of charge. The Institute receives a liberal grant from the Government, but the average income from its members exceeds Rs. 25,000 per year.

It was my privilege to come in contact with some of the actual workers of the Institute. The movement in Bombay has undoubtedly caught the imagination of a number of non-official workers; but the ultimate success rests with the education of the members of the primary societies. For that, the movement requires a most careful guidance and persistent propaganda in the rural areas. Out of this movement alone, living and progressive organisations may spring with the promise of a solution of some of the most complex problems of rural reconstruction.

(i) To promote the study of problems relating to co-operation.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY AGRICULTURAL SHOW.

(Poona, October 24, 1926.)

The Presidency Agricultural Show was held in the compound of the College of Agriculture, Poona. Even a cursory view of the 'lay-out' of this show ought to convince one of the truth of the dictum—"where agriculture leads, all other arts follow." But I did not satisfy myself with a superficial view; I passed through the gates four times.

Those visitors who had the time to stop at each of the 14 courts in which the show was divided could not be led to go away with a comprehensive idea of what agriculture really meant, and what were the problems of rural reconstruction in the Presidency which has a population of over 26 millions within an area somewhat bigger than Great Britain and Ireland combined.

The promoters of this the largest Show ever held in India have certainly earned the gratitude not only of thousands who passed within its gates, but also of those in other parts of India who welcome every stimulus to Indian Agriculture. "The aim and purpose of the Show," write the promoters, "is to be an inspiration to agriculturists." Stand by the crowds of Deccan cultivators who assembled in the Courts where improved varieties of crops and suitable manures are being explained and where breeds of cattle are exhibited, you will realise what part an Agricultural Show plays in the education of Indian peasantry. Follow a group of Deccan cultivators, as they walk in and out from various courts, you will know that they are not slow in grasping the value of any practical suggestions for the development of their art. Where the expression on their face revealed their inability to understand certain

things, I wished I could speak their language; but in that half an hour I spent in the Livestock Court I realised how much they *did* understand.

Yes, the Livestock Court was really the centre of attraction, and it must be so in the land of "Three acres and a cow." The cultivator's first concern is to possess a good pair of draught cattle. Generally speaking, the cattle of the Presidency are of mixed breed and poor milkers but there are as many as eight distinctive types in different regions throughout the presidency.

The Kankrej breed comes from Gujarat. For tillage operations, these cattle are much favoured by cultivators, but the best cows of the breed are known to give 3,500 lbs. of milk per lactation of 300 days.

Probably the most remarkable milch cattle in India are the Sindhi breed. Owing to the geographical position of the tract to which this breed is indigenous, the purity of the breed has been maintained. It is surprising how the hinterland of Karachi, that barren tract with the average rainfall of about 8 inches—could be the home of this magnificent breed. On the Willingdon Farm, near Karachi, a Sindhi cow gave 10,380 lbs. of milk in a lactation period which extended to 399 days.

The well-known Amrit Mahal breed, though indigenous to Mysore, is considered to be the best cattle of the south of the Presidency. These cattle are really "the fiery cattle possessing excellent feet" and play a very important part in rural transport. Each of these important breeds has received attention from the Government of Bombay. The breeding farms were established for the Kankrej breed at Chharodi and Surat, for Sindhi at Karachi, and for Amrit Mahal at Bankapur.

Another section that attracted my attention was the Land Development

by imposing a voluntary levy of one anna on the rupee of the land assessment. Useful works undertaken by this association include (1) the cleaning of grass-bound land by lending iron ploughs at a concession rate; about 1,000 acres of land are improved annually, (2) about 11,000 acres have been improved by embankments financed from loans advanced at a cheap rate of interest, (3) the introduction of N. R. Cotton seed on a very large scale, (4) steeping jowar seed in copper sulphate in 90 villages in 1925 when 4,700 packets were sold at concession rates and used, (5) since 1921 implement demonstrations have been held in every village at the rate of about 40 villages per annum."

Good work indeed; along with the development of Agriculture, one wishes to see other Associations making an advance in other directions. Rural education and rural health must be included in a scheme for rural reconstruction. Obviously, a *taluka* is rather a large area for comprehensive and concerted efforts but the experience thus gained may help to discover a unit of organisation suitable to its being developed as a basic structure for Self-Government. The pioneers of the Taluka Development Association deserve to be congratulated upon what has already been achieved.

The organisers of the show had made an extensive arrangement for entertaining the visitors to the Exhibition. In the afternoons the band played tunes unfamiliar to most of the rural folks but the display of military sports arranged by the Southern Army was attractive to them.

During my subsequent visits, I spent a considerable time in the subsidiary occupation and weaving courts. The articles exhibited as being the products of some of the village industries of the

Presidency were numerous; but while the necessity of industries in rural areas is beginning to be realised, a great deal of confusion of thought arises from not distinguishing spare-time occupations from whole-time industries. There are certain items which may be commonly regarded as being profitable employment of the cultivators' time during the slack season. I was pleased to see the All-India Khadi Stores under that indefatigable worker, Mr. Maghanbhai of the Sabarmati Asram. Khadi has a future. Its use will certainly spread if the industry is properly guided. But this cotton garment should be entirely dissociated from political propaganda, and should never be allowed to receive any political colouring. The enthusiasts having failed to establish the industry as an economic proposition, solicit a government subsidy. I was told that the Government should organise the production and distribution of Khaddar. Whether such a proposal is at all beneficial to the country I leave the economists to judge. Whatever may be the future of hand-spinning, hand-loom weaving is not a declining craft. There are altogether about 800,000 people in the Bombay Presidency who depend wholly or largely on hand-loom weaving for their means of subsistence. The work done by government in assisting the hand-weaver to raise the standard of cloth and increase its output by the use of improved appliances and methods is demonstrated at the hand-weaving court organised by the Department of Industries, Bombay. The Department spends about Rs. 40,000 per year for effecting improvement of this industry.

Entering the rural education court, one finds a typical new primary school in full session. It represents the type what is now known as "Agricultural Bias School" the object being to

impart pre-vocational training, to cultivators' sons. A small plot of land and a workshop are attached to each of these schools. The authorities are very keen on the success of these primary schools of which there are 43 already in the Presidency. The main difficulty, I was told, of further extension of such schools was lack of properly trained teachers. Those who know the rural areas of the Presidency hold that potential reaction of these schools upon the general outlook of the peasantry is bound to make itself felt provided the underlying principles of the agricultural bias type are strictly adhered to. If adult cultivators appreciate the value of these schools, there should be no difficulty in carrying on an intensive campaign for the removal of illiteracy from our country side.

About ten acres of land belonging to the Agricultural College Farm have been allotted to the purpose of demonstrating various improved methods; the Department of Agriculture can now confidently recommend to the cultivators of the Presidency. The improved varieties of cotton and rice have a special attraction to them and in recent years the growing demand for seed of these varieties involves a heavy responsibility on the administration of the Department of Agriculture. Besides several trade varieties of cotton such as Broach, Dholleras, Kumpta, and Khandeshi, a number of strains evolved by the department was exhibited. I was particularly interested in the result obtained by crossing American Upland Cotton with Sea-Island Cotton. The cross has reached the fourth generation but it is not as yet fixed.

As regards rice, two types Kolambo No. 42 and No. 79 are in demand. The former gives about 20% increase in yield, but certain new strains isolated in Upper Sind are known to produce

30% more than the local types of rice. But the premier cereal crop of the Presidency is Jowar and I must confess, I was not satisfied with the meagre attention it received from the agricultural investigators. The Trustees of the Sir David Sassoon's Trust Fund have, I understand, subsidised certain investigations of poor man's crops such as Jowar and Bajri.

That section of the show where the various kinds of fertilisers were exhibited is a clear indication of the growing popularity of their use. Canal irrigation made it possible to grow sugarcane, and the cultivation of sugarcane whose chief requirement is nitrogen encourages the growers to use cake manures or sulphate of ammonia. The dealers informed me that the demand for nitrogen fertilizers had been steadily increasing in the sugarcane tract. A word about the co-operation court. It was decorated with innumerable charts, pictures and models to show the progress of the co-operative movement in the presidency. I was particularly interested in the models of fragmentation and consolidation of holdings, designed to show the disadvantages of one and the advantages of the other. My guide informed me that the evil was serious in some parts of the presidency but when I asked him what remedies would he suggest, he said that he was a great believer in the said co-operative method adopted in the Punjab.

After lingering some time in the agricultural machinery and implement court, I left the show ground with a feeling of gratitude to the promoters of this excellent form of propaganda. It is an example which may well be followed by other provinces. The government grant of Rs. 60,000 was supplemented by generous public subscription. I understand that it is contemplated to

have a permanent Presidency Show Fund for offering subsidies to agricultural shows which are sure to follow

from the impetus by this largest show ever held in India.

INDIAN VILLAGE PROBLEMS AND AGRICULTURISTS

By MR. C. V. HANUMANTHA, M.A.

THE problem of the Indian villages is a highly intricate and complex one; it needs sympathetic understanding, patient and painstaking investigation and careful and cautious handling. It is in fact not one problem but a network of problems, which ramify into one another and render it impossible of solution unless every one of the various branches of it is tackled simultaneously. In doing so, the reformer will pit himself against a range of impregnated rocks which obstruct the path and through which he has to discover a way by patient exhausting exploration. Not the least of such obstructions is the condition of the villagers themselves, who have not the requisite comprehension of mind to realise their own drawbacks and to decipher what is and what is not for their own good but are content to live a life of ostrich-like ignorance of what is being done or what is going on in other countries and use that knowledge for their own benefit. In these circumstances, it requires the whole machinery of Government and the entire strength of the public organizations to get to the bottom of the whole affair and to restore the villages to the high level of excellence which they enjoyed in times past. It is of no advantage to indulge in glib talk or in light talk about village reconstruction; it is necessary that the difficulties of the problem are recognised, that a united and com-

prehensive effort is undertaken in a co-ordinative spirit, and that all-round amelioration is brought about.

* * *

"Deplorable" will be the verdict of any one who has taken upon himself the work of investigating into the economic position of the agriculturists in our land, and the conditions in one part of the country are not very different from the conditions obtaining in other parts with perhaps very minor variations. In this article an attempt will be made to depict conditions obtaining in the temporarily settled areas of the Madras Presidency, and they hold good with the qualification mentioned above, to the conditions of other provinces in India like the Punjab, Bombay and the United Provinces, where the temporary settlement is in vogue. The situation of the agricultural industry is indeed in a sad state and there is no use in hiding it from ourselves. The crux of the problem is that agriculture is the sole occupation of the villagers and the prosperity or poverty of the agriculturists depends upon the fact of whether the land, which is their sole instrument of production and source of income yields well or ill, sufficiently or insufficiently and in proper time or not and so on when there is no other occupation to which the people can turn their attention; when they are not capable, by reason

of the limitedness of their means, of being either enterprising and adventurous in their outlook and in treading on new grounds; when on account of thier illiteracy and ignorance they cannot endeavour to emancipate themselves from the incidental disadvantages of an absolute and helpless dependence on the soil; when each additional individual in a village means simply an additional burden on land with no other profitable employment to which he can devote himself, when everything is in so discouraging a condition; it is not strange that the agriculturists are in such a bad plight and that agriculture has come to such an unremunerative occupation. There is an increasing and ever-increasing pressure of population on land—a pressure which is making agriculture very uneconomic. The growth of population inevitably serves as a means of decreasing the extent of cultivable land available for each individual and of inhibiting the introduction of intensive methods of cultivation, two factors which when taken together with their natural concomitants of small holding and the diminishing returns procurable from them, testify in the clearest possible manner to the justifiableness of the conclusion drawn about the condition of the agricultural industry. There are very few holdings in our country, and especially in the Andhra Districts, which can be called "economic" and which are capable of yielding a net margin of profits to their owners after making allowance for the cost of cultivation, including the maintenance of cattle, the salaries of farm servants and the payments of wages for the labourers, who have to be employed in the various agricultural operations. There is no question of an agriculturist of even an insignificant plot of land doing without a pair of bulls, a cow, a cattle-servant and the labourers for performing

the various agricultural operations from ploughing to reaping; and considering the matter from that point of view it is not too much to say that the vast majority of the ryot population, who are cultivators of less than five acres of land on the average, find it extremely hard and in many cases absolutely hopeless to make both ends meet. It may be pointed here that the payments of wages to labourers have more than doubled since, say, 30 years ago, that the prices of cattle have trebled in the same period, that the salaries of farm servants have risen by more than half and lastly that the cost of manuring and strengthening the fields has risen by three or four times; and all this while the yield has either remained stationary or has diminished, as is the case with many villages.

EVILS OF FRAGMENTATIONS.

One of the primary evils therefore from which the agricultural industry is suffering is the growing fragmentation of holdings, which is the chief reason for the present uneconomic nature of the industry. The effects of fragmentation, which are admittedly undesirable, are the direct corollaries of the existing law of succession amongst Hindu and Mohammadan families. This is not the proper time or occasion to go into a detailed examination of the various evil results flowing from the operation of this law; but suffice it to say that, if the situation is to improve, it can do so only by the undertaking of a big measure of Reform and bringing about a modification of the Law of Succession. Public opinion is the only effective agent for the successful inauguration of such a change in the law as it is in so many other matters; but public opinion in favour of consolidation of

holdings is still inadequately developed as has been testified to by the unmerited scorching in its very inception of an official attempt made recently in Bombay statutorily to prevent fragmentation. But the economic effects of fragmentation are so enormously on the debit side that if a balance is struck, the advantage will be all with its disadvantages and disabilities rather than with its advantages and benefits. There is every need, in this affair in which public opinion is still in a primitive state, for the Government to prevent fragmentation and sub-division beyond a limit fixed by expert authority as the minimum extent of an economic unit of cultivation.

LOSSES DUE TO DEATH OF CATTLE.

Besides the results from fragmentation which are having very undesirable repercussions on the productivity of land and making it an uncertain means of making a livelihood, the agriculturists have to incur additional and sometimes very overwhelming losses due to the death of cattle, which are an indispensable agent of agriculture. Cattle mortality has been on the increase in recent years as a result of overwork, underfeeding and easy susceptibility to disease of cattle; and the extension of the activities of the Veterinary Department has not been productive of any substantial results in the direction of saving the agriculturists from the loss incidental to the ravages of cattle diseases. When, as were the conditions 25 or 30 years ago, public grazing grounds in villages were ample, when cattle had more leisure and less work to do owing to the healthy system of rotation of cultivation prevalent and when, as a result, cattle had more strength and stamina, mortality amongst them was not so widespread or severe; nor

expenditure and loss on cattle so great as it is now. At the present day, it may not be possible to bring about a reduction in the extent of cultivable land; it may not be possible to suggest that cattle should be given less work; but it may be recommended as a practical proposition that provision should be made for public grazing by Government placing "poramboke" or waste lands at the disposal of agriculturists for cattle-feeding by bringing about a change in the system of de-forestation and introducing a scheme of afforestation, by expanding the work of the Veterinary Department so as to bring within its scope every village and every hamlet, and by introducing, wherever possible, of machinery, which would reduce the expenditure of labour on the part of cattle and secure for them greater leisure and respite from work than now.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN INDIA.

The agriculturist in India has to reckon nowadays with a problem which is engaging the serious attention of the industrialists all over the world in their own field, *i.e.*, the problem of making agricultural labour efficient and hard-working and produce the maximum results. In the industrial field, the labourers have everywhere organizations of their own, which are capable of enforcing discipline within the ranks of their constituents and of dealing collectively with the employers for better conditions of work; but in the agricultural field, the labourers, especially in India, are still unorganized and have to be dealt with separately in separate units of individuals. This factor may be a stumbling block in the way of concerted action on the part of labourers; but there seems to be no essential necessity for such organization or such concerted action; and for this reason. The

agriculturists in India are many of them small farmers and only an infinitesimal minority of them can be classed as holders of big estates; and agricultural work is not continuous but intermittent. Every agriculturist has, therefore, an intensive demand for labourers only during the cultivation season for four or five months in the year, when, it becomes, as a result, a question of the supply adjusting itself to the demand. Very often it so happens that the supply of labour is not equivalent to the demand for it; and during the transplantation and reaping seasons, there is such a tremendous rush for labour, that very high wages have to be paid for securing its services. This is the main factor of the situation, which is militating against the interest of small agriculturists, who have perforce to employ labourers and pay them as high wages as all others, which means in the ultimate analysis that they have to pay wages out of all proportion to the return which they can hope to get from the produce of land. There is, however, some justification for the demand of high wages made by labourers, in so far as they have to adjust their incomes to the high prices of foodstuffs and other necessities, which they have to pay for; but the thing to be noted is that the agriculturists have, on their side, to content themselves with a steady income, while they have to part with a major portion of it for the services of labourers. The conclusion is irresistible in these circumstances that the loser in the whole affair is the agriculturist himself, the market price of whose products has not, by a combination of causes, not the least of which is the ruinous exchange policy followed by the Government of India, in any way increased but in actuality has appreciably decreased. Lastly, another adverse factor against which the agriculturist has to contend in

addition to the disproportionately high wages he has to pay to labourers, is their slackness, laziness and inefficiency and the consequent low outturn of their work.

IRRIGATION FACILITIES.

The disadvantages to which the agriculturists were subjected to in the past in respect of the absence of proper irrigation facilities, have now been reduced to a great extent owing to the adoption of a consistent policy of irrigational development followed by the Government. Indian agriculture had traditionally been considered as a gamble in rain; but that state of affairs has now no longer any 'raison d'être' in view of the fact that we have in this country largely outgrown the necessity for depending upon the monsoon as a means of providing water for the cultivation of land and the growth of crops. In spite, however, of these expanded facilities of irrigation and in spite of the rapid progress of irrigation works in different parts of the country, for which the impetus was afforded by the recognition of the value of such progress, the agriculturists in many parts of India are not quite well-off nor completely free from their erstwhile dependence upon rain. There is, firstly, the irregular supply of water for agricultural purposes to be considered; secondly, there is the difference in the level of the lands, which acts as a block in the way of a uniformity in the water-supply; thirdly, there is the dry area in every village, which is inaccessible by any natural source of water-supply and which has to be irrigated by such artificial and substantially unsatisfactory sources as tanks and wells. All these difficulties are or at least one of them is experienced by a majority of cultivators; and they are only aggravated in their intensity by the rapacity

of Government officials of the Public Works Department, who, in many cases, take advantage of the necessities of the poor ryots, to extract some perquisites from them in return for proper, regular and timely supply of water. Government is simply aiding in this work of exploiting and impoverishing the ryot population, since it looks upon the Irrigation Department more as a source of income, than as an agency to assist the cultivator by providing him with a highly indispensable factor of agricultural production, *i.e.*, water to which he is entitled by reason of his stake in the country and by reason of his importance to its economic welfare. A more liberal policy of recognising the ryots' right to the use of water for irrigation purposes, a more systematic checking of the vagaries of the departmental officials, and a more intensive programme of rural irrigational development—these are the reforms that are to be desiderated before the difficulties of the ryots in this regard can be mitigated.

MARKETING FACILITIES.

There is, at the present time, no organized system of marketing of agricultural products existing in our country, calculated to secure a good price for them and thus compensate the agriculturists in any substantial degree for their labour of production. There is also no proper system of advertisement of agricultural products which might create for them a demand in the world markets, and enable them to procure a place besides the products of other countries, for which they are undoubtedly well-fitted. The conditions, prevailing in the villages, are still of a primitive character, the ryots selling their produce to the merchant in the nearest town, who usually acts as an agent of the

local mill or factory. It will also very commonly be the case that the ryot is indebted to the merchant in the town, from whom he may have borrowed money earlier in the year for defraying the expenses of cultivation,—a situation from which the result will inevitably follow that the former (the merchant) will be able to strike a bargain very favourable to himself and consequently detrimental to the ryot. Almost half the agricultural produce in the village is thus consumed locally either in the village itself or in the nearest town, and only less than a half will be available for outside exportation.

It is therefore the question of securing a good price for this half of the produce that has to be faced and solved. The most important factor to be taken into consideration in this connection, is the inability of the agriculturist by himself to do anything by way of increasing his own profits or bettering his own prospects. His horizon does not extend beyond the sowcar in the town, who is a sort of demi-god to him; and even if he has any ideas about resorting to other means of disposing of the produce, the opportunities open to him to do so are indeed very meagre. There were no organizations to take up this work of marketing and there is no linking together of the efforts and activities of those organizations that exist. The whole problem, therefore, resolves itself into the necessity for the inauguration of a campaign for the establishment of co-operative marketing boards in each province, which should have branches in the various districts, and subordinate agencies in important local centres. The Presidency Co-operative Unions ought to take this business in hand and organize these boards; and the activities of all these boards should be so effectively pooled and so carefully

directed as to enable the agriculturist to secure the maximum advantage from them. This is a matter of the utmost importance, which had been pressed upon public attention ever so many times, though little practical benefit has accrued from it.

While on the subject it will be pertinent to refer to the benefits that have accrued as a result of the improvement in the means of internal communication, *i.e.*, the roads and railways, which are of inestimable value as means of rapid and quick movement of agricultural produce from place to place. The policy of affording facilities for easy transport of raw materials followed by the Government and the advantageous terms offered by Railway Companies for such transport have resulted in considerable material benefit to the agriculturists. But all the same, it cannot be regarded as a policy of un-mixed good, in so far as the advantages secured in this direction are more than counterbalanced, in the present state of our villagers, by the undesirable repercussions it is having on their standard of living, of which something will be said hereafter. If the indebtedness of the agriculturists is on the increase day after day it is because of and not in spite of this development of communication facilities. For, while, on the one hand, communications have helped in bringing about the desirable consummation referred to above, they have, on the other hand, induced in the villagers a false standard of living, which makes them spend their money on undesirable expenditures such as the luxuries available in towns, to which access has been provided by the roads and railways connecting towns and villages and bringing them nearer to one another. What little profit, the agriculturist, especially the agriculturist who has not sufficient education to discriminate between use-

ful and useless expenditure, obtains is absorbed by this thoughtless and unimaginative spending on his part.

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS.

The most outstanding of the drawbacks from which the Indian agriculturists suffer is, however, the lack of sufficient credit for the efficient carrying out of their agricultural work. This question of agricultural credit and its allied question of rural indebtedness have been the subject of examination and enquiring study by numerous investigators and writers; and everyone of them is agreed upon the fact of their enormity and the urgent need for tackling them effectively. Every other problem confronting the agriculturists pales into insignificance in the face of the all-important and also all-pervading problem of indebtedness; it is, in short, the one problem on which the others hinge. The poverty of the Indian agriculturists is proverbial—it can be seen patently by anyone who has visited the villages and studied conditions at first hand, as the present writer had the opportunity to do—and it is not at present necessary to enter into a detailed examination of the causes by which it has been brought about. It may, however, suffice to state that the low average income of the agriculturists owing to the parcelment of land into small holdings, the exorbitant land revenue demand payable to Government, the seasonal fluctuations resulting in an uncertainty as regards the yield of the crops, the necessity to meet extraordinary family expenditure on events such as marriages, funerals, etc., the disproportionately high expense on manures, seeds, and cultivation charges—all have their share in saddling the ryot with debt. The absolute and helpless dependence on the land which is the chief feature of a mainly agricultural country like our

own, only accentuates the inevitability of the phenomenon of indebtedness. The necessity for debt being so great and arising from so complex a conglomeration of circumstances and causes, it is simply a question of possessing a small capacity to inventiveness on the part of the agriculturist to discover that what he has to borrow can best and easily be borrowed on the security of land, which is as good a security as anybody can offer. Every time the ryot feels the need for funds, he turns to the land for relief and draws upon its resources much as a depositor in a Bank draws a cheque upon his deposit whenever he wants money. The ultimate result of the procedure will naturally be that when the amount of debt accumulates to a proportion, which is not on all squares with the small holding which an average ryot possesses, the latter passes into the hands of the creditor, who is so often, as has already been pointed out above, either the grain-dealer in the town or the village money-lender, who had played the banker to the ryot earlier in the year. Many bad results flow from this change of hands in the matter of ownership of the land, such as the disappearance of the independent peasant or small cultivator, the growth of a landless tenant population cultivating land in return for the payment of a stipulated rent, and the development of a system of absentee landlordism, so full of undesirable potentialities; for, the purchaser of land will be a town-dweller and seldom visits his land nor looks to its improvement, so long as he gets a secure rental from his tenant, who has to pay it down, irrespective of the fact of whether he is able to save for himself sufficient produce to compensate for his labour or not.

This very discouraging financial position of the agriculturists is a great menace to the agricultural industry; and it is, in this regard, absolutely

imperative to devise ways and means for bettering it as early as possible. One of the measures whereby the problem of agricultural indebtedness has been sought to be solved is the system of lending through the agency of Co-operative Credit Societies, which was, at the time of its inauguration, thought to prove an effective panacea for the evil and to be capable of working a miracle. But, the not very appreciable progress made by the co-operative movement during the quarter of a century of its working; the limited resources at the disposal of rural agricultural societies, wherever they exist, and the restrictions under which those societies have to conduct their operations, point conclusively to the consideration that it is not the best part of wisdom to depend entirely upon that movement alone and that other means should be sought after to affect the much needed amelioration in the credit position of the agriculturists. The ordinary co-operative credit society in our villages, with provision for lending for short periods only and even then for lending only limited sums, is, in the case of many of them, a thorough failure either because the members are unable to return the moneys borrowed within the stipulated time or because the villagers cannot get over their age-long practice of resorting to the traditional money-lender of the village, with his tendency to ready accommodation though at high rates of interest, in preference to the Co-operative Society with its, to them, numerous restrictions, rules, and 'penal provisions.' An educative propaganda on behalf of the co-operative movement together with the opening up at convenient centres of institutions like the Land Mortgage Banks, which can provide long-term credit with provision for repayment of loans in small annual instalments suited to the capacity of the various grades of agriculturists, are the two means whereby a big part

of the problem of agricultural indebtedness and of agricultural credit can be satisfactorily solved. In fact, the necessity for reform in this direction has commended itself to almost every one of the investigators of agricultural problems on their financial side, and it is satisfactory to note that efforts are being made in the various provinces to interest Government in the starting of such Mortgage Banks and that co-operative agencies are exploring the possibilities for establishing them.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF AGRICULTURISTS.

Problems relating to the standard of living of the agriculturist population are difficult to tackle partly on account of the variety of castes that has to be reckoned with and partly on account of the reluctance of the ryots to disclose anything in regard to their domestic life, which may, even in a remote manner, suggest the real character of their actual financial condition. But a close acquaintance with and observation of their modes of living and their habits will convince any one, when taken together with the admittedly low income of the vast majority of the agriculturists, that they have nothing, which can properly be called a 'standard of living.' The lives led by most of them are very poor lives, which are so bad as to excite the pity and sympathy of any one, some of them having to deny themselves their staple food, *i.e.*, rice, during a part of the year and to subsist on such unpalatable food as palmyra fruits and nuts. Ghee and oil are strange commodities to them, while the deterioration in cattle that is now progressively going on, has put them beyond the capacity of procuring even buttermilk sometimes, especially during summer. It must be considered, in these circumstances, a highly gratifying thing and an indication of a fairly high

standard of living, if any of the agriculturists are able to eat rice throughout the year, with a vegetable or pickle to taste and an occasional spoonful of ghee and curd to add to its nutritious value. It is, however, only the Brahmin, of whom there will be only a stray representative in each village and the high caste non-Brahmin, who can put up the show of tolerable eating and can maintain this standard of living. As for dress, it is the minimum possible that an average ryot can bring himself to put on, though the impact of modern civilization, which is slowly percolating into the villages, is creating in the minds of their inhabitants a tendency to understand that economy and a decent and clean suit of clothes are not altogether inconsistent—the result of all which being that it is not uncommon nowadays to see quite a good number of people wearing a shirt in addition to the 'dhoti' and the 'khandwa' which have had their vogue from ancient times.

While the large majority of the people in the villages thus satisfy their craving for the twin requirements of food and clothing by securing the minimum necessary for keeping the body and soul together and for covering up their nakedness, there are a few amongst the comparatively prosperous class of agriculturists, who by virtue of their small education, have imbibed ideas of comfortable living and who try to keep up a particular standard of life. In their case, the tendency to live decently would have been a commendable one, were it not for the fact that in their newborn enthusiasm, they carry their half-digested ideas into extravagant and undesirable channels, which militate against their own interests in the long run. Thus, for instance, the villager, who belongs to this category, feels a strong temptation to visit the nearest town as often as possible; he contracts

the bad habit of spending money on cinemas and theatrical performances, in coffee clubs and soda water shops; he thinks that the essence of civilisation consists in putting on a dandy-appearance; he discards the traditional cigar-smoking as too unrefined and takes to the smoking of highly-priced patent cigarettes; in short, he does everything which is calculated to denude him of his little wealth and which marks him out as an indiscriminating worshipper of the lighter and flippant side of modern civilization. This is a bad picture, no doubt, but, nevertheless, a true one; and as stated in a previous paragraph much of the change is attributable to the development of communications and of easy means of locomotion. It is no wonder that, addicted as he is to all these injurious and unhealthy practices, the villagers become poorer than they are, both materially and physically and allow themselves voluntarily to be stripped of their possessions in these two respects. A system of universal education, which will prune our villagers' understandings of all these excrescences and which will inculcate into them better and more healthy ideas about their mode of life, will go a long way in improving the situation in the matter which forms the subject of discussion in this paragraph.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

Any reforms that may be thought of to better the position of the agriculturists will not, however, be productive of any far-reaching consequences, if to supplement them, there is not also the highly imperative and already long-overdue reform in the system of land-revenue administration. In spite of the classical declaration of policy by Lord Curzon in 1902 and in spite of repeated Government resolutions sub-

sequently, the latest one being the result of a conference of all provincial, financial and revenue members held in Simla a few months ago, land-revenue administration has not been reduced to any systematized statutory basis and is continuing to be determined by principles, which are as arbitrary as they are antiquated, all of which have their basis in the exploded theory of the state ownership of land. The system of levying the land-tax as also the system of collecting it have proceeded on this self-same theory, leading in most cases to an unjustified enhancement of the land-tax and to an unsympathetic and harsh attitude of revenue officials in the matter of collecting it. It has also resulted in the continuance of the system of keeping the determination of Land Revenue Policy and the settlement of Land Revenue Assessments in the hands of the Executive Government, which is guided in its actions more by considerations of revenue than by the economic position of the agriculturists and their capacity to bear the burden. This sort of an unsympathetic and exiguous Land Revenue Administration is, on the very face of it, highly detrimental to the interests of the present cultivators, who have, therefore, to be protected from official vagaries by a statutory definition of their rights and a statutory determination of the extent and pitch of assessment at each successive settlement, such as is undertaken in the temporarily settled areas from time to time. It is not the occasion for criticizing the methods and principles followed by settlement officers in the matter of fixing the rates of assessment nor is this the place for suggesting remedies for bringing about an improvement in the position obtaining at the present day, but it may be pointed out that the considerations which weigh with these officers are not either the expenses of cultivation

or the actual prices of food-grains or the actual yield of the crop, or the net surplus which the agriculturist hopes to get or yet the standard of living to which he is accustomed to and the necessity of increasing it as much as possible, but such necessarily uncertain and highly undependable considerations like the sale and lease values of lands, the classification of the soils and the outward prosperity of the agricultural population. To expatiate on how each one of the later set of considerations is an unsafe guide to a proper ascertainment of the ability of the agriculturists to pay the tax, which, by the way, ought, in the light of modern theory, to be the main criterion for the levying of a tax, will be a task, which cannot fit in with the theme of the present article. But one broad piece of reform, which will bring in its train all the other reforms necessary in this connection, may be suggested, *i.e.*, the bringing of the whole system of land-revenue administration within the purview of the provincial legislature, as had been recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee even ten years back.

CONCLUSION.

It is a matter for profound gratification that more and more interest is being evinced in village problems and more and more efforts are being undertaken to better the position of the villagers. But, we are, we must admit, still in the initial stages of such ameliorative processes, which have to be pursued unintermittently for a number of years before they can be expected thoroughly to transform the condition of the agriculturists and make it tolerable and to make the industry profitable. As has been stated at the very commencement, it is not reform in one single direction that is needed, but a reform in every direction and in all

directions, which will raise their position in every way. Such a scheme of all-round reform alone, which includes the provision of sound financial and credit facilities, the introduction of advanced methods of ploughing and manuring, the establishment of improved marketing facilities, and the inauguration of a network of agricultural demonstration farms and veterinary hospitals, will prove anything like substantial and meet the requirements of the situation. All these, if properly worked out, will serve to improve the economic position of the agriculturists, which is admittedly highly unsatisfactory, by improving the yield of the crops, by conserving the health of cattle and other agricultural resources, by preventing the small surplus profits of agriculture from being absorbed by the middlemen and by securing the ryots from the grips of money-lenders and sowcars. Economic depression is the bone of humanity everywhere in the world, and it is the fruitful source of depression in all other directions, makes people lethargic and unenterprising, steepens them in lassitude and physical morbidity and leaves them incapable of any serious or sustained action. This is exactly the condition of the Indian agriculturists at present; and it is not too much to say that no effort will be too great nor any expense too much, if those efforts and that expense were directed in the cause of their improvement.

It cannot be said that the Indian Agriculturist is by nature impervious to progressive ideas or that he is unenterprising and back-ward. He possesses a fund of commonsense, a keen appreciation of what he requires; he is a very shrewd judge of the science of agriculture, such as it is, he understands the routine of cultivation, the crops that will flourish on his land, the methods and the time of raising them; but what he sadly lacks in is the necessary motive force, to enable

him to put all his ideas into practice—that is to say, he is in need of sufficient capital. Put him in possession of it and he will recuperate his position wonderfully well. If this article serves

to impress the authorities and the public concerned about the imperative and compelling necessity of helping the agriculturists in this direction, then, indeed, it will have served its purpose.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM : ITS TWIN CAUSES

By MR. K. S. VENKATARAMANI

THE problems of Renascent India are being handled without imagination and statesmanship, and in particular the political problem. The vital issues are obscured in a mass of surface details. India is now in the travail of a Renaissance. Whenever such an impulse springing from the powerful urge of the Time-Spirit is mishandled or throttled, chronic unrest is the result.

This Renascent movement springs from two powerful causes. An intense feeling for freedom in all spheres of life especially the political, is driving the classes and widespread poverty the masses to strive against the existing order. This paramount feeling for freedom or Swaraj is the result of world-causes. It richly hangs in the air like the unshed waters of the monsoon-cloud. It is the product of the Time-Spirit. It cannot be ignored. It cannot be crushed. By recognising this forceful creative impulse, the world stands only to gain.

The average Briton in India and the urban Indian have no idea of the appalling poverty of the Indian masses. I see them with my own eyes every day, hundreds of poor, ill-clad and famished men, about 10 per cent of whom are totally unemployed, 50 per cent live on one meal a day, and 30 per cent on bare two

meals without any standard of comfort. This is due to the fact that the village produce, just enough to keep alive its own population as it is now, is drained largely to pay the Government tax and to buy manufactured goods of necessity like cloth, sugar, kerosene oil, match box, etc. The village has no power or facility to increase its production. On the other hand, a creeping paralysis is setting in.

The political machine of the Government of India functions badly. Its eyes are focussed wholly on the Army and the highly-paid Services while they should be beneficently fixed on Agriculture, Land Tenure and Mass Education. Its axis is tilted in favour of sunlight to the urban areas, and darkness and death, and cold and hunger to the hundreds of villages. A Government of India functioning properly and being sensitive to the heartbeats of the dumb millions, can, as if by magic, in five years—the quinquennium of a Viceroy, double the present produce by scientific agriculture and lower the taxation on land, and bring plenty to the dumb millions.

The immediate future is full of peril. It requires insight and sympathy. The bare and brutal fact is that hunger is driving to desperation the masses. So, ordered government, British or Indian,

on the present lines will not stand the impact of hunger, for one more decade. As real Indian conditions are today, at least to 60 per cent of the population ordered government means only infinite toil and labour in the fields in return for only one meal a day. The tiller of the soil stands helpless but is slowly driven to feel that he would not be a loser by a change of administration.

Will both Britain and India rise equal to this great task of good for the Commonwealth? Thinkers who have the vision have not the power. Statesmen who have the power have not the vision.

On the Constitution you give India awaits a great issue—the issue of the peace and happiness of one-fifth of the human race, perhaps world peace as well. And the Constitution should in the first place give the Indian village its ancient and vital place. The wealth in script in the banks is but mere token, and the real wealth of a nation is in its villages. The Draft Bill of Dr. Annie

Besant provides for this as the chief issue and also my own "Swaraj Constitution for India," in my recently published book "The Next Rung." The Nehru Report does not sufficiently recognise the village as the vital unit of Indian life.

Hunger is the age-old cause of disorder even in the case of nations traditionally wedded to law and order. And in the case of India which has always preferred and preached individual freedom to organised life, hunger is the most potent cause of all the present agitation. Hunger in the material plane and a passionate longing for freedom as a birth-right on the moral plane are the two vital issues before India and Britain asking for immediate solution. The thinker sees it all. Will British statesmen see it in time ere the monsoon clouds change to lightning and thunder, that rend the sky and spread fire and destruction on earth. Let us even now hope for the best.

A GERMAN WAR-NOVEL

By DR. P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A. PH.D. (LOND.)

TO write a novel and to write a chronicle are two distinctly separate undertakings; but attempts have frequently been made to combine the two not, however, with very great success. Only those extremely unsatisfactory literary mishmashes have been produced which, as Goethe used to say, confuse everything. Within the last decade, tons of literature on the war have been written—histories, diaries, memoirs, novels. Writers have tried to weave into a narrative all grades of war experience, personal and general, from the experi-

ences of a private soldier in the trenches or at the front to those of the supreme commander at the General Headquarters and of that holiest of holies, the professional statesman, sitting on the fence. But all these customary and orthodox accounts are so utterly devoid of reality that so far it hasn't seemed possible to get at the truth in its entirety or even a modicum of it. Chronicles in fiction, as a rule, have to cling to some sort of a frame-work of historical truth but suffer from the disadvantages of being works of imagination.

Naturally, in a majority of war-novels, either the lives of individual men assume idealized heights or the war itself becomes the principal hero in the tale. Thus the gulf between the history of men and the history of that mighty, devastating thing which crushed them, remains. But here comes from Germany a novel *Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grisha* (The Case of Sergeant Grisha) by Herr Arnold Zweig,* which very nearly bridges this gulf. It is a great work and perhaps the greatest of its kind so far published. It is the most brilliant and profound book yet written anywhere about the War. Naturally, its success in its own country as well as among the English-speaking nations has been enormous. Politicians and literary men have all in one voice praised its exceptional qualities. Mr. J. B. Priestley says, "The greatest novel on War theme that we have had so far from any country." Mr. Lloyd George writes: "I have read it with the greatest interest and pleasure. I find it all the more interesting because it gives a picture of the War from the German point of view, revealing the enormous strength and the fatal weakness of the German organization." But the fact of its being a faithful representation of the German point of view is, to my mind, the least of its virtues. The book is of magnificent scope, painted on a vast canvas, rich in human character and sustained throughout by an impassioned spiritual fire. It wouldn't be quite accurate to call it a war-novel because it is so singularly an individual piece of work that it would defeat the search

for parallels. Two other novels that might bear resemblance to it, to a certain measure, are Mr. R. H. Mottram's "The Spanish Farm Trilogy" and the late Mr. C. E. Montague's "Rough Justice." But *The Case of Sergeant Grisha* surpasses either of these not only in the far completer manner in which the gulf aforementioned has been bridged but in its greater sweep of range and outlook, its acuter criticism of military history and, above all, in its loftier spiritual tone and atmosphere. Herr Zweig's novel is not merely a chronicle in fiction or a novelised chronicle but a highly humanized history of a human soul. This history has, no doubt, for its background the War as an utterly silly and mad performance, but it goes further beyond. It is a composite piece of work, not precisely a novel and not altogether a chronicle but the two blended into one. It is rather in the nature of a prose-epic in which two full-length portraits merge into one another—the life-portrait of a common ordinary soldier and the chronicle-portrait of his trials and sufferings within the limits of a well-defined War zone. The immortality of *The Case of Sergeant Grisha* should surely rest on this one singular fact, even if we did not take into account the supremely realistic power of the tale, the light it sheds upon the varied aspects of the War and the grandeur and beauty of scene-painting in it.

No summary can even faintly suggest the orderly rhythm of the story into which every aspect of the theme has been harmonized. The case of Grisha

* Arnold Zweig is a Silesian, born on the 10th November, 1887. His first volume of Short Stories came out in 1910 and this was followed by his play "Ritual Murder in Hungary" which was produced with great success by Max Reinhardt first in Berlin and then throughout Germany and Austria. From 1915 to the end of the War he was a soldier in a German Labour Corps in Northern France, Serbia and Macedonia, spending over a year in Verdun before he was removed to the Eastern Front. Following upon several volumes of Short Stories and Essays on Social and Political Problems, appeared in 1927 his first long novel *The Case of Sergeant Grisha* which was first composed and written as a play in 1921. The author notes that this novel is the central piece of a triptych of which the collective title will be "A Trilogy of the Transition."

is a simple one; he is a Russian soldier who escapes from a German prison-camp, anxious to return to his native land and home but falls into the hands of his enemies again. In the opening chapters, Grischa's flight is recorded in the minutest detail with all the hardships and privations attendant on it. When captured at the Headquarters of a German division near the Eastern Front, Grischa suppresses his own identity and gives himself out as one Bjuscheff. This Bjuscheff was a deserter and had been condemned to death but had remained untraced. From this point, the story begins to move in a circle round the Grischa-Bjuscheff problem. According to Standing Orders Grischa is immediately sentenced to death. Facing this unexpected development, Grischa solemnly confesses that he is not Bjuscheff and explains why he had not disclosed his real identity. This idea of assuming the name of Bjuscheff was suggested to him by an outlaw woman Babka whom he had met in a forest while escaping and fell in love. Babka possesses a coat and trousers and a metal disc belonging to Bjuscheff who had been with her and had died. So Grischa had taken these from Babka before departing from her, reasoning within himself that if his luck was out and he was caught again, he could give out that he was the deserter Bjuscheff, and had escaped through the lines and at the worst, he could be clapped into a prisoner's camp again. This was his story. Von Lychow, the General of the division is impressed by the transparent honesty of the Russian prisoner, stays the execution and orders further enquiries to be made. After a thorough examination of the case, it is definitely proved that Grischa is not Bjuscheff, the deserter. Von Lychow is anxious to save the escaped prisoner and sends

his papers to the Combatant-General Schieffenzahn for a revision of the sentence and a fresh trial by proper legal authorities. Meanwhile, Grischa's case gets so thoroughly mixed up with Bjuscheff's that complications arise. A paper-warfare begins between Von Lychow and Schieffenzahn. The case ultimately resolves into a question of legal justice and equity on the one hand, and that of the murder of an innocent man through the sheer pig-headed obstinacy of Schieffenzahn. Schieffenzahn argues that although Grischa has been proved not to be the condemned man Bjuscheff, the legal aspect of the case is of very slight importance compared with the military and political interests involved. Therefore, in order to maintain the prestige of the German Court-martial and in the interests of military discipline, the proposal of a revision of sentence made by the Divisional General, Von Lychow, is rejected and the original sentence is ordered to be carried out forthwith. While the matter drags on interminably, Grischa in his prison-cell has to pass through a veritable nightmare of death in life. Meanwhile, Babka who is carrying Grischa's child within herself, appears on the scene and suggests another escape. Grischa more dead than alive through this long suspense and agony of waiting for death cries out to Babka: "It's no good thinking I am going to escape. Do you want to know why? Because I'm sick of it. You can't keep dipping a man in hot water and then ducking him in cold. I tell you I won't stand any more of it. I'm fed up with being hunted all over the country and shaken like a rat in a dog's mouth. That's me! I am tired of it all, I tell you—all the chasing and worrying and hoping and fearing; it takes some doing, escaping, but I did it and then I got caught and sentenced and let off

and sentenced again—and I'm through with it." Grischa does not so much mind being shot but what he does mind is being shot in this stupid, senseless way, having done nothing to deserve it. The thought of injured innocence almost drives him frantic but gradually his anguish passes away. Strangely enough, the case of Grischa no longer seems to him a thing foul and unnatural: "This whole generation had shed man's blood; and now the whole generation was to be poured forth in vats or buckets, or drops of blood, no matter how." And so at peace with himself and with the whole world, Grischa faces death.

This is only a bare outline of the story which in the course of its progress gathers into itself a numberless episodes, connected with the escape of Grischa from the prison camp in a lumber-wagon, his perilous journey through the fastnesses of a forest for days and nights, his wanderings there as a primitive and wild man, his encounter with Babka and his life with her, his escape again, drifting on logs downstream and his life of prolonged misery and slow death in his confinement and the reflection of them all upon his mind. In the typically grand manner of an epic, the story advances from stage to stage. Following upon the confusion of the double personality complex of Grischa-Bjurschkeff and the terror of death and final extinction, slowly but gradually dawns upon Grischa a true recognition of himself, his future and his destiny. Against the lurid picture of War in its true nakedness, the author draws, line upon line, colour upon colour, the progress of a human soul in its journey through terrors of life and of death and confusions of personality to final peace and rest. The author with his own sympathy forces the heart of outraged injustice and wounded humanity—the heart that

gets bruised and lacerated by inner conflicts and outer violences—to reveal the beauty and essence that lies at its core. "Tell him," says Grischa, "that they are shooting an innocent man; tell him I don't care when they do me in; but tell him the sentence is wrong and that everyone knows it; tell him it's a shame and the shame will not be mine." These words are an indictment not only of a stupid German General but of a system that tolerated him. Now, Grischa is a heap of ribs and hollow bones like the countless corpses that lie under the ground of the earth but he had died hoping that the husk that had confined him had split asunder and his soul had flown up into the infinite like a swallow that a man holds prisoner in his hollowed palm before he sets it free.

In this brief survey, it has only been possible to reveal the central picture and not deal at length with the many excellences of style and craftsmanship that the author displays—his masterly handling of the plot, his intellectual detachment, his wide knowledge of military history and diplomacy of the War, his unerring gift of penetration into the problems of human life and consciousness and his knowledge of the essence of things. Through the tangle of prose-style and the fettering technique of a novel emerges the portrait of Grischa as the potential human Ego which the crack of the gun-shots cannot blow out. The sense of life abundant and life eternal which had been broken and effaced from his experience, flares up radiantly at the very instance of death; the ancient germ within him, the mighty source of life stirs up again and asserts its individual entity which had at that very moment seemed to have been extinguished. His bowels are loosened but at the same instant his soul bursts its bonds. The hurrying images of time and space float over his fading

consciousness—the time that one measures in minutes and hours, the time that is conditioned by the body, the time that cuts itself upon the human brain into fleeting dreams and images and the time in which five bullets hiss through space.

The human heap of Grischka lies huddled upon the earth that was part of him, bruised, torn and tattered and the life that frees itself from its vassalage to body and pain takes on a semblance of reality.

THE INDIAN BANKING PROBLEM

By MR. A. S. VENKATARAMAN, B.A., L.T.

INTRODUCTION.

NOW that Central Banking Enquiry Committee assisted by Provincial Committees has been established to investigate into the Banking conditions in India, a discussion of the problem in some of its more important aspects is not unwarranted, and will serve at any rate, to stimulate thought and discussion.

USES OF BANKING.

The uses of banking are too well-known to be sketched out here. Economy in the use of metals is rendered possible and, in fact, the objective is a state of things wherein the use of metals is to be largely, if not thoroughly, dispensed with. Perhaps we may wonder whether a return to the old system of Exchange and Barter is not contemplated. But so it is, that the further we seem to progress, the greater is the longing to go back, to return to Nature as it is termed by some people and in Economics, a return to Nature means a reversion to the old Exchange and Barter. It is unnecessary to swell the catalogue of the uses of banking. It stimulates and mobilises national credit, encourages thrift, facilitates transfer and exchange of wealth and lastly it assists trade and industry as no other thing does. Indeed so essential a factor is banking that it is an index and cause of economic progress. In simpler terms, banking is dealing in credit and industrial and commercial progress are so interdependent that an organisation of credit becomes a vital concern of any modern government.

BANKS IN INDIA—A RETROSPECT.

Modern banking in India is still in its infancy. It is an exotic planted in Indian soil by European merchants. The Presidency Banks till recently enjoyed a position of favour and advantage with the Government, took deposits, lent on security, discounted, bought and sold Bills of Exchange. At the same time, they had their own limitations. They could not borrow outside, could not deal in sterling bills and could but in a restricted sense perform functions similar to the Bank of England. The export trade of the country is still, as it was for a long time, the monopoly of the Exchange Banks. All of them are European enterprises doing major business in India or all the East. Only part of the internal commerce is financed by them.

JOINT STOCK BANKS—A RETROSPECT.

A more significant part of internal trade and commerce is however served by Joint Stock Banks. They are European-managed or Indian-managed. In general, they are of recent growth. They have not taken root in the soil. The career of Joint-stock banking was full of promise for a time, but a storm overtook the sapling in 1913 and many a bank perished owing to a lack of knowledge and experience; besides the managers went in for speculation while banking entered into an unholy alliance with trading and industrial concerns, all and sundry. To keep up appearances, dividends were often distributed, but out

of capital dexterously concealed by window-dressing.

PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL.

The real problem in an agricultural country like India centres round the supply of capital for agricultural purposes. The situation is embarrassing and distressing too in the extreme. The Indian peasant's indebtedness is proverbial. The Takavi loans have not been very popular while indebtedness is still colossal in character. Only the fringe of the problem has been touched by the Co-operative Credit Societies. The failure has been due primarily to a lack of clear analysis of the problem. In the first place, necessary capital has to be advanced to the peasant. Secondly, his burden of old debts has to be relieved. Justice has been done to the first while the second was scarcely if ever attempted. Indeed it would appear that long-term accommodation, which alone could solve the problem of indebtedness, and Co-operative Societies ill go together. A case is made out for land and mortgage banks on lines parallel to the Egyptian Land Banks. Proposals are being made here and there but attempts at a general solution of the problem are few and far between.

INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL.

Nor is the question of industrial capital free from complexities. Stated plainly, industrial banks simply do not exist in India and their work cannot be done by the ordinary deposit or commercial banks. While Imperial and other banks provide only short-term accommodation, long-term accommodation so essential for the promotion of industries, as in agriculture for wiping off the immense indebtedness of the Indian peasants, is still a field perhaps furrowed by a lonely plough. Industrial and commercial banks vary in their lines of business and it is better their functions are not combined in any one bank. It must be clear to every one that the capital of industrial banks gets locked up in land, buildings and plant for long periods, and short-term calls and commitment should be altogether excluded from the pale of industrial banking. The Tata's bank is a stand-

ing example of the failure of a combination of commercial and industrial finance. It was a national misfortune that the industrial side was stopped in 1922.

COMMERCIAL BANKING.

In commercial banking, too, the position is far from satisfactory. The Imperial Bank does Government business and commercial business but it does not enjoy a monopoly of the note issue or paper currency. It neither makes industrial capital available nor provides for agricultural development. Even in commercial business, the activity is neither very wide nor comprehensive. The Joint-stock banks too fare no better.

INTERNAL TRADE.

For the most part, internal trade is valued at Rs. 6,000 crores and is about fifteen times as valuable as foreign trade. The financing of internal trade is mostly in the hands of indigenous agencies, shroffs and mahajans, and their organisation is largely a mystery. The Joint Stock Banks too attempt a part but that is by no means significant. The Exchange Banks deal only in foreign exchanges. The internal trade is mostly financed on indigenous methods on credit basis and through the medium of shroffs, banias and Marwaris.

THE PROBLEM IN INDIAN BANKING— ONE VERSION.

The wonder of it is, that there is no contact between these indigenous agencies and the Banks of a modern type or the Joint Stock Banks, and there is a disparity between the bank rate and the bazaar rate. The bank rate responds to the need for deposits only at the commercial centres or ports. The local needs are satisfied by the private banker. The banking habit is generally poor. The shroff supplies the link between the banks and the Indian banker. In fact, there is no competition between him and the banks in the purchase of *hundis*. The shroff is outside the pale of organised banking. So the Banks are unable to moderate the suddenness of transition between excess and shortage of money and there are variations in the

demand for money. At any rate, that is the official version. The problem is how to control the credit operations in the bazaar. It is for this purpose—all will agree so far as this is concerned at least—that a wide survey of banking conditions is urged with a view "to widen the channel of communication between the banks and the bazaar and to make the bazaar rate respond to the bank rate."

ANOTHER VERSION.

A puzzle of puzzles is that in spite of a favourable balance of trade, the bank rate is often high. The banks have no control over currency, and the Government which exercises control over it, does not seem amenable to the influences of the money-market. The objective of the Government has been now to raise a loan to maintain a definite rate of exchange but not to allow the bank rate to be determined by the conditions of trade or the money-market. It would appear that the bank rate is regulated by the intensity of demand for money for the export of Indian staples. This is becoming increasingly manifest, more significant and more remarkable because of the Government's objection of the separate treasury system, Government's balances with the Imperial Banks and the favourable Balance of Trade. We are driven to the conclusion that the money-market is controlled for non-trade purposes and on the principle of dear money and high exchange. It is hard to get over the finding that the stringency in the money-market is more due to a defective currency than to any lack of resources.

A STATE OR CENTRAL BANK.

The disparity in the rates is patent and there is a common measure of agreement on the point as to the necessity to release currency and credit from the hands of Government. Opinion, however, seems to be divided on the question of the functions of an Indian State Bank. One section of

the Indian public favours the view that what is needed is not a concentration of banking but more Indian banks conducted by Indians. I fear however that this view is shared by a minority in spite of a possible danger in "placing all the eggs in one basket." The position in favour of a Central Bank is strengthened and based upon material grounds. It will serve as a fiscal agent for Government balances, note-issue, public debt and foreign exchange, will supply a staff of expert advisors, free the Government from vexatious criticism on small details, push on the circulation of notes, supply increased banking facilities in different parts, help the progress of co-operative movement and ensure elasticity by a co-ordination of note-issue, banking and combined reserves.

CONCLUSION.

It is hoped that the Banking Enquiry Committee under the able lead of Sir B. N. Mitra and Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas, the avenues to the creation of a Central Bank will be explored and that vital points of contact will be established between the indigenous banking agencies and the banks so as to remove the disparity in rates. One note of warning, however, must be struck. As banking and credit go together, it is impossible to organize a highly developed banking system in the absence of the sound monetary system.

A Government which alters the meaning of the monetary standard, which keeps its reserves in England, which is itself responsible for the disappearance from circulation of vast quantities of gold, that are to be absorbed in the country, because of an extensive system of token currency, which in its eagerness to keep up a high exchange, countenances a high bank rate even when the balance of trade is favourable, a Government which launches a banking enquiry without any relation to the monetary system is, I fear, putting the cart before the horse. A satisfactory solution of the problem would involve also the establishment of an effective gold standard.

THE GREATEST WORK IN ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY—II*

By "AN OXON"

IV HOW THE OXFORD DICTIONARY WAS MADE.

THE raw material of most of the articles in the Dictionary was a series of quotations written (or in more recent days occasionally typed) on oblong pieces of thin paper measuring about 6½ x 4½ inches, called in the everyday language of the workers 'slips.' When a member of the staff prepares a word or group of words for revision by one of the editors, he begins by taking down the appropriate bundle of 'slips' from its shelf. He finds these already provisionally sorted out into senses, with definitions, by a volunteer sub-editor. His first task, with an old or important word, is to go through the quotations chronologically, noting down the 'forms' or spellings of the word for each century of its existence in the language. He then tackles the serious and difficult work of definition and detailed arrangement of senses. The chief basis for this is in the quotations, which for an important word run into hundreds. Careful and repeated reading of these brings to his mind definitions of senses, some well-known to him, others unknown or unthought of but for the evidence now furnished by numerous examples of actual use. At the same time he is continually turning to existing dictionaries, gladly availing himself of any help or hint they offer in the wording of a definition, or in the record of new senses. Full as the already collected material is, he finds that there are uses—especially modern technical terms and colloquialisms—for which no quotations are forthcoming. The search for these, as also for earlier or better examples to complete the material in hand, has always been a serious charge on the energies of the staff. Much of the toil of sifting and collecting fresh material consists in the examination of the Old English and Middle English dictionaries, the glossaries to early texts, and the concordances to the Bible,

Shakespeare, and other poets. He next selects (from a mass of material as over-abundant in some directions as it is defective in others) the quotations, taking those which best illustrate the different heads and intentions of a definition, or the phrases and grammatical constructions noted therein. He has to observe chronology by marking one quotation (at least) for each century; and again, considerations of scale and proportion limit his choice to a comparatively small number of quotations out of a very much larger quantity which are laid aside. Some quotations have been excerpted with such brevity as to be obscure and need filling up from the original source. More often they are too long to print as they stand—a sagacious worker is careful to copy out ample context, where the meaning might otherwise be uncertain—and need cutting down; the quotable portion is indicated to the printer by underlining in coloured ink or pencil.

The completed word, or bundle of words, is then handed to the editor for whom it has been prepared. It is incumbent upon him to scrutinize every quotation whether selected by the assistant or not; for it may happen that (however intelligent the staff work may be) a significant point or some detail of chronology has been overlooked, the detection of which may radically change the presentation of a word's history. Editorial method and habit have varied considerably. But in essentials the editor's job is monotonously the same. He revises or rewrites the definitions; he rearranges, where necessary, the order and disposition of the senses. He deals with the etymology, if the assistant has found it too large or too difficult a task. The writing of the etymologies of important and obscure words has indeed consumed a very large part of the time and energies of the editors; draft often following draft, then, time and the printer pressing, it has perhaps after all been necessary to send something

* *The Oxford English Dictionary*. (Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London, E. C.)

to press which will clearly need further consideration. Lastly, the editor runs through the selected quotations, finally weeding out all that he deems superfluous or dispensable.

Next comes the verification of such quotations as appear to need it and have not already called for obvious checking, together with the abbreviation and normalizing of the references to the books quoted. Many of the volunteer readers were models of accuracy and intelligence. Others were not so trustworthy in either respect. Wonderful, indeed, and amusing are the misunderstandings or inaccuracies often revealed when a quotation is confronted with the book from which it was copied. Reliable though they are as far as they go, very few of the quotations furnished by volunteers can be safely printed without investigation of some kind or other. Much time also has been spent in verifying and correcting useful excerpts in other authorities; more still in running down Dr. Johnson's quotations, so interesting and well chosen, but most of them furnished with no clue but the name of the author! A register of titles with their standardized abbreviations has always been kept and it has been the rule for special members of the staff to be detailed for the task of correction of references.

The bundle of 'slips' (varying in quantity from 200 or 300 to near 1,000) is then numbered and forwarded as 'copy' to the printers. The original quotation-slips sent in by the volunteer readers are used without recopying, except where they may be found to need it—a procedure which obviously minimizes the risk of error in transcription. Then there are at least three stages in the printed form; in special cases more, as when a second revise in galley form is required. In first proof, first revise, and in page form, every statement, every quotation, every date must be controlled by the editor and one or more of his staff; and some fresh fact, some text re-examined, some manuscript looked up, or some expert consulted may involve alteration, large or small.

The University printers have fulfilled a great part in this huge enterprise. Only the editors and their staffs can give adequate testimony to the care which the compositors

and readers have consistently bestowed upon the Dictionary. The variety of the type used, the many languages involved, and the multiplication of 'arbitraries' have demanded technical knowledge and minute accuracy to an extent probably unequalled in any other work. The typographical superiority of the *Oxford Dictionary* over works of comparable scope is everywhere acknowledged. One has but to turn to great books like Littré and Grimm to be impressed once again with the choice of type and the disposition of the page which have made the Oxford book easy and pleasant to read.

V. THE LIGHTER SIDE OF LEXICOGRAPHY.

The Dictionary has not attempted to rival some of its predecessors in deliberate humour or sarcasm, such as mark Johnson's definitions of *Oats* and *Pensioner*, or his misquotation of Judges v. 10 in the pungent form, 'Asses are ye that sit in judgement.' Such rare occasions for a smile as may be found in it are unintentional, as in the etymological note on *Cholcedony*, where the Greek original is said to be 'in Rev. xxi. 19, the name of the precious stone forming the third foundation of the New Jerusalem, but found nowhere else.' Sometimes too a comic effect may be produced by some incongruity in the quotations that are placed together, as under the second sense of the verb *re-seat*.

The humours of the *Dictionary*, however, have mainly remained behind the scenes, where they have helped, in the words of Johnson, to 'relieve the labour of verbal searches, and intersperse with verdure and flowers the dusty deserts of barren philology.' Some of them have been furnished by slips sent in by readers or written by assistants, and are humorous without intention. Others are found in a collection of passages made by different hands in the course of years, some of which adorn the fly-leaves or title-pages of various sections of the *Dictionary*, or are written on slips pasted up in the *Dictionary* room for the delectation of visitors. It must be admitted that these have sometimes suffered the same treatment as Johnson's quotations, of which he says: 'The examples, thus mutilated are no longer to be

considered as conveying the sentiments or doctrine of their authors. The word for the sake of which they are inserted, with all its appendant clauses, has been carefully preserved; but it may sometimes happen, by hasty detraction, that the general tendency of the sentence may be changed.

Some of these choice excerpts are intended to describe the contents of the dictionary, e.g.—

Heapes of huge wordes uphoorded hideously,
With horrid sound, though having little sense.—

SPENSER, *Teares of the Muses*, 553.

Others refer to the labours or methods of lexicography:

Because words have so many artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with so many varieties, it is not always apparent what the first inventors respected, much less what every man's inward conceit is which useth their words.—HOOKER, *Ecc. Pol.* v. lxxviii, § 2.

Small have continuous plodders ever wonne,
Sane base authoritie from others hookes.

—SHAKS, *Love's L. L.* v. i. 96.

The writer of a dictionary rises every morning like the sun to move past some little star in his zodiac; a new letter is to him a new year's festival, the conclusion of the old one a harvest-home.—1848 tr. JEAN PAUL RICHTER'S *Levana*, 356.

'A journey from this Word to the next' is a recent misprint in a publisher's catalogue:

1904, *West. Gazette*, 18 May, 31/1.

Some are descriptive of the editors and their staffs:

Thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear.—SHAKS, *2 Hen. VI.* iv. vii. 43.

Learn'd philologists, who chase
A panting syllable through time and space;
Start it at home and hunt it in the dark,
To Gaul, to Greece, and into Noah's ark.

—COWPER, *Retirement*, 691.

Some hints to sub-editors and assistants, mainly ironical, have been collected, of which the following may serve as sample:

Take care not to understand editions and title-pages too well. It always smells of pedantry.—CHESTERFIELD, *Letters II.* 348.

Pessimistic views of the duration of the work find expression in

They reckon that this . . . work will be finished in about fifty years. [It was!]

—P. THOMAS, *Anson's Voy.* 343.

'Tis like a rolling river,
That murmuring flows, and flows for ever.

—GAY, *Fables*, i. xxv. 9.

To the dedication to Queen Victoria was added the appropriate note:

'Tis a verie excellent piece of worke, Madam Ladie; would 'twere done.

—SHAKS, *Tom Shrew*, i. i. 254.

That wish has now been fulfilled, and the whole of that 'verie excellent piece of worke' is now available for all who wish to use it.

VI. THE RECORD OF WORDS.

The *Dictionary* contains a record of 414,825 words; 24,0165 of these are main words, 67,105 subordinate words, 47,800 special combinations, 59,755 obvious combinations; there are about 500,000 definitions and 1,827,306 illustrative quotations. Nearly 30 years ago it was announced that 5,000,000 quotations had been collected already. The treatment of the oldest words covers a period of twelve centuries.

Each page contains three columns 10½ inches long (112 lines on the average), and each column is 2½ inches wide. Basing calculation on the type most employed of the several varieties in use, and assuming that the pages are all full, a total is arrived at of 46,464 columns, which if placed end to end would cover over nine miles; 178 miles of type, containing approximately 50,000,000 words and 227,779,589 letters and figures, not counting punctuation marks.

The comparative scale of the *Oxford Dictionary* and certain other dictionaries as stated in the preface to Volume X is typical of the whole work.

	Johnson.	Cassell's Encyclo- pedia.	Century.	Oxford
Words recorded A-Z	4888	21661	28457	61035
Words illustrated by quotations	4548	10209	10739	30463
Number of illustrative quotations	13367	13050	24240	279701

Of the 240,165 main words in the whole of the *Oxford Dictionary* 177,970 are current, 52,464 are obsolete, 9,731 alien.

The letter S yields the most words, no fewer than 57,428, P coming next with 37,689, and C third with 29,295. There are 4,746 words under X, Y, Z together.

(To be continued.)

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help, being ignorant but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's arm-chair. —*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(A) ESSAY-REVIEW CRITICAL STUDIES

An American View of "Living India"

—By K. Natarajan, Editor, "*Indian Daily Mail*."

Miss Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* has been the precursor of several books in India and in America. Two of them are written by Americans who visited India and had far better opportunities of observing the conditions of the country than Miss Mayo. One of these is Mrs. Gertrude Williams' *Understanding India* which has already been appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*. The other is *Living India* by Mr. Savel Zimand who visited this country in 1923-24 and was present on the scene when an Akali Jatha was stopped from entering Nabha territory. His description of the incident is both vivid and instructive. We reproduce a few sentences here: "The Jatha moved slowly. The British Administrator advanced to meet the Akalis and, according to official version, explained, that if they did not comply with his order he would be compelled to open fire. The Jatha kept on towards the shrine and fire was ordered. The firing was in regular volley, and without the desultory shots which would have followed had the Sikhs returned the

fire. But the Jatha advanced again. They were ordered under arrest and submitted cheerfully. During the firing only three of the Akalis left the ranks of the Jatha and these only after they were wounded. The rest stood their ground. Two days later, I talked at the Amritsar hospital with the three who had left the Jatha, wounded. The bullets had been extracted, and as they lay on sick beds they expressed to me their sorrow at not being in Jail with their Jatha: better they had died, they thought, than to have separated from their fellows."

Mr. Zimand affirms as the result of his own personal observation that none of the Jatha carried any fire-arm, while the official report alleged that the Sikhs were armed. Mr. Zimand at the request of the authorities stated the facts as he knew them, and also mentioned them in an open letter to Mr. Gandhi. *Living India* is not a sensational book, but it is packed with facts carefully sifted and is a reliable guide to the foreigner who is desirous of understanding present-day India in all its many phases.

The book is enriched by an introduction by "A. E." (Mr. George Russell) who knew Mr. Zimand when he was studying the

conditions of Ireland in the dark days preceding the establishment of the Irish Free State. Mr. Russell says his own interest in India began forty years ago when he read the *Upanishads*, *Bhagavadgita*, the *Buddhist Suttas* and other sacred books. He did not, however, expect that the life of India would be as idealistic or mystic as the thought of its greatest sages. On the contrary, he observes:—
 "I was prepared rather to find that the Nation which had the loftiest spiritual imagination must have states of spiritual degradation balancing its highest vision, and this I think might be inferred from the Brahmanical psychology which opposes the *Lokas* to the *Talas*, the spiritual states of our being to the sensual states and from which I infer that with every ascent to spirit a new abyss opens which is the dark opposite of the heaven into which the soul has climbed."

In plain language this means that the more a people plunge into metaphysics the less are they fitted to deal with the problems of practical life. Hence Buddha studiously eschewed metaphysical speculations. The *Gita* itself points out that the path of action is the proper corrective to the speculative-minded, and the path of contemplation to the energetic type of men. The foreign domination forces India to partake of the active life and there is much truth in Mr. Russell's observation that it may prove to be the very cause of an Indian renaissance. "All cultures, however high," he writes, "tend to decay, and I doubt if there could be any resurrection unless one culture was crossed by another. China as well as India seems to be stirred at present by the crossing of their own culture with the thought and science of Europe. Their own culture probably is the Mendelian dominant and they will absorb into themselves the culture of Europe and renew with vigour their own spiritual and cultural life."

Mr. Russell illustrates his view by reference to Ireland. "My own country, Ireland," he writes "has had a renaissance in my own time, and I think it was due to the crossing of the original Gael with the Saxon, the Dane and the Norman. We came to a new

intellectual life and at last could declare intellectual as well as political independence." Mr. Russell concludes on a note of hope. "I have no doubt," he writes, "out of the ferment in India will come a new renaissance. It is not natural to expect those fighting for that independence to-day should be philosophical as I looking at the struggle from a distance. I feel certain that in spite of the fact that India is in the trough of one of its waves of civilisation, there are in it the spiritual elements which will lead to a great resurrection. It may be the labour of a century or more, but I am inspired to believe that a people who had so marvellous a spiritual life in the past must have it quickened again once more under cyclic law." Contact with Western civilisation has not killed out the Indian as it has the Red Indian, the African and the Australian. It has, on the other hand, stimulated dormant powers of assimilation and resistance. The biological analogy is only approximately true, but it is our faith too, as it is Mr. Russell's, that a new and greater India is rising out of the present conflict.

History of Pre-Moghul Muslim India.*

—By "Historians."

The first volume of that monumental work, *The Cambridge History of India*, was issued more than seven years ago. The third volume has only come from the University Press within the last few months and we have still to wait for Vol. II. Unless this dilatory procedure can be improved upon, history itself will begin to outrun the record, and the completion of the work will have to be postponed to a far distant date. This unusual delay is to be regretted. A prompt publication of the volumes would enhance the value of the work to those who want to make a consecutive study of Indian History. It is rather tantalising to have to skip a whole volume by jumping straight from the Monuments of Ancient History (the concluding chapter of Vol. I) to the beginning of the 13th century A.D. and we are not given any explanation of the hiatus,

* *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London.) 1928.

being merely informed in a notice that "Volume II will be published later." Let us hope it will soon appear.

The present volume deals generally with the history of India under Mohammedan rule, from the time of the earliest invasions of the Muslims to the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty on the field of Panipat and the establishment of Babar on the throne of Delhi, that is, from about 1200 to above 1526. The editor has found it necessary to carry on the history of other States either to the termination of the State's independence or to a period at which it can be conveniently relinquished. The volume is edited by Sir Wolseley Haig—Lecturer in Persian in the London School of Oriental Studies—who has had for his collaborators in their respective departments such acknowledged authorities as Sir E. Denison Ross, Mr. G. E. Harvey, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe and Sir John Marshall. The last named has written a chapter on the monuments of the Mohammedan period and has supplied the admirable photographic illustrations appended to the volume. The Editor has himself contributed some of the most important chapters to the book. Of the twenty-three chapters spread over 640 pages, he has written eighteen himself. Only one of the Mohammedan chapters was entrusted to a colleague, Sir Denison Ross, who has written the thirteenth, on the Kingdoms of Gujarat and Khandesh. The other four chapters farmed out deal with detached topics. Professor S. K. Ayyangar of Madras has treated of the Hindu States in South India A.D. 1000—1565 in which chapter the story of Vijayanagar is related. Mr. G. E. Harvey of the Indian Civil Service, whose work on Burma's history is well-known, has written the chapter on the Shan Immigration, covering the period 1287—1531. Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe contributes a nine-page chapter on Ceylon, and Sir John Marshall a long one on the monuments of Muslim India, which corrects the impression the reader may obtain from all the fighting and slaughter in the other chapters. These invaders could destroy, but they could construct fine buildings as well.

For the ordinary reader who has little

time or inclination to wade through a bewildering array of names, dates and dynasties, this elaborate volume will offer no great attraction, but for the student of Indian history it should prove an inexhaustible mine of information. The writers are all experts in their various branches of the subject, and they have marshalled the facts for the most part in lucid and consecutive form. The narrative is almost unbroken by the discussion of particular theories. Sir John Marshall's learned disquisition on the monuments of Pre-Moghul Muslim India stands by itself as a survey of the architectural remains of the periods covered by the volume. But the whole work deserves more than a superficial perusal and will long be referred to as an authoritative record of the events with which it deals. Of course, it suffers from the defect of its quality as a co-operative work, and not that of a single author. Also the subject does not lend itself to unity of plan, treatment or development. The book deals with pre-Moghul Muslim rule from the first invasion of Sind to the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty at Panipat in 1526. But there are smaller streams to consider. Kingdoms rose and fell all over the land, Mohammedan and Hindu, and their fortunes have to be followed. The year 1526 is not a natural ending for all the sub-stories. Thus the history of Vijayanagar is properly continued until its overthrow by the Muslim kings of the Deccan in 1565; other States are dealt with until their annexation by Akbar.

Then, there are the independent topics of Burma and Ceylon. All this could not be welded into one comprehensive whole. There is no unity of development. Sir Wolseley Haig has had expert assistance, but the amazing thing is that he has written most of this big volume himself, with a wonderful mastery of detail. It is not easy reading, for the general direction of movement in early Indian history is hidden under a mass of rivalries and intrigues and fighting. These invaders were a ruthless competent people, but the ruthlessness was for long much more in evidence than the competence. But if it is not easy reading even for the trained student of history, it must have been very hard writing and the student should be

grateful that the editor has given the material whatever coherence is possible by keeping so much of it in his own hand.

To many readers, the chapter by Sir John Marshall will appeal as the most interesting portion of the book. To the Indian sense of the decorative, the invading Muslims, who had already assimilated the culture of Syria and of Iran, brought breadth and spaciousness. The happiest union of the two styles was perhaps achieved at Gujarat, where the Muhammedans found a singularly beautiful style of local architecture, and it reached its highest point in the Masjids at Ahmadabad and Champanir, of which very adequate plates are included in this volume. It is truly observed that the longer the Muhammedans remained in India, the more deeply was their art imbued with Hindu feeling. Sir John takes the middle line between the two schools, one of which holds that Indo-Islamic art is merely a local variety of Islamic art and the other of which (being in sympathy with Indian rather than with Muhammedan ideals) sees in it nothing more than a modified form of Hindu art. He demonstrates in a deeply interesting study of the monuments of the period, that Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources though not always in an equal degree and that India, like almost every other country which came under Muslim rule, developed a local Muslim style of her own based primarily on indigenous ideals and stamped with a strong national individuality. Nowhere did its two sources blend with such felicity as in Gujarat.

The appearance of this volume will be welcomed by all students of Indian history, since it covers a period not dealt with in detail by any historian since Elphinstone and Elliott. Much has been discovered since they wrote, and local histories and special studies have revealed a vast amount of material that was previously unknown or obscure. The whole volume with the exception of the chapters on Southern India, Ceylon, and Burma, and Gujarat and the notable chapter by Sir John Marshall on the monuments of Muslim India has been written by the editor himself. He may well be congratulated on the clarity with which he has

dealt with the multitude of States and dynasties, and the—to a large extent, if not wholly—undivided authorship has doubtless allowed of greater unity of conception and an avoidance of dissenting opinions. The volume contains an excellent bibliography and index. Scholars will be grateful to Sir Wolseley Haig and his colleagues for a valuable piece of work, which will be the foundation of all study and teaching about these centuries for many years to come. The book is also embellished and beautified, thanks to a generous contribution by Sir Dorabji Tata, by over a hundred excellent and well-executed illustrations of the buildings referred to in the text, which go a long way in elucidating the descriptions.

We hope we have said enough to express our appreciation of the book under survey. But we must indicate our objections and criticisms briefly, before we close this review. Put shortly, the editor does not seem to us to have appreciated the fact that in a history of India—even of the period of Muslim domination—there should be some place found for the Hindu—his ideals, social and religious developments, architectural monuments and cultural progress. In this respect the book under consideration is sadly disappointing. We have praised above Sir John Marshall's chapter on the Muslim monuments of the pre-Moghul period, but even Sir John has evidently caught the contagion and is studiously silent about the Hindu monuments of three centuries. Again, the greatest upheaval in the history of Southern India in particular, and the country in general—during the period covered by the book under notice—the birth, growth, expansion and development of modern Vaishnavism, which has influenced the lives and conduct of hundreds of millions of Hindus, is conspicuous by its absence, and the names of the great protagonists of the movement (like Chaitanya and Kabir) are not to be found in the exhaustive index. Other similar defects could justly be pointed out. The long and short of it is that what the writers have attempted is not a history of India but that of the invasions, wars, conquests and monuments of the pre-Moghul Muslims in India—which is an entirely different thing.

America through Foreign Spectacles.*

—By Prof. Ruchiram Sahni.

While looking through Miss Mayo's filthy book, the uppermost thought in my mind was that I should write to all my American friends not to lose a moment in publicly denouncing their country-woman for her great disservice to Western civilization. I am sorry I changed my mind and decided to let Miss Mayo alone. I was certain in my own mind that before long the authoress would be paid in her own coin with more than compound interest. A book so outrageously provocative as *Mother India* certainly is, could not possibly be allowed to pass unchallenged. There was no other effective answer to one who picks up isolated cases of social ugliness here and there, distorts and magnifies them, pieces them together and straightway proceeds to calumniate a whole nation. Many of the things she has mentioned are news even to us, who have taken some little part in studying our national foibles and weaknesses and are trying to remove them.

No Indian has the smallest doubt in his mind that the main object with which *Mother India* was published was political propaganda of the lowest character. The time chosen was when India was struggling to gain her political freedom. Copies of the book were freely distributed not among social reformers in this country, but among those to whose hands, *after our own efforts*, Providence has entrusted our political destiny. Who supplied every member of the House of Commons with at least one copy of the book, unsolicited and without charge? Where did this large sum of money come from? What was the object in view in distributing thousands of copies to other persons? Lord Olivier has told us that he received as many as four copies of the book in this manner.

I have said so much about Miss Mayo and her misbegotten child here, because it is only as a rejoinder to her that Mr. Gauba has been prompted to expose to public view some of the shocking weaknesses of present-day American social life. For this, Americans have to thank their wicked country-woman in the first place, and shall I also add?—they have to thank themselves for it in the second place, inasmuch as, with all their more or less intimate knowledge of our social life, they have failed in their obvious duty in condemning a filthy book which is not only an outrage upon truth but which was prepared and broadcasted with a most unworthy motive.

There is this difference between *Mother India* and *Uncle Sham*, that while the one has been produced by a woman ignorant of the language, customs and traditions of the people about whom she ventures to write, and is based mostly on hearsay evidence collected in the course of a tour through the country, the other relies almost entirely upon the authoritative statements of American Judges, reformers and publicists of repute. Mr. Gauba has simply presented the other side of the picture and shown that if, in spite of the efforts of succession of religious and social reformers, there are still some ugly spots in our social system, the multi-storied superstructure which Western civilization has set up in the great and glittering cities of America do not harbour angels.

Books of this class do no good to anybody and may do much harm in various ways. But if the publication of *Uncle Sham* succeeds in shaming the authoress of *Mother India* and deterring future Miss Mayos from embarking upon similar campaigns of wholesale vilification, Mr. Gauba will have done a notable service both to India and America and earned the gratitude of both countries.

* *Uncle Sham*. By Mr. Kanhaya Lal Gauba. (The Times Publishing Company, Lahore.) 1929.

(B) BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES

RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN ECONOMICS

Economic Organisation of Indian Villages, Vol. II.—By N. G. Ranga. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay.) 1929.

Studies in Indian Rural Economics. By S. Kesava Iyengar. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2-4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S. W.) 1928.

The broad facts of the economic organization of Indian villages are common knowledge, but a study, such as Mr. Ranga has undertaken, which gives statistical precision to those facts, is as rare as it is welcome. Discussion of the economic conditions of three villages in Southern India, of ryots, and of labour, is not merely of local value. The figures may not be unassailable, but in collecting them, the author has taken great pains. Interest in quantitative Economics, which the author shows so markedly, ought to be shared by all who aspire to make a contribution to the solution of social difficulties. Movement of population from those areas, where there is severe pressure on subsistence, to those where land is not properly developed or scarcely developed at all, is urged. A sensible policy for facilitating the movement by the provision of information and financial grants is recommended. An overwhelming case is made for the migration of the Andhras into the Dominions of the Nizam under proper safeguards. This, however, is a highly controversial question. A daring and novel suggestion is a scheme for a District Federation of Agricultural Panchayats and a Presidency Federation which would become the instrument for promoting the interests of the agriculturists in all possible ways, subsidized in the same way as is the Agricultural Organization Society in England. The book deserves to be read carefully and its suggestion to be examined and sifted.

Studies in Indian Rural Economics discusses the familiar problems. In the discussion, the

author shows considerable study and insight. There are several good books which have recently appeared on Indian rural economics, and the one under review should rank among the best alike for its lucidity and soundness. The author has mastered his subject and has written an excellent text-book on a topic of great interest and importance.

The Economic Condition of India during the Sixteenth Century.—By H. L. Chabiani. (Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Kashmere Gate, Delhi.) 1929.

The book attempts to depict the economic condition of India during the sixteenth century. It treats of population, agricultural and industrial output, trade and communications and the standard of living. The facts are based mainly upon the narratives of the foreign travellers and the *Ain-i-Akhbari*. They give an overdrawn picture of India's past economic prosperity. To take a few instances, Abdur Razaak is quoted as saying "all the inhabitants of this country (Vyayanagar) both those of the exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artisans of the bazar, wear pearls or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, round their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers." Again: "In Akbar's dominion food was so cheap that the daily allowance of fodder allowed to the horses in the Imperial stable included two seers of flour, one and a half seer of sugar and half a seer of ghee." Towards the close of the book, the author enjoins self-denial, "lest the story may read too much like a fairy tale." The apprehension, however, has been fulfilled. The book is intended "to correct the impression created by Moreland's writings," but in order to be able to do that effectively, the author must be critical and discriminating, and not disposed to give too easy a credence and accept uncritically contemporary writings. Nevertheless the book is pleasant and fascinating reading and it will serve as a wholesome correction to Mr. Moreland's well-known volumes.

Cow-Protection in India.—By L. L. Sundara Ram. (The South Indian Humanitarian League, 436 Mint Street, George Town, Madras.) 1928.

This is a book which both the Hindus and the Muhammedans will read with profit. To the Hindu, it is shown by unimpeachable evidence, both historic and shastric, that cow-sacrifice was not only permitted but practised in ancient India. To the Muhammedans, it is shown by equally good evidence, that cow-sacrifice is not a religious obligation, but merely a bad historical legacy. A strong plea is made for mutual tolerance. There is an adequate treatment of the humanitarian aspect of the problem. The economic considerations relating to cow-protection, which the author hopes to elaborate in an intended publication on the subject, are discussed incidentally. It is, on the whole, an excellent book. The author has given serious thought to the problem of cow-protection, to the solution of which the book is a useful contribution.

A History of Village Communities in Western India.—By A. S. Altekar. (Oxford University, Bombay.) 1928.

Mr. A. S. Altekar's book gives a vivid historical account of village life in the Bombay Presidency. At a time when we hear so much about the revival of the village as effective unit of Local Self-Government, the book is particularly welcome, for the great wealth of sound economic material it contains. In the first part is discussed the village government, the powers and functions of the village officers and the village council, the settlement of disputes, and taxation. In the second is dealt with village life, the composition of the village, the occupations of the villagers, village sanitation, social amenities, religion and charity. The source of evidence is good and the discussion illuminating. It is a very conscientious, comprehensive and scholarly piece of work and should be an incentive to similar research in other parts of India.

RECENT BOOKS ON INDIAN ECONOMICS

Indian Practical Banking.—By O. S. Krishnamoorthy. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 190, Hornby Road, Bombay.)

This is a short, simple and illuminative treatise on Indian banking. It is not a study of the principles, but of the actual methods of banking business in India. Ignorance about banking is very general in this country. There is a vast and growing body of pedantic literature on it. But there was a real necessity for an intelligible treatment of it, which this book now supplies. Not only to the students of Economics and Commerce, but even to the "man in the street," this book would prove helpful. If the style of the book is made a little more vivid, after the manner of Hartley Withers, so as to make the reading pleasant, the book would add to its usefulness and attractiveness. As it is, it is a capital, short study of a great subject.

Village Local Self-Government in British India.—By N. P. Hirukar, M.A., LL.B., (Amraoti, Berar.) 1929.

Mr. N. P. Hirukar's *Village Local Self-Government in British India* is a work of considerable merit. It is a very useful addition to the literature of a subject which, to quote Mr. Jayakar's Foreword, is "of perennial interest not only to the student of present-day politics but to all those who desire to see that the foundations of Self-Government in India, are well and truly laid." The essay was prepared for the purposes of a competition organised by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta. It embodies results of much useful research, and is full of valuable information and striking suggestions of a constructive character. The author within a short compass surveyed the entire field—both historically and critically. His historical sketch of the subject is accurate and sound, while his many suggestions are evidently the result of careful thinking and merit serious consideration both at the hands of Government and the people.

RECENT PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

An Outline of Philosophy.—By B. Russell. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London.) 1928.

In his *Outline of Philosophy*, Mr. Bertrand Russell endeavours to show the sort of world in which, according to modern science, we really live, and how it differs from the world in which we seem to live. He considers how we come by our knowledge and what degree of reliance we can place upon its various parts. In this connection he discusses perception, memory, the way in which animals and infants learn, the part played by words, the process of induction, and our ways of discovering natural laws. He passes next to the consideration of some of the great philosophers of the past, thence to ethics, and finally to man's place in the universe, showing at once the limitations of his power and the justification of his hopes and ideals. The scope of the work is comprehensive and there is an attempt throughout to make clear to every reader the bearing of recent physical discoveries upon our ideas of matter and its relation to mind, showing how matter is less alien to mind, than it formerly seemed, while, at the same time, mind appears from modern psychology to be rather less of a mystery than it was thought to be. During the present century, science has completely changed the picture of the world which it offers for our acceptance, and in this book the new world is presented in simple language. At the same time few—perhaps none—of the so-called schools of philosophy will get much comfort from Mr. Russell's new treatise. One reason for this is that he does not try to interpret the world in terms of existing philosophical systems. His effort is to line up philosophy with the latest developments in physics and psychology. All the isms fare ill at Mr. Russell's hands—even Behaviorism, valuable as it is, breaks down as a final philosophy, in his opinion. But mere negation is by no means the significant part of his message. He claims the right of every science to formulate a positive system. The clarity and simplicity of language and style that characterize all his writings make this fresh treatment of old problems a joy to the reader,

and the book is highly suggestive and thought-provoking.

Introduction to Indian Philosophy.—By Jwala Prasad. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.) 1928.

Professor Jwala Prasad's *Introduction to Indian Philosophy* is a concise account of the subject it deals with, which most of the Indian Universities have prescribed in their B.A. curriculum. Within the scope of this short treatise, the author has touched the most difficult points in the Jain, Buddhist and Nyaya philosophies. The book satisfactorily caters for the needs of a beginner in the subject. It is handy, intelligible and yet comprehensive as the average reader would desire it to be; technicalities in it have been reduced to a minimum. It will be found highly useful by students, and all who wish to gain an insight into Hindu philosophy. Though but a short treatise of less than two hundred pages, it covers a large ground and its statements are sound, accurate and lucid. It would form an almost ideal text-book for the student of Hindu philosophy.

Greek Philosophy before Plato.—By Robert Scoon. (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.) 1928.

A History of Modern Philosophy.—By B. H. W. Dresser. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London.) 1928.

Philosophy of the Recent Past.—By K. Perry. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 597-99 Fifth Avenue, New York, U. S. A.)

The first and the third books in our list come from America and deal respectively with the remote past and the recent past. Professor Scoon's *Greek Philosophy Before Plato* is a lucid, sound, and interesting sketch of the ancient Greek philosophy to the time of Plato. The work of one who knows what he is writing about, it is marked by knowledge and scholarship and may be safely recommended to students. . . . Professor Perry's book, on the contrary, is an outline of European and American philosophies since 1860 only. As a history of contemporary philosophy in Europe and America, it has a distinct value

of its own, there being very few up-to-date works on the subject. Thus *Philosophy of the Recent Past* with its lucid exposition and copious references will enable the readers to have access to the philosophers of continental Europe and also of the English-speaking countries. Dr. Dresser's work places before the student an excellent perspective of the whole range of philosophic thought from mediæval times to the present day. Part I includes Bacon and Empiricism, Hobbes and Materialism, Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Berkeley and others. Part II contains a full-length study of Kant, followed by sketches of Schelling, Schopenhauer, Mill, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and the modern schools of thought in Germany and France. A special section is devoted to philosophy in America. The plan of the book is thus comprehensive and this *History of Modern Philosophy* will serve to introduce the student and the general reader to the leading tendencies and systems of modern thought.

The Use of Philosophy.—By J. H. Muirhead. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1928.

Modern Problems in Philosophy.—By J. Laird (Cassell & Co., Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, London.) 1928.

Professor Muirhead's *The Use of Philosophy* consists of papers and addresses given on different occasions during his residence in California. Though on subjects as wide apart as religion, politics, and American social life, these papers are bound together by their philosophical point of view, which for want of a better name, might be called idealistic. The first three lectures deal with the meaning and general place of philosophy as a subject of study. The fourth is on "the spirit of man," spirit here meaning "the whole man." This is followed by a series of lectures on different subjects such as Social Life, Religion, the Life of Knowledge, etc., in which the learned author deals with the application of the leading conceptions of philosophy to different departments of modern life, and more particularly to society and politics. The last two addresses, delivered to Scotsmen in America on "The Scott

Abroad" and "Sir Walter Scott" are sure to interest our readers. We quote two short passages from the first. "Scotland's valour, her arrogance, her belief in her own destiny have not been quenched by the free-citizenship of a wider empire; her traditions have suffered no wound or injury in a loyal co-operation." "The Scottish nation has lost its political independence by voluntarily merging it in that of England, or, if you like, by annexing England and hood-winking her by leaving her the old country and name." Of course, Dr. Muirhead is a Scott M. A. of Glasgow and Oxford, and L.L.D. of Glasgow and California and writes, therefore, like a patriotic Scotsman. . . . Professor John Laird's *Modern Problems in Philosophy* is a highly suggestive booklet dealing with such subjects as the Philosophy of Nature, Life, Mind and Values. The outlook of the author is distinctly modern and the way he tackles the principles underlying current thought will appeal to all students of twentieth century tendencies in higher culture.

LATEST IMAGINATIVE PROSE LITERATURE

The Treasury House of Eastern Story.—Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross. (Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.) 1929.

We noticed in a previous issue of the *Hindustan Review*, in terms of appreciation, this new series of oriental classics now made available in excellent English translations. The first volume, the famous *Hitopadesa*,—which teaches principles of government by means of apologues—was made accessible in Johnson's rendering, carefully revised by Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum. The second was a collection of stories from the *Qulistan* and the *Bastan* of the renowned Persian author—Saadi, edited with an excellent Introduction by Mr. Reuben Levy. The third work is *Stories of the Buddha*, being selections from that well-known collection called the *Jataka*. This choice selection from the Pali *Jataka*, or the tales of the previous births of Gautama Buddha, containing a rich store of ancient Indian fable and folk-lore pressed into the service of Buddhism, is edited with an Introduction

by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Lecturer in Pali at the School of Oriental Studies, and the greatest living authority on Southern Buddhist literature. Thus the series, when completed, will form a splendid collection of Western literature of stories and tales.

The Story of Hassan: A Novel of India.

—By John Anthony (Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 22 Berners Street, London, W. 1.)

Mr. John Anthony's *The Story of Hassan* is an interesting delineation of life in India and should appeal to a large circle of readers. Hassan's birth was the result of a very irregular alliance between an old and amenable Punjabi petition-writer and a beautiful dominating mother from the hills. There is something very piquant about Hassan's account of the English in India and their quaint ideas of order and practice, the absurdity and extravagance which are a continued surprise to him when contrasted with the eminently reasonable practices in such matters as constitute average Indian life. This entertaining autobiography is interspersed with characteristic anecdotes told by an Indian story-teller. The book is primarily intended to interest the Anglo-Indian. It is really a little gem of a thing, as a droll and diverting story, with a fine touch of irony. But it is as far removed from real Indian life as English novels, written by foreigners, are bound to be. It may, however, be read for its pungent fun.

Quest and Conquest.—By V. E. Bannisdale. (Longmans, Green & Co., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta.) 1929.

Mr. V. E. Bannisdale's *Quest and Conquest* is an excellent tale of the early days of European enterprise, when adventurers and soldiers of fortune competed with one another for founding states. The story is of absorbing interest, in spite of a rather extravagant foreword by the author. The story is set against the background of the picturesque days of the "Last of the Moghuls" when the Mahrattas were the *de facto* rulers of Hindustan. The exploits of an intrepid Irishman, in the service of the exceedingly astute Begum Somru, form the central theme and

the interest is heightened by the inevitable love element. The author most admirably depicts the character of Gopal Singh, who gave his life on the field for the sake of his commander. At places, the Indian reader has either difficulty in following the story or in appreciating the genuineness of the portrait, by reason of the colour laid on with too thick a brush, as in the case of the Begum. But on the whole, *Quest and Conquest* is a highly creditable performance and deserves appreciation.

Night Falls on Siva's Hill.—By Edward Thompson. (William Hareman, Ltd.)

Mr. Edward Thompson has long since made his mark as a faithful exponent of social conditions in India to-day, and so his *Night Falls on Siva's Hill* is a story of great interest, which deserves a large circulation. A girl who reigns like a queen over an Indian jungle need not feel any lack of company or amusement if she has the humanity to watch the people round her with interest and the imagination to fill the forest with spirit forces from an ancient mythology. And the father of such a girl could only fail to share her content through brooding on some ancient injustice about his coming there. So Mr. Thompson, after describing the lives of two such people and the forces of Anglo-Indian bigotry that sent them into the wilds, draws the wise conclusion that one should not demand absolute justice for oneself; by that simple recipe he shows that anyone can be as contented and independent as Miss Nicolette in her jungle. We have no desire to spoil the story by disclosing more of it.

Denmark's Best Stories, Norway's Best Stories and Sweden's Best Stories. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London.)

These three collections of short stories are an American enterprise—due to the labours of the American-Scandinavian Foundation—and are intended as an introduction to modern Scandinavian literature of tales. The Danish collection consists of seventeen short stories chosen from the works of masters of fiction, edited with an Introduction

and biographical notes by Hanna Larsen. The same editor's other two collections are even more interesting. The Norwegian contains twenty-one stories and the Swedish twenty-two, both well-introduced. Seventy years of Norwegian literary history are surveyed in this selection of stories by masters of Norwegian prose. The introduction and biographical notes show these writers in their proper perspective and historical relation: in particular the national and peasant patterns that run through the texture of Norwegian fiction from Björnson's day until to-day are carefully traced. In the Swedish collection, as also in the two others, the stories are arranged chronologically, with biographical notes on the authors, so that the reader gains a very comprehensive idea of the wealth and diversity of modern Swedish fiction; the swing of the pendulum from the wild genius and tortured psychological analysis of Strindberg to the charming romance of Selma Lagerlöf and the quiet modern realism of Sigfrid Siwertz. These three volumes thus constitute a wonderful repertory of the choicest short stories in the Scandinavian languages and should find an extensive circulation among lovers of high-class fiction.

On Trust.—By E. W. Savi. (Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., Paternoster House, Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) 1929.

Mr. E. W. Savi is a voluminous writer of fiction, but it is perhaps the first time that he has placed the scene of story in India. It depicts some aspects of modern Anglo-Indian life faithfully. *On Trust* is a capital story—a wonderful delineation of “unscrupulous wives, confirmed drunkards, the district official who is too much of a ‘ruler’ to be human, the harmless flirt, the chaste wife about whom thereby hangs a tale.” Julian Orme is a member of this motley crowd—a person of the finest sensibilities. During his voyage to India he meets the “correspondence bride” of a heartless Don Juan who no sooner she lands shatters her rosy dreams. Julian befriends her and marries her. Suddenly an enemy—his first wife—believed to be dead, breaks in upon their happiness and

almost threatens to reduce Hilary to the unenviable position of a husbandless wife. The story thus holds the reader's unflagging interest. It is open to argument whether Mr Savi's story is typical of Anglo-Indian life. That question need not be pursued here, as we are dealing, after all, with a work professedly entertaining and not didactic. But many of the scenes and incidents are drawn true to life.

LATEST TOURIST'S LITERATURE

Cook's Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Iraq.—By Roy Elston. (Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W.) 1929.

The various handbooks for travellers, compiled by Mr. Roy Elston for Messrs. Thomas Cook's series of guides, have been highly appreciatively noticed by us in the *Hindustan Review* during the last few years and strongly commended to the travelling public. To this growing list has lately been added the new edition of the *Handbook for Palestine, Syria and Iraq*, revised by the late Assistant Governor of Jerusalem, and enriched with an appendix on the historical interest of the sites and monuments of Palestine by Professor J. Garstang—Director of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem and of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine. Its first edition appeared in 1924, and the text has been carefully revised, judiciously enlarged and completely overhauled for the present edition. The statement of facts in the handbook (relating to the three countries dealt with) is accurate and sound, the information is both practical and instructive, and the plans, map, bibliographies add materially to the usefulness of the volume, which is fully up-to-date and abreast of the latest events and changes.

Michelin Guide to Great Britain.—Tenth edition. (Michelin Tyre Co., Ltd., 81 Fulham Road, London, S. W. 3.) 1929.

The *Michelin Guide to Great Britain*—which has established alike its popularity and utility by having reached its tenth edition—is the best vade mecum for motorists in the British

Islands. It contains full descriptions (in alphabetical order) of over three thousand towns, over three hundred town plans in black and twenty in colours, a twenty-four page road atlas, a plan of London's theatreland with parking places and garages, an eight-page plan of London, a two-page plan of roads avoiding London, and a vast amount of general information for the motorist in Britain—on subjects like touring in cars, telephones and telegrams, ferries, automobile clubs, steamship communication, maps and guides, calendar and lighting-up time-table. It is thus comprehensive in scope, systematic in arrangement and practical in its information, and no motor tourist in Britain can do without the *Michelin Guide*.

Holiday Haunts, 1929.—(Manager Great Western Railway, Paddington, London.) 1929.

The Holiday Handbook.—(Manager, London and North-Eastern Railway, London.) 1929.

Under the Railways Act of 1921, the many lines of British railways were grouped under four managements and of these two are those designated the Great Western and the London and North-Eastern Railways. Each of these four publishes revised editions, from time to time, of big, bulky and ponderous handbooks, weighing about a couple of pounds each, giving full particulars of the many holiday resorts on its lines, embellished with maps, plans, descriptive sketches, practical information and everything else which the average tourist is likely to require in the way of knowledge of travel conditions—and all this at the cost of but six pence! Marvelous, indeed, must be the organizations which can turn out such super-excellent guidebooks and place them on the market for the benefit of the travelling public for a mere trifle. It were much to be wished that the various Indian railways would take a leaf out of the book of the British railways.

A Road Guide to Northern India.—(The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, Lahore.) 1929.

A Road Guide to Northern India is the official hand-book compiled under the aus-

pices of the Automobile Association of Northern India, which has its headquarters at Lahore. Though a pretty slim book of not more than 50 pages, it covers a great deal of ground and is replete with highly useful information of a practical character—about cars, roads, hotels, dak bungalows, refreshment rooms, rest-houses, etc.—which will be of very great utility and advantage to the motorist in Northern India.

Wheeler's Indian Guide to British Health Resorts, 1929. (A. H. Wheeler & Co., Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, London, E. C. 4; also at Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad.) 1929.

The Medical Directory Guide to the British Spas and Climatic Health Resorts, 1929. (J. & A. Churchill, 40, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, London, W. 1.) 1929.

The Indian Guide to British Health Resorts is a useful hand-book to the beauty spots and health resorts of Great Britain. Issued annually at a nominal price of four annas, it will be specially appreciated and welcomed by those who wish to enjoy their "home" leave. The illustrations, numbering over hundred, leave nothing to be desired, while the letter-press, though necessarily brief and concise, is accurate and informative. The arrangement of the text is alphabetical, which facilitates reference. Containing as it does descriptions of all the leading British health resorts together with beautiful photographic reproductions, it will be invaluable to those in India who may be visiting Britain.

The Guide to the British Spas and Climatic Health Resorts is annually compiled by the editor of the Health Resorts section of the *Medical Directory*. It is an excellent, illustrated hand-book to British spas—both inland and coastal—and includes useful lists of hotels, hydros and residential accommodation. Revised with the assistance of medical and health officers, its information is fully up-to-date, and it will be found exceedingly useful by invalids and visitors to those places. It offers sound advice as to the type of spa indicated for various disorders and detailed information about British spas, with full particulars about climate, waters, situation,

seasons and clinical indications. Thus it is a capital little guide to British health resorts.

A Guide to the Elura Cave Temples.

—By (the late) Dr. James Burgess, C. I. E. (G. Yazdani, M. A., Director of Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, Deccan.) 1929.

The late Dr. Burgess's *Guide to the Elura Cave Temples* is a standard work on the subject and though old has not been superseded. Mr. G. Yazdani, the very talented Director of Archaeology in the Nizam's Dominions—to whom the many interesting monuments in that State owe much in the way of conservation and preservation—has done well to issue a reprint of it. In case, another edition be called for, we would suggest that it be issued in a handier format than the present size (which is a trifle unwieldy) and that it be furnished with an Introduction containing practical information about routes, accommodation, and expenses.

RECENT BOOKS OF REFERENCE

The India Office List, 1929.—(Harrison & Sons, Ltd., 44 St. Martin's Lane, London, W. C.) 1929.

Next to the *Statesman's Year-Book*, the most useful reference work for use in India is *The India Office List*, which is issued annually by the India office, and is compiled from official records by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Its usual contents comprise the following sections:—The staff at the India Office, the Indian Civil Service and all other holders of civil appointments with a substantive pay of not less than Rs. 500 a month (in classified lists under the various provinces), the Royal Indian Marine, chronological lists of heads of administration in India and in London, going back as far as 1600, the Indian orders and lists of members of the Indian Service holding British honours, the various regulations for appointment to the services, extracts from civil and military regulations, an instructive article entitled "India," statistical tables, a record of services and the casualties for the past year. The index contains nearly 10,000 names. The arrangement of *The India Office List* is,

on the whole, admirable, and it is full of sound and useful information about India, from the excellent map of the Indian Empire with which it opens to the list of casualties with which it ends. In fact, we know of no other work of reference which supplies such a mass of most valuable and useful information, within the cover of a single volume, to every one interested in India. Our only regret is that its price is prohibitive for the purse of the average educated Indian. Considering the vast range of the subjects dealt with in *The India Office List*, the book is remarkably free from inaccuracies, though it is hopeless to expect that any work of reference, and least of all one dealing with so complex a subject as the Indian Empire, will be absolutely accurate. To the general reader the most interesting portion of the book is the article on "India," which gives in some forty pages the quintessence of the four volumes called *The Indian Empire*, constituting the general section of the last edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The current edition is fairly up-to-date—though by reason of its having been sent to the press before the last general election, it does not record the latest changes at the India Office—and it will be found a valuable work of reference by all interested in Indian problems. In fact, no one interested in India can do without this book.

The Austrian Year-Book of 1929—Edited by E. Ludwig (Austrian Federal Press Department, Vienna, 1 Ballhansplatz 2, Austria.) 1929.

Following the examples of the governments of the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Norway and Sweden and more recently of that of Czechoslovakia, the Austrian Government also have got the chief of their federal Press Department to prepare an excellent compendium of general information about their country, in the English language. To give it wide publicity that institution (the address of which is noted above) has been authorized to supply free copy of the book to public institutions which may apply for it. *The Austrian Year-Book*—which is exceedingly well put together for a first issue—covers a large ground and deals with Austrian constitution

and politics, foreign relations; art and landscape, finance and economics; and lastly with the cultivation of English in Austria. It thus provides English-knowing students of Austrian public affairs with an almost encyclopaedia work of reference, the data of which are derived from authentic, official sources, and it is thus an indispensable, handy manual of facts and figures.

Political Britain.—Edited by M. Farbman. (Europa Publications, Ltd., 6 Duke street, Adelphi, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

The Europa Publications Company are forging ahead with excellent works of reference, in addition to their well-known annual—*The Europa Year-Book*. Their latest addition to their reference book is *Political Britain*, which is an exceedingly good compendium of British politics—that is of parties, policies and politicians. It offers a sound survey of current British politics and public affairs and a guide to the new House of Commons, a directory of political institutions and clubs and a who's who of men in the public eye. Altogether, by reason of the very useful information it offers, it is a valuable work of reference.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

Poetry of the Orient.—an anthology edited by Mrs. Eunice Tietjens. (Alfred Knoff, London), is an excellent compendium of the poetical literature of Arabia, Persia, Japan, China and India. The editress was born in Chicago, in 1884, was educated in France, Switzerland, and Germany and has since travelled widely. During the war, she was Paris correspondent for *The Chicago Daily News*. She has been associate editor of *Poetry* since its second year, and is thus fully qualified for her task. Her *Poetry of the Orient* is thus an anthology of the poetry of the East made by a poet from a poet's point of view. Mrs. Tietjens has required that the translations themselves shall, before they do anything else, delight the reader. The selections are entirely secular; the large body of oriental religious poetry has not been drawn on. With this omission,

the poems included are fully representative of the whole range of the poetry of the countries mentioned above. She prefaces each section by a short consideration of the main characteristics of the poetry it contains, and these Introductions are illuminating. Altogether this anthology is the best of its kind.

Ludwig Klages's *Science of Character* is welcome in an excellent English translation from the German (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London). The author is the originator of the "Science of Expression," for the study of which he has founded an institute at Munich. His system is now very generally accepted in Germany and he enjoys the reputation of being one of the greatest European psychologists. His importance as such has two distinguishing aspects: he treats human character as a totality, without turning all his attention to one only of its many mainsprings; and he bases his work on a sound philosophical foundation. Both these characteristics of his method are brought into strong relief in his book under notice, which is highly suggestive and thought-provoking, even if it fail to be wholly convincing.

Dr. Hugh Dalton's *Principles of Public Finance* (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) is a classic on the subject it deals with and its third edition—carefully revised and judiciously enlarged—is, indeed, welcome. The author, one of the ablest of the younger economists, gives in it a clear account of the fiscal matters, and modes of taxation and makes lively reading of a dull theme. The book is very simply written, and forms an excellent elementary work on Public Finance. Mr. Dalton has succeeded in his effort in expressing general political and economic concepts in simple language and he suggests to the reader the lines upon which correct conclusions can be formed. Such a book is bound to be of immense value to the student.

The Conan Doyle Stories (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) is a companion to *The Complete Sherlock Holmes Short Stories* recently published and it comprises the Conan Doyle short stories other than those relating to the great detective. These have

been issued hitherto in six separate volumes under the general title of *The Conan Doyle Stories*, but now, with the help of thin paper and a carefully chosen type, the six books are incorporated in one volume and for the price of an ordinary novel. The volume comprises seventy-six stories in one compact and handy volume of 1,216 pages, strongly bound in red covers. Altogether a capital collection of short stories by a great master of the craft.

Mr. Paul Sever's *Anthology of Czechoslovakian Literature* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) contains English renderings from the works of Czech and Slovak authors in prose and verse, mostly modern and many of them contemporary. It does not claim to be exhaustive. The translator has selected his material mostly for its artistic qualities, but occasionally because of its documentary interest. All the extracts, with the exception of one or two of the earliest prose specimens, are complete in themselves.

Plans by Susan Clifford (Wells, Garner, Darton & Co, Ltd., 3 Paternoster Buildings, London, E. C. 4) is a book for holidays and a cure for "What shall we do next." This is an original idea well and carefully worked out. The author provides amusement, indoor or outdoor according to season, for every Saturday in the year, including Christmas Day as a Saturday. Some of the amusements are old friends, others are old friends in new dresses; the majority are entirely new. Many are sub-divided or are capable of much variation, so that one family or two, or more could join together in using the book. The instruction is very simple, and clearly written, to put in the minds of the children who play the games. These *Plans* should find many readers to carry them out, and the book will furnish enjoyment for much more than 52 Saturdays.

As a companion volume to the lives of many eminent Indians hitherto published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, the sketches of distinguished Indian scientists now collected will be specially welcome. These include Dr. Mahendralal Sircar, perhaps the greatest pioneer of medical science in India. Sir J. C. Bose, the celebrated plant-physiolo-

gist, Sir P. C. Ray, the chemist, and Sir C. V. Raman the physicist, together with an account of their researches, discoveries and inventions. An attempt is also made to record the achievements of their pupils as well, a record which amply demonstrates that "the Indian youths have as much aptitude for, and love of Science as the youth of any other country in the world." The lives of Prof. Ramachandra and Ramanujam—the mathematicians—prove the heights to which speculation in the field of abstract Science has reached in India. The sketches are all written with the special view to interest lay readers, and as such, this collection will be greatly valued not only by students of Science and Mathematics but also by the general reader. The book, which contains portraits, is rightly designated, *Indian Scientists*.

The same enterprising have lately issued new editions of two of their excellent publications. These on the late Dr. Miller's *Shakespeare Tragedies* and Mr. Gopal Panikkar's *Malabar and Its Folk*. The former contains studies on *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *Othello* from the pen of one who for over forty years had taught Shakespeare to hundreds of students. Dr. Miller, was a great Shakespearean scholar. In these critical and penetrating studies, he does not appear merely as an annotator or critic. He fixes attention especially on the ethical side of Shakespeare's teaching. According to him, the plays of Shakespeare, whether designedly or not, are not calculated merely to amuse. They have each "an inner meaning," a "central idea," which does the student good to search out and assimilate. Hence the welcome we extend to the new collection, formerly issued separately.

Mr. Panikkar's book was the first attempt at a systematic treatment of the life and institutions of the peoples of Malabar. The author writes of his compatriots with intimate knowledge born of long study and close association. There are twenty-three chapters in all, besides "a glossary of terms," and advantage has been taken of the issue of this new edition to revise and amplify the chapters in the light of recent history. Another striking feature of this edition is the inclusion of two special chapters, one on "The Land

System of Malabar" by Dr. V. K. John, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, and the other on "The Moplahs" by Hamid Ali, Bar.-at-Law. In its present form Mr. Panikkar's book will continue to appeal to a large circle of readers.

The latest additions to "The Outline Library" (George Newness Ltd., Southampton Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2) are *What the World is made of* and *Great Stories from the Classics*. Both are highly interesting and instructive little books. The former has been selected and expanded from Professor J. Arthur Thomson's well-known and standard work—*The Outline of Science*; while the *Great Stories* is a summary—exceedingly well done—of the main incidents and events in the epics of Homer and Vergil, as also other masterpieces of the literature of ancient Greece, with copious extracts from the best translations in English. "The Outline Library" is bound to make a wide appeal to the reading public.

We have read with interest Mr. A. J. Appasamy's *Student Life in the West* (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras), which will be useful to Indian students desirous of prosecuting their studies abroad. The writer not only discourses upon the ideals of education and the methods of study prevailing in the West, but gives revealing glimpses of the academic and social life of the students. University discipline, co-education, the tutorial system at Oxford—on these and numerous other phases of Western education, on all these Dr. Appasamy sheds light. Of more interest to the poorer among us is the author's account of that characteristic feature of American education, the self-supporting student. Here will be found a fine example and a worthy inspiration for students in India. The handbooks available to our students do not offer such intimate details as are furnished by the author of this booklet and by issuing which he has placed the students under very great obligation.

Mr. Raghubir Narayana—"the poet of Behar"—has had his poetic gifts appreciated and appraised in the *Hindustan Review*, ever since he began writing verses in English some twenty years back. He has now reprinted them in three volumes called *Wayside Blossoms*, *Sita Haran* and a

Tale of Behar (Library Book Agency, Khanjerpore, Bhagalpore). They should interest a large circle of readers.

Vaishnavism by Akhowry Basudev Narayan Sinha—generally known in Behar since he prefers to designate himself as such "Mr. A. B. N. Sinha"—(Government Translator, Secretariat, Patna) is the work of one who is a votary of that cult. Tracing the origin of the Vaishnava religion from the time of the Vedas, the author maintains that it existed during the Buddhist period as well. The various phases of the development of the doctrines of Vaishnavism from the Alwars to the Acharyas, from Ramanuja to Chaitanya in Bengal, Ramanand in the United Provinces and Ramdas in Maharashtra, with short biographies of the principal reformers are given. Some of the modern leaders of Vaishnavism, as also the various forms of it prevailing in the different provinces of India are described at some length. The book claims to be an authentic history of the rise and development of the Vaishnava religion. The literature on the subject (in English) is fairly extensive, but a book written by a believer in the faith has a distinct value of its own—in contrast with those written by "unbelievers."

The Sanj Vartman Pate'ti Number (Bombay) which is regularly issued each year is ever welcome. Among the vernacular journals of Bombay, the *Sanj Vartman* occupies justly a pre-eminent position. It is one of the oldest Gujarati newspaper, having a large circulation. For the last many years, it has been regularly bringing out its *Annual* a few days before the Parsi New Year, and it is always eagerly looked forward to by not only the Parsi-reading public, but by readers of other communities as well. This year's *Annual*, like its predecessors, is a bulky volume containing no fewer than a hundred articles on various subjects, some of which are both interesting and instructive. Moreover, it is copiously and attractively illustrated, and worthily maintains its former high standard of excellence. Among the articles published are: *Joy of Forgetfulness*, by Dr. Walter Williams, *Some Practical Business Hints to the Parsi Community* by "Silent Watcher," *Fighting Floods and Famines*, by Mr. J. K. Mehta, the *Parsi Race*

and its Preservation by Mr. J. J. Vimadatal, the *Woman of Tomorrow* by Miss Nawajbai Contractor, *The Indian States and British India* by Dr. Rushbrook Williams, *Political Reforms and Communal Tension* by Mr. K. P. Nariman, and the *Land Revenue Policy and the Rule of Law* by Mr. K. M. Munshi. Thus the interest of all classes of readers is fully catered for. Altogether, the *Annual* is a remarkable production and we hasten to offer our felicitations to its talented proprietor and editor.

The Life and Teachings of "Baba Must Ram" (Mr. Charles William de Russette) by Mr. Bal Gobind, Retired Oriental Translator (D.P.I.'s Office, Home Department, Government of India) is an interesting sketch. Baba Must Ram was the Mahant of Jakko Temple at Simla. This pamphlet contains a few of the religious and philosophic sayings of the Mahant. The Hindu avatars and Hindu avatar philosophy are described with much insight. The life of Rama and Krishna also is touched upon skillfully. The book should appeal to all admirers of that great catholicity of Hinduism which enables it to absorb in its system even Europeans as its saints and priests.

Rajani is one of the well-known novels of the great Bengalee Novelist—Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. It has now been rendered into English by Mr. P. Majumdar (The Book Company, 4-4A College Square, Calcutta). The translation is well done and brings into striking relief the merits of the original.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, M. L. A., of Poona, is a distinguished Indian publicist, who was for years editor of Mr. Tilak's well-known English journal the *Maharatha* and still edits the *Kesari* (in Marathi)—the leading paper in that language. He is also a prominent member of the Legislative Assembly where he justly commands respect for his ability and integrity. His son has, therefore, done well to bring together a collection of his

father's writings and speeches, under the picturesquely alliterative title of *Pleasures and Privileges of the Pen* (K. N. Kelkar, 554 Sadashiv Peth, Poona). It is a bulky volume of over 550 pages, clearly printed, neatly got-up and strongly bound, and is a store-house of wholesome matter, couched in excellent language, on many of the current problems of this country—political, economic, industrial and educational. It should be studied carefully by all students of Indian public affairs.

Under the expressive title of *The First and Last of Conrad*, the publishers (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie Street, Strand, London) have brought together, in one handy volume of over one thousand pages, four of Conrad's well-known novels:—*Almayer's Folly* (1895), *An Out-caste of the Islands* (1896), *The Arrow of Gold* (1919), and *The Rover* (1923). It is an invaluable collection to lovers of Conrad.

The "World's Classics" (Oxford University Press, Bombay) is getting so famously as the cheapest and handiest collection, in one series, of the best in the world's literature. The latest editions are (in fiction) Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* and in poetry and drama of the second volume of Mr. Peacock's anthology designated *English Verse* and a compendium of five dramas called *Eighteenth Century Comedy*. This series rightly commands an extensive circulation amongst lovers of literature.

We lately noticed appreciatively the first batch of reprints of standard treatises in the "Thinker's Library" (Watts & Co., 5 & 6 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4). These were Wells's *First and Last Things*, Herbert Spencer's *Education*, Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*, Mrs. Bonner's selection from Bradlaugh's writings and Mill's *Liberty*. The latest addition is Wells's *Short History of the World*. The 'Library' will be a wonderfully good collection when completed.

THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION ON DOMINION STATUS

ON the 1st of November, 1929—the seventy-first anniversary of the announcement, by Lord Ganning, of Queen Victoria's memorable proclamation, in 1858, in this very city of Allahabad—His Excellency Lord Irwin (as the Governor-General and Viceroy) made a declaration, at Delhi, which future generations will justly regard as a historic document. There is no need to go into raptures over it; at the same time it would be a political blunder of the first magnitude to underestimate or under-value its significance and potentialities. The critics need not indulge in the remark that it means nothing, or that it may mean anything. Nor can its supporters be justified in assuming that it means the immediate achievement by India of Dominion Status. Our interpretation of it is that His Majesty's Government, unlike their predecessors, have had, fortunately, the wisdom and courage to recognise the egregious blunder committed by the Baldwin Government, and have now thrown open the gates for *pourparlers* leading to the settlement of the Indian problem. The skill with which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Wedgwood Benn, helped and supported actively by Lord Irwin, have out-manœuvred Sir John Simon is truly noteworthy. The sanctity of the Simon Commission was one of the pathetic articles of political faith of the British Tories and Liberals alike, and also of all our opponents in Britain and India. The Labour Government have tried their best—and have fairly succeeded in saving the face of Sir John Simon, and he still continues to be on paper the divinity that he was; but he is in truth now reduced to the level of ordinary mortals. The true

priests of the political situation now revealed are Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Lord Irwin. They have *inspired* the once exalted but now discarded divinity, presiding over the Statutory Commission, to give them the response they desired, and we have thus presented to view the very amusing spectacle of Sir John Simon himself, the President of the great Parliamentary Commission, recommending the convening of a Round Table Conference! In these modern days, as perhaps also in ancient, the warp and woof of politics cannot be very closely scrutinized. It does not matter, therefore, whose is the voice that speaks, but it does matter much whose is the hand that has achieved the result. As such, we warmly congratulate the Prime Minister, Mr. Secretary Wedgwood Benn and His Excellency Lord Irwin on the great result they have been able to achieve. There is a way, out of the serious impasse, now provided. The Congressmen, since 1924, and all the other Indian nationalists during the last few years, have insisted on a Round Table Conference. They have got it at last. The Round Table Conference is to come in—it should be carefully noted—*between* the publication of the Simon Report and the meetings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, which, indeed, is a very good device to circumvent the difficulties. Thus the Viceroy's announcement preserves the sentiment of all, and even lets Sir John Simon enjoy the halo of his puppet divinity. It interprets the Parliamentary Declaration of 1917 as implicitly carrying with it the promise of Dominion Status for India, as a whole, and does so without offering any

apologies to Sir Malcolm Hailey—the very gifted author of the alleged distinction! It thus confirms openly and expressly the interpretation put on it in the Nehru Committee's Report. It maintains the sanctity of the Parliamentary Declaration, and yet it does not talk of progress towards the goal either by stages or of the power of Parliament to determine them. It skilfully seizes upon the Butler Committee's Report and the situation created by it, and thus *inspires* Sir John Simon himself to suggest the convening of a Round Table Conference and a splendid opportunity to the Labour Government to undo the mischief done by their predecessors. For that reason, we say, it is a piece of good craftsmanship, which deserves wide appreciation by all who can realize the inherent difficulties of the situation. The way is now clear for a start, but as we march on, we should be prepared to meet in our path the lions of the Birkenhead, the Simon, the Reading, and the Winterton species. They will still continue to roar, they cannot help doing it, but we do not think that they will really be able to rend and tear, much less swallow up Mr. Wedgwood Benn or Lord Irwin. We think that Lord Irwin has done a good piece of service to India, on which he deserves to be congratulated. We also think that it is now up to our public men, who may be invited to the Conference,

to gird up their loins and to attend the London Session of it. While there, they must fight for Dominion Status, and in this they will have the good will and the good wishes of the entire country behind them. If the Round Table Conference gives them a chance for putting up a fight, it will also test their sense of statesmanship. In these modern days, more often than not, the weapons of statesmanship and diplomacy have proved more powerful than any other kind in the cause of freedom's battle. We believe confidently that there are plenty of such high useful weapons in the armoury of Indian Nationalism, which will stand us in good stead in achieving our destined goal. Our highly successful boycott of the wretched Simon Commission, the grim determination for non-co-operation (by the National Congress) early next year, and the tremendous pressure of nationalist public opinion, exerted on the Government by the Indian Press, have been, in the main, the contributory causes in having brought about the happy and substantial result achieved, which has now found suitable expression in the Viceroy's declaration. Let us hope that even better results will accrue to our country from the discussions at the Round Table Conference, next year. In the meantime, let us learn to labour and to wait.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AS CONGRESS PRESIDENT : A SYMPOSIUM

THE press comments on the election of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the President of the next session of the Indian National Congress cover a wide range—says *New India*—in the degrees of their approval and disapproval. To consider first, Anglo-Indian opinion, which may thus be summarized: The *Englishman* (Calcutta), which represents one extreme, considers the choice to be “extremely unfortunate,” because of the “subversive nature of his ambitions and the violence of the language he uses to express those ambitions.” In the view of this ultra-conservative organ “the election of the Pandit to leadership at Lahore is a definite challenge to the sway hitherto wielded by the elders.” The observations of the pseudo-liberal *Statesman* (Calcutta) are pitched in a less emotional key. It says: “The election of Pandit Jawaharlal clears the situation. The Congress in his hands should be a more extreme body than it has been and the exponent of a simpler faith. Son succeeds father in the chair, but that does not mean a continuity of tradition. Indian politics are entering on a new phase and gain in reality when men like Jawaharlal Nehru are placed in the position of leadership.” The *Times of India* (Bombay) deplors Mr. Gandhi’s refusal of the offer of presidentship as “a lost opportunity.” It does not believe that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru’s views on communism and “state ownership of everything” represent those of more than a fraction of Congress members, and feels that “if men like the Pandit be at the helm, it is hopeless to expect from the Congress any useful co-operation.” That the Pandit was a nominee of Mr. Gandhi is another

illustration, to its mind, of the fact that “Mr. Gandhi’s intervention in politics has been a misfortune for the country.” The *Pioneer* (Allahabad), though it is disappointed at the failure of the efforts to persuade Mr. Gandhi to accept the presidentship, sees in the election of his own nominee evidence of his undiminished weight and influence in Indian politics. It recognizes that the choice of Pandit Jawaharlal is “calculated to cause misgiving,” but hopes that “his assumption of office may bring to that young and zealous leader real sense of responsibility.”

To turn next to Indian public opinion, among the more important Indian journals of western India, the *Indian Daily Mail* and the *Indian Social Reformer* (both of Bombay) strike a very doubtful note. The *Daily Mail* says that “the Congress constituencies preferred to have the guidance of a maturer mind and riper experience,” and the Pandit is “the nominee of Mr. Gandhi, more than the choice of the Congress constituencies.” It adds: “Under the Gandhi regime, the circle of Congress leadership has been narrowed down to himself and to one or other of an extremely limited range. The selection is nothing more than a demonstration that Mr. Gandhi controls the Congress and can get it to accept whomsoever he chooses for any position in it.” With regard to Pandit Jawaharlal’s own position, the *Indian Social Reformer*, which is under the same editor as the *Mail* writes: “He is himself in the position of a captive balloon held down on one side by the pacific idealism of Mahatma Gandhi and on the other by the political realism of Pandit Motilal Nehru.” The

Reformer points out the real significance of the election as follows: "Politics, national as well as international, is nowadays, largely a matter of gestures, and Pandit Jawaharlal's Presidency is a gesture to the British Government. Pandit Jawaharlal may be described as the most moderate of extremists. The choice is perhaps the best in the circumstances." Proceeding further towards the other end of the scale, we come across the comments of the *Leader* (Allahabad), which sums up its views, in the following terms: "The election of Pandit Jawaharlal may be regarded as a victory of the left wing of the Congress. He has his own views about propertied and privileged classes and the British connection. His selflessness, sincerity and earnestness are beyond dispute. By conviction, he is a Socialist, and his Socialism is essentially the product of his humanitarianism. The greatest need of the present moment is unity. Will Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru keep this in mind?"

The fact that "next year may easily be the most critical in the annals of modern India" is noted by the *Servant of India* (Poona), which explains that the hesitation of those who preferred to wait for some time before they would call him (Pandit Jawaharlal) to the office of Congress President, was due to their doubt as to whether he possesses the qualities required for the occasion. The *Hitavada* (Nagpur) is inclined to speculate on "the mysterious reasons" which have induced Mr. Gandhi to "force Pandit Jawaharlal on the country." The *Hindustan Times* (Delhi) and the *Tribune* (Lahore) are not happy over the manner in which the Pandit has been elected. It has "weakened his position" says the former. The Delhi journal advises Pandit Jawaharlal "to take as constantly and as freely as occasion permits the advice, both of Mahatma Gandhi

and his own illustrious father, though this may involve a temporary suppression of his pet schemes and cherished ideals." The *Tribune* says that "the circumstances under which Pandit Jawaharlal has been elected President reflect no excess of credit on the parties principally concerned." The *Mahratta* (Poona) is concerned for the present more with Mr. Gandhi's unbending refusal to lead the Congress, which it interprets as "nothing less than a shirking of responsibility," especially "in view of the ultimatum given mainly through his instrumentality in the Calcutta Congress resolution." Referring to the youth of Pandit Jawaharlal, the *Tribune* remarks that he is "15 years older than the younger Pitt when he became Prime Minister." *Liberty* and *Basumati* (both of Calcutta) give their unqualified approval to the election and point out that "his hold on the youth of India is unprecedented." The *Searchlight* (Patna) rejoices over the election and is not afraid of the extremist tendencies in the Congress, as, in its view, they "amount to nothing more than vague will o' the wisps due mainly to a natural chaffing under the existing state of stagnation, and secondly to want of real effective leadership." It would thus be seen that while Indian public opinion is not unanimous about the choice made by those who elected him to the presidential chair, all Indian papers, without any exception, praise the high qualities of Pandit Jawaharlal's character, though they differ pretty widely about his qualifications to lead the Congress at the present juncture.

II

For our part, while heartily congratulating Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his election, we do not see our way to find fault with the All-India Congress Committee, with which the election rested.

To consider first the personal aspect of the question, the following observations of the *Indian Social Reformer*—in noticing the article which appeared in the July issue of this periodical headed "The Hindustan Review: Thirty Years After,"—should be kept in view. It wrote: "Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is a fine type of the younger politicians among us. His selfless devotion to the public good, as he sees it, is beyond question. He is further a man of scrupulous honour, who will not, from any consideration, stoop to underhand or unfair tactics. Personally, therefore, his title to public recognition needs no justification. Nor do we think his age is an important consideration. He is well past his teens, and is a man of wide reading and culture. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in his interesting review of Indian public life since the *Hindustan Review* was started thirty years ago, notes with characteristic accuracy that Pandit Jawaharlal was then ten years old. The chief consideration against his selection at this juncture is that he is deeply committed and is, in fact, one of the originators of the 'Independence' school. Congress is, it is true, pledged to declare for independence if by the end of the year, Dominion Status is not assured to the country. Mahatma Gandhi himself has, however, admitted that the time-table is not immutable, should events meanwhile recommend its extension. Pandit Jawaharlal is an 'independence' man without any time limit, and his election now cannot but prejudice the free consideration of the constitutional problem. It will not be fair to him either, to expect him to change his views should the conditions necessitate the acceptance of Dominion Status." So the objection—according to our esteemed Bombay contemporary—could not lie against Pandit Jawaharlal on any per-

sonal ground, but only on that of the views he holds. But unless we are very greatly mistaken the views he holds are precisely those that are held by far the larger number of Congressmen in the country, and it seems to us, therefore, but right and proper that the President to be elected should be one who is frankly in sympathy with the vast bulk of the rank and file of the votaries of the Congress.

But there were other factors operating in favour of Pandit Jawaharlal which are thus enumerated by the *Social Reformer* itself: "Mahatma Gandhi having persisted in his refusal to accept the presidentship of the next session of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who received the next largest number of votes from the Provincial Committees having likewise declined the responsibility, and new nominations not being permissible according to Congress rules, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was elected at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to the office. It was a case of more or less Hobson's choice with the committee. The result has been received with enthusiasm by few, and with frank misgivings by some organs of public opinion." Well, if it was a case of 'Hobson's choice' with the Committee, why blame that poor body for what it could not but do as the result of its inevitable limitations—firstly, of the rules under which it had to work and, secondly, of the fact, now openly admitted on all hands, that as the outcome of its latest metamorphosis, the Congress has itself reduced its status from that of a national organization to that of an advanced political party. If these facts be kept in view, criticisms—such as the one which appeared in the *Tribune* (quoted above) or the following which saw the light in the *Indian Daily Mail* would seem to lose their force: "The circumstances in which Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru has been elected to preside over the next session of the Indian National Congress, make him the nominee of Mr. Gandhi more than the choice of the Congress constituencies, which definitely passed him over in favour of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. This did not mean any reflection on the Pandit who is a man of high culture and character. It only meant that at this juncture the Congress constituencies preferred to have the guidance of a maturer mind and a riper experience. Under the Gandhi regime, however, the circle of Congress leadership has been narrowed down to himself and to one or other of an extremely limited range. It has been said that Gokhale became President of the Congress when he was only thirty-nine, or a year younger than Pandit Jawaharlal, but there is no comparison between the two. The selection is nothing more than a demonstration that Mr. Gandhi controls the Congress and can get it to accept whomsoever he chooses for any position in it."

It is no doubt true, in a sense, that there can be no comparison between Gokhale at thirty-nine, when he presided

over the Benares session of the National Congress, in 1905, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presiding in his fortieth year, at Lahore, in 1929. Yet, obviously, the disadvantageous comparison is unfair to the latter, since not only his views but methods of works are so diametrically different from Gokhale's. Perhaps a truer explanation of Pandit Jawaharlal's election is that which has been offered by the *Social Reformer*:—"Pandit Jawaharlal's own position is not an easy one. The reasons given publicly by Mahatma Gandhi are not necessarily all his reasons for insisting on the junior Pandit's election this time to the Congress presidency. Politics, national as well as international, is nowadays largely a matter of gestures, and Pandit Jawaharlal's presidency is a gesture to the British Government. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may be described as being the most moderate of extremists and Mahatma Gandhi has doubtless calculated the value of his co-operation in keeping the independence school within the bounds of practical politics. On the whole, the choice is perhaps the best in the circumstances." We agree.

MR. F. W. WILSON OF "THE PIONEER": A STUDY

"DURING the whole period of its existence, the *Pioneer* never had another editor like Mr. Wilson, who gave a new orientation to its time-honoured policy of supercilious anti-Indianism and made it a powerful exponent of progressive opinion in harmony with Indian sentiment on many subjects. A brilliant writer, a live wire (if we may say so), and one who has done more to appreciate the Indian point of view and

to regard Indian sentiment than any other recent editor of an Anglo-Indian paper, Mr. Wilson will be greatly missed by a host of Indian newspaper readers."—The *Leader* (Allahabad daily).

"Mr. Wilson had been strenuously at work trying to bring the Government and the European community to view Indian problems from an impartial standpoint. During his regime as editor, the *Pioneer*,

was read by a very large number of Indians, who (while disagreeing with many things he had to say) still applauded him for his courage in presenting India's view-point. He consistently took up an impartial attitude in most things relating to this country."—*The Hindustan Times* (Delhi daily).

"There is not the least doubt that Mr. Wilson entirely revolutionized the *Pioneer* and to him belongs the credit of making a blind partisan of bureaucratic rule and of European ascendancy—a hostile and often unreasoning, an unfair and unjust critic of the national movement—an independent organ which tried to understand, even if it did not always sympathize with, Indian aspirations. In some most crucial cases, indeed, the *Pioneer* under his editorship threw in the weight of its influence wholly on the side of the people and offered uncompromising opposition to the bureaucracy"—*The Tribune* (Lahore daily).

"Mr. Wilson with true insight perceived that Anglo-Indian journalism, if it is to survive, should have a higher ideal. A journalist who could take a detached and dispassionate view of Indian problems, he frankly, honestly and straightforwardly, criticised whatever he thought was mistaken or wrong and he thus did much to bridge the gulf between Indians and Europeans in this country. That he did not choose to tread the smooth and easy road is altogether to his credit. Anglo-Indian journalism cannot survive except on the lines on which Mr. Wilson sought to direct the *Pioneer*."—*The Indian Daily Mail* (Bombay daily).

"The *Pioneer's* anti-Indian feeling was well-known. Mr. Wilson changed its policy of reactionism into one of independence, and it was this salutary orientation (followed by a reduction in its price) that made the *Pioneer* popular among Indians. He kept an open mind on many Indian questions. As an independent journalist, he appreciated the Indian point of view and made the *Pioneer* a powerful exponent of progressive opinion in harmony with Indian sentiment on many subjects. His retirement from the editorial chair of the *Pioneer* will be deeply regretted by Indians."—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta daily).

"Before Mr. Wilson took charge of the *Pioneer*, that paper was a blind partisan of bureaucratic rule in India and was positively anti-Indian in its views and outlook. He

revolutionised its tone and policy and made it an independent paper. He is really a great journalist for he possesses in abundance the one great quality (so very essential for a successful journalist) of making people read what he writes, no matter whether they agree with him. His retirement will be deeply regretted all over the country."—*The Searchlight* (Patna Thrice-Weekly).

"Mr. Wilson, the capable British journalist succeeded in making the *Pioneer* a vehicle for views largely sympathetic to Indian aspirations for Self-Government. The *Pioneer* was long regarded as the non-official exponent and apologist of British official policy in India and it had established a notorious record as a die-hard, consistently anti-Indian, Anglo-Indian paper. Mr. Wilson broke away from the tradition, but the controlling interests in the *Pioneer*, (presumably under heavy pressure from a variety of influential quarters) did not like the change. His forced retirement from the field of his strenuous labours, which were naturally distasteful to alien vested interests in this country, will be regretted by Indians of all shades of political thought."—*The Bombay Chronicle* (Daily).

II

The extracts quoted above, from long eulogistic, editorial comments (which have appeared in almost all the leading exponents of Indian public opinion) throw into strong relief the invaluable services rendered to India by Mr. F. W. Wilson, and the great loss that Indian public activities have sustained by the severance of his connection with the *Pioneer*. True, he was not the first Anglo-Indian journalist to have tried to look at public questions from an Indian perspective. We yet recall with a sense of gratitude the honoured name of Robert Knight—the founder and long first editor of the *Statesman* of Calcutta—and also (during the troublous times of the Bengal partition agitation) of a great editor of that paper—Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe. Other names may also be recalled, particularly that of Mr. Benjamin Horniman, who as the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* suffered even

deportation and great pecuniary loss for his support of the Indian cause. It is no disparagement of them, however, to state the well-known fact that not only the *Chronicle*, but in a sense the *Statesman* also, was an Indian paper, having been founded mainly through funds provided by Indians. In this respect the case of the *Pioneer* is entirely different. Founded (as a thrice-weekly) so far back as 1865 by Mr. (afterwards "Sir") George Allen—father of Mr. C. T. Allen of the Country League fame!—it became a daily in 1868 and has been ever since the acknowledged organ, in the press of this country, at once of the Anglo-Indian (civil and military) bureaucratic hierarchy and the British-Indian merchants and traders. Its policy had been—until Mr. Wilson's occupation of its editorial chair—frankly anti-Indian and pro-Government. At times, even in recent years, it wrote of Indians in a strain which naturally evoked feelings of great acerbity and bitterness. That so great and staunch a partisan in the press, of Anglo-Indian officialdom and British Indian commercial interests—of whose "tiger qualities," it was not ashamed to remind its Indian readers, only some years back—should have been converted into an independent and impartial organ of public opinion by an editor of strong individuality and robust convictions is a feat of which Mr. F. W. Wilson may justly be proud, and a fact which rightly deserved appreciation throughout the length and breadth of this country, as is evinced by the excerpts quoted at the top of this study of Mr. Wilson's successful career, attesting his unique position in the world of journalism in India.

III

Mr. Wilson is by descent a Scotchman and possesses in a remarkable

degree the traits of the Scottish race—grit, stamina, and a robust individuality. Born in May, 1891, he is still below forty and a young man in the profession of journalism. His father—a well-known educationalist—imparted to him sound education at home and then sent him to the Manchester University. There young Wilson specialized in History under the late Professor Tout, and proceeded (after having secured a scholarship in this subject) to New College, Oxford, where in his first year he won an open essay-prize. He stayed for four years at Oxford and thoroughly qualified himself in the subjects he had taken. But he did not confine himself to his books alone. A born journalist, he took up the editorship of the *Varsity*—the undergraduate's weekly journal. After leaving Oxford, Mr. Wilson joined the staff of the *Daily Mail* (London) under the late Lord Northcliffe. When the Great World War broke out in August, 1914, he served first with the Artist's Rifles and then with the Coldstream Guards—fighting with the first battalion in France. At the end of the war, he was serving on the Q branch of the Fourth Army. On his return home after demobilization, he joined the staff of the *Times* (London) and worked as a special correspondent and leader writer. In 1920 he attached himself to the *Sunday Times* as its Assistant Editor. At the end of 1921, he went to America and stayed there for about a year studying the methods and developments of journalism in that country. On his return to Britain—after a short period with the *People* (London)—he joined Lord Beaverbrook's staff as the Assistant Editor of the *Sunday Express*, in which capacity he worked till September, 1927, when he came out to Allahabad, as the Assistant Editor of the *Pioneer*, and assumed editorial charge

of that paper in February, 1928. It would thus be seen that though yet only thirty-eight, Mr. Wilson has had a vast and varied experience in life—both at the desk and on the field—particularly as a journalist not only in Britain but in America as well. It is not surprising, therefore, that on the 1st of November, 1928, he succeeded in reducing the price of the *Pioneer* from four annas a copy to one anna, which coupled with new orientation he had already impressed upon the policy of that paper, had led in the short space of less than one year, to the more than quadrupling of its sale from about three thousands to over twelve thousands.

IV

That in conducting the *Pioneer* as an independent, impartial and progressive organ of public opinion, Mr. Wilson was inspired with the true instincts of a great Anglo-Indian journalist can admit of no two opinions. Whatever its necessity, or importance in the past, the Anglo-Indian press today—comprising scarcely even one dozen dailies and weeklies all put together, in India and Burma—is (as rightly remarked by the *Indian Daily Mail*) "fast becoming an anomaly." "Without ideal or inspiration, it is now merely an excrescence impeding the course of Indian progress. Its only function now is day after day to belittle Indian efforts at national reconstruction, to cry down patriotic Indian leaders and (where that is impossible) to damn them with faint praise, to foment sectional differences, and in every way possible to discredit openly or insidiously the most cherished aspirations of the people of this country. With the growing national consciousness, this game is fast becoming impossible and circulations have to be maintained by puzzles and competitions appealing to the human weakness

to get something for nothing." This is an absolutely correct characterization of the Anglo-Indian press today; in witness whereof we may recall its notable losses (during the third decade alone of the twentieth century) of no less than five dailies the *Indian Daily News* and the *Empire of Calcutta*, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow, the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Madras Times*—leaving only but ten dailies and a couple of weeklies, against dozens of Indian dailies: and scores of weeklies. Great—very great—credit is, therefore, due to Mr. Wilson, for the perception of the fact, with the true insight of a born journalist, that if the *Pioneer* was to survive the struggle for existence, it could only be by its being converted into a useful contributor to India's well-being, instead of being an opponent of her aspirations. The new orientation in the policy of the *Pioneer* had given dire offence both to Government and Anglo-Indian officialdom and has already found bitter expression in the *Dilemma of India*, written by—that typical representative of the troglodytes of a paleozoic Anglo-Indian bureaucracy—Sir Reginald Craddock: "The irresponsible Indian press," he moans "has now claimed a new recruit from the stronghold of commonsense, for the *Pioneer* trips cheerfully down the easy slope to Alvernum, forgetful in its blindness of the bottomless pit" (p. 324). And so Mr. Wilson has suffered because he set before himself a high ideal and a true conception of his duties as an Anglo-Indian journalist which, however, was not appreciated by the proprietors of that paper, who evidently have decided to go back to their old view-point and make it once again the organ of British officialdom and commercial coteries. "The *Pioneer*"—as remarked by the *Leader*—"since it was deprived of Mr. Wilson's editorial

control, has become a pale shadow of its recent self, and utilized the almost first available opportunity to advertise to its readers, negatively and affirmatively what they are to expect of it in future." Whether as the result of this change, the *Pioneer* will fare better or go the way of all things not wanted in this world, remains to be seen, and the future is proverbially on the lap of the gods. But it is clear that in severing his connection with the paper, rather than pursue what he regarded as wrong policy, Mr. Wilson has set a great example of self-sacrifice for the sake of one's principles. Had he but cared for his personal interests, he might have quietly followed the beaten track of

Anglo-Indian journalism and received, in due course, at the hands of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, that recognition which in this country journalists receive, who manage to stand well with the powers that be. That he did not choose to do so, but placed before himself a better, higher and nobler ideal of serving this country by criticising fairly, justly and honestly whatever he considered deserving of censure (whether in the Government or in the people) redounds to his very great credit and his name will, therefore, be held in high esteem by future generations of journalists in India and it will especially stand high in the history of Anglo-Indian journalism.

IN THE PUBLIC EYE: KING NADIR KHAN.

GENERAL NADIR KHAN who had been famous in Afghanistan as 'the Conqueror of Thal' has now become the saviour of Afghanistan and its fourth king within one year.

After the fall of King Amanullah Khan and the capture of the throne by Bachcha-i-Saqqa, the well-wishers of the Afghan nation had become doubtful about its future progress towards modernization. When the situation was such as to make the most optimistic despondent and hopeless, Nadir Khan has, by his qualities of great leadership and military organization and his knowledge of strategy, achieved a victory which may truly be called wonderful. The whole outlook for the future of Afghanistan has now changed. We recount here a few salient facts about the life of this great hero who has made history, and who is destined to be assigned a place in history with the great heroes of the world.

General Nadir Khan was Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan army at first during the reign of Amir Habibullah, King Amanullah's father. When Amir Habibullah was murdered near Jalalabad on the night of February the 19th, in the year 1919, General Nadir Khan was also with the late Amir. Nasrullah Khan, the younger brother of the late Amir, Habibullah Khan, who was also with him, then and there proclaimed himself Amir, with the acquiescence of General Nadir Khan. But the whole country and specially the army was very much enraged at the cold-blooded murder of their Amir. In the meanwhile,

Amanullah Khan declared himself Amir at Kabul and had General Nadir Khan and Sirdar Nasrullah Khan arrested at Jalalabad and brought to Kabul enchained. Sirdar

Nasrullah Khan was thrown into prison, but Nadir Khan was granted a royal pardon. However he was not allowed to retain his position as Commander-in-Chief, but lowered to the rank of a brigade-commander and posted in Khost. It was in this position that he made his fame, in the first instance when the last Anglo-Afghan War was fought. No battle took place in the vicinity of the Pass at Quetta. An attack was made on the Khyber and the arrangements of troops there were sufficient to ward off the attack. These are the chief passes to allow of a large number of troops to make a move and the British Indian Government had taken every precaution in these territories. But Nadir Khan made his attack at an unexpected



KING NADIR KHAN

place. He mobilized a big army in Khost and made a series of marches to Thal and took the small garrison there by surprise. When British reinforcements were hurried to Thal, he retired. When the war was over, he was acclaimed as a hero in Afghanistan and is to this day known as the "Conqueror of Thal." He took an important part in the negotiations for the Anglo-Afghan Peace Treaty that followed the armistice. Nadir Khan insisted that there should be an indemnity clause in the peace treaty for the tribes on the Indian side of the Durand line who had risen during the war against the British in sympathy with

Afghanistan. And he did get such a clause incorporated in the treaty. Some time after he was again appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan Army by Amanullah. But he could not hold the position for long, as he was to retire a few months after. After his retirement from the army he was appointed Afghan Ambassador at Paris. He resigned the post after a short period and settled down in France. It was from there that he came out to his country, in his old age, 'to free it,' as he said. He landed in Bombay on February 22, 1929, with his two brothers, Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, who marched on Kabul and has captured that fateful city, and Sirdar Hashim Khan, who had recently gone to the Kandahar side. On his arrival at Bombay General Nadir Khan issued a statement to the press in the course of which he declared: "Myself and my relatives have no wish to govern Afghanistan, nor to lay any claim to its throne. Our sole desire is for immediate peace and the cessation of all strife. We only wish to offer our services and our counsel to Afghanistan, thereby ceasing our personal differences. We may unify to promote the honour of our country and free it from its present internal dissensions, so that we may thereby lay the foundation of a beneficent government strong enough to guarantee the peace and independence of Afghanistan." And now he has accepted the throne.

So the King-maker has made *himself* King. According to his brother, Shah Wali Khan, Nadir Khan persistently refused the crown, just as Cæsar did centuries ago. But un-

like Cæsar he did accept it in the end. The story is, indeed, interesting, but it is not ennobling. One thought that Nadir Khan was above all earthly temptations. Nadir Khan, as a soldier, will for ever occupy a high place in the estimation of the world; but by accepting the crown he has shown that he is not as great as a man or even as a statesman. Being the most popular figure in Afghanistan, he has reason to feel quite secure on the throne. Those who have been fervently hoping for Amanullah's return to Afghanistan have received a rude shock. They can, however, derive some consolation from the fact that Nadir Khan is a man of progressive views. He is a modern man with a liberal outlook on political, religious, social and economic affairs. Having lived in Europe for a long time he has learned all the good points of European civilization that can be usefully and safely applied towards the reformation of an eastern people. He can combine all the good from the West with the good of his own civilization, and is thus able to bring about real and true progress. He is against *pardah* on principle, but he would not apply the rules of European social life (so far as they relate to woman) entirely towards the reformation of female life in Afghanistan, because Afghanistan is not yet ripe and ready to receive it. Provided Nadir Khan is able to subdue the outlying provinces who have not had any controlling authority for a long time, there is reason to believe that a bright future awaits Afghanistan.

THE MONTH: FROM THE EDITOR'S ARM-CHAIR

IN noticing (in our last issue) the so-called "unanimous" Report of the Simonite co-operators of these Behar and Orissa as "Heaven"! of the famous chorus of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera, the refrain of which was "them seven, the worldly-wise." Looking into *My best Scotch Stories*, just out of the press, compiled by the renowned Scotch comedian, Sir Harry Lauder, we have lighted upon an anecdote which would best serve our purpose in characterizing the "series of reports"—three in number, by three batches of Simonite co-operators in Behar and Orissa—which have seen the light since we last wrote. Under the heading "A Highland Heaven" Sir Harry Lauder relates the following amusing story:—"I had a lovely time last night," said a Scotchman to an English friend of his. He explained: "I was in a hoose (house) where there were seven pipers and they were all playing different tunes. Man, it was just like being in Heaven." On the acceptance of the view underlying this Scotch story, Bihar and Orissa should hereafter be justly regarded, if not as *bahisht* ("paradise"); at any rate as *airaf*—which in Muslim theology means the middle place between Heaven and Hell. In that so-called "baby province"—designated as such by ignoramuses like the authors of the Bihar Majority Report—but really the oldest British province, dating from Clive's acquisition of the Dewany of Bengal and Bihar in 1765—the seven Simonites (reduced to six by the acceptance of office under the Crown by one of them, the Raja of Kanika) have presented to the Simon Commission no less than three reports; one by the majority so-called (consisting of two Biharee Hindu Zamindars and an Oriya Rai Bahadur), the other by the two Muslim members, who may be called the "Major minority" and a third by one member (a distinguished Bengalee anthropologist), who by reason of his anthropological knowledge of the aboriginal tribes of the province has constituted himself their spokesman and who may thus be regarded as a "Minor minority." Cu-

riously, the authorized text of the report (printed at the Government Press) does not contain the report of the two Muslim members which has, however, appeared in the press. It is full of recrimination against the Majority Report, but we are not concerned with the personal squabbles of the members of the Committee. What we and the enlightened public are concerned in is the value, if any, of these three reports, as contributions to the building up of a sound Indian constitution, especially in the provinces. Now the renowned anthropologist is clearly a faddist in the sphere of politics, who is out to constitute a new province composed mainly of the aboriginals so-called, ostensibly for their benefit, but really for that of those who can exploit them. For the rest, he (as a man of education and enlightenment) naturally differs almost in toto from the re-actionary recommendations, on the one hand, of the Zamindar members and from the purely communally-prejudiced proposals of the Muslim members, on the other. In such circumstances, and in view of the almost open rupture between the recommendations of the Zamindar majority and the Muslim minority on almost all the important questions, it would be idle to attempt to discuss with any advantage the recommendations of either the one set of three or the other set of two. Frankly speaking, the difference between the two sets is that between six and half-a-dozen. The Zamindars are out to so mould the constitution that their class alone should rule the roost, unconcerned whether all others sink into the bottomless pit of perdition; the Mussalmans are equally so in favour of a constitution in which under the claim of safeguarding their rights, they would enjoy almost all the advantages which numerical minorities do, only when and where they are the ruling race—as, for instance, the British in India, the Mussalmans in Hyderabad or the Hindus in Kashmir. Instead of, therefore, discussing their specific proposals, we shall serve our readers better by presenting an analysis of the criticisms which the organ in the press of each of these

selfish factions has passed upon the recommendations emanating from the opposite camp. Now, this is how the organ of the Zamindars in Bihar and Orissa (the *Express* of Patna) comments upon the proposals of the Muslim co-operators with the Simon Commission—after declaring its view that the Zamindar Report is “much more liberal than was expected,” a handsome compliment, no doubt, to those whom it claims to represent:—“The Minority Report is ill-hatched, ill-cooked and ill-served, and is a contemptible thing not worth the paper on which it is written. The authors of this report have the cheek to talk of the modern European constitutions as supporting their argument for communal representation in cabinet and legislature. It is a leaf out of the notorious document prepared by that stormy petrel of communalism, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, which has been appended as a note to the U. P. Simon Committee’s Report and which is to-day the political Bible of all narrow-minded and reactionary Mussalmans. It is too late in the day to contend seriously that any European constitution provides political safeguards for minorities—except linguistic and cultural safeguards—and to talk of it is to display undiluted ignorance and foolhardiness.” So this is how the Muslim Report strikes the Zamindar organ. Let us now try to obtain some light upon the Mussalman point of view on the Zamindar Report by a reference to the article that has appeared on the subject in an Allahabad weekly—the *Star*—which is popularly believed to be under the control of Dr. Khan, referred to above. This is how the *Star* tears to tatter the Zamindar Report:—“The best we can do is to ask these three signatories to what they are pleased to call a “Report,” on what principle have they monopolised all power for the landlords? Their second Chamber will be run by landlords; and, as they have, with characteristic altruism, decided to retain the franchise in the lower chamber, their followers will run the Lower Chamber for them. The two chambers will, as thus constituted, present a happy sight. The Upper Chamber will have galaxy of jewelled, contented, heavy, and haughty landlords; while the lower chamber will be

filled with their serving men, their *mukhtars*, their *munshis*, their *muharrirs*, and their *karindas*. This is the scheme which the beneficence of a Raja Bahadur and the fidelity of his two friends has vouchsafed to us. This report will form subject of so many amusing and vivacious satires and is so completely devoid both of commonsense and of fair-play, that the best thing one can do is to ignore it. We are perfectly certain that this is what the Simon Commission and the Central Committee will do. Its half-baked theories, its narrow outlook, its crude and unreasonable style, its lack of sense, stamp it as one of worst, if not the worst, of all the reports of the Simon Committees. When the Simon Commission are apprised of these facts, will they attach any value to the performance of the triumvirate? We are convinced they will treat it as it deserves. The best place for such a document is the dust-bin.” Now, is not all this really much too delicious? No more scrumptious a feast could have been served to the poor anti-Simonites than that offered in the above two extracts from the *Express* and the *Star*, which but for our vigilance in garnering them would have been lost for ever to an admiring world! The *Star* in supporting out and out the Behar Muslim Report lets the cat out of the bag. It writes that “they (the Muslim members) would have gladly recommended abolition of dyarchy, if the Hindu majority had met them half-way. As they have refused their demands, they have no other alternative but to recommend the reservation of law and order. We would, in principle, have recommended complete provincial autonomy, but the hands of the Muslim members were forced.” So this is how Muslim co-operators with the Simon Commission are out to make a constitution to cure the freedom of India; It is not a question with them of constitutional principle, or administrative convenience, or securing either popular freedom or even a sound constitution. No, it is none of these, but it is clearly a question of bargaining with the Hindus to secure for their community special benefits and advantages for the loaves and fishes of office, and representation in excess of all legitimate and reasonable claims,

unconcerned whether a system of Government so constituted will last or soon go the way of all things evil. The crude mentality thus displayed—which daily finds expression in the Muslim press throughout the country—has to be reckoned with by all nationalists, howsoever much they may deplore it. The chief nationalist organ in Behar and Orissa—the *Searchlight*—is naturally dissatisfied with both the reports, though the more so with the Muslim Report, which it has condemned in unequivocal terms. It describes the latter (in its characteristic picturesque style) as a document, the whole of which “reeks with the mentality that has exalted the foreign bureaucracy into a Providence whose kiss is as welcome as its kick is inspiring!” After this euphoniously-alliterative comparison between a kiss and a kick, our contemporary warms itself up into a moral fervour and righteous indignation and proceeds to trounce the Muslim Co-operator's Report in the following scathing terms:—“Read it from beginning to the end, you will not find in it the remotest trace of any passion for freedom!” We really sympathize with our contemporary's keen sense of disappointment on not finding in the Muslim Report even the faintest analogy to the purple patches characteristic of such performances as the inaugural addresses at our Student's Conferences. While they are all very well in their place, we do not usually expect them in documents dealing with the framing of constitutions. But what we do expect in them are sound knowledge of public affairs, breadth of view, political prescience, administrative experience and above all sanity and a spirit of compromise. But unfortunately all these are sadly lacking in the Behar Simon Committee Reports. None-the-less we have thoroughly enjoyed reading them, and felt like the Scotchman who heard the seven different pipers play as many different tunes and thought he was truly in Heaven!

Beyond all doubt, the most notable event in the social progress of the country, for many years past, has been the enactment of what was popularly known as the Sarda Marriage Bill—after the gentleman who was responsible for its introduction

into the Assembly. The measure passed through various stages before it was placed on the statute book and its history—as summarised by the *Indian Social Reformer*—is, indeed, instructive. The Bill emerged from the Legislative Assembly, practically as revised by the Select Committee. As originally drafted, it proposed to make all marriages of girls below 12 years of age null and void. In order to meet the case of parents who were not prepared to go so far, it provided that Magistrates on application might grant licenses for the marriage of girls at 11 years of age. The Bill was also limited to Hindus. The Select Committee made changes in the Bill of a radical character. It rejected the principle of making child marriages void and adopted that of penalising them. It raised the marriageable limit to 14 for girls and prescribed 18 for boys, and made the Bill applicable to all communities and not only to Hindus. All these changes were in the nature of improvements, but as they affected the principles of the original Bill, the revised Bill was at the instance of the introducer himself recirculated for opinion and criticism to the public. At the same time with reference to a proposal before the Assembly to raise the Age of Consent, a committee was appointed by Government to enquire and report on the working of the present law relating to that subject and to make recommendations. The Committee was not required to report on the Sarda Marriage Bill or, indeed, to take into its scope the question of marriage legislation. But as it had to deal with the question of protection of minor girl wives, the need for legislation restraining child marriages forced itself on the Committee's attention, and it recommended that legislation on the lines of the Sarda Bill was indispensable in order to ensure adequate protection to child wives. The enquiry of the Committee brought out another important point which till then had been obscured from the public view. It is that child marriages were not confined to Hindus, but prevailed, though not to the same extent, among other communities also, including the Mussalmans. When the Bill came up for consideration at the last Simla session of the Assembly, a notable change had taken place

in the attitude of Government, as the result of the Age of Consent Committee's recommendations. Government which on previous occasions had either sat on the fence or was actually hostile to the Bill, declared that it cordially supported it. It need hardly be said that the support of Government was a great factor in bringing about the successful emergence of the Bill from the Assembly. Next to it, and next only to it, was the strong support of enlightened Mahomedan members against the deadset made on the Bill by their orthodox Hindu and Mussalman colleagues who had joined hands for once to throw out this measure of much-delayed and urgent social reform. The Shariat and the Shastras were freely cited as being opposed to legislation fixing a limit of age to marriage. But the upholders of orthodoxy knew that they were leading a forlorn hope. With a resolution worthy of a better cause, however, they tried every method of delay, obstruction and attack which the rules of the Assembly allowed. They moved for the further postponement of the Bill to the next Delhi session. When they were defeated in this, they moved to exempt Mahomedans and orthodox Hindus from the scope of the Bill. This of course was absurd and was naturally rejected by a large majority. Having failed in these discreditable tactics they then tried to get the age limit lowered to 12, and in this they had the support of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. But even this too the Assembly would not allow. The next move of the opponents of the Bill was to introduce a sort of conscience clause which would have effected by the back door what they had not been able to achieve directly, namely, the stultification of the measure. Then they tried to reduce the penalties for infringement. The last move was to put off the date when the law comes into operation. But this also was defeated and the law received the assent of the Governor-General, after passing through the Council of State. When all these attempts failed, a few Mussalman members withdrew from Assembly, while a self-appointed orthodox Hindu champion avowing that he bowed to the inevitable, made a somewhat incoherent speech calling anathema on the sup-

porters of the measure. The Assembly unmoved by his jeremiads passed the third reading by a majority of 68 to 14. The course of the Bill in the Council of State was fairly assured and the Governor-General's assent was given as a matter of course, after the declaration of the attitude of Government by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly. The passing of the Bill by that body has been hailed with satisfaction by enlightened Indian opinion throughout the country, only a few voices being raised in disapproval. Thus a notable victory has been at last achieved by the votaries of social reform and progress, and Government, in this matter, are justly entitled to their full share of credit, as but for their support, the fate of the Bill would have been at best problematical. When so much has to be inevitably said to the discredit of Government, fairminded critics should not withhold from them praise which may be justly due.

Julius Cæsar could not have done more than Nadir Khan has achieved in Afghanistan.

Veni, vidi, vici. I came, I saw, I conquered. That is the history of Nadir Khan's lightning campaign, and he has lived up to the reputation of his great namesake, Nadir Shah, whose sword was never drawn but to hew a way to victory. We who have been practically eye-witnesses can scarcely realise the significance of it all, but throw these recent events into a perspective, put them back at a distance of a hundred years and the vivid dramatic effect will dazzle the imagination. Apparently, all was well when King Amanulla with his beautiful Queen Suriya went to Europe and was acclaimed by admiring crowds. He came back with a crowded programme of social and political reforms, but he had no notion of the sinister influences undermining his power and jeopardising his place on the throne. The storm broke over his head shortly afterwards. Amanulla had to flee to Kandhar and Bachha, the robber and the water-carrier's son, seized the kingdom and the throne of Kabul. Even at Kandhar Amanulla was not safe and he escaped to India and is now an exile in Italy. Bachha revived the old methods of

New Page
in Afghan
History.

blood and iron, and inspired both loathing and terror. As regards his occupation and parentage these have never been a bar to kingship. History is a good old witness and need not be sworn to tell the truth. It is legitimate promotion. Just as a clerk rises to be an officer a robber naturally rises to be either a king or is exalted in another way by being hung. It is not unlikely that both kinds of rise may come to Bachha. With Amanulla and Inayatulla out of the country, Bachha, who had dubbed himself Amir Habibulla, appeared to be gaining a firm seat in the saddle, but he had not reckoned with the Afghan General who had left his country and was living a quiet life in France. Nadir Khan, on hearing of the plight of his country, returned from Europe and passed through India to Afghanistan. He repeatedly and solemnly declared that he was a patriotic Afghan who did not covet the kingdom or the throne of Kabul, but merely wanted to drive out the usurper and follow the wishes of the people. It was generally understood that he favoured the return of Amanulla. No one ever took up so hopeless an undertaking as that of Nadir Khan. He had neither men nor money, no organisation, no support of any kind. For some time it looked as if he must return foiled in his attempt. But he persevered and he used the new force of publicity with great effect. He broke Bachha's power by his publicity campaign, the leaflets and tracts that he broadcasted. When the actual advance upon Kabul was made it was all over in a fortnight. Bachha's luck and his looks were against him. The man does not look like a robber who may pass for a king or an emperor, but a pickpocket and a sneak. Nadir Khan has not been able to play the role of a kingmaker but has succumbed to the glamour of victory and has been proclaimed Amir. As regards Amanulla most people sympathise with him but the Afghans evidently do not want him and in any case he is too soft for them. As the grandson of Abdurrahman Khan he should have been of sterner stuff. When he sent the message from Rome that he would not return unless he was summoned he was sulking like a petted boy. Kingdoms are not won and lost so easily. Amanulla's self-imposed exile amounted to

permanent renunciation of the throne. Had he plucked up courage to join Nadir Khan and his fortunes, had he placed his wealth at the general's disposal Amanullah Khan would have been restored in all likelihood to the throne of his fathers, which he has now lost by his own action.

In the present legislatures of India a motion to adjourn the House is technically a vote of censure on the Government,

Votes of Censure. but in reality it is a mockery.

A vote of censure is a parliamentary procedure; it is used where there is a party system of Government. When a government is censured it resigns at once and the party that passes the vote of censure comes into office, or there is an appeal to the country. That is not possible in India, and an adjournment of the house means nothing. When Jatindranath Das died of hungerstrike the Government did not oppose the motion for adjournment, neither did they do so after Phongyi Wizaya's death from the same cause. The position was admittedly awkward, but when it came to a vote every Government vote was cast against the motion, which was carried by a majority. This censure does not trouble the Government at all. There is no question of resignation, no one dreams of any change of policy. The Government goes its way as usual, unruffled, contemptuous of the pinpricks in the houses of legislature and heedless of the signals of danger. Walkouts were repeatedly staged without any moral effect. It may be well to remember that the Government is not a pachyderm, but a machine, and the machine will have to be improved into a living organism.

Did it require a committee of three to arrive

Bombay Riots Inquiry at the conclusion that the Girni Kamgar Union was mainly responsible for the recent recur-

ring riots in Bombay? It was in fact nothing more than a departmental verdict. The three members were either officers or ex-officers, and they cannot be expected to lift their eyes higher than the official groove. There have been all sorts of riots in Bombay, riots between idle millhands and others, riots between

Hindus and Mahomedans, riots between Pathans and others that developed into a reign of terror. The committee was triangular—not that there was a triangular contest between the members—but it represented three angles of vision, the English, the Hindu and the Mussalman. The Englishman was of course the chairman. The Hindu and Mohamedan members strived strenuously and valiantly to become the champions of their respective view points. The report is unanimous in finding that most of the trouble originated with the Girni Kamgar Union. Girni is the Maharathi word for a mill and Kamgar is of course the worker. It has to be remembered that whereas riots have been of frequent occurrence for a comparatively considerable time the Union has only recently come into existence. Almost all the older leaders of Labour in Bombay are standing in the dock at Meerut in connection with the Communist Conspiracy trial. They have been succeeded by fresh leaders. Suppose now that the new Union is declared unlawful and suppressed. No one dreams for a moment that such a step would put an end to riots in Bombay. Other leaders will be forthcoming and if they are also choked off leaderless mobs will certainly not be less dangerous than those who have leaders to guide them. It is the upheaval that must be reckoned with and the solution of the difficulty lies in probing the entire situation to the bottom. It is only when definitely stable relations can be established between capital and labour, when the periodicity of strikes will become less frequent, when there is mutual trust and toleration that a real improvement will become possible. Surely, it does not require much imagination to understand that the Girni Kamgar Union is the effect and not the cause of the numerous riots in Bombay. It is a great pity that it has not yet been realised anywhere in India that mere tinkering is no remedy for problems that are steadily becoming graver with the passing of time.

Following the death of Jatindranath Das, another prisoner in Burma, Phongi U. Wizaya, who was undergoing a sentence of imprisonment for sedition, died

Another
Death from
Hunger-strike.

of hunger-strike after starving himself for more than a hundred days. Upper Burma, it must be remembered, was annexed only in 1888, and the record of British overlordship is still young. Consequently, the martyrdom of Phongi Wizaya has not had the same electric effect in Burma as the death of Jatindranath in India. But the seed has been sown and it is bound to grow. The Government of Burma issued an official statement to prove that the dead prisoner was a very dangerous man, he advocated the use of bombs and neither the Government nor the prison authorities were to blame. The statement may serve as a salve to the conscience of the Burma Government but it will have no other effect. However enormous the offence of the culprit he was not sentenced to death but to a term of imprisonment. The Government wanted him to serve out the sentence but he has escaped to a place whence he cannot be brought back. What explanation or defence can the Government give for the damning fact that they let a prisoner die on their hands? They condemned him to imprisonment, he willed to be free and his will prevailed over all the powers of the Government. Phongi prisoners complain that they are deprived of their yellow robes and their religious observances are interfered with. The Phongis are monks that usually live a gentle and inoffensive life. Why should they preach violence against the Government? Many of them still remember the gentle ways that were followed after the annexation, and it is not surprising if they or those who come under their influence are embittered. The gulf of time can be bridged and the awakening that has taken a hundred and fifty years in India to come about may come to Burma in less than two score years.

The Government of Bihar and Orissa have at last published their resolution on the Report of the Vernacular Development Committee, which had been appointed by them so far back as 1925, in pursuance of a resolution moved in and adopted at a meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council. This Committee, under the presidentship of Sir Syed Ali Imam, was composed of a number of persons interested in the growth and expansion of the three principal literary languages

Bihar Ver-
nacular Deve-
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mittee.

of the province—namely, Hindi, Urdu and Oriya. It was called upon to consider what measures should be adopted for the development of the principal vernacular languages and literatures of the province. Moreover, they were desired by the Government also to consider specially what developments, if any, were necessary in the higher teaching of these languages. The Committee started their work in 1926, and concluded their deliberations in 1927. They had the unique advantage of receiving the help and advice of a number of well-known scholars and litterateurs from other provinces, whose co-operation and expert opinion had been invited and who were good enough to come to Patna to confer with the Committee. Thus having been at it for nearly two years, they submitted their Report which was published in September, 1927. For full two years after the publication of the Report, the Governor-in-Ministry went to sleep over it, and it is only now (in the year of grace, 1929) that they have waked up and published their conclusions, rejecting practically all the recommendations made by the Committee! This is, in short, the history of this important Committee, from which it will be amply made clear that all their labours and the money spent over them have been but a huge waste. From the very beginning the attitude of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, towards the Committee had been far from satisfactory. At the time when the resolution was discussed in the Council, both the Minister of Education and the then Finance Member, while expressing all their pious sympathies for the laudable idea behind the resolution, tried to throw cold water on it by raising the bogey of financial stringency. Judging, therefore, from the tenor of the speeches then made on behalf of the Government, as also having in view the fact that the attitude of Government in Bihar with regard to the growth and expansion of vernacular education has always been one of melancholy meanness, as is fully borne out by their conduct on more than one occasion in the past and recently by what they have done with regard to the recommendations of the Vernacular Development Committee itself, not much could be expected to come out of the

proposed Committee. But all the same, the resolution was carried, the Committee was appointed and curiously enough it gave rise to some glimmer of hope amongst a large section of the people. The disappointment, therefore, that the Government resolution has caused them must be very bitter. It has, indeed, caused widespread resentment amongst the educated classes in general, who naturally feel very strongly on the subject. But of course nothing better could be expected of the Governor-in-Ministry under Diarchy, which still continues to be as wooden, inelastic and irresponsive to public opinion as ever.

The *Statesman* has announced that before long Sir J. C. Bose—who has just returned from a highly successful tour in Europe—will make known the result of his latest researches and discoveries which

are expected to revolutionize our present-day notions for the treatment of the heart and that the drug which will be so rendered available for this purpose will be a veritable elixir of life. The world is naturally awaiting on the tiptoe of expectation for the said announcement by the greatest Indian scientist. In the meantime, we gladly make room for the following communication we have received from that great Indian inventor—Dr. Sankar A. Bisay, who has been living for some years in America, at New York. Dr. Bisay's writes: "In Mr. Sachchidananda Sinhas presidential address at the Delhi session of the All-India Kayastha Conference, a kind reference was made to my chemical discovery of water soluble, non-poisonous iodine, known to the medical and scientific world as Atomidine. I have, therefore, the pleasure of enclosing herewith copies of medical literature regarding Atomidine and am sending two packages of some samples per separate post, which will be of interest to you and to the readers of the widely circulated *Hindustan Review*. You may be interested to know that the success of my discovery was mainly due to some herbs grown in India, which I discovered to have the remarkable effect of removing the poisonous and irritating property of iodine. Atomidine has furthermore

the unique property of deep penetration and helping the growth of healthy tissue notwithstanding it is over eight times stronger than carbonic acid in germicidal power, and does not burn or harm the most delicate tissues of the body. Iodine as an element never possessed such properties, which I succeeded in accomplishing by treating my preparation with a herb I import from South America. Though I have been away from India for now many years, I have devoted my time and attention, amongst other things to Atomidine, which is the result of many years of my research work, and I am happy to say my discovery has been recognized and endorsed by several eminent medical men and scientists, as you will read in the Atomidine booklet. It is now prescribed by several thousands of doctors and dentists and used in many hospitals and clinics for the treatment of various diseases. Since its publicity several analytical chemists tried to discover the secret of my process and formula without success as the herbs I imported were difficult to analyse. The sole agency for India is granted to the American Products, Co. of Bombay and hope my countrymen would find Atomidine beneficial in the treatment of tropical fevers and diseases." If India is ever to achieve true self-government, it will only be when her sons have distinguished themselves in all spheres of human activities and competed successfully with Europeans and Americans in every field of research and discovery. Hence our gratification at the results achieved by Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. Sankar Bisay.

The celebration of the coming of age—although one year before the legally prescribed period of twenty-one years of the

Leader of Allahabad, by its removal into new substantially-built and commodious premises and the inauguration of printing it on the

latest type of rotary machine, has been a truly notable event in the history of Indian journalism. The representative gathering that assembled on the occasion, the appreciative speeches made by the distinguished leaders of the various political parties, the encomiums justly bestowed by them on the present management of the concern as also on the Chief Editor (Mr. C. Y. Chintamani) and the Joint Editor (Mehta Krishna Ram), bore eloquent testimony to the very high position which is deservedly held by our esteemed contemporary in the ranks of Indian Journalism. It is as well that the celebration took the form it did, in view of the very valuable services rendered by the *Leader* to the cause of Indian Nationalism and the constitutional progress of the country towards the attainment of responsible government, ever since it first appeared on the 24th of October, 1909. Making allowances for occasional lapses, inherent in all human institutions, it may safely be averred that very few Indo-English dailies have been conducted during the last twenty years with greater knowledge, strength of conviction, sense of fairness, broad-minded toleration and healthy vigour than the *Leader*. It is thus one of the highly influential Indian journals and pre-eminently deserves the success it has so notably achieved. We, therefore, ungrudgingly join the chorus of felicitations, which have been showered upon it so unstintedly by all sections of the press in the country. We wish the *Leader* good luck and prosperity and a very long life of useful public activities.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTH

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL—AN EMINENT LAWYER: MR. ROY

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL, traveller and journalist, was associated during the greater part of his career with the *Times*. He was born in 1852. Educated chiefly in Germany and France, he was in Paris in 1871, when the triumphant German army marched in. It was a fruitful initiation for a man who was to devote his life to observing, and recording events. All the horrors of the commune, the burning of the Tuileries and the other stirring episodes of that period occurred around him, and left a deep impression on his mind. He returned to England in 1872, and for four years endured the uneventful routine of a clerkship in the Foreign Office. Then for years he roamed about the world, visiting all parts of Europe, the British Empire, Persia, the Far East and the United States, during which period he wrote his impressions of history in the making for the newspaper with which he had allied himself. These and also more personal matters are recorded in his books "Twixt Greek and Turk," "The Far Eastern Question," "The Middle Eastern Question," "Indian Unrest," "The Egyptian Problem," "India: Old and New," and "Fifty Years in a Changing World." This last volume was published early in 1928, and recounts many of his early experiences with deductions which subsequent events led him to draw from them. There were few eminent persons in the realm of contemporary world-history whom he had not met.

In 1899 Sir Valentine Chirol accepted the post of Director of the Foreign Department of the *Times* in succession to Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace. In 1912 he retired and in the same year he received a Knighthood. In his death Britain has lost a gifted publicist who represented the higher type of British journalism and was widely respected for his character, attainments and knowledge of foreign affairs. He was an indefatigable traveller and only last year, at his advanced age, he visited India presumably to study its problems afresh.

He did not come as a stranger, for he had visited the country earlier and recorded his well-known publication, 'Indian Unrest,' which bore evidence of the conscientious care with which he carried on his investigations and his masterly grasp of details. This publication, it may be recalled, led to an unsuccessful action for libel against him by the late Mr. Tilak. His earlier writings were not marked by any breadth of outlook on imperial questions, but latterly he developed a more sympathetic and liberal attitude which was reflected in his books "The Egyptian Problem" and "India: Old and New." The physical ailments from which he suffered with advancing age did not affect his intellectual virility and his thirst for knowledge continued unabated upto the end. He did not believe in the modern sensational journalism and he noted with regret the steady decline in its high standard as a result of the race for paying popularity. The journalistic world is the poorer by his death.

Mr. P. L. Roy, formerly one of the best-known barristers in Calcutta, and the leading criminal lawyer in Bengal died 73 years of age. He was the son of a big zemindar in Eastern Bengal, and was educated privately in India, and in England, where he was sent in his teens. After graduating from Downing College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1881, and, returning to India began to practise in Calcutta. He built up a very large criminal practice both in Calcutta and in the mofussil, and undertook a great many prosecutions on behalf of the Government.

When the anarchical revolutionary movement broke out in Bengal nearly twenty-five years ago it was natural that the Government should turn to him for assistance. He then became Additional Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Bengal, and eventually Director of Prosecutions in India. His

function was to advise the authorities as to whether certain cases should or should not be prosecuted, and in the event of a prosecution to advise counsel in the case.

His position called for a great deal of courage, both moral and physical, and for months he went about under a police escort. But he never flinched from duty, however hazardous.

LOYAL AND IDEALISTIC

Mr. Roy retired from practice a dozen years ago, and had spent his leisure partly in Europe and partly in India. He took a keen

interest in the industrial development of India, and was a shareholder and director of many companies.

He was a man of strong character, and of high, if stern, ideals. He was never known to swerve from them, or to compromise on any moral question. Withal he was the kindest and most generous of men, whose hand was perpetually in his pocket for the relief of others.

He was one of seven founders of the Union Club, which was formed in Calcutta more than twenty years ago with a membership consisting half of Indians and half of Britishers; and this in turn gave birth to the Calcutta Club, of which he was also an original member.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS

THE *Hindustan Review* (August, 1929) may fairly claim to be an enlightened organ. Its prevailing tone is political, which it could not very well help being, seeing that politics loom so largely in the life of modern India. Its politics, to judge from the tone of the editorial comments and of such contributions as the vehemently denunciatory article on "Back to Non-Co-operation: Our Only Slogan" are of a frankly nationalistic complexion. Its interests, however, are catholic enough to include such purely philosophical articles as a critique on the ethics of Plato or a historico-philosophical review as the informative and stimulating study of the Indian Renaissance of the 19th century by Dr. Sir Jadunath Sircar. The speculation that is rife about the attitude of the Labour Party to Indian political reform and the high hopes placed in it are reflected in such articles as "How the Labour Government can conciliate India" or "India and the Labour Party." We have, however, both as Catholics and as Indians to take strong exception to the views expressed by a writer, who has wisely enough chosen to remain anonymous in an article entitled "The Inferiority Complex" which is an ill-considered and

worse informed diatribe against the Bible and Christian ethics. It is well-known to everyone, except perhaps the author of this article, that Bible exegesis demands specialised knowledge and competence, beyond the reach of the mere dabbler in its texts, who if he is not of the true fold can hardly see the wood for the trees. It is therefore dangerous if not grotesque to pronounce *ex-cathedra* opinions by picking out some stray text of the Bible or the other without an insight into the spirit that underlies it or by a patch work of quotations on the Bible, which, detached from the original context grossly misrepresent the author's meaning and intentions. To assert that in the Old Testament may be found the roots of the idea of racial discrimination, because the whole of the Old Testament represents God as the special patron and protector of the Jews is itself a sad exhibition of the inferiority complex of the writer. We are second to none in our condemnation of the racial pride of some of the Europeans in India; but it is the grossest travesty of truth to allege that it is based on Biblical morality. The whole spirit of the Bible gives the lie to it. It is blatantly unfair

to identify the failure of Christians in this respect, through the inherent weakness of human nature, with the failure of Christianity. There is little of the much-vaunted spiritualism of the East in the average Indian of to-day and yet we do not doubt for a moment that there is a rich spiritual heritage that India has derived from its ancient religions. Such articles do an irreparable damage to the peaceful progress of the country and the editors should think twice before harbouring them in a review, whose high tone of culture is inconsistent with such a deplorable exhibition of religious sectarianism and intolerance. —*The Week* (Bombay).

The *Hindustan Review* has discovered a step-sister of Miss Mayo. A novel has been published by an English publishing firm and it

is chastely and elegantly called "*My Three Husbands*." (Due apologies to Indian ladies.) The story is supposed to be written by a woman who is said to be "on the prowl for a fourth." Her first hubby was a military officer and his Christian name was Edward. She narrates with glee how Edward used to knock down and kick up "native" servants at Simla in "those days when the Indian Government knew how to govern India." Alas! for those vanished glories and those glorious days! The writer of the novel says: "I have shot tigers on foot with Edward and have had all sorts of hair-raising adventures but never did Edward look so proud as when I kicked the wretched servant (native)." The *Hindustan Review* asks: "Are any comments necessary?" We repeat that query—. The *Hitavada* (Nagpur).



PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU,
*The President-Elect Indian National Congress,
Lahore Session, 1929.*

The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India—"Truth" (London).
 The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," (London).
 The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review"—"United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London).

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DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA

By ANNIE BESANT, D. Litt.

THE straightforward declaration of H. E. the Viceroy—who has justified his description of himself on his late visit to England, as the ambassador charged with India's aspirations—has given rise to a controversy in press and on platform which is most useful. When we read that Lord Sydenham, Lord Meston, Sir Micael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock—why is Lord Burnham ignored?—protest against the Viceroy's declaration, we at once realise that he has struck the right note promptly and decisively; and when we find my Lord Birkenhead banging the table as he says 'Never, never, never' will Britain yield to threats, we feel that from Galloper Smith the words foretell a coming surrender. Bravado is the last resource of the bully, who is conscious of his own weakness. On the

opposite side we find Lord Lytton, that steadfast champion of India, noting "the improvement in the political atmosphere of India produced by the straightforward statement which Lord Reading attacked."

The fact is that Lord Irwin, with his unprejudiced mind and clear vision, has seen that Britain and India stand at a point whence diverge two roads. One leads to "Dominion Status," to India becoming an autonomous unit, a partner-member in a Federation of Free Nations, all equal with each other, to the avoidance of a color war between the one white and the six colored members in every seven persons in the "British Empire," a war probably spreading into a war between united Asia and divided Europe; the other to a friendly alliance between the nations of the two conti-

nents, the basis of a settled and enduring peace in the northern hemisphere of the globe.

Let there be no clouding of the issues. In 1917, when I was President of the Indian National Congress, I spoke of the awakening of Asia and its causes. That "awakening" was described a few years ago by a careful observer of the public mind in the colored countries he had visited, as "The Revolt of Asia against White Domination." The spirit of revolt has become more and more intense and clamant since the Great War, which following that between Japan and Russia, destroyed the belief in the invincibility of the white races in a war with the colored peoples. Moreover, China, through her civil war, has become a military nation, and is no longer a land in which European powers can establish 'spheres of influence,' and plunder her through her customs. She has incalculable resources in productiveness, numbers and wealth. Under these circumstances, what shall be the relations between India, which once held and will again hold the primacy of Asia, and Britain, which is not in the first rank of European powers, though she is in that rank among world powers? Britain is at the head of a far-flung empire, but the scattered nature of her component parts makes her very vulnerable. With India as a partner-member she is safe. With India as a subject nation she is in deadly peril. She can yet make her choice, but the sands in the hour-glass of time are swiftly running through.

To ensure safety, India must have *full and immediate* Dominion Status. The conference to be held next year in London, preferably in May and the following months, must be held, not to discuss the granting of Dominion Status, but on the definite establishment of Dominion Status, in the shortest time consistent with adequate discussion of details. Sub-committees must be appointed by the conference to draft the Bill for submission to the Indian Legislative Assembly and to the British Parliament, after the reports of the sub-committees have been summarised and presented to it.

Meanwhile, as the informal committee at Delhi decided, an organised educative propaganda on Dominion Status must be carried on. The National Congress and the Liberal Federation and the Muslim Leagues should appoint committees to discuss and draft a detailed statement of principles, and the all-Parties Conference or a new conference may be called to issue a statement on which a Bill can be drafted.

These suggestions I venture to offer not for acceptance but for discussion. Further, leaflets should be drawn up, dealing with the departments of administration and circulated for discussion. Let the Indian press take up the subject, and the English also, if it be willing to co-operate. The time is ripe. Let us be up and doing. Thus, in practical fashion, let us worship the Mother-land.

SIR CECIL WALSH AS A "JUDGE PROPAGANDIST"*

By MR. HARNANDAN LALL, NANDKEOLYAR, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

It is becoming increasingly clear that as our fight for political freedom grows in intensity, there is a corresponding increase in the activities of a certain well-defined section of Britishers to malign India, her institutions and her people. These traducers, curiously enough, are generally those who have eaten the salt of India but, for that very reason, have an immediate interest in the continuance of the present British domination in the country. Maybe Miss Mayo came to India 'unsubsidized, uncommitted, and unattached,' but her book itself shows, and Lala Lajpat Rai has conclusively demonstrated it in his *Unhappy India*, that her 'facts and figures' were cooked up for her by a number of obliging members of the 'steel frame' service, and these admittedly affected her conclusions. The latest to enter the list is Sir Cecil Walsh—a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court—who at present is passing 'the remaining days of his life' in the enjoyment of not only a knighthood, but a comfortable pension which, perhaps, to him would have been unattainable but for the existing British dominance in this country. And one common feature of such propaganda is that it is deliberately concerned with India's present social condition with the set purpose of side-tracking the political issue. Due to the position that he happened to occupy, Sir Cecil's effort is more subtle and, therefore, more venomous and dangerous. He procured his first introduction to a gullible and credulous audience by writing a 'thriller,' called *The Agra Double Murder*. One naturally expected the work of a judge, especially in regard to a case that had come up for decision to a High Court, to possess some value either as study in Criminology, Jurisprudence or Forensic Art. But *The Agra Double Murder* was remarkable only for a collection of 'love letters,' which always appeal to those for whose consumption the

shilling shockers and the six-penny thrillers are produced in such bewildering quantities in Europe. However, that book admirably served Sir Cecil's purpose. It created a 'hunger' for his works and Sir Cecil, with the characteristic commercial instinct of a scribbler of his race, has struck the iron while it is hot, and has sent out to an expectant world his *Indian Village Crimes*. No wonder that some journals in England, and several Anglo-Indian newspapers have hailed it as 'another thriller.' Just as a reader of a 'six-penny caterer' hates the villain in the piece, so will the reader of this 'thriller' hate the Indian when he has been half way through the book. And this, indeed, is really the scheme which Sir Cecil has employed for the work under review. With subtlety and insidiousness, which at times appear diabolical, he has weaved through his fifteen stories a running indictment of the Indian—oh no, not of the village cultivator—but also the Indian politician, the Indian judge, the Indian lawyer, the Indian jury, the Indian witness, the caste system, the sex relations and, last but not the least, the Hindu widow. Miss Mayo at her own game of slandering India has been beaten out of recognition by Sir Cecil Walsh. That throughout there is a distinct political flavour—though the book is made to keep up the appearance of a mere 'thriller'—there can be no mistaking. The avowal of Sir Cecil that the book is meant "to throw some light upon the life and mentality of Indian cultivator" is obviously a mere camouflage. True the cases referred to by him with the exception of one—the false confession—are concerned with villages but these 'unsophisticated rustics' are merely used as pawns on Sir Cecil's chess-board. His generalisations go beyond his premises and there can be no mistaking that this is deliberately done, and his views are fully dressed up and

**Indian Village Crimes*. By Sir Cecil Walsh. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bonverie Street, Strand, London, E.C. 4) 1929.

solemnly given out to the world as those of a person who was one of His Majesty's judges and thus entitled to consideration.

II

Sir Cecil in the manner of a born storyteller says: "I asked a leading Indian lawyer what he considered to be the national sport of his country?" "Making false charges," was the reply. Human mind by long usage has the tendency to accept without demur the *ipsi dixit* of a judge. And there can be no gainsaying that Sir Cecil Walsh obviously relied upon the human psychology when he invented this story. Now his experience as, indeed, his work was confined within the precincts of Allahabad. The number of the 'leading Indian lawyers' in the Allahabad High Court is well-known and an enquiry from them each and all has brought us to the conclusion that the story is a malicious myth. But how else could Sir Cecil add 'thrill' to his 'story,' if this was not put into the mouth of an Indian, and that too of the 'leading Indian lawyer'? The author opines that public opinion hardly exists in India, and wails that it is the absence of this which makes the task of administration of criminal justice so arduous and anxious. Is it the fact that public opinion does not exist, or is it not rather that public opinion in India is crushed out of existence by a system of administration which grinds out the moral fibre of human society. Public opinion has the peculiar knack of not confining itself to only helping the police and the judge in their investigation but also of occasionally transcending that limit and claiming 'certain moral rights,' which appear extremely inconvenient to our foreign rulers. And public opinion requires certain conditions for its growth—the essential condition being political freedom. When the police or, for the matter of that, the courts become the instruments of political subjugation, they have blasting influence upon that extremely sensitive growth called public opinion. But Sir Cecil will judge the present conditions in India by the standard of England and make no reference to the varying political conditions of the two countries for, to do so, would, indeed, defeat the very purpose he has in view. One

wonders whether Sir Cecil during his twelve years' stay in this country studied the constitution and working of the ancient village communities and the panchayat, which unfortunately is being gradually obliterated under the stress of British rule. The presence of public opinion, which he also calls 'moral force,' can be seen and felt even now in the various panchayats that exist, though in moribund condition, throughout the country. But no! a study of that ancient institution would only mislead Sir Cecil and make him deviate from the path of his duty—as he conceives.

Sir Cecil Walsh charges Indian judges with "possessing a curious predisposition to subject the *bona fides* of the police and the magistracy, not only where the course of police investigation and portions of the evidence for the prosecution provoke scepticism and doubt, but even as a general principle for judicial guidance." We have no doubt that an Indian judge will, with an easy conscience and unblushingly, plead guilty to the charge. But let us examine the logic of Sir Cecil's. He has devoted several paragraphs to showing that the police officers are not above fabricating evidence, and his story of the 'police pantomime' is the most thrilling of all his present collection of thrillers. Composed as the police force is of his own countrymen, the Indian judge is in a position to know them better than Sir Cecil can ever hope to do, even by eagerly imbibing wisdom from the outpourings of the zealous Anglo-Indian Superintendents of Police at the Station Clubs. And do not the Codes of Criminal Procedure and Evidence themselves contain provisions enjoining upon the courts extra caution in weighing the value of police evidence? If, therefore, the Indian judge is a little suspicious of police evidence he has, apart from the directions of the legislature, upon Sir Cecil's own showing ample justification. But why distrust the magistracy? Sir Cecil has put in an eloquent plea for affording the right of giving evidence to an accused, but there is not a word in his book in regard to that astounding judicial anachronism which is comprehensively described in India as the amalgamation of executive and judicial functions. In India—yes, in the year of grace, 1929—the District Magistrate, being the head of the police, is still both the

prosecutor and also the judge, and his subordinates take their cue from him. Sir Cecil despite his upbringing at the English Bar swallows this great anomaly and ignores the 'public opinion' against it, for does it not help the perpetuation of the political domination by his countrymen of the people of this country? If, therefore, the Indian judge is rather inclined to distrust the magistracy he is, if anything, less guilty of political penchant than a judge of Sir Cecil's type, who would deliberately tolerate such a judicial incongruity. These are only a few of the wild generalizations which have been indulged in by Sir Cecil in his introductory chapter, but they are sufficient to show the basic political motive of his book. Indeed, Sir Cecil himself gives evidence of his guiding motive when he says: "These are the people whom we have to govern, and whom we have governed for more than one hundred and fifty years with a measure of success, which is not merely remarkable but about which it may be confidently said that it is without parallel in history and unlikely to be rivalled. These are the teeming millions who know little and seem to be careless about the professional politician, who claims to represent them, and of whose life and character people in England know little." For such a piece of complacent egotism and vituperative fulmination one can find a parallel only in the rhetoric of a "die-hard" thumper in the Hyde Park of London. But belonging as we do to a long-suffering race, it is still possible for us to take a sympathetic view of Sir Cecil's diatribe. The continuance of the present domination is a necessity for men like Sir Cecil, for, under another system of administration, it will not be possible for a friendly Secretary of State to foist upon Indian High Courts his hangers-on to enable them to earn an easy competence for their old age and a knighthood as an easy passport to respectability in a suburban English town.

III

I shall now proceed to examine some only of Sir Cecil's 'Stories'—for to examine all would be obviously going beyond the limits of this discussion. If these stories had been recited merely as so many 'thrillers,' no one would have had a bone to

pick with the author, for there is no community in the world which has not its catalogue of 'astounding crimes.' Sir Cecil, however, claims that "these have been chosen as types and illustrations rather than eccentricities and abnormalities," and, characteristically, he would not cite chapter and verse to show that these are 'types.' Having been a 'judge' the author's word must be accepted at their face-value. Let us, therefore, take the story called 'The Human Sacrifice.' To suit Sir Cecil's purposes India has to be shown as a country inhabited by semi-savages and what better material could he unearth from the archives of the High Court—for it is admittedly a case which he did not try himself—than the story of the woman who in a superstitious frenzy (at the instigation of a Sadhu) cut out the flesh from the body of a small child in order to eat it for curing herself of barrenness. It is not our desire, and indeed it is not possible to justify the crime. Superstition in all countries has been responsible for many revolting crimes. English history as also Indian history will bear that out—not to speak of the histories of other countries. It is true that 'motherhood' is prized by an Indian woman more than a 'kingdom.' If Richard III brought about the blinding and the murder of the princes for a kingdom, one can understand the mentality of a poor, illiterate woman, the victim of superstition and priestly influence, sacrificing another's child for getting one herself. But is this story, in any sense, typical of India any more than the murder of the princes by Richard III can be held to be typical of the royalty of England? Sir Cecil has himself to admit that "there is no trace in the history of the Province, nor any of the historical writings on human sacrifice of a similar act performed on the body of a living child for such a purpose." And yet he has not hesitated to include this among his 'thrillers'—and why? The reason is much too obvious to be mistaken by an intelligent reader.

Nothing is so established in English jurisprudence than that a verdict of 'not guilty' should be regarded as completely establishing the innocence of an accused. Unlike Scotland (where they have a verdict of 'not proven') in India we follow the English precedent and do not allow an

accused person, who has faced a trial and secured his acquittal, to continue to suffer from suspicion. No one should know it better than Sir Cecil Walsh, K.C. Yet in his second story headed 'The Fate of the Watch Dog' he asks his readers to hold that Janki Kuar did in fact compass the death of the servant, Bhagwati, who was alleged to have been ordered by Janki's husband to keep a watch over her, while he was absent. The story of the alleged intrigue between Janki and Kalyan Singh (of which Bhagwati is said to have been a chance witness) upon Sir Cecil's own version, seems to have been completely discredited. The so-called confession of Jhoksu, Sir Cecil himself admits, was 'shown up' in the cross-examination of the Sub-Inspector. The Sessions Judge and the assessors unanimously acquitted Janki. But—yes, but—Sir Cecil must rip open this verdict and present Janki to his audience as a woman "under her whose gentle winning smile and fair skin smouldered the latent fires of an inherited savagery," for it affords a lurid setting to his characteristically ill-informed attack upon the Hindu widow, whom he describes "as being treated in the household as an incubus," and who (according to this very veracious writer) invariably varies the monotony of her cheerless days with adventures in the field of love and who is "easily induced to indulge in intrigue and intimacy with ardent admirers." This is undoubtedly a most diabolical exaggeration, and it but serves to show that the ex-judge, despite his twelve years in India, never really understood Indian life. Which society there is—yes, even the English society not excepted, where widows do marry and more often than is good for mankind—where the bounds of decency are not occasionally outstepped? But it does require a judge of Sir Cecil's ultra-judicial temperament to make the wild deduction that he has done. It was only the other day at the old Bailey that Frank Sullivan got seven years' transportation for committing 'grave offences' against three of his grown-up daughters. One would regard, from ordinary standard of judgment, that Sullivan was an abnormal offender—but if one took the liberty of borrowing Sir Cecil's monochromatic lenses, it would appear that 'incest' was a typical English crime!

The story of the 'Murder in the Temple' is another of Sir Cecil's judicial extravaganzas. Here again a verdict of 'not guilty'—and that too by 'an experienced English judge'—is adversely discussed by the 'learned author,' merely to show the existence of an illicit intrigue between a Mahanth and a woman. Now Mahanth, like Christian bishops, have their histories of lapses from the standard of rectitude and morality. The problem of 'eternal triangle' has so far baffled civilization. But Sir Cecil with his judicial acumen must regard this as a "typical Indian village crime." An accident made Sir Cecil a High Court Judge. His real vocation—which he seems to have realised late in life—should have been that of a 'story-teller.'

The story of the 'False Confession' enables Sir Cecil to repeat the indictment which Macaulay had made against the Bengalees. The story shortly is that a young, bookish, Bengalee (on his return home) found his wife, a woman subject to hysteria, hanging by rope and dead. The devoted and distracted husband went to the police to report the suicide. But the Head Constable was incredulous and told him that no one would believe his story of suicide and would rather take him to be the murderer. With characteristic detective instinct—so much admired by Sir Cecil—he asked the youth to confess, which would mean (he said, that he would get sentenced to transportation for life, but eventually would be sent out in the labour corps to the Great War, which was then in progress). The distressed husband who, as the evidence showed, loved his wife with true devotion, and in his then state of distraction made a confession accusing himself of the murder of his wife. It was obvious that to the young man, in his then state of mind, life appeared to be without any purpose. The police 'sent up' the case, but the court did not believe the confession and accepted the defence that the woman had committed suicide—and the confessing husband obtained his release. Now such a story would lead a judicially-minded person to no further inference than that the confession was a hysterical act of a neurotic young man, of whom every country has got its own share. But Sir Cecil, with characteristic mendacity, utilizes the occasion for indulging in a gratuitous and alto-

gether pointless denunciation of the Bengalee race. Says he: "If Chandra Das had not been a Bengalee this story would not have been written. A first-rate book-worm, a wonderful linguist, and a ready talker, an industrious student, with a gentle subtle mind, the Bengalee has always been more in touch with Englishmen and English minds than most natives of India. But he has drawbacks. He lacks virility, physical strength, and moral courage. Both his body and mind seem to be soft pulpy texture. Macaulay attributed it to his continually living in vapour baths. Whatever the cause, he often crumples under the strain of either physical danger or mental anxiety." Only one like Sir Cecil, who would deliberately shut one's eyes to facts, can indulge in such unmitigated nonsense. The whole history of the Indian national movement, ever since its inception, after the partition of Bengal, in 1905 has been full of unique examples of physical sacrifice and moral enterprize of the Bengalees. One may condemn the revolutionary movement in Bengal which despite severe repressive policy is yet alive and baffles all schemes for its suppression—but one cannot honestly allow oneself the delusion that it is being kept up by a body of physical degenerates and moral cowards. Sir Cecil, however, has his own point of view to agitate and how can he do it better than by vilifying in such unmeasured terms the people, who are in the vanguard amongst the workers for the freedom of India?

These discussions of a few stories, out of a total of fifteen, should suffice to prove the sinister motive that the author had in view in producing the book. No Indian can deny that there are great evils in this country—as in all others—which have to be rooted out. But all reasonable and judicious thinkers agree with Professor Ross (an American) in his dictum that "subjection to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of the decay of nations." Sir Cecil, however, will ignore history and experience, for he is out to strike a blow in protection of the present political conditions in this country. On the admission which he himself makes—though tardily—in his story of "The Murder in the Temple" that his main acquaintance "with Indian social life is based" on experience derived in courts which is concerned with rather seamy side of life and that, therefore, his judgment is likely to be "warped," one would expect that he would be more circumspect in arriving at conclusions—and much more so in giving them out to the world. But he would not be a propagandist if he had taken that judicious course. And as an anti-Indian propagandist he has no patience to weigh his words, much less to verify his facts and test his deductions. The result is that to Sir Cecil belongs the unique credit of out-maying Miss Mayo. His production is not only a "drain inspector's report," but also a "drain-washer's."

BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN INDIA :

THE PROPOSED ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

By DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO

THE Maharajahs of Bikaner and Kashmere have made notable contributions in regard to His Excellency the Viceroy's pronouncement of Dominion Status for India and the proposed Round Table Conference. I hope that they reflect the views held generally by

members of their order on the momentous questions that will form the subject of discussion in the near future. The desire of Their Highnesses to find an honourable place for the Indian States in the India of the future on terms, "just and honourable and satis-

factory to the States as well as to British India," will find a ready response in the hearts of all patriotic Indians. These pronouncements clearly show that the princes now fully recognise that their future lies in coming to reasonable understanding with the progressive forces in British India. This is a welcome change and I sincerely trust that they will not hereafter be guided by Sir Leslie Scott and others who tried to create, through the instrumentality of the princes, insurmountable barriers between British India and the Indian States. It is, therefore, satisfactory to learn from the Maharajah of Bikaner that "the ultimate solution of the Indian Problem is a federation of British Indian Provinces and the Indian States and that the word 'federation' has no terrors for the Princes and the Governments of the States." It is also refreshing to read his assurance that "nothing is farther from their desire than to break up the country into two discordant halves warring against each other in fratricidal feuds and that they (the princes) earnestly look forward to the unity of India as much as their friends the political leaders of British India, and that any undue incompatibility on the part of the princes would be both unpatriotic and unreasonable."

The attitude of the princes in the agitation that they carried on last year in Britain gave rise to grave misapprehensions, but the statement now made by Their Highnesses must dispel all doubts in the matter. India cannot attain its full freedom and become a self-governing Dominion without the inclusion of the States in the Indian constitution. This problem is an exceedingly complicated one and would require patience, accommodation and goodwill on both sides and the best

brains in the country must apply themselves to its solution. It is, therefore, necessary that the Indian princes and their people and British Indian leaders should come together without any loss of time and discuss the whole problem in a spirit of constructive statesmanship. Such a conference will be able to do a great deal of spade work in advance of the Round Table Conference to be held later on and the various aspects of the problem may be threshed out fully. The invitation of Pandit Motilal Nehru to the princes for a conference was intended to afford this opportunity and while there is so much that is satisfactory in the statements of Their Highnesses, it is not possible to agree with the reasons assigned by the Maharajah of Bikaner for not accepting the invitation.

In the first place the Maharajah says that if the conference should be of any value it must be 'tripartite' and that he therefore welcomes the conference proposed by the Imperial Government where the representatives of the Paramount Power with whom they entered into treaties would be present. He has apparently overlooked the fact that the Conference suggested by Pandit Motilal Nehru was in accordance with the resolution of the All-Parties Conference to bring about an understanding between the princes and people of the States and British India as a necessary preliminary to further action. He complains that Pandit Motilal "ignored the British Government and did not include any of their representatives in the invitation and had also extended the invitation to the 'people' of the Indian States to which step the Maharajah takes strong exception. He could not have been unaware that the All-Parties Convention in accordance with the terms of which the invitation was made

was intended to evolve, if possible, an agreed scheme for the future constitution of India including the Indian States and to go with it to the British Government later on and negotiate the same afterwards. The charge that the British Government has been 'ignored' has no justification whatever and it is impossible to believe that he seriously thinks that Pandit Motilal Nehru should have at that stage extended an invitation to the Government for the conference contemplated by him. If the Pandit had taken such a step, the Maharajah would probably have covered him with ridicule.

The real reason for the disinclination of the Indian princes to join such a conference is as admitted by His Highness, that the invitation was extended by the Pandit to representative political organisation in the States. The Maharajah says that "it is impossible to expect the princes to depute the duly constituted representatives of their Government to sit with and to negotiate on an equal basis with the so-called representatives of their people as a separate and independent party." This is the real gravamen of the charge. His Highness has himself repeatedly declared publicly that the term 'State' includes "not the ruler alone but the ruler, his government and his subjects which are all the component parts and all go to comprise the State." It cannot, therefore, be urged that in any conference on the subject the people of the State have no place and are not entitled to have a voice. In fact, he has himself publicly asserted on more than one occasion that "if the independence of a State goes the subjects of that State lose their individuality and integrity. If the State gains fiscally it is not only the Prince but the Government and the

Subjects of the State gain most. If the State loses in such matters such loss is shared by the subjects, the Princes and the Government." A State consisting of only the ruler and without the people is inconceivable and, if as stated by the Maharajah, the people of the State are one of the 'component parts' of the State the objection to their presence at the conference cannot be understood. If the Maharajah's objection is to the treatment of the people as a separate and independent entity it can be got over easily by treating the ruler and the representatives of the people as one unit and leaving it to them to come to an agreement on any specified point. His Highness has however made it clear that in his opinion the rulers of the States are "the natural leaders of their people and that they are the custodians of their rights and privileges" and that in all future negotiations the representatives of the States and subjects should not find a place.

In view of the fact that the Viceroy's statement refers to a Round Table Conference between the representatives of the States (which term includes the people of the States also) and British Indian leaders and the British Government it is of the utmost importance that representation at the conference should also be accorded to the people of the States. The readiness of the princes to meet the representatives of the British India and their refusal to recognise the representatives of their own people is liable to great misconstruction in the States. This will be most unfortunate. It will be a source of great strength to the princes themselves and to their cause to have the support of their own people at this critical juncture. As public opinion in the States is now getting organised His Highness will also recognise that any

proposals which the princes may make must also be generally consented to by the people of the States and the theory of 'natural leadership' as a reason for ignoring the people of the States altogether at this juncture will do considerable harm to the States. The claim now put forward by His Highness that in all diplomatic relations the princes are the custodians of the rights of their people will not be conceded. It is already evident that numerous protests are being recorded by the political organisation in the States. In the memorandum of the Indian States People's Conference it was clearly pointed out that any concrete proposals for adjusting the future relations of the Indian

States with British India must be discussed not only with the princes and the Governments of the States but also with the people thereof in constituent assemblies wherever they exist, and also with the representatives of the people of the States. The Maharajah of Bikaner is a far-seeing statesman of the highest standing in India and the Empire and I trust that he and his brother princes will strengthen their own cause by gracefully conceding the right now claimed and commending it to British authorities. British Indian leaders should also do their best for the people of the States in this matter, and their support will be appreciated but their silence will be misunderstood.

A NEW MENACE TO DEFENCE IN CRIMINAL TRIALS—I

By SRIJUT RAJENDRA PRASAD, M.A., M.L.

A RECENT pronouncement of Sir Courtney Terrell—Chief Justice of the Patna High Court—appended to a judgment of his, dated the 2nd August last—but (in his own words) "without reference to the facts of this particular case," has roused throughout the country very keen interest, by reason of his having given in it directions for the conduct of the magistracy and the judiciary in criminal trials, which if acted up to, would be subversive of those principles in the administration of justice with which the Indian public have been long familiar. The learned Chief Justice himself designates this pronouncement of his as a "matter involving a very important point of principle," and such it would really be, if it could be accepted as legally valid and sound. But the declaration of the 'principle' by the Chief Justice has evoked emphatic dissent from many quarters in the press of the country, which is by no means surprising considering the implication of Sir Courtney's observations, to which exception has been justly taken. To mention but a few of his critics—apart from the press

in the province of Behar and Orissa—one might name Mahatma Gandhi in his *Young India*, and such leading exponents of Indian public opinion as the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta and the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay.

As one who has cut off his connection with a court of law in India as a lawyer and as one holding that the system of administration of justice, as now prevailing in this country, is primarily intended for establishing and enhancing the prestige of the Government, and not for dealing out justice to the litigant, and that the British system (which the prevalent Indian system follows and copies in many respects) is neither the best nor the most suited to the condition of this country, I am not surprised to find these instructions to the subordinate courts issued by the highest judge in the province. They only add point to my contention that the prestige of the police is to be regarded as above the safety of the accused. It would seem that the prestige of the Government is bound up with that of its subordinate limbs, and the police naturally deserve all the protection that it is

possible to give them, particularly in these latter days, when they are made the target of attack by all and sundry. It is to be regretted, however, that the learned Chief Justice has overlooked two things for which neither the recalcitrant politician, nor the pig-headed accused, who may bring accusations against the police, can be held to be responsible. The first is that the police have been held and declared in so many terms to be untrustworthy by the statute, and the second is that they have been declared, at any rate, in Bihar and Orissa to be corrupted by their own chief. In support of the first, I have to cite only those sections of the Indian Evidence Act which render a confession made by an accused person to a police officer or to any other person, while the confessing accused is under the influence of the police, inadmissible in evidence against him. Similarly, the sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the rules regarding the recording of first information and statements by the Police and the submission of their diaries to higher authorities, are based on nothing but a wholesome distrust in their integrity and their capacity or proneness to fabricate or cook them. In support of the second I have but to refer to the statement of no less a person than the Inspector-General of Police in Bihar and Orissa, so recently made on no less solemn an occasion than when he tendered his evidence before the Simon Commission. But if in spite of these, the Chief Justice thinks that the police should always be looked upon as being above suspicion, and that an accused or his counsel cannot impugn their conduct without taking the risk of the sentence of the former being enhanced, or the conduct of the latter being taken notice of by the High Court in its disciplinary jurisdiction, all I can say is that bad as things have been all these years, these particularly are evil days for all who happen to be hauled up in a court of law on a criminal charge. Considering, therefore, the gravity of the matter—alike from the standpoint of the accused and his counsel—as also in view of the very emphatic dissent which the learned Chief Justice's dictum—albeit it be but an *obiter dictum*—has evoked to such an extent that even Mahatma Gandhi has felt justified in taking note of and commenting upon it, I make no apology for dealing ex-

haustively with the points dealt with by the learned Chief Justice, in view of their importance, both from the administrative and judicial and the legal standpoints.

II

But before doing so, I shall quote below, in fairness to Sir Courtney Terrell the full text of the observations under consideration. This is what he laid down:—“There remains another aspect of this matter involving a *very important point of principle* (my italics) to which I desire to call the attention of criminal tribunals and legal practitioners for their guidance and it received illustration in this case. After the submission of the points of law on behalf of the petitioners, the junior Advocate on their behalf proposed to enter into a discussion of the facts, taking advantage of the principle that since there was a rule for enhancement he was entitled to show that the accused should not have been convicted. For this purpose he offered to demonstrate from the evidence that the whole case had been concocted by the Inspector and the Sub-Inspector, who arrested the petitioners. I pointed out to the learned Advocate that he was quite at liberty to take this course, but should it fail and should we come to the conclusion that the aspersions on the character of these police officers were without foundation, this circumstance would gravely aggravate the original offence and that the sentence would in that case be substantially enhanced. An adjournment for consideration was granted, after which the leading Counsel for the petitioners appeared and stated that after consultation it had been decided not to go further into the facts and he confined himself to other and quite legitimate arguments against the rule for enhancement. It is extremely common for Advocates for the defence to argue that the prosecution story is an entire concoction on the part of the police, and in the vast majority of cases no evidence whatever (elucidated in cross-examination or offered by examination-in-chief, is ever produced in support of this argument. Now either the contention is raised on the direct instructions of the client, or is deliberately raised by the Advocate without any instructions at all. In the former case the accused has added

to the heinousness of the offence with which he is charged by a baseless accusation of outrageous conduct on the part of the police or other prosecutor. In a clear case of this kind the tribunal should take this into account as a circumstance of aggravation in awarding the sentence. In the latter case, that is to say, where the suggestion is made by the legal practitioner without reasonable cause, the legal practitioner is guilty of the grossest professional misconduct. Moreover, cross-examination on these lines is often grossly abused and it is the duty of the tribunal, if it has any suspicion when an Advocate begins an attack upon a prosecutor or a witness by way of so-called 'suggestions' involving dishonourable conduct, to demand from the Advocate an assurance that he has good grounds for making the suggestions. If the assurance is not received, the cross-examination on these lines should be stopped promptly. If the assurance is given, and if it should appear at the termination of the trial that no such grounds had existed, the tribunal should bring the conduct of the Advocate to the notice of the High Court. I make these observations in order that a check may be placed upon a growing and serious evil and *without reference to the particular facts of this case* (my italics, again).

Now it would be noticed that the concurring remarks of the learned Chief Justice's colleague—Mr. Justice Chatterjee—were strictly limited to the case. "I agree to the order proposed by the learned Chief Justice for the reasons given by him," was all, he said, in dealing with the matter before him, and he was careful enough in his language not to lend any support to the "very important point of principle" laid down by the Chief Justice. But though Sir Courtney Terrell's remarks were clearly an *obiter dictum*—having been made (in his own words) "without reference to the facts of this particular case," and were not even concurred in by his colleague, they nevertheless merit careful consideration, bearing as they do on the rights of the accused and his Advocate. These observations raise issues so grave in their character that I deem it my duty to call the attention of the public to them and to test their soundness and validity, from various standpoints. But before doing so, it is necessary

first to state that when the accused persons applied for revision of the convictions and the sentences passed on them the High Court, on its own motion, issued a notice on them to show cause why their sentences should not be enhanced. I am informed that it has lately become an instrument of criminal administration in the Patna High Court to issue such notices frequently. At the hearing the Chief Justice (as he himself says) "carefully examined this aspect of the case," and came to the deliberate conclusion that "in the particular circumstances of the case the punishments inflicted by the Sessions Judge appear to us to be adequate." There is, therefore, no doubt that the sentences passed were proportionate to the guilt of the accused persons and that there was no ground whatever for the enhancement of the sentences.

III

What followed, however, is so amazing that I do not know if there exists a parallel to this case in the history of the administration of criminal justice in India. It must be remembered that ordinarily accused persons are not entitled to enter into questions of facts in revision cases; but upon this rule an exception has been engrafted which is to the effect that, where there is a notice for the enhancement of the sentence, the accused person is entitled to ask the court to investigate the facts with a view to show that he should never have been convicted. Relying on this rule, counsel for the accused persons proposed "to demonstrate from the evidence that the whole case has been concocted by the Inspector and the Sub-Inspector who arrested the petitioners." The Chief Justice, thereupon, pointed out to the Advocate that he was quite at liberty to take that course, but that should the point fail and (to adopt his own words) "should we come to the conclusion that the aspersions on the character of these police officers were without foundation, this circumstance would gravely aggravate the original offence and that the sentence would in that case be substantially enhanced." I have already pointed out that, on a review of the evidence, the Chief Justice came to the conclusion that the punishments inflicted on the accused

were adequate. How the conduct on the part of the Advocate in putting forward charges against the police officers which, indeed, constituted the defence of the accused, can be said to "aggravate the original offence," it is difficult to understand. It is needless to add that the Advocate in the exercise of wise discretion withdrew from the position which he intended to take up, and this particular defence of the accused was not placed before the court. I take the view that in acting, as he undoubtedly did, the Chief Justice used his powers in a way not contemplated by the statute.

There is undoubted power in the court to issue notices for the enhancement of sentences, but I do not believe that the legislature ever contemplated that that power should be exercised in such a way as to place the Advocates in a position in which further free discussion becomes impossible. It will be said that the Chief Justice did not stop the discussion at all, but what he did amount to, in effect, to say: "You may go on if you like, but you will go on at your own risk." It will be further said that the Advocate must have known that there was nothing in the charges against the police, or he would not have submitted so easily. Unfortunately judicial conscience and judicial intelligence have not yet been standardised. There are judges who will not believe in the charges against the police, however clearly they may be established; there are others who are not so enamoured of the police and are willing to investigate charges against them. Judicial wisdom does not lie in shirking an enquiry, but in grasping the opportunity to weigh the evidence and to condemn the police or to exonerate them, as the case may be, and as the evidence may demand. But, in any case, when a Chief Justice, with the authority of a Chief Justice, says to an Advocate: "You may proceed if you like, but if you fail in substantiating the charges against that police, the sentences passed on your clients will be substantially enhanced," it is impossible for any Advocate conscious of his anxious responsibilities as such, to persist with arguments which may have very serious results for his client. I therefore emphatically maintain that it is wrong in principle and indefensible in practice for any judge to adopt such attitude towards an Advocate.

IV

Now let us see if the Chief Justice is right in his view that the sentence passed on an accused is liable to be substantially enhanced by the High Court, under circumstances mentioned by him. I have always understood that the fundamental rule of criminal judicature is that the measure of punishment should be in proportion to the malignity appearing in the intention of the offender in the commission of an offence. The court, in fixing the punishment for any particular crime, will take into consideration the nature of the offence, the circumstances in which it was committed, the degree of deliberation shown by the offender, the provocation which he had received (if the crime is one of violence), the antecedents of the prisoner up to the time of receiving the sentence, and his age and character. But it is a novel principle and (in a country ruled by a foreign bureaucracy, where the executive and the judicial functions are still united in the same individual) a dangerous principle that if you as an advocate criticise the police, you invite disaster either on yourself or on your clients. Sir Courtney Terrell does not seem to realize that the conditions in India are entirely different from those obtaining in England, in this particular respect, and it is useless to apply, therefore, the English standard to this country. England is a free country, and criminal administration is in the hands of an independent judiciary, entirely free from official bias and executive control. But the position is entirely different, in this matter, in India. Criminal administration, in this country, is even to-day, largely in the hands of officials who are under the direct administrative control of the District Magistrate, who is directly responsible to the Executive for the peace of his district and who endeavours to secure that peace through the police, acting directly under him. One of the objects of punishment is to prevent crime, and crimes which go undetected may lead to other crimes; and so there is a great inducement to those who are looking at the whole problem purely from the standpoint of administrative efficiency to find an offender for every offence committed in India. Though vicarious punishment is unknown

to law, English and Indian, yet this aspect will not be and is not readily appreciated by tribunals—presided over by Magistrates and even by Judges—which have administrative efficiency alone, naturally in view. It is, therefore, rightly considered unsafe to attach much weight to police evidence in this country. Even in England within the last year or two, the police have come in for vehement criticism, but I do not remember to have heard it ever suggested that by criticising the police and impugning their honesty, the accused aggravated their original offence and made themselves liable to have their sentences substantially enhanced. I cannot bring myself to believe that an English judge would ever say to a prisoner: "It is your defence that the case against you is wholly false and has been engineered by the police. I cannot shut you out from making good your defence, but I warn you that if you fail to substantiate your case, the circumstance that you have made an attack on the police will be taken to have greatly aggravated your original offence and the sentence in that case will be substantially enhanced." It is easy to see that such a mental attitude on the part of a judge must necessarily hamper the accused in the conduct of the defence and greatly embarrass their Advocates, which is certainly foreign both to the letter and the spirit of English law.

So far I have dealt with one aspect of the case. But there is another which arises out of the instructions which the Chief Justice has given to the criminal tribunals to follow a certain course when attacks are made on the police. These instructions are so full of peril, not only to persons accused of crimes but to their Advocates, that I propose to deal with them at some length. The instructions which the Chief Justice has given to the criminal tribunals in regard to the procedure which ought to be followed by them (when attacks are made upon a prosecutor or a witness called by the prosecution) may be stated as follows:—

(1) When charges are made against the police on the direct instructions of the client, the latter has added to the heinousness of the offence, and the tribunal should take this into account as a circumstance of aggravation in awarding the sentence.

(2) When an Advocate begins an attack upon a prosecutor or a witness, it is the duty of the tribunal to demand from him an assurance that he has good grounds for making the attack.

(3) If the assurance is not given, the cross-examination should be stopped promptly.

(4) If the assurance is given, and if it should appear at the termination of the trial that no such grounds had existed, the tribunal should bring the conduct of the Advocate to the notice of the High Court.

V

It seems to me that no objection can be taken to instructions (2) and (3). But here, again, is one very great difficulty. If it be the case of the accused that the evidence against him is entirely false, and has been concocted by the police, that is to say, if it be necessary for the accused to make a charge against the prosecutor as an integral part of his defence and as constituting his defence (and not as an attack upon the prosecutor's conduct wholly unconnected with the circumstances of the charge against the accused) does the accused or his Advocate take a risk in putting forward that charge? I entirely agree that irrelevant cross-examination, merely with a view to attack the general character of the prosecutor or his witness, ought to be firmly dealt with by the tribunal; but, at the same time, care must be taken to see that the accused is not unduly hampered in the presentation of his defence. The answer will be that there is no intention to hamper the defence, for the Chief Justice has made it clear that it is open to the accused to establish the truth of the imputation. But, as stated above, Science has not yet discovered a standard for measuring judicial conscience and judicial intelligence. Judges, like lawyers, differ on questions of facts. If this were not so, there would be no necessity for a series of appellate courts. If this be so, the dictum of the Chief Justice places the accused in an almost impossible position, for it may be that a tribunal, either from its inability to appreciate the facts, or its intellectual or political convictions that the police can never do anything wrong, will refuse to give effect to the

defence which nevertheless may have been established up to the hilt. The accused will, therefore, be taking a risk in every case in suggesting that the case against him is false, and his Advocate will be placed in the position of choosing between doing his duty to his client and thereby incurring the risk of having his name struck off the rolls, or finding safety and thereby salvation, by not raising the defence at all. But notwithstanding this difficulty, I realize that some check must be put on the unnecessarily lengthy and sometimes irrelevant cross-examination (which is sometimes indulged in by a particular class of Advocates) and if it were made clear that instructions (2) and (3) are intended to cover cases of irrelevant cross-examination solely indulged in for the purpose of insulting witnesses, and not for the purpose of raising a specific defence, I can see no objection whatever to them.

But there is no justification, whatsoever, in my opinion, for instructions (1) and (4). Instruction (1) is directed against an accused, whereas instruction (4) is directed against his Advocate. I will take the case of the accused first. Now, there is a well-known principle, hallowed by age and recognized by the prudence of successive generations of great judges, that an accused is purely on the defensive and owes no duty to the prosecution. He is on his trial and the most elementary notion of fairplay would seem to demand that no impediment be placed in his way for making a proper defence to the charges against him. It is impossible in the majority of cases to make a proper defence without definitely stating that the prosecution case is false. It would follow, therefore, that, according to the learned Chief Justice, if the accused does not plead guilty, but puts forward a specific defence to the prosecution (and in the majority of cases, it is impossible for the accused to do so without suggesting that the prosecution is false and its evidence concocted) he adds to the heinousness of the offence and thereby aggravates it and makes himself liable for a severer sentence. The doctrine enunciated by Sir Courtney Terrell is so full of mischief that it is necessary to combat it at once. I say without hesitation that if this doctrine prevails, it will be impossible for persons accused of crimes

to defend themselves adequately. It is certainly remarkable that in the long history of the administration of criminal justice in this country, it should not have struck any of the wise and eminent judges—who have presided over the various High Courts—to propound a doctrine which has now been done, for the first time, by the Chief Justice of the Patna Court, after a short experience of a year and a half in this country. I think that he himself should reconsider the matter; for otherwise his opinion (which is confessedly in the nature of an *obiter dictum* and not acquiesced in by his learned colleague, Mr. Justice Chatterji) will go down as a positive command to the criminal tribunals to the obvious embarrassment of criminal justice in this country, or at any rate in Bihar and Orissa.

So far as the last instruction is concerned, it is a matter which should be taken up immediately by the Bar Council. It is right and proper that the court should take an assurance from the Advocate that he has good reasons for cross-examining a witness to shake his credit by injuring his character. No responsible Advocate would cross-examine a witness as to his general character without reasonable grounds; and, if there be any, who does so, he should be certainly suppressed. But two questions emerge: first, does an Advocate bring himself within the rule by cross-examining on the specific defence of the accused person; and, secondly, whether the instruction of the client is not sufficient to protect the Advocate. It does seem to me that the Advocate should be completely protected, first, if he cross-examines a witness on the specific defence of the accused, although it may involve a suggestion that the case against his client is entirely false and the evidence concocted; secondly, if he has the instruction of his client to cross-examine with a view to shake the credit of the witness by injuring his character. An Advocate has grave responsibilities in the matter of defending an accused person; and (although it is contrary to his duty to indulge in a roving cross-examination without definite instruction and solely for the purpose of injuring the character of a witness) it is beyond all doubt consistent with the highest traditions of the Bar to cross-examine a witness on

definite instructions or to put forward his client's case in as strong a light as possible.

VI

Having thus clearly stated my own view of the matter, I shall now quote the opinions expressed by Mahatma Gandhi in his *Young India* and one of the leading Indian journals. After quoting in full the dictum of the Chief Justice, Mahatma Gandhi comments on it as follows: "I was unprepared for a Chief Justice becoming the framer of a gratuitous indictment against lawyers and their clients. These remarks amount to a threat to the accused and their counsel. If the fear of an increase in sentence or being disbarred hangs like Damocles' sword on the accused or his counsel, as the case may be, it would be impossible for either to impugn the conduct of the police. Whatever the learned Chief Justice's experience may be, the experience of the man in the street is, that in a vast number of cases the police story is manufactured, and the growing evil is not in the accused or his counsel but in the police, who therefore need to be checked in their excessive zeal to fasten a particular crime upon some one. The ordinary policeman is in mortal fear of degradation or dismissal, if he cannot secure convictions. It becomes, therefore, his interest to manufacture a case in the absence of reliable evidence. The judge, therefore, whose duty is to presume the innocence of every accused person coming before him, would think twenty times before he puts a single obstacle in his way. Where is the lawyer who has not often felt the truth of the statement which he makes, but which he is unable to prove? And even a Charles Russel will be hard put to it to demonstrate the truth that he feels within himself, if for fear of being disbarred, in case he fails to prove his charge, he is hampered in the course of his cross-examination or examination-in-chief? The Piggot forgeries would never have been proved but for his fiery cross-examination. A lawyer who believes in the innocence of his client, whether he is prompted by him or no, is bound, in order to discover the truth, to impugn by way of cross-examination or otherwise the prosecution story. This, however, is commonsense and common law, but both are at

a discount in India's courts of justice. It is sad, but it is true. The Chief Justice of the Patna High Court is to be congratulated upon his boldness in emphasising the fact." This trenchant rejoinder from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi, who can speak with the greatest authority on the subject, should satisfy all impartial readers of the grievous error into which Sir Courtney Terrell has fallen in making the observations under criticism.

I shall reproduce in further support of my contention from one more Indian journal—*The Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay—which (edited by one of our most eminent publicists, Mr. K. Natarajan)—is noted for its sanity and moderation. It writes: "Sir Courtney Terrell has manifested in this, as in some other instances, a tendency to generalise too readily from individual instances, a habit of mind which is alien to the judicial temperament. It may be that in the particular case in question the defence plea of police concoction was false or overdrawn. But it is unjudicial to draw therefrom the unwarranted inference that maligning the police is too common and, what is more, to suggest such ways of stopping it. The ultimate effect of giving effect to the learned Chief Justice's proposals will be to throw obstacles to the defence of accused in criminal cases. It is an accepted maxim of Jurisprudence that the accused must be given the greatest latitude, consistent with the principles of justice, in choosing his grounds of defence and he is entitled to explore all possible avenues of establishing his innocence. No conscientious Advocate will ever undertake the serious responsibility of basing his defence on the theory of police concoction unless he believes, or has reasonable grounds to believe, that it is true. To extort an undertaking from him beforehand that he is convinced of the truth of his plea or to penalise him if the plea should fail, will, therefore, be tantamount to hampering the defence needlessly and would be clearly against the principles of judicial administration. Even an Advocate, who believes honestly that the police story is a concoction will think twice before he bases his defence on it in view of the Chief Justice's instructions. Again, the truth or otherwise of such a plea can only be established in the course of examination-in-chief

and cross-examination and if this is to be prevented, the result may be substantial miscarriage of justice. It is but one step more to go further and say that every defence counsel, if he fails to establish the innocence of his client, should be penalised, whatever the grounds he chooses. Both the parties in a case, the prosecution as well as the defence, are equal before the presiding judge, but the observations of the learned Chief Justice will lend colour to the view that a judge who acts upon them shows needless indulgence or bias to one of them. We think it is a pity that Sir Courtney Terrell should have made the remarks he is reported to have made."

Such are then the many serious and objectionable features of the view propounded by the learned Chief Justice of the Patna High Court. I submit that as the result of the criticism I have subjected it to,—in which I am supported by publicists of the very high position whom I have quoted above—it clearly appears to be subversive of the fundamental principles of criminal jurisprudence—both from the administrative and legal standpoint. I have confined myself in this survey to the administrative and judicial aspects; the very important legal aspects involved I shall discuss in a second paper next month.

(To be concluded)

A CAMPAIGN OF ERROR

By MR. N. GUPTA

MISS CATHERINE MAYO'S book, *Mother India*, has produced widespread indignation in India. It could have no other effect. There may be some facts in her book but as a whole it is a gross libel against the people of India. All that she knows about this country was learned during a short tour. She has deliberately misrepresented the views of the people she met in this country. She has written other things and these prove that she is an evil-minded person. Her book has run through several editions and has been widely read in Europe and America, and there can be no question that it represents the people of this country in a maliciously false light.

It is generally believed that this book is part of a political propaganda against the people of India. It has been written to confirm the theory that the people of India are still so degraded and addicted to evil customs that they are not entitled to have the same status as the Dominions of the British Empire.

It has been further asserted that besides the profits from the sale of the book Miss Mayo was paid to write this book. In other words, her pen was hired in the same way as a *goonda* is hired to assault some one who has done him no harm. Of this there is no evidence, positive or circumstantial, but it is helpful to my argument to accept this theory as correct. Who are the people interested in frustrating the legitimate aspirations of the people of this country and who would be willing to pay some hireling to blackwash the reputation of Indians? They must be enemies of India's freedom and India's advancement. Wherever else such people may be found we need not look in America for them. We must refuse absolutely to believe that there is an American syndicate behind Miss Mayo or that the United States are in any way interested in holding back Indian progress. The author of *India in Bondage*, the book for which the Editor and Printer of the *Modern Review* have been fined, is Dr. Sunder-

land, an eminent American divine and writer, whereas Miss Mayo is an obscure calumniator who has obtained cheap notoriety by her scandalous book, and whose name is unknown in literature. Has any one even said that Dr. Sunderland is a spokesman of the friends of Indian freedom? The Americans as a nation are not interested any way in India.

There is no contempt greater than silence but evidently we cannot afford to let Catherine Mayo's book pass in silence. The apprehension is that we shall be discredited in the world outside our own, that those who might in other circumstances sympathise with us in our aspirations will shrink from us in consequence of the lies so extensively retailed by this American woman. Evidence may be collected and published to prove that the statements in her book are wrong, but it is very difficult to neutralise the mischief that has been made. There is undoubtedly a large and powerful section opposed to the recognition of the claims of India. The European officials in India are opposed to a man to the early grant of Dominion Status and most people in England have the same attitude. This attitude has not been determined by the calumnies published by Miss Mayo, but undoubtedly these people are pleased. Is it possible to defeat this campaign of calumny? To the Western world India is practically an unknown country; there is appalling ignorance even in England about India, though India is one of the mainstays of England. Other countries are wholly indifferent but they will readily believe the malicious stories of the American woman-writer and will scarcely attach much importance to denials from this country, for, after all, Catherine Mayo is a white woman and—well, we are what we are.

If there is any satisfaction to be had by using strong language towards this wicked and evil propagandist I think that satisfaction has been obtained to the full, but what is to be gained by a number of books denouncing the Americans as a nation and exposing their vices and corruptions? Is Catherine Mayo the accredited representative of the American nation, was she sent out by the people of America, does she hold a brief on their behalf? Nothing of the kind. Dr. Sunderland, the writer of *India in Bondage*, has a much stronger claim to be considered a representative American. Some of the books written in India are the work of unknown writers and the slinging of Billingsgate does not call for much literary skill. It can be done very efficiently by gamins and street Arabs. These writers tell Catherine Mayo in so many words: "You have abused our people; very well, we will abuse your people and beat you at your own game." This is not the issue at all. The people of America are nowise responsible for the slanders circulated by a woman who happens to be an American. She might have belonged to any other nationality and yet written this identical book. What satisfaction could we derive by abusing the people among whom she happened to be born? How can an entire people be confounded with an individual? Apart from the obvious injustice of such a course its utter futility and impotence should give some pause to those who adopt it and defend it. We have been upset not only by the false charges published in *Mother India* and the malice of the writer, but we have been deeply concerned by the prospect of our national cause suffering from such a successful political propaganda. It is no use blinking the fact or our real apprehensions. We do seriously believe that this wretched book can do us

positive and considerable harm. Do we for one moment believe that these other books that have been written by way of retaliation can do the great American nation any harm? Are the United States ruled by a foreign power and are they dependent for their rights on a foreign Government? Any book abusing the American people can be easily kept out of the States; we are powerless against the free circulation of any book in our own country. The only books banned are those that attack the British Government. Who cares if the people of India are traduced?

There is a weightier argument still. The statements in Miss Mayo's book, however false or malicious, have been accepted as first-hand evidence. The

books that have been written as rejoinders have drawn all their facts from American and English sources. There is nothing in them that is original, or is not already known to English-speaking people in the Old and the New Worlds. Many Americans have themselves denounced the evil in their midst. It is not at all our object to prove that the people of the United States are worse than the people of India, but merely to demonstrate that Catherine Mayo is not a witness of the truth and she has deliberately and grossly calumniated the people of India. We have no quarrel with Americans or any other people in the world and we desire the moral sympathy of the whole world in our grim and long struggle for winning our birthright.

LORD BIRKENHEAD IN DIFFERENT ROLES: A 'CRITICAL' APPRECIATION

(A) As Secretary of State for India

By HIS LORDSHIP'S 'BOON COMPANION'

"No man is a hero to his valet, his boon companion or his private secretary."—Lord Curzon, at a farewell banquet, in honour of his private secretary.

"Lord Birkenhead, through insufficient attention to his duties, made a muddle. He should, for the sake of his future reputation, refrain from intertonguing while Lord Irwin endeavours to obtain some salvage from the wreck of Birkenhead."—*The Statesman* (Anglo-Indian daily, Calcutta).

"The first change has been a change of spirit. We have got rid of the Birkenhead tone. And also (as the people of India do not always understand exactly what the values in this country are) I will just

remark—in the hope that my words may be passed on—that Lord Birkenhead occupies no official position whatever in the Government of this country; and I understand that he desires to be regarded as completely detached from British politics. I learn—though I know nothing about it—that he is engaged in some endeavour in the way of trade and commerce."—The Right Hon'ble Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons' debate on Dominion Status for India.

Lord Birkenhead is one of those fortunate individuals who live to read their own

**Points of View.*—By the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Birkenhead. Two vols. (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London.) 1922.

Law, Life and Letters.—By the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Birkenhead. Two vols. (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London.) 1927.

Fourteen English Judges.—By the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Birkenhead. (Cassell & Co., Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, London.) 1925.

Famous Trials of History and More Famous Trials.—By the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Birkenhead. (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926-28.

The Speeches of Lord Birkenhead.—(Cassell & Co., Ltd., London.)

Lord Birkenhead: An Account of the Life of F. E. Smith. Popular edition, and *The Pocket Birkenhead.*—By 'Ephesian.' (Mills and Boon, Ltd., London.) 1928.

obituaries. His biography, which has been written by an uncommonly admiring friend of his, under the title of *Lord Birkenhead: An Account of the Life of F. E. Smith*, has been supplemented by him with *The Pocket Birkenhead: Being Selections from the Speeches and Appreciations*. These two books are intended to establish that Mr. F. E. Smith (now metamorphosed into a peer of the realm and a noble earl) is a superman. If the reader is not convinced of this contention of the biographer's, it is to be assumed that the fault is not the latter's, but of want of intelligence on the part of the reader himself. Only on some such assumption can the existence of these two books by the writer, who has adopted the pen-name of 'Ephesian,' can be justified. The publisher's puff, on the jacket of the so-called 'account' states that this 'famous biography'—a rival, no doubt, of *Boswell's Johnson*, *Lockhart's Scott*, and *Trevelyan's Macaulay*—"brings completely up-to-date . . . F. E.'s phenomenal career!" So the biography is 'famous,' and the career surveyed in it is 'phenomenal!' Where could one find in the literary world a happier combination? My own view, however, is that 'Ephesian's *Life of Lord Birkenhead* is an absolutely uncritical piece of work, lacking in a sense of proportion, and that by far the greater part of it is fulsome panegyric on the career of a man, who has achieved 'success'—if it could so be designated—mainly through the medium of traits which are not appreciated amongst cultured people, howsoever much they may be admired by the vulgar herd. I shall try to establish, in the course of these critical studies of Lord Birkenhead's 'phenomenal' career, both these contentions.

And firstly, of the biographical sketch by 'Ephesian.' This is how the book was noticed by the *Times of India*, one of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies in this country: "The butter is of excellent quality but it is spread much too thickly. 'Ephesian' presumably selected his non-de-plume because great is his idol in his eyes. The note of the book is struck at the outset. On page 3, 'Ephesian' holds that the motto of the Birkenhead peerage, '*Faber meae fortunae*,' is a polished Latinism, which reveals Lord Birkenhead as a classical scholar. An admirer who can see in a simple Latin motto, not beyond the

powers of composition of a third-form schoolboy, evidence of ripe scholarship can hardly be expected to take an impartial view of his hero's career and it is not, therefore, surprising to find the book one long eulogy, from beginning to end. The butter and the incense would seem not entirely unwelcome to the recipient, for it can only have been from this source that the photographs of F. E. Smith at the age of two, seven and nine, as undergraduate and as don, as well as much other intimate material were obtained." But adds the '*Times of India*' reviewer that "Ephesian's judgment of Lord Birkenhead is not likely to coincide in all respects with the verdict of history." The verdict of history, indeed! As if this fulsome flatterer of the great adventurer, whose career he surveys through the medium of astigmatic vision and monochromatic lenses, at all cared to anticipate the judgment of posterity, when he is out to make hay while the sun shines. Poor 'Ephesian'—who has evidently adopted his pseudonym from the initials of Mr. Smith's name ('F. E.')—seems to be a deluded victim of his hero, rather than one who like the present writer has had the unique advantage of knowing the subject of this sketch at close quarters.

But we need not form our opinion of 'Ephesian's' work under the guidance of the *Times of India* reviewer or any one else, since we can very well do it ourselves by a perusal of the book itself. Now, this is how the author chooses to describe his hero and his 'phenomenal' career: "Not even Wellington had such a career as this"—alas, for the shades of the mighty Napoleon who (we are told by 'Ephesian') naturally "remains another of his (Lord Birkenhead's) favourite themes!" He is a "scholar of singular capacity" and "was the most successful (mark the superlative!) pleader of his day at the Bar and the best (the superlative, again, if you please) debater in Parliament." "He has written a score of books on diverse subjects, not a single of which has failed to go into a second edition"—what of the shilling-shockers with their circulation in thousands, in numerous editions? "He is the most popular (nothing but the superlative, each time) speaker in the country on a public platform" and "his conversation is as attractive as his oratory." It is not surprising that such a unique genius was

the youngest Lord High Chancellor, but there's the rub, since the notorious Jeffreys of cursed memory, was even younger than Lord Birkenhead, when elevated to the woolsack! That recollection serves as the proverbial fly in the Birkenheadian pot of ointment. "His own skill as an actor (or actress?) may be gauged from the fact that when he was fourteen, he dressed as a girl and offered his services to his grandmother as a maid. His disguise and histrionic skill were sufficiently successful to persuade the old lady to engage him." Oh! the born deceiver, one may well exclaim! "His (father's) death being traceable to weakness resulting from his service in the tropical heat of India," the dutiful son out of sheer filial piety, no doubt, has never forgiven India and the Indians and used to rattle his sabre (as Secretary of State for India) even without any occasion for it. At Oxford, "he stayed at a Temperance Hotel" — which betrays the innate hypocrisy of the man, since we are told that "he enjoys good wine with an almost æsthetic appreciation of its origin, its traditions and its literature" and "he drinks his port as he did at Oxford"—no doubt, at the temperance hotel, where the port must have been smuggled in! Further we are seriously informed by this faithful chronicler that "no Frenchman can teach him anything about brandy"—this last being undoubtedly the greatest qualification for a Secretary of State of a, on the whole, teetotal country, like India. But enough of the nauseating adulation indulged in by this mealy-mouthed writer, to whom even the obvious vices of his hero lean to virtue's side. In contrast with such wretched stuff Lord Birkenhead's autobiography in his *Law, Life and Letters* is, with all its faults, a decent production. But I cannot deal with it here, as we are concerned in these studies with his lordship's career, not as depicted by himself, but as known to me, during my long and intimate association with him.

The most notorious and universally condemned act of Lord Birkenhead's, as Secretary of State for India, being the appointment of the now practically superseded Simon Commission, it is interesting to have from the pen of a distinguished German publicist impressions of the two men most prominently connected with

that discredited body—Lord Birkenhead and Sir John Simon. This is how Herr Rudolf Kircher draws pen-portraits of these two cronies—seemingly ranged on opposite sides, but really *ek dil* or 'one-hearted'—in his well-known book called (in English) *Powers and Pillars* (pp. 137-9), which is remarkable for displaying an insight into their character. This is what he says of them: "F.E. Smith and John Simon live, as it were, above parties and above convictions. Their politics do not involve them in painful struggles with problems or with themselves. They merely plead a cause they have taken up. They apply the whole professional skill of their marvellously-trained brains to the presentation of their political clients' case. The one pleads for the Conservatives, the other for the Liberals; a masterpiece of pleading on both sides, but only a lawyer's triumph. They speak but rarely from their hearts. Both are said to be good-natured, kind-hearted men, as soon as they take off the barrister's wig. But whether they speak as counsel, or as politicians or indeed as Ministers, what they say never sounds real. There is no heart or feeling in it. They are men with remarkable analytical powers. Simon's method of demonstrating a case is unrivalled. But he would make mincemeat of his own countrymen equally mercilessly, even if they were his personal friends, if they had the misfortune to differ from him in politics. His words are like a deadly chemical poison, that disintegrates and breaks up. But what attempt is ever made to put together, to construct, to build up? The House of Commons is well-provided with 'learned' members, and their clear, logical way of thinking does much to give debates the lucidity and convincing power so often noticeable in the leading speeches made at Westminster and on public platforms. But the lawyer-politician is a sort of negative. He is too clever to have ideas, and too matter-of-fact and impassive to rouse sympathy." And so they are a wonderfully fine pair! I can vouch from my long experience of Lord Birkenhead the absolute correctness of the analytical delineation of his character by this gifted German writer, while I can but assume it to be equally so in the case of Sir John Simon. With these preliminary remarks, I shall

now proceed to survey the career of Lord Birkenhead as an administrator at the India Office, as a journalist, and lastly as a debater and controversialist. I shall not deal with his work as the Lord Chancellor, since I am not a lawyer, but a mere layman.

II

Lord Birkenhead filled the high office of the Secretary of State for India in Mr. Baldwin's administration for a period of four years, from 1924 to 1928, and in that capacity he was frankly a failure. The few speeches he delivered in the House of Lords, or on the public platform, on Indian questions were frothy, rhetorical and at times even hysterical, remote from realities, devoid of genuine insight into Indian conditions, divorced from statesmanship and, not unoften, calculated to embitter relations between Britain and India. He frequently rattled the sword, in the course of his speeches on India, without the least justification and thereby justly evoked indignation throughout the length and the breadth of this country. That his speeches on Indian questions were not only worthless but mischievous, is conclusively evidenced by the fact that not a line from any one of them has been reprinted in the now collected *Speeches of Lord Birkenhead*, which has only the short speech delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial to the Indian soldiers who fell in France; nor is the slightest reference made to any of his speeches on India in the appreciative preface to the collection, written by Lord Birkenhead's great friend and admirer Lord Hugh Cecil—than which there could be no more convincing proof in support of my contention, that his Indian speeches were so worthless that they would not bear reproduction in a more or less permanent collection.

As for his work at the India Office, it was admittedly open to grave censure, in support of which statement I may rely upon the remarks of the pro-government *Statesman* placed at the head of this survey and also quote the observations of the London correspondent of the *Pioneer*:—"During the time of Lord Birkenhead, especially, the India Council became a farce, and it appeared that the policy of that politician was to make its value appear of no

account. Meetings lasted only a few minutes and even the most prominent members were rarely taken into confidence of the Secretary of State." "Two good stories," continues that correspondent, "are going the rounds to illustrate Lord Birkenhead's lack of knowledge of his Council and particularly his indifference towards Indian members. It is said that one Indian member, in conversation with the new Secretary of State was asked if he had had many long interviews with Lord Birkenhead." "He replied that he had not." "But you must have had some talks with him," said Mr. Benn. "What was the longest interview you ever had?" "Ten seconds," replied Lord Birkenhead's advisor. The other story tells how Lord Birkenhead (at meeting of India Council) made a long and eulogistic speech, welcoming a new Indian member. He dilated in graceful and adequate language upon his abilities, experience and personal charm. He concluded by saying: "Before we begin our deliberations today, gentlemen, I should like to shake our new colleague by the hand." Thereupon, he walked round the table, and shook the hand of an astonished Indian gentleman, who had been a member of the Council for some years. "Some people might think these statements as anecdotes 'faked' by his Lordship's detractors. But those who were conversant with the affairs at the India Office, during the period of Lord Birkenhead's term of office as Secretary of State, will have no difficulty in accepting them as absolutely true and not at all fictitious. The present writer—whose duty it was to be in constant attendance on Lord Birkenhead at the time Simon Commission was constituted—can confirm the incidents stated above by recalling the unquestioned fact that not one of the then three Indian members of the India Council had been taken into confidence on the subject, or was even consulted by Lord Birkenhead about the constitution of the Commission. Let us now take into consideration, the declaration of Mr. Mullick—who has lately come back 'home' after serving for a term as member of India Council—when he appeared as a witness before the Simon Commission in London. He said that he could quote instances from the diary (which he had regularly kept from the day of his appointment) to show how Indian interests

had been sacrificed by the India Council. "Virtually the military and the political departments are dictators, and can get done whatever they want. The Secretary of State did not know the Indian members and once Lord Birkenhead called me Dr. Paranjpye." "Oh! what a fall was there, my countrywomen!"—as the *London Punch* once put it. When questioned by some member of the Commission why he did not protest against his views not being heard, Mr. Mullick said that he had done so in the beginning, but Lord Birkenhead dismissed him with the reply that he could not carry out an individual member's behests! Since then, said Mr. Mullick, he had kept his peace. Dr. Paranjpye could have given similar valuable evidence, had he not declined to do so, on the ground that he must be loyal to the policy of the Liberal Federation. Now, Mr. Mullick's statement was an amazing revelation of the grossly humiliating position and intensely degrading status which had come to be occupied by—at any rate—the Indian members of the India Council in the bureaucratic hierarchy during the regime of the great and glorious Lord Birkenhead, than which there can be no more condign condemnation of that 'noble Earl,' whose 'adventurous' and 'phenomenal' career, form the subject-matter of glowing panegyric in the pages of his *Life* by his admirer, 'Ephesian.'

One can hardly imagine even that august statesman, with his eyes habitually fixed on the stars, making the same mistake—as he did in the case of Mr. Mullick and other Indian councillors—with regard to the hall-porters at the India Office. These incidents might, therefore, serve as a fair index of the effort by Lord Birkenhead to keep himself in touch with those who were at least his colleagues by courtesy, much less to consult their wishes or be guided by their advice in matters Indian. Mr. Mullick—in his evidence before the Simon Commission—bemoaned the steady sacrifice of Indian interests by Whitehall to the whims and fancies of the military junta and the devious policies of the diplomats. He made it clear that any protest voiced by him and his like could never be other than a voice in the wilderness, instancing the retort of Lord Birkenhead that he could not give effect to the demands of a single

member! Such an excuse could obviously be nothing more than a disingenuous after-thought; for the autocrat (who was so sublimely oblivious of his advisor's very existence as Lord Birkenhead evidently was) was not likely to be persuaded out of the course marked out by himself by the united protests of the whole body of them. In the circumstances, a man of peace like Mr. Mullick naturally preferred to shrug his shoulders, as he himself confessed, and keep quiet. But if he and his colleagues—it may justly be asked—were so utterly impotent, why did they stick to their jobs and draw their salaries? It would seem the best thing they could do was to vote for their own extinction, and it is to be hoped that the Indians among them, at least, will continue to press this view upon the powers-that-be. Be that as it may, Mr. Mullick's 'confessions' throw not only an interesting but, even more so, an instructive side-light on the relations subsisting between Lord Birkenhead and his Indian colleagues. After all this no one need be surprised to learn of the studied discourtesy of Lord Birkenhead towards those Indians who visited London (during the time he was at the helm of affairs at the India Office), after having served their King and country as members of the Government of India or of the provincial governments. Those of them who were ill-advised to call on Lord Birkenhead (by signing his visitor's book at the India Office) were never asked to meet him even officially, and were absolutely ignored. And we have it, on the authority of a retired Indian member of the Government of India—who was in London in 1927—that one retired Indian Executive Councillor, a *Persona grata* with the Government of his Presidency, was actually refused by Lord Birkenhead an interview for which he had applied! That is the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Birkenhead all over!

After learning all this of Lord Birkenhead's work at the India Office, one need not care to enquire about his policy as revealed in his acts and utterances. It would be sufficient to quote on the subject one short comment from so sober, sane and sagacious a leading journal as the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, which summed up Indian public opinion in the passage quoted

below: "We do not think that Lord Birkenhead is a teetotalter and the proper thing to do is perhaps to dismiss his latest post-prandial effusion on Indian affairs as the outcome of a man who had dined not wisely but too well. No educated Britisher in his sober senses would claim, as the Secretary of State is reported to have done, that 'we went to India centuries ago for composing with the sharp edge of the sword differences which would have submerged and destroyed Indian civilization.' This, as a piece of history is such a palpable fiction that it is impossible to believe that Lord Birkenhead was responsible for his words when he spoke them, if he did speak them! The British, as every schoolboy knows came as traders to India and not as champions of Indian civilization. The sword whose sharp edge helped them to found an Empire was *not* theirs, but that of the Indians themselves. It is the same sword which helps them to retain India, and when India elects to wield it herself, Lord Birkenhead cannot and dare not refuse to surrender to her what is hers. We can, therefore, interpret his lordship's words only as intended as a snub to those in this country who have made non-violence the basic principle of their mode of acquiring Swaraj! There are worse things than anarchy, and if India is to be ruled by a succession of political adventurers from London, the limit must soon be overtaken. Whether Lord Birkenhead was quite responsible or not when he made this insulting, insolent and mendacious speech, he has forfeited every claim to the respect of Indians, and Mr. Baldwin will be ill-serving the interests of Britain and India if he does not find some sphere for him where his peculiar talents may be less mischievously employed." These are not the sentiments, however, of the Indian press alone, and the condemnation of Lord Birkenhead's principles and policy at the India Office, as expressed by the *Times of India*—one of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies—is even more emphatic. This is what it said: "Everyone enjoys a bold flaring speech, provided (it is understood) the remarks of the orator are not to be taken seriously, but in this country any utterance of the Secretary of State for India is taken seriously, and for this reason the pleasure with which we read of Lord Birkenhead's high conception of Britain's

duty in India was mixed. One can have a very high conception of the duties of civil servants and Secretaries of State without falsifying history, but this is what Lord Birkenhead did when he declared that 'we went to India centuries ago for composing with the sharp edge of the sword differences which would have submerged and destroyed Indian civilization.' The merchants of the old settlements might be gratified if they could rise from the grave to read this flamboyant sentence, but they would certainly be surprised. We have a right to expect something better than this bluster from a Secretary of State for India." Thus Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion being in absolute agreement about the Birkenheadian regime at the India Office, I may now pass on to consider some other aspects of the career of this blundering, bullying, blustering swashbuckler at the India Office, a veritable *Bombastes Furioso*—who (as Secretary of State for India) did incalculable mischief alike to Britain and India—after referring to the correspondence which passed between him and the Premier—Mr. Stanley Baldwin—at the time of his retirement. It was a fairly long epistle, full of pathetic touches, which Lord Birkenhead addressed to the Prime Minister, on the eve of his tendering his resignation as His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India. It is too long to quote here but the following passages may be taken as samples of its style and language: "I regret greatly my leaving the India Office, where I have spent four of the happiest and most interesting years of my life." *Sach bat, sach bat* that—God's own truth; "plenty to get and little to do," as Mr. Seargeant Buzfuz put it in his cross-examination of Mr. Samuel Weller in famous case of *Bardell versus Pickwick*! Then this 'male Niobe all tears' indulges his innate conceit in the following terms: "The merit or demerit of my work there can only at present be known to the two distinguished Viceroys with whom I co-operated, to my colleagues in the Cabinet, whom I have kept closely informed of every important decision, to my Council and to the admirable staff at the India Office, to whose zeal, ability and prudence I have owed so much. For the rest, one can only wait, for the time will one day come when the India Papers of the last four years

will be published." Not content with the verdict of history and posterity, he added: "I do not wish to leave the public stage with anything in the nature of self-praise. I will only, therefore, say that after spending four years as a law officer and very nearly as long as Lord Chancellor, I do not believe that the last four years will be ultimately pronounced as the most unfruitful years of my life." Now this superb egotism and impudent self-complacency was really too much for a plain, blunt man like Mr. Baldwin. And so in his rather curt reply—after putting in the customary, appreciative acknowledgment—he could not help administering the parting kick to his retiring colleague as follows: "It is too early to estimate the value of your work at the India Office, but I am confident that the historian of our time will do it justice." The sting here—as in the postscript to a lady's letter—is at the end! Not surprising Lord Birkenhead was heard to be humming to himself the following well-known lines:

"It was all very nice to dissemble your love,

But why did you kick me downstairs?"

And yet this 'kicked downstairs' person who, as declared by the *Statesman*, 'made a muddle' at the India Office, (justly designated 'the wreck of Birkenhead') had the impudence, the other day to write to the *Times* warning the Labour Government that they should do nothing but sit tight until the report of the Simon Commission was issued. Fortunately, his letter—to quote the *Statesman* again—had 'been blown to the winds,' and his suggestions in it absolutely ignored by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for

India. But Lord Birkenhead, the hopeless incorrigible, is incapable of learning a new lesson or unlearning what he had learnt before and it is to be feared that he will continue to create as much trouble as he can in the matter of India's progress to Dominion Status; witness his outburst since Lord Irwin's proclamation on the 1st November last. But he may safely be ignored so long as there is Mr. Bann at the India Office, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at the helm of affairs as Prime Minister. I cannot do better than conclude this survey of his career as the Secretary of State for India and the mischief he then wrought and also since then by quoting the observations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a recent contribution to the *Leader*. He writes: "Lord Birkenhead has in his recent outburst furnished more than ample justification for the distrust and suspicion which attached to the appointment of such the Commission in his time. If India is what it has been during the last few years,—discontented, suspicious, distrustful, bitter—the responsibility for that must in no small measure be shared by Lord Birkenhead who derided and scorned Indian aspirations and who, if he had been left to himself, would have scrapped the Reforms, such as they are. It was such a relief to us to know that the noble lord was employing himself more profitably in the City and was no longer in charge of our destinies. But apparently his capacity for doing mischief is unlimited and we find him again at this juncture not playing the part of a peacemaker but that of a disturber of peace." These remarks are the best summing-up from the Indian stand-point. In my next article I shall discuss Lord Birkenhead's career as a journalist.

IS THE COASTAL TRAFFIC BILL RACIAL ?

By G. D. BIRLA, M.L.A.

(President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce)

THE aim and object of Mr. Haji's Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill is to encourage the creation and growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine. The means by which it is sought to be done is the gradual reservation of the coasting trade of India to its own nationals. There is no principle of racial discrimination involved in it. The coasting trade of a country is regarded entirely as a domestic trade, the country's own preserve in which non-nationals cannot engage as of right, but to which they may be admitted only as an act of grace. This proposition is regarded as an axiomatic truth of economic science and practised all the world over. Practically all the maritime countries of the world have followed in the past, or follow even now, this policy. The British Dominions have an undisputed right and power to reserve their coasting trade to their own nationals. The Navigation Laws of England for over two centuries did the same for her, and they were only repealed when their purpose was served, after England's maritime and naval supremacy had been securely established in the world.

This Bill is not the product of extremist opponents of ultra-national views. It is a much belated measure of economic progress for which India has been crying for years past. The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee that was appointed by the Government of India in 1923 reported, with one dissentient—and he was directly interested in a British shipping firm—that, for the creation and growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine, the eventual reservation of the

Indian coasting trade for ships, the ownership and controlling interests in which were predominantly Indian, was necessary. Sir Charles Innes, who was then Commerce Member, stated on behalf of the Government of India that this desire for a National Mercantile Marine was a natural one. The present Bill proposes to attempt to meet this desire within a stated period of time. How can it then be said to be an attempt at confiscation or expropriation?

It is not contended that British commercial interests in India will not suffer by the reservation of the coasting trade to Indian-owned and Indian-controlled ships. British commercial interests in India are represented particularly by two shipping companies which enjoy a practical monopoly of the coasting trade of India by handling between 75 to 90 per cent of the trade. It is impossible under the present conditions to devise any other means for bringing an Indian Mercantile Marine into being within a reasonable period of time. During the last 50 years, over 20 Indian companies came into existence, but a ruthless rate-war was invariably waged against them, forcing most of them into liquidation. The estimate of Indian capital thus lost is put at over eight crores of rupees, that is, over five million pounds.

The economic policy of the Government of India till now has not been adapted to the needs of the country. It has always favoured British commercial interests at the sacrifice of India. The moment any attempt is made to give

a new orientation to this policy, to regulate it to the needs of India, British commercial interests range themselves in a solid phalanx against it. The circular from the Associated Chambers of Commerce against Mr. Haji's Bill is a striking example of this attitude. It is a desperate attempt of British commercial interests in India to maintain their unnatural position at the sacrifice of the most vital interests of the country.

A free, prosperous and contented India as an equal member of the British Empire, free to adopt its fiscal and economic policy to its own needs and circumstances will, in the long run, contribute far more to the stability of the economic structure of England than all the profits earned by British Commercial interests in India multiplied a million times. There can be no question that, as a rule the interests of England and of the British community in India are far from being identical. The former require a free, prosperous and friendly India as an equal member of the Empire. But the latter demand that their private interests should not be impaired and their privileges and monopolies should

be left untouched. If the friendship and goodwill of India mean anything to England, she must fulfil her repeated pledges and promises to India without any reservations and without any further delay. The path of reconciliation does not lie through the safeguards which have been demanded by the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

The real question which is at issue is whether the fiscal or economic policy of India should be determined in the interests of the people of this country, or those of the British capitalists. No question has ever arisen in the Indian Legislature of making discrimination of a racial or communal character against any commercial or industrial interests. India claims the right to discriminate in favour of her own nationals, as in every other country. She also claims the right to protect her own industries and manufactures against those of other countries. India further claims the right to protect her own commerce in the same manner as England, the Dominions and all the rest of the world do. There is nothing racial or communal in these claims.

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS*

By MR. A. RANGASWAMI AYENGAR, M.L.A.

Congress Economic Policy National

IF I may sum up in two words, it is sufficient to say that the economic policy of the Congress was and is a policy of National Economics. Whatever might have been the vicissitudes of policy and method in regard to the political claims and rights of

Indians, on the economic aspects of the national problems, the policy of the Congress has throughout been the same, namely, that of demanding a national economic policy for the country. Students of economics are aware of the difference between the Physiocratic school and the Historic school and specially of the national systems of economics

*An Address delivered at a meeting of the Madras branch of the European Association.

which date from the days of Frederick List. Although at the present day these theoretical distinctions have given way before the hard necessity of finding practical solutions of economic problems in every country, the domination of the economic principles and theory of the British type over the affairs of India was indeed very powerful in the early days of Congress activity. Notwithstanding the essentially British or free trade bias that was imported into the economic knowledge that was imparted to Indian students by their professors and their books in those days, notwithstanding their staunch admiration for and their attachment to the personalities and principles of British liberalism in those days, Congress leaders like Ranade, Dadabhai, Gokhale, Wacha and others have, from the outset, protested against the sacrificing of India and her economic interests at the altar of Free Trade or placing its finances at the mercy of doctrinaires in England or of parties that looked at economic problems solely through British or Imperial spectacles. Indeed, in the very first Congress attention was prominently drawn to the economic problem by Dadabhai Nowroji and the demand for a parliamentary enquiry into Indian affairs was based as much upon the economic as upon the political condition of the people in India.

Economic Policy Dependent on Political Policy

The Congress, in its early stages, was primarily an institution for organising public opinion for purposes of the representation and agitation of Indian claims before the British rulers and the British public. The resolutions of the Congress laid down its economic policy as part of its political demand for self-governing democratic institutions because it believed and still believes that only by the attainment by the country of power and responsibility in the conduct of its own affairs was there any reasonable chance of its economic requirements being attended to and its material aims realised. The extreme poverty of the country, to which the Finance Ministers of those days, like Lord Cromer and Sir Richard Temple, were more willing to testify than their latter-day successors, was a

matter of anxious discussion and deliberation among the leaders of the Congress and, as Dadabhai Nowroji put it, amongst the several causes which are at the bottom of our sufferings, the employment of an extensive foreign agency and the investment of large amounts of foreign capital involving the exportation of its annual profits out of the country without a direct equivalent, were repeatedly pointed to as the most important, contributing to the increasing annual drain of the wealth of the country and its consequent growing poverty. While, therefore, the general resolutions of the Congress demanded political reforms by way of the liberalisation of the constitution, the expansion of the powers of the Legislatures and the redress of various administrative grievances, they were also uniformly accompanied by resolutions demanding the amelioration of economic conditions. The demand for economic and industrial enquiries, for general and technical education, for the mitigation of the burdens of land revenue settlements and the abolition of the Salt Tax, the Cotton Excise duty, and above all, the retrenchment of public expenditure—in particular the growing military burden of the country—as well as a reform of its currency and fiscal systems were the theme of annual resolutions at every Congress session.

Swaraj and Swadeshi

The progress of political events in the country, however, and the opposition of vested interests, made it more and more clear to the Indian National Congress that the demand for piecemeal reforms in the political field and the appeal for financial and fiscal justice in the economic field were becoming futile, that promises made to the ear were broken to the heart, and that constitutional and administrative measures were always hedged round with reservations in favour of the dominant interests of the ruling class. That made the reality of political and economic freedom impossible. When the Congress, therefore, received a new orientation of policy in 1905-06, Dadabhai Nowroji, the Father of the Congress, who more than anybody else, contributed to the exhaustive study of the economic problems that have confronted

the Congress, gave the country in Calcutta in 1906 the gospel of 'Swadeshi and Swaraj' as the twin objectives of the Congress. While Swaraj "as in the self-governing colonies" as it was even then defined, was the definite objective to which all efforts and attempts of the Congress should be directed, Swadeshi was the definite means by which economically and politically that aim was to be achieved. All activity and agitation in respect of administrative, political, industrial or economic improvements came to be treated as subsidiary to this main purpose and policy of the Congress.

Home Rule, Non-Co-Operation and Swarajism

The history of the political movement since those days has, as you will recollect, turned round what is known as the Home Rule movement with which Mrs. Besant's and Lokamanya Tilak's names were identified till the passing of the Montagu Reform Act and with the Non-Co-operation movement inaugurated in 1920 of which the Swarajya Party and its programme were off-shoots in 1923-24. The effect of the growth of political agitation and struggle for national freedom when reforms are long delayed and deferred hope maketh the heart sick, has always been to create moderate and extreme elements within a political organisation. And in the case of a great and growing organisation like the Congress, it is natural, nay, it is a healthy sign of its vitality, that its progress should have been marked by the emergence of younger and more virile parties, whose so-called extremism cannot be explained away as the result of a double dose of original sin. Indeed, the extremist of yesterday finds himself the moderate of to-day and the back-number of to-morrow. Political labels or differences in pace apart, the demand for national freedom has now come to be recognised as the natural and inalienable right of human beings—at least after the War—and if freedom and self-rule could not be had for India within the political aggregation known as the British Commonwealth, or if people are honestly convinced to that effect, it can be no sin on their part to aspire for national freedom without the Empire. It will be for you to convince

them to the contrary by frankly and fully offering Dominion Status and showing how India's political future as a self-respecting nation will be secured thereby.

Unity and Uniformity of National Economic Policy

But whatever mutations of opinion or thought have existed on the exact political status of India within or without the Empire in the achievement of its freedom, there has been no difference of view-point in regard to the economic needs of India among Indian politicians whatever the school of thought to which they may belong. And therefore it is that you will find there has been no room for difference of opinion or for controversy over those provisions of the National Demand contained in the Nehru Report which deal with the economic policy of the country under Swaraj. Without therefore, taking up your time with the several economic demands which the Congress has put forward from time to time as an integral part of its political demands, I shall put as briefly as I can the view-point from which, as I understand it, the Congress scheme of Swaraj will deal with the economic problems that would arise out of the establishment of Swaraj upon the basis of full Dominion Status.

In doing so, I think I should premise by saying that the establishment of a self-governing constitution in this country does not present any special economic problems as such, which in principle or method can be or are fundamentally different from those with which the British people had to deal in the case of other Dominions.

Swaraj and Economic Policy

The Congress scheme of Swaraj contemplates India's economic policy to be primarily national. It therefore involves all the steps that are necessary to free India from foreign domination no less in the economic and industrial than in the political sphere. In securing and establishing this freedom the coming Swaraj government may be trusted to pursue a just policy and not to contemplate any steps of a spoliatory character nor any confiscating of rights lawfully acquired and actually

enjoyed in India by non-nationals. If, however, apart from just rights, the European community in this country lay claim to all the advantages that will accrue from the pursuit of this national policy to nationals in India, the obvious step for them to take is to become part of India's nationals. If Europeans settle down and become domiciled in this country, it of course goes without saying that they are *ipso facto* citizens of the Indian State entitled to the rights and subject to all the duties of Indian citizenship. If, on the other hand, they are here only as sojourners whether with or without a mission, for purposes of trade, commerce, or the service of the State, then it follows that they will have, ordinarily speaking, exactly the status which non-nationals in other Dominions, or Britishers, not domiciled in those Dominions possess. I do not see that there is any escape from this position once you grant that India is entitled to full responsible government of the 'Dominion' type. The question whether as members of the same Commonwealth, Britishers in India should have rights and obligations which mark them off from aliens and foreigners doing business in India is one which, I think, has to be solved exactly in the same way as it has been and would be solved in the Dominions. The claim, therefore, for any special or exceptional treatment of the Britishers in India, whatever it may mean, cannot, from the Congress point of view, be held to prevail against the primary demands and requirements of the nation itself and this is particularly the case in the field of economics.

No Trusteeship

The doctrine of trusteeship, of course, ceases to exist with the acceptance of the policy of self-government for India, and surely trusteeship also implies stricter obligations to and lesser advantages derivable from the *Cesti que trustent*. I presume that no Britisher in this country claims a price for his consenting to give up the powers and privileges which he may now enjoy by reason of the domination of the British Government nor any fresh remuneration for the past discharge of the duties of trusteeship even assuming that there is any substance in this hollow theory of trusteeship. If then, there is an offer of British

capital or services in the development of India's commercial, industrial or political future, it should wholly be left to the country and its responsible government to decide whether it is or it is not to the interests of the country to accept it on the terms offered. It cannot be left to the offerer to force its acceptance upon the offered. On this free basis, I believe, it would be perfectly possible that the future Swaraj Government of India might be willing to indent as freely upon the services and capital of the British as may be necessary so long as they are satisfied that it would not be detrimental to their own national interests or to their own nationals in other ways.

Steps to Achieve Economic Freedom

The present position of India in the economic sphere is one of dependence upon foreign capital, foreign trade, and the foreign agency in administration. This is admitted and the steps necessary to free her from that position and the just treatment of lawful interests lawfully acquired are, of course, an essential part of this process. I presume that even in the view of the most extreme pro-British exponent should it be conceded that they should at least be governed by the policy defined and elaborated between 1917 and 1919, not merely as to the constitution of India, but as to its fiscal and economic policy. Though the Congress has never accepted the implications of the Announcement of 1917, of which the boycott of the Simon Commission is the latest proof, it has recognised that the economic policy that followed it and has now been fairly well-established, in at least some important respects has been in the direction of Congress policy and has had the support of Congressmen.

The Great War

The injustice involved in the dictation of India's fiscal policy from London at the instance of British vested interests had indeed impressed itself forcibly on the British public during the War. And the disadvantage to the Empire itself which resulted from this policy during the War when India, though willing to help, found itself disabled by Britain's past economic policy, from supplying the needs of Britain

and the Empire in the supply of so many industrial and other products opened the eyes of all thinking men at the time. It was during the War that the first steps towards the acceptance of the principle of fiscal freedom and real industrial development for India were conceded by the Government. Until that time, although it was true that the Government of India on many occasions had strongly protested to the Home Government against the many fiscal injustices which they had been compelled to impose upon India at the instance of the British Government—such as, the re-imposition of the cotton duties, in the eighties, the imposition of the countervailing excise duty in the nineties, the unequal distribution of the military burden all through and the manipulation of India's currency under the directions of the India Office—neither the Executive nor the Legislature in India were permitted to deal with fiscal and financial questions with any freedom.

The Joint Committee and Fiscal Autonomy

The process of change began during the War when the Government of India were not allowed to increase the cotton duties *pari passu* with other customs duties. The accepted policy of the Coalition Government and of all British political parties in this matter was put in clear terms by the Report of the Joint Committee of the Government of India Act in 1919 as follows:

"Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed

by statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power to veto which rests in the Crown; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislatures are in agreement and they think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

The Industrial Commission and Sir F. Nicholson

The appointment of the Indian Industrial Commission in 1916 was the first definite step taken by the Government in India itself to re-examine India's industrial policy from the nationalist standpoint and its recommendations have been the basis upon which the active policy of industrial development in India by protective duties and bounties, by the development of banking and industrial education and other steps has been pursued. It was before the Industrial Commission that Sir Frederick Nicholson, who is perhaps the oldest influential member of your community, placed his views as regards Indian industries which can bear repetition before you at the present day:

"I beg to record my strong opinion that in the matter of Indian industries, we are bound to consider Indian interests firstly, secondly and thirdly. I mean by 'firstly' that the local raw product should be utilised, by 'secondly' that industries should be introduced and by 'thirdly' that the profits of such industry should remain in the country."

Indian Steel, Indian Railway, Indian Loans

It was feared at the outset in India that this fiscal freedom would not materialise to any appreciable degree in the near future. But the working of the Reforms Act and the financial position and commitments of the Government induced them to put into force this policy by the enactment of the Indian Steel Protection Act of 1924—the first tardy and tiny indication of recognition of the economic policy which the Congress, in the interests of the Indian nation, had all along advocated. It was followed in the next year by the repeal of the Indian Cotton Countervailing Excise duty which also involved a recognition of the fiscal freedom that has been repeatedly denied to India at the instance of the British Government. Some time before this also the Government of India claimed and enunciated another policy—first with some hesitancy, later on with emphasis born of the support of the Legislature thereto—in regard to Indian railway development. The Government once for all accepted the policy of State ownership, control and management of Indian railways, in place of the development and administration of Indian Railways by private British capitalists. Although these measures have touched but the fringe of the economic policy advocated by the Congress they constitute, as I take it, an acceptance of the national character of Indian economic policy in which the interests of foreigners cannot take precedence over the interests of the nation. One of the significant indications of the effect of this national pressure may be noted in the fact that the Indian Government during Sir Basil Blackett's time had so reformed its finances as to enable him to confine all his borrowings to India and not to go to the London market for Railway or other finance. Though the Government has since found itself unable to persevere in this policy—thanks to the exchange difficulty and other causes that are keeping India's trade in such a depressed condition now—still the principle that the Government's loan requirements, mainly for productive expenditure and previous obligations, should be met from within this country and not from without, is also, I believe, an

accepted part of the Indian Government's policy.

External Capital Committee

Indeed the policy of restricting the inflow of foreign capital was a unanimous recommendation not only of the Indian Industrial Commission of 1917 but also of the External Capital Committee of which Sir Basil Blackett and Sir Charles Innes were the most important members. The Indian Industrial Commission had recommended unanimously that:

"Indian Capital should have full scope for investment in Indian industries and that foreign capital should only supplement it to accelerate the pace."

The External Capital Committee of 1924 went further and its recommendation was in the following terms:

"It is more advantageous to India that its requirements for new capital should be supplied from internal rather than from external sources so far as internal capital is forthcoming. The real solution of the problem of external capital lies in the development of India's own capital resources."

Again:

"India possesses a vast store of dormant capital awaiting development and it was recognised in practically all the replies that the Committee received that there is sufficient potential capital in India to meet the larger part of India's industrial requirements."

Accepted Principles of National Economics

If, therefore, in all these directions the Government as well as certain Europeans in this country have accepted and acted upon a national economic policy for India, if they have conceded that the protection of Indian industries should be placed before the demands of foreign importers or dumpers, if Indian railway development is to be freed from the trammels of company control from London, if all these steps are justified, I claim that their implications must necessarily involve the position that you can have no cause for quarrel with the future Swaraj Government if it continues the principle of fiscal and economic

autonomy that has been conceded but proceeds further and attempts to give it more reality and life in the re-building of the prosperity of this most impoverished country. The necessary consequences of it are that India will re-construct her economic structure and take her proper place as an economically self-sufficient and progressive country, that she will restore the prosperity and welfare of her rural population in accordance with her growing needs, that she will develop her industries and her commerce in the same way as other nations are doing, that her industrial and agricultural products and her manufactures will be developed, not for providing the raw materials for the manufactures of other countries and that she will lose no time in getting rid of her dependence upon foreign countries for her needs and in growing out of the position of merely producing raw products for the benefit of other nations. It cannot be denied that this country is eminently fitted for many industries which have yet to grow or which have yet to develop to the required standard and which have not so far developed on account of the competition of the foreigner in her own markets. This state of things will go and it will be the business of the Swaraj Government to see to it. Her commerce requires to be developed and for that purpose her shipping and her marine have also to be developed as fast as her Government can enable her to do so.

Justice to Existing Interests

There is of course essential condition of justice on which she should pursue all this and if that essential condition of justice is satisfied, I hope you will agree that the national economic aspirations of this great country will not be thwarted by a nation that has itself struggled through centuries for economic freedom and prosperity. And what is this essential condition? Let us examine it a little closely. As I said it is admitted that there is in this country a large amount of foreign capital invested and yielding a return. It is also admitted that there are a very large number of Europeans employed in this country in business or in the services whose existing and accruing rights to use the words of a statute, cannot be ignored.

Foreign Capital and Drain

The amount of foreign capital invested in this country has been variously estimated at between 800 and 1,000 millions sterling and constitutes in regard to repayment by way of profit, interest and capital, an annual drain of 50 crores on the resources of the country. In speaking of this as a drain I hope none of my hearers will get back into the confusion into which the drain theory has been dragged so often. That the amount payable by way of interest and instalments of capital of this investment, whatever might have been its history, is justly claimable as of right by the investors or their successors is of course not gainsaid. But that India would be better off if all this investment had been found out of the wealth of its own people within the country so that thereby it would have avoided the export annually of the large quantity of wealth represented by the home charges is equally a fact which cannot be gainsaid and that is what we mean by asking that this drain should cease—not that the payment of interest, etc., on these investments should cease by any unjust fiat of the State.

European Services

Similarly in regard to the payments made for the services of Europeans in India employed in the administration of cerned, the Services have already in a fit of extra-nervousness obtained guarantees and assurances since 1919 for all their existing and accruing rights and also for compensation if they elect not to serve this country under the changed conditions, not of Swaraj, but even of the Montagu Reform Scheme. The continuance of these rights has been specifically provided for in the following terms in the Nehru Report in the same manner as in Canada of South Africa.

The Nehru Report Assurances

The Report observes:

We are next confronted with questions relating to European commerce, and are told that "men who have put great sums of money in India and are daily increasing spheres of their operation, have a right to know if we contemplate an early change of governments." Similarly we are told that "men entering

the services" whether civil or military, whether European or Indian, have a right to know if we intend a radical change of Government at an early date.

"As regards European commerce, we cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India, should at all be nervous. It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India. European commerce, like Indian commerce, has had to bear in the past, and will have to bear in the future the vicissitudes inseparable from commercial undertakings on a large scale, and no Government in the West or anywhere else has been able effectively to provide a permanent and stable solution for the conflict between Capital and Labour."

The question next arises as to whether there are any other European interests in which the demand for protection or adequate guarantees can reasonably be made and on this I may say at once that the authors of the Nehru Report have stated the following:—

"If however, there are any special interests of European commerce which require special treatment in future it is only fair that in regard to the protection of those interests, Europeans should formulate their proposals and we have no doubt that they will receive proper consideration from those who are anxious for a peaceful solution of the political problem."

And since the Nehru Report has been formally endorsed by the Congress, it has, in effect, taken the same position.

The European Claims

I do not know exactly what are the other items in the Bill of Claims which you would want me to meet in this connection. But I presume that they would come under the general categories which have been summarised under the heading of 'Financial interests and responsibilities' in the memorandum of the European Association submitted to the Simon Commission thus:—

"The total capital controlled by the British community amounts to many hundreds of million pounds, while of the immense import and export trade of India amounting annually to £400,000,000

Europeans have responsibility for the larger share."

"It would appear unnecessary to emphasise the fact that the well-being of the Indian people is as much dependent on the development of India's economic resources as on the development of her political organisations, and in the former sphere the British community will for many years to come have to play a leading part."

I presume also that it would be in this category that you would include the question of shipping and coastal traffic and similar matters in which British enterprise is likely to come into conflict with Indian enterprise.

Swaraj and Foreign Trade

Now so far as the import and export trade of India is concerned, I have already stated that with the concession of the policy of fiscal freedom for India and the acceptance of a policy of protection by the Indian Government, a policy of bounties and state-aid for assisting Indian industries and a policy of finding Indian loans in India as far as possible the principle that the interests of India's industrial and economic development should prevail over any mere expectations of traders and profiteers in the future economy of this country cannot be ignored any longer. It would not be right to raise any misleading plea of racial discrimination in respect of what is essentially an economic question, for British trade with India can only be affected by the growth of industrial development in India during a course of years during which England should easily find other markets for displaced goods or other goods to import into India as she has done in the past.

Similarly in regard to concessions, mineral, commercial or other. In regard to new industries it should be entirely left for the Swaraj Government to decide whether in the national interests foreign mineral concessions can be permitted or whether foreign industrial or commercial interests should be allowed to develop.

In all these economic and industrial matters, it would certainly be not beyond the capacity of the future Swaraj Government to determine what are national interests. It is wrong to assume after conceding the

right to self-rule and the capacity to do so, that the future Swaraj Government would be so foolish as to sacrifice the true interests of the nation if they would be promoted by the co-operation of the capital or industry of the British or foreigner and that they would, out of sheer cussedness, eschew the foreigner and injure themselves for the nonce. It is equally wrong to assume that the requisite enterprise, skill as well as capital could not be found in India or that this country should not look forward as early and as far as possible to meeting all her requirements in this respect from her own nationals and within her own country.

Safeguard by Instructions

The proposals that have been made on behalf of the European Association to protect the interests of non-official Europeans in this country, in particular their financial and commercial interests, have been advanced and developed in some propositions which I think I should examine from the standpoint of the Indian National Congress. In their memorandum to the Simon Commission they have suggested that these interests have of late not received that attention which they had received in the past and they therefore ask in the first place for a continuance of those clauses in the present Instruments of Instructions to Governors which enjoin on them the following duties:

To see that no order of your Government and no Act of your Legislative Council shall be so framed that any of the diverse interests of or arising from race, religion, educational, social condition, wealth or any other circumstance, may receive unfair advantage or may unfairly be deprived of privileges or advantages which they had hitherto or be excluded from the enjoyment of benefits which may hereafter be conferred on the people at large.

To safeguard all members of our services employed in the said presidency in the legitimate exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of recognised rights and privileges and to see that your Government order all things justly and reasonably in their regard and that due obedience is paid to all just and reasonable orders and diligence shown in their execution.

To take care that, while the people inhabiting the said presidency shall enjoy all facilities for the development of commercial and industrial undertakings, no monopoly or special privilege which is against common interest shall be established, and no unfair discrimination shall be made in matters affecting commercial or industrial interests.

Safeguard by Statute

They ask in the next place over and above these general safeguards by executive instructions, for constitutional and statutory safeguards in respect of taxation, trade, professions, commerce, and industry. They ask that discriminatory legislation should be forbidden altogether. In response to a request that this demand may be put in the form of a draft statutory provision your Association have put forward, as you all know, two drafts known as the Bombay and Bengal drafts which I have here before me and which I shall not trouble to read through in full. Nor do I on this occasion want to enter into any elaborate discussion of these drafts and clauses; I desire only to examine them in the light of the principles which as I said are fundamental in the economic policy of the Congress. As I have said before the claim for guarantees or assurances in respect of invested capital or properties and rights lawfully acquired possessed and enjoyed in India is an unnecessary one as it exists in the present scheme of things. There is no question of any repudiation on the part of any Government, Swarajist or other, that may succeed to the present bureaucratic Government.

Offer of Liquidation

But if assurances are discounted or suspected, speaking for myself as a Congressman, I should be more ready to consider the question of liquidating the whole of this liability by raising the necessary securities on the National credit and assets of the country—in the same manner as the French people did when they wanted to wipe away the disgrace of German military occupation at the end of the Franco-German War in the seventies—than to incorporate statutory guarantees beyond what the present constitution

affords. With the magnificent asset of her railways and other productive capital works, the question of the sufficiency of assets cannot arise. Indeed, the total public debt of India productive and unproductive, about 800 and odd millions, as compared to European countries is so small in relation to the assets as well as the annual resources of its Government even on the present extravagant scale of expenditure, that I do not think the cry of affecting India's credit or position in the world's money market need be seriously considered. As regards European services also I have said that their existing and accruing rights have already been duly safeguarded.

Guarantees Against Trade Developments

But on the question of the import and export trade of Great Britain with India it is indeed difficult for me to understand what in reality the claim made is. If your profession of faith in Free Trade is real, then it follows that you cannot be affected by the fact that other countries follow a protective policy. It would be childish to assume that the moment freedom in fiscal policy is given to India, its Cabinet will immediately proceed to enforce legislative prohibition of all British imports to India, or as the Americans did, to empty the tea chests into the sea. It would amount to an economic injury which would practically be a physical impossibility. Indian Cabinets will of course strive to build up Indian industries that must in course of time make India self-sufficient in respect of all articles which she herself is capable of producing. But this policy cannot be carried out at a moment's notice and a great manufacturing country, like Britain which has believed in and achieved success under Free Trade, can well look with confidence to the development of fresh markets and the production of other goods not produced in India. To ask therefore that commercial or trade expectations should not be left to the free play of political and economic forces, but should be secured by constitutional guarantees or legislative safeguards is to ask for the imposition of a regime of capitulations on an indigenous Government in India or to ask

for a perpetual charge on the resources of India. The demand in the Bombay draft that there should be a constitutional limitation on the Indian Legislatures' power to make any law in India calculated to discriminate not only against any commercial or industrial or agricultural interests already established, but interests to be established in the future, without limit of time is, to put forward a claim on behalf of Britishers to hold the gorgeous East in fee for all time—a claim which is inconsistent even with the accepted policy of the 1917 announcement. The Bengal draft puts it in a different form, but the claim is, in substance, there also, while the latest emendation of these drafts is the demand that the power to decide whether any legislation is discriminatory or not is not to be in the Courts, but in the Governor-General or Governors in India.

What is Unfair Advantage and Undue Privilege?

I shall presently come to the question of discrimination; but I shall dispose of the proposition that the Instrument of Instructions to Governors should provide for the protection of rights other than those which you would want statutorily protected. The claim that no race or class should receive unfair advantage or should be unfairly excluded from benefits or deprived of privileges or advantages which they have hitherto enjoyed, is one which it seems to me requires much clearer definition than you have chosen to give. What is an advantage, a privilege or a benefit and what is the extent of the enjoyment that would constitute a claim for its protection and whether the word 'inhabitant' can be legally extended to cover the cases of residents or traders who do not make India their home, cannot be left to be decided by the discretion of Governors, however eminent. And if advantages in fields other than commerce are to be of the same comprehensive character as that which is claimed in respect of commerce or trade established or to be established in future in this country, it is plain that such indefinite obligations, could not be accepted by any national government. But I believe that undue preference of any kind in favour of or as against any class or race in respect of any rights or properties lawfully possessed and enjoyed will not be

permitted in the same manner as they ought not to be permitted under the present regime. For the rest, if, as my friend, Mr. James happily put it in his speech in the Legislative Council the other day, you do feel increasingly the urgency and need for a constitutional settlement, the offer of a discussion round a table with the authors of the Nehru Report is before you.

'Discriminatory' Legislation

But then it would be argued, what we ask for is protection against discriminatory legislation of a racial or class character. It is contended that since in England the Indian has equality of status and legal rights so in India the Englishman should suffer no disabilities or unfair discrimination against his commercial interests. I do not know whether the removal of legal disabilities or unfair discrimination against the commercial interests of Englishmen in India is the same thing as equality of status and legal rights for Indians in England. But so far as equality of status and legal rights are concerned, I do not think it can be contended that there has been in Congress or nationalist circles any disposition to deny any such equality of status or rights. The authors of the Nehru Report have gone into this question and have in their Definition Clauses defined the word 'Citizen' and 'Citizenship rights' to include the cases of subjects of the Crown who carry on business or reside in the territories of the Commonwealth as distinct from those who are naturalised in this country.

The distinction, of course, must exist in all constitutions—British as well as foreign—between nationals, born or domiciled in India and residents and sojourners carrying on business and the legal rights and obligations of the latter must necessarily be more restricted. The Swaraj constitution in all these matters will follow accepted juristic and constitutional principles. There is, however, a strong demand in the Congress that this claim for civic rights for residents should not be conceded in respect of people of those parts of the British Empire who impose the racial bar upon Indians going and residing in their climes; but so far as Britishers are concerned there has been no dissent from the proposition as set forth in the Nehru Report.

An Extraordinary Claim

It would appear that what is claimed for the British in India is more than the rights of domicile where it exists or of residence, sojourn or business. The right claimed for the European community is not for its individuals who come and go, but for its corporate entity. "The British community in India," we are told, "is very small, but important, and its position, is one of some complexity. Whilst the community as such and the majority of the big commercial firms have an unbroken connection with India for a century and more, the individuals who compose it are constantly changing. They come to India at the outset of their careers and leave it on retirement after the best years of their lives had been given in its service"—such services, I may point out, in passing, have always been generously paid for though the earnings and gains of these retiring individuals go out of the country. In other words, the demand is not only for civic citizenship rights for those domiciled in this country, and for those residing in this country, not merely for the protection of properties or interests established in this country, but for a connection and stake for present and future generations, maintained in this country by an ever-changing group of European sojourners in India. I must say that no constituted Government can hope to meet or to provide adequate compensation for claims of this extraordinary character. At the same time, I shall be the last to say that the continuance of the maintenance of these connections and the acceptance of the services of these Europeans in this country should or would cease in a day. They will continue as before, so long as they could be maintained on a free and equal basis, so long as they are not sought to be forced by statutory guarantees based on suspicion. As Mahatma Gandhi has put it "when that atmosphere of trust and confidence is created on the basis of equality and freedom no European will find the Indian a niggardly bargainer." Nor can I believe that the financial and commercial position of England is so low that it cannot take the risk of this possibility and find other fields for investment of capital for exploiting the resources needed for her industries elsewhere within or without the Empire; that she must needs keep hold of political domination on this country as a lever

for maintaining trade and commercial interests, expectations and developments. To me it is unthinkable that the people in England or even the European community in India obsessed with the magnitude of their interests, would take such a wholly un-English view of their rights and responsibilities and of their duties towards the Indian nation.

There are again claims made on behalf of the European community for protection on the ground of their being a very small minority on the basis of the demand for protection of minorities in several Continental States - questions of representation and the enactment of laws or administrative regulations as to social, educational and other matters concerning the community. I need say very little on this matter beyond the statement that they can well be matters for discussion and easy settlement at friendly conferences. They would be treated with consideration in the same way as other minority problems are treated.

Europeans and The National Viewpoint

The real trouble behind these pronounced differences between the European and Indian

communities in matters of trade and finance, is that the Europeans in this country, even when they desire honestly to co-operate with the Indians, do not realise the implications of a national outlook. If the European community in India, or at least a large part of that community becomes nationalised in the sense that its members settle down and get domiciled in this country, becoming an integral part of the Indian nation, then all these difficulties, all these demands for protection, safeguards, compensation and the rest will vanish. If, on the other hand, they treat this country only as a place where they have a commercial or business stake, for which purpose they reside temporarily and depart, may be in successive groups for years, then it is inevitable that the point of view of the European, however well-intentioned, should be wholly narrowed down to the question of the protection and development of his own interests primarily, and that the claims and demands for their protection and compensation and development should be foremost in his mind. I would therefore appeal to the European community to examine the National Demand from this national view-point and I sincerely hope that they will find it sound, moderate and wholly acceptable.

ARABIC AND TURKISH CALLIGRAPHY

By Dr. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

NEXT to Roman, the Arabic script is more widely distributed in the world than any other written or printed character; its use extends from the western border of China to the western end of the Mediterranean (formerly to Spain), and in addition to Arabic it is used in writing the Turkish, Persian, and Hindustani languages. Two main types of script, a rounded and an angular, have existed from the earliest times, and other varieties have been later developed. The rounded script, related

to the later Naskhi, appears already on papyrus leaves dating back to the first century of Islām (seventh century A. D.). The angular Kūfic script (which takes its name from Kūfa, founded in 638 as the religious and intellectual capital of Islām previous to the founding of Baghdad a hundred and thirty years later), however, occurs in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions (Zebed, A.D. 512, and Harrān, A.D. 568) and remains in almost universal use in books, especially in examples of the Qur'ān up to the

twelfth century, when it is rapidly replaced by the rounded Naskhi and closely related Thuluth scripts.

Examples of early Kūfic writing, in the shape of Egyptian Qur'an pages on vellum, are well represented in the collections; some of these are rubricated and provided with decorated chapter headings in gold. Islamic tradition involves an enormous respect for the written word, and no care or accuracy could be too great to be expended on the sacred book. If early Kūfic writing is not deliberately calligraphic, that is to say, not intentionally artistic, it is nevertheless unquestionably the most monumental and noblest form that Arabic writing has ever attained. The very few dated examples in existence show that most of the vellum leaves belong to the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and that in the eleventh century paper began to come into general use. The severer form of Kūfic writing belongs mainly to the ninth and tenth centuries, a slightly more ornamented style to the eleventh; after the Fātimid period, ending A.D. 1155, Kūfic is replaced in Egypt by Thuluth and Naskhi, though it survives into the thirteenth century in Mesopotamia and Persia. What appears to be East Persian Kūfic is found on numerous very handsome Qur'an pages written on a brownish paper in a rather ornate style characterized by a more slender body and the great height of the letters rising above the written line (p. 51);¹ this kind of script is handled with extraordinary virtuosity, and the resulting pages, if less grand, are now more elegant and perhaps more pleasing than those of the older manuscripts.

The use of vellum survives in the

Maghrib (Tunis and Morocco) into the twelfth century, and here the Maghribi script develops at first at Qairawān (seventh to tenth centuries), then in Spain (Andalusia and Cordova), and then at Fez, as well as in Timbuktu. This Maghribi ("western") script has an elegance fully equivalent to that of Persian Kūfic, but its characteristically rounded forms present a very different appearance. These rounded forms are also quite distinct from the older rounded cursive which develops in Mesopotamia and Egypt into the later Naskhi.

An artistic development, accompanying the invention of scripts of various kinds, additional to the ornamental forms of Kūfic, takes place contemporaneously in Mesopotamia and Baghdad in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From this time onwards calligraphy comes to be regarded as a fine art, and the names and biographies of famous calligraphers are known and recorded like those of great masters. It may be that the Islamic tendency, surviving even at the present day, to regard calligraphy as the greatest of the fine arts is to be connected with the traditional (not, as usually supposed, qur'anic) prohibition of representative art. However this may be, it is a development that takes place in connection with that of the whole art of making fine books, which was so successfully pursued in the Islāmic world, especially in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Paper as a writing material had come into general use only after the tenth century, and rapidly replaced vellum. The dominant scripts of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in Mesopotamia and Egypt are the rounded

¹ See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s. v. *Arabic*, Pl. V. (Qur'an written by Abū Bekr of Ghazna, A.D. 1170-1171); Geilmi, *Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, Z.D.M.G. Vol. 69, 1915, Pl. III, "transitional Kūfic" written by a scribe from Balkh in 1027; Moritz, B., *Arabic palaeography*, Pl. 55; *Friends of the Bodleian*, Ann. Rep. 1925-1926, item 5. The designation *Qarmat* is not applicable to this kind of writing, as *Qarmat* is a kind of Naskhi.

semi-cursive Thuluth and Naskhi, with Kūfic reserved for ornamental title pages and chapter headings, though, as we have seen, a kind of decorative Kūfic flourished in Persia as late as the thirteenth century. Thuluth differs from Naskhi obviously only in the crotch or hook which terminates the upward strokes of the *lif* and other vertical elements; the two are often used side by side, *e. g.*, for chapter headings and text respectively.

One of the earliest of the famous calligraphers is Yāqut Musta'simī who worked in Baghdad in the thirteenth century. Great value is attached by modern Turkish calligraphers to examples of Musta'simī's work, of which signed and dated examples are known;¹ his style is in fact the foundation of that of the later Turkish schools. A leaf assigned to him by modern Turkish experts is reproduced on this page.

The rounded script had already been fully developed in Egypt in the Fātimid and Ayyūbid periods. The most magnificent Qur'āns written in Thuluth or Naskhi, however, are those of the Mamlūk period (1252—1517) in Egypt. The Museum has long possessed an important pulpit doorway with Arabic inscriptions of the reign of Barqāq (1382—1398). Two manuscripts of parts of the Qur'ān belonging to this period have magnificently decorated initial pages, reproduced on page 55, combining intricate interlacing designs in gold with ornamental Kūfic lettering, and both of these preserve their original tooled leather bindings. A larger and entire copy of the whole Qur'ān, in Naskhi script, is provided with a colophon in which it is stated that it was written by order of the Treasury in the reign of Sultān Zāhir Saif-al-Din Jaqmaq (1438—1453), *i. e.*, probably by

royal command, either for the king's own use or for presentation to some mosque. One of the finely illuminated title-pages is reproduced on page 52.

After the fall of the Mamlūks the Ottoman ('Othmānī) Turks, whose empire dates from 1299, inherited the traditions of Islāmic art and paid great attention to calligraphy, adhering mainly to the standard Thuluth and Naskhi scripts, and maintaining close relations with Egypt, though working also partly under Persian masters. Amongst the most famous Turkish calligraphers are Shaikh Hamdullah (teacher and favorite of Sultān Bayezid II, proprietor of two rich villages in Hungary, shaikh or prior of a darwesh monastery, famous also as a falconer, archer, swimmer, and tailor, d. 1520), his son Muṣṭafa Dede (d. 1539/1540), Hāfiz 'Othmān (teacher of Sultān Aḥmad III, and of whom a contemporary is said to have remarked, "We know what calligraphy means, but 'Othmān shows us the reality," he gave lessons on Sundays to the poor and Wednesdays to the rich, d. 1698/1699), Aḥmad Qara-Hisārī (called Yāqutī-Rūm, "the Yāqut of Asia Minor," worked in Egypt, d. 1729), Yedi Quleli (a descendant of the Prophet, pupil of 'Othmān, d. 1731/1732), Hāfiz Yūsuf (of Persian origin, d. 1786/1787), Muṣṭafa Kutahialī (son of Nāḥi of Galata, fl. early nineteenth century), and Hāfiz Ibrahim Shievqī (d. 1829/1830). All these and others less noted are represented in the collections. The first three of these belong to the school of the "Seven Masters of Asia Minor." Through 'Othmān the tradition has descended to the present day. The ship of Noah reproduced on page 56 bears a signature "work of 'Othmān" in the smaller medallion to left and the designation "Picture of the ship of Noah,

¹ Moritz B., *Arabic palaeography*, IV, 89.

our high prophet, peace be unto him" in the larger medallion, these texts and the ship itself being composed in Kūfic characters; below in Naskhi are Turkish verses in which the author says that he "wrote" this ship to be a memorial of

himself after death. The most accomplished calligrapher of the present day is Hāj Kiāmal Effendi, from whose hand is the fine example written in 1927 and here reproduced on page 53.

EXTERNAL BORROWING FOR INDIA : WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE STERLING LOAN OF JANUARY 1929

By MR. B. RAMA CHANDRA RAU

THERE is no gainsaying of the fact that foreign capital undoubtedly promotes industrial development, if it is utilised solely for developmental purposes and has a favourable bearing on the Exchange market. Interest payment and dividend remittances may otherwise operate but the whole process is an advantageous one building up national wealth. This has been the real experience of Japan and Canada. Even England recently took steps to perpetuate British control over American capital which was allowed to penetrate the British electrical industry. As one prominent German Banker says "Capital is in its very nature international and only elemental occurrences in the political or other spheres can divert it from its natural field of activity. The movement of capital towards Germany can in the long run, therefore, only be averted by Germany herself, if she pursues an erroneous economic policy for it is not to be supposed that the atmosphere of international economic understanding which is apparent today throughout the whole world will entirely be dismissed in the near future."¹

The repayment of external debt means the transferring of wealth from the borrowing country to the lending one, the exact reverse

of what took place when the external debt was contracted. In spite of this disadvantage external borrowing must be resorted to, when the country's internal capital resources have become well-nigh exhausted or if it is a capital-poor country with no means to develop natural resources.²

Another reason, when recourse to foreign borrowing can be advocated, is the slow rate of expansion and growth of economic activities in the borrowing country. Under such circumstances a rapid exhaustion of the available sources of wealth in Government loans would restrict the scope of the economic activities in the borrowing country. Foreign capital liberates domestic resources of wealth for domestic use but the willingness to invest on the part of foreign holders of wealth depends on the confidence that peaceful conditions continue to prevail in the debtor country.

There is still another reason why some amount of dependence on foreign capital is to be recommended. The growth of capital in any country is often subject to the law of diminishing returns. Economic conditions such as strikes, industrial depression, etc., may tend to reduce savings in the country. So access to international markets should

¹ Quoted from the recent report of the Darmstadt-Bank.

² See Alexander Hamilton—Works (H. C. Lodge), Vol.—II.

never be given up by any country. It is international investment that has to be encouraged—not the flow of one Nation's capital alone.

The floating of an internal loan is not free from complications as it is usually supposed to be. For instance it is "a direct real burden" and tends to transfer wealth from one section of society to another thereby aggravating the existing inequalities of income in the society. At any rate it appears to be a lesser evil as the money tends to remain within the country. However, there is no need to fear the effects of external borrowing if a courageous policy of national economic development is put on foot. While almost all the reasons for external borrowing are understood, it remains to grasp the real difficulties of the situation arising out of external borrowing. Undesirable political entanglements naturally arise out of excessive borrowing from a foreign country. It may lead to invasion of the country and ultimate colonisation of the country by the external capitalists, if the borrowing country were to commit a default or think of open repudiation of debt. Like Britain's occupation of Egypt, many of the American Republics might have been under the occupation of European Governments but for the timely intervention of the United States of America with her world-famous Monroe Doctrine.

Even inter-governmental borrowing is no less dangerous and would also lead to delicate international questions which end ultimately in disputes and wars, when the debtor country does not promptly liquidate the foreign loan.

Although it is on these grounds that independent Governments generally think twice before tapping the foreign capital resources, still it is an acknowledged fact that public borrowing in an external market is an advantageous one when conducted up to a limited extent. It acts as a safety-valve and promotes the economic progress of the country. There cannot be any wholesale condemnation of the policy of external borrowing. But the rates at which the loans are to be floated, the markets in which they

are to be floated, the time at which they are to be floated, and the opportunities that are to be given to the private internal investors to subscribe to the same loans, are indeed matters of grave concern. It is on these grounds that the policy of external borrowing generally fails to satisfy popular opinion in any country.

The main reasons why Indian economists object to the sterling loans must now be understood. Firstly, British capital is of the type which takes all the risk and all the profit. The American capital on the other hand insists on securing a fixed interest-bearing instrument. Witness the South American conditions which amply bear out my statement. No wonder America's capital is increasingly being employed in the State Railways, public works, etc., and the socialistically inclined states are conducting the public utility services with the help of foreign capital. We in India ought to take a lesson from this and allow Britain to act more as a banker to the Indian industries and less as a workshop supplying us with technical requirements. These should be done or manufactured within this country itself, under Indian industrial aegis. At present banking, insurance and shipping services are given to us for our raw materials and food products. In future, insurance and shipping services might be declining as Indian people can perform the same with equal promptitude and efficiency. If native or domestic capital which is taking important part in commerce, at least on the Western side, were to pursue the same policy in industries, shipping and insurance in the first instance, the economic progress and self-sufficiency of the country would soon be attained. Like the socialistic states of Argentine and Australia, our State should aim at securing foreign capital mainly into the fixed interest-bearing type of investment, reserving the larger share of the profit, for the whole community by the State-ownership of public utility services.

One reason why British capital has to be shunned has already been related. There is another grave reason why access to the

¹ See Dr. Hugh Dalton—Public Finance, pp. 191 (1922).

London money market appears to be inadvisable. It is indeed true that London has again obtained recognition as a world's loan centre. While America is supplying the Continent of Europe and North America, Great Britain is supplying South America, South Africa and the Dominions of the Empire. This she has been able to do "by borrowing short in America and lending the same for a long period." This is a grave mistake for which she might pay in the near future. Again her domestic needs for investment capital are great and Prof. Keynes says that "England can lend £75 millions a year when compared with £109 millions in the pre-war years. He pleads for domestic investment." The self-same opinion is expressed by the Liberal Inquiry Committee. If such are her domestic needs and if her resources are more slender than before, the rates at which the foreign loans would be granted would be higher than before. It is only at high rates, that British capital can be secured in the near future. Under such conditions dependence on the London money market alone is bad finance.

Another factor which has to be borne in mind is the newly arisen prosperity of the great American country, viz. the United States of America. Australia was allowed to float the loan sometime back in New York as the London Money Market was not provided with ample resources at that time. But for the fact that the brokerage charge is high in New York there is no reason why we should not float loans in a foreign country provided our political overlord tolerates it. It also depends on America's willingness to lend. So long as speculation continues unchecked foreign loans would not be eagerly subscribed to by the American investors. Enough has been stated of two factors which ought to govern our external borrowing. The third factor, namely, the time at which the loan has to be floated, must now be understood. Just as the domestic loans can be floated successfully in the slack season so also the loan should be floated in the foreign market at an opportune moment. It is understood by all students of finance that the autumnal drain to America precludes

easy conditions in the London money market at that time. January is considered as the best time for floating loans in the London money market. But when abnormal conditions prevail in the important money centre, such as New York, they tend to influence the monetary rates in other centres. When speculation was being checked by credit contraction to a certain extent high money rates tended to prevail in New York. These had their repercussion on London. Without stability in New York, money conditions in London could not but reflect the same. As a matter of fact these tended to influence the other centres also.

The last reason for condemning access to foreign market is the depriving of the opportunities to the domestic investors to contribute their own quota to the external loan floated in the foreign country. When Indian capitalists are willing to invest in Brazil, there is no reason why they should not invest in the sterling loans of this country. Any indecent haste with which these loans are floated stands self-condemned. It has always been the past policy of the Government to give very few opportunities for the Indian capitalists to subscribe to the sterling loans. When the 1927-1928 loan was floated in London it was oversubscribed on the day on which the loan was floated. How could the Indian investors have adequate opportunity to subscribe to the loan?

Having laid down general principles on which external borrowing has to be conducted by any independent Government, it remains to examine how far these are adhered to by the Government of India in floating sterling treasury bills and loans in the London money market. As Sir Basil Blackett studiously avoided external borrowing in his earlier years of administration, the recent cases of sterling loans and sterling bills will be taken into consideration. The Controller of Currency on p. 22 of his Annual Report for 1927-1928 says that:—

*In January a sterling loan was issued in London to provide funds for capital expenditure on Indian Railways and to repay £5 millions

¹ Dr. T.E. Gregory—"Lecture on Foreign Investment," before the Chicago University in August 1928,

India Bills maturing on 29th of that month. The loan took the form of £7 and half millions four and half per cent stock issued at £91 and half per cent redeemable at par at the latest on the 1st June 1968, the Secretary of State for India reserving to himself the right to give three calendar months' notice to redeem the loan at par on the 1st June 1858 or any half-yearly interest date thereafter. The loan was fully subscribed on the day it opened."

Here is a tacit admission that maturing sterling bills are being repaid by regular long-term indebtedness—a practice which cannot be justified on any accepted canons of public finance. Such a policy leads to the contracting of regular loans for meeting current expenditure. Long-term borrowing is to be advocated only for executing public improvements which cannot be paid out of current revenue or when emergencies like wars, involve huge expenditure which cannot be met out of revenue from taxation. Prof. A. C. Pigou says "it is generally agreed that the funds for Governmental expenditure devoted to producing capital equipment—the fruits of which will subsequently be sold to purchasers for fees ought to be raised by loans."¹ If the whole of the loan was needed for railway expenditure, it could be easily justified. But a part of it was meant to repay temporary borrowing.

Temporary borrowing is justifiable specially during the course of the year when greater expenditure than the collected revenue has to be incurred. Deficit financing "is a bad expedient and if it is pursued each year it can be put an end to, only by consolidating the indebtedness into regular long-term loans. The balancing of the budget is now the accepted feature of public finance and one year with another the surpluses and the deficits ought to balance. Again there should be systematic

arrangement of the different forms of debt when a constant use of them is being made and strict business principles should be followed in the matter of borrowing either by the treasury or by the Government and opportunities must be given for all classes of people to invest in the public debt.

The second example is the floating of Sterling Treasury bills of £6 millions to finance capital requirements. This is another example of unsound financial management. These were meant to augment the Home Treasury balance and to meet the pressure arising out of the financing of Burma Railway requirements. The "Statist" paper pointed out this anomaly and instead of renewing Treasury bills for a further period to repay maturing treasury bills and contracting a long-term loan to finance the capital expenditure it is inexplicable why this unsound policy was pursued. It can be justified only on the ground that a long-term loan could not be floated at that period and as the pressure for financing was grave the Sterling Treasury bill was only an expedient which was meant to be replaced by a long-term loan.

The recent sterling loan *i.e.*, 1928-1929 was for 10 millions. The Controller of Currency in his report which has just been issued says, "In January a sterling loan of 10 millions was issued to provide funds for capital expenditure on railways in India for the purchase of the Burma Railways and to repay £6 millions India Bills maturing on the 28th February. The loan took the form of a second issue of the 1958-1968 loan which was first issued in the previous year in the form of £7 and half million bearing interest at four and half per cent. It was issued at a price of £91 percent."²

The maturing treasury bills were repaid out of the proceeds of the loan. That much which was spent on financing railway require-

¹ Dr. Hugh Dalton, however, considers that it would be advisable to finance a large part of the capital expenditure, if it is possible to do so by means of taxation as "it prevents the breeding of needless unearned income and makes for a less unequal distribution." It should be one of the prominent features of the public finance of England as well as other countries" says Hugh Dalton. "It is the underlying truth of this statement that made Sir Blackett remark that he would finance unproductive expenditure on Delhi purely out of taxation revenue alone instead of by means of loans. See the Assembly Debates, Vol. 111, No. 48, p. 2931.

² See "A Study in Public Finance," p. 232.

³ See the Annual Report of the Controller of Currency, p. 16.

ments was evidently repaid out of the long-term loan. If as stated already a part of the £6 millions, was for temporary purposes it means floating a long-term loan for repaying temporary obligations.

The necessity to float Sterling Treasury bills becomes apparent when we know that the weak exchange conditions preclude purchase of sterling on a large scale. If sterling has to be purchased at 1s. 6d. it is not possible to secure this rate as the exchange market needs every support at the time of the slack export season. Treasury bills are to be floated to steady the rate and a release of rupees by purchase of sterling means further depressing the exchange ratio which tends to remain at the gold export point from this

country, i.e., 1s. 5 $\frac{99}{100}$ d. The policy of purchasing sterling at 1s. 6d. would have this defect of forcing the Secretary of State very often to have recourse to the Sterling Treasury Bills. The remittance programme fails either on account of weak condition of exchange or firm money conditions in London which tend to make the exchange banks, unwilling to part with sterling resources.

While the resort to the Sterling Treasury bills is not a serious evil at all so long as these are repaid on maturity out of accruing revenue, the policy of sterling loans must be justified on the canons of public finance and must satisfy the practical tests we have laid down already in the beginning of the essay, i.e., the rate of interest, the market, the time and the opportunities granted to internal capitalists to subscribe to the sterling loan.

Coming to the rate of interest, the 1928-1929 loan was floated at 91 per cent while the previous loan was floated at £91 and half per cent, all other conditions practically being the same. Except that money conditions have become worse and promise to be so in the future, there is no other reason why the decline in the credit condition of the Government of India should take place. Had political conditions and the Indian attitude of resentment against the Simon Commission really any effect, the conditions under which the loan could be floated would have been indeed far worse.

The floating of the loans in London alone

is inevitable as the Subordinate Government of India could not do any other thing than float a loan in the politically overlord country, i.e., the United Kingdom. Unless the speculative propensities of the New York investors are held under check it would not be possible to float loans successfully there. In last January, the speculative current was at its full force so much so that in February, the Federal Reserve Board was openly issuing a manifesto as regards its determination to check speculation. The slow and steady return from Government investments will not satisfy the American people. The necessary temperament to play the role of world's finance centre does not seem to exist in the New York centre. Until conditions definitely improve the floating of loans in New York would be impossible. Though the international investment market should be tapped, still the present times do not seem to be propitious to any extent to pursue this policy.

The next issue is the possibility of securing the required sums from the internal market. Nationalist economists have undoubtedly recommended the floating of internal loans at higher prices rather than subject the country to the deleterious influences of foreign capital. They base their arguments solely on the remarks made by the Government Securities Rehabilitation Committee presided over by Sir B. Dalal. The question of securing rupee loans is purely one of mere "prices and security." Given both these conditions it would be easy to convert the Indian hoarder into an investor. Since these lines have been written and echoed by the External Capital Committee, rupee loans were freely floated in this country. But too many rupee loans on the part of the Government would have a disastrous effect on the Commercial Banks. They may prefer locking up their funds in Government investments instead of helping trade and industry, which, of course, is its sole and bounden duty.

Again floating loans at increasingly higher rates of interest would lead to the demoralisation of the gilt-edged market. Banks, being the holders of gilt-edged investments, would stand to lose by this policy. Discounting rates rise and the cost of living would

ultimately be prejudiced. These are some of the economic effects of public debts. When the taxable capacity of the Indian people is low, there is no reason why it should be strained further by too rapid a course of loan floatations in the internal and external markets. A Loan Council, somewhat on the Australian model, has to be created in this country. Its sole duty should be to arrange loans in any market and when conditions in the international markets are favourable, they should be resorted to.

Considering the fact that the recent rupee loan was a partial failure, there ought to be some amount of restraint exercised in raising further loans. It was stated just the other day that the Tata Hydro-Electric Scheme would be financed by an American Syndicate. It was quite sure that cheap capital could not be raised in this country and had necessarily to enter into an agreement with the American Syndicate.

The third criterion in judging the loan is the question of time. January is necessarily the best season so far as the London money market is considered. Unduly firm money conditions were responsible for the poor response on the part of the market; the under-writers being saddled with 22 per cent roughly of the loan amount of 1928-29.

Lastly, greater opportunities were afforded than in the case of 1927-1928 loan, to the Indian investors willing to lock-up their funds in sterling loans. But mere time extension is not everything. The Imperial Bank should stand ready to pay interest at the District Treasuries to these people subscribing to the sterling loans. It should be practically a remittable loan, as in the days of the John Company, when a part of the loans floated in the Calcutta money market were of this character. Even bullion had to be sent from this country to England to enable the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to perform this aspect of business, *i.e.*, pay the principal or the interest which was converted into sterling at a fixed rate of exchange. Bills were drawn for this purpose and had to be honoured by the Court of Directors out of their resources or bullion remittances made by the Government of India from Bengal.¹ Some such suitable arrangement will have to be made or devised for those Indian investors who are willing to invest in the sterling loans of the Government of India. This would be most effective way of cajoling and humouring the Indian investors so as to tempt them to subscribe to the sterling loans.

SOME CHRISTMAS ILLUSIONS

By MR. S. C. SANIAL, M.A.

AT this time of year when joy, so to speak, is forced upon us, gravity is tabooed and it is almost a crime not to wear a smiling face, it may perhaps be worth while to occupy a few minutes in speculating as to what are our real feelings on the subject. Our hearts are just now popularly supposed to be brimming with geniality and good will

towards humanity; we have made for the nonce a *tabula rasa* of our troubles; it is hail-fellow well-met with every one, and life for a time is to be all beer and skittles, or, if that is too vulgar an expression, all cakes and ale. Tom whom we have studiously cut every week of the past year we must now greet with a kindly nod, and wish a merry

¹ This debt must not be confused with the "East India Annuities" floated by the East India Company in England itself for territorial purposes.

christmas to Jack who in our heart of hearts we believe to be the greatest scoundrel unhung. We must forget Mrs. Tattle's imputations on our character, and forgive Miss Jones all the unkind things she said of our figure and our dancing, as well as the candid friend who so judiciously retailed them to us the next morning. We must ask to dinner James who once demolished our poor Nurse in the *nonsense Review* in such withering periods, and pretend when we meet Brown not to know that it is his pen who daily reviles us and our policy in the columns of a "leading journal."

Does the return of Christmas really soften us in this way? Can we rush into each other's arms by rule, and be exuberantly festive at command? Not that we hate any body in particular. That is too strong a word for these degenerate times. Dr. Johnson rightly liked "a good hater," for such a man must be possessed of both character and feeling. But our phrase now-a-days is "So and so bores us" or "What's his-name's an ass," and our animus towards him is entirely of a negative character. We wouldn't do or wish him any harm for the world; all we ask of him is to stand out of our sunshine, to make himself scarce, to keep out of our way. But we think we are justified in saying that these sentiments are fatal to future good fellowship. A great hatred may develop into as great a regard; but indifference or, to put it stronger, aversion is not easily conquered, and the "stony British stare" is to most of us far more exasperating than the look of active and intense dislike. The same feeling causes an author to prefer to have his book "cut up" by a critic rather than neglected altogether, and made the subaltern who is alleged to have been addressed by the Ivon Duke with a "D.—you, sir, get out of my way" proud of the notice of His Grace.

It is not then, we think, easy to love our neighbours because it is Christmas time, and, we suspect, few of us attempt to do so. We are further more repelled by the nonsense that is always written at this season by enthusiastic doctrinaires. Dickens has much to answer for in this respect. His "Christmas Carol" and "Picknick" have

been the progenitors of all the effusive stories and maudlin sentiments that are poured forth by the gushing school on this subject every year,—lucubrations which are seldom redeemed by a single spark of Dickens's humour. In these Christmas is held up as the universal panacea—the healer of all wounds, the reconciler of all enmities. Your present grievances, according to this class of writers, are to disappear simultaneously with the turkey and plum pudding; and your dismal forebodings as to the future to be washed away in bumpers of claret. Would indeed that this were the case. The "I wish you a merry Christmas," however kindly meant, when our hearts are ill at ease, has a painful irony about it, which Hood has well depicted in one of his poems, where each verse, after enumerating the thousand ills that torment some unfortunate victim, concludes with "But I wish you a happy New Year." We do not affect any especial cynicism, but we are sure that to most of us this Christmas gaiety is forced and unreal; there is a skeleton at our feast, and among the flatterers (if any) who surround us, we cannot help noticing also the busy mockers.

It was not so in our youth and far otherwise in our childhood. Then indeed, we believed in old Father Christmas, in the tree laden with nice presents, the tip from uncle John, the visit to the pantomime, and all the rest of it. As we grew up our merri-ment was somewhat marred as we missed, perchance one or two dear faces from the table and began to wonder where they were keeping Christmas and whether they took any account of us. We passed into the world and found that Christmas left us where we were before; it solved none of the problems of existence; the earth was brass and the heavens were iron; and in spite of the consolations of religion. We went on our way wearily, seeking for a sign. We utterly disbelieved the poets of our youth who told us that Christmas, like Hesperus, brought all good things, though at last, if we were kindly disposed, we found some satisfaction in promoting in others that happiness which we could never find for ourselves.

Christmas in India, indeed, is a somewhat different affair to Christmas "at home."

There can be no, or very few, family gatherings here; and unless we shut ourselves up altogether, we must learn to be more cosmopolitan in our attachments. It is still, however, the *baradin*, as all our dependents are careful to inform us, and the end of our year, when according to the popular theory we take stock of the past three hundred and sixty-five days; meditate on what we have done and what we have left undone; grieve over our misdoings and make good resolutions for the future. We are not, it is true, reminded by outward nature, by withering leaves and leaden skies that we ourselves are hastening to decay, but the close of the year in a foreign land brings with it associations that equally, if not, more deeply, stir our hearts. A good many of us, in the first place, feel inclined to ask of ourselves *que diable allait il faire dans cette galere?* What brought us to India, and what good have we done here?

What lured him to life in the tropics?
Did he venture for fame or for pelf?
Did he seek a career philanthropic?
Or simply to better himself?

Most men unless the remarkable theory urged some years ago by a clergyman in this city be true—namely, that it was some great sin that drove the Europeans in Calcutta from their native shores—would, we suppose, say that the last alternative was the true one. We sought a "career" that promised constant occupation and future advancement, in preference to the weary waiting that sickens the soul, if it does not break the heart of so many of our brethren at home. Whether we have found it answer as we expected, and are satisfied with our choice, must depend on our different temperaments. This man perhaps will waste his days in hankering after the joys that he has lost in Europe, while another will so devote his energies to his work as ever to think scorn of the pleasant land that he has left, and compare unfavourably with his adopted country. Then again, the remembrance of the relations and friends so far behind us, whose faces we may never see again save in dreams, can hardly fail to affect us more at this season than any other.

It is a true remark of Dr. Johnson's that it is change that chiefly reminds us of the flight of years; and that they who lead quiet, uneventful lives in which to-day succeeds yesterday as to-morrow will succeed to-day, are apt to conceive of time as running in a circle and returning to itself. And we must all have observed how quickly changes occur in places and among people whom we have left. Marriages and deaths make great gaps in family circles and bring home to us in a startling manner the instability of all things. The gaiety of many a well-known hearth we learn is more subdued, the holly is woven "with trembling fingers", there are more vacant chairs, and the attractions of returning to Europe are diminishing year by year. And yet in spite of this and the increasing pains in our liver, we still cling as fondly as ever to life and grudge every moment of our existence as so much taken therefrom.

We must beg pardon if the train of thought in which we have indulged be considered unduly melancholy and has too much "dashed their spirits." But it is the shadows of life that one chiefly sees in India and the lights are few and far between. We lack the amusements here which carry off Christmas so well at home. In the first place we miss the children or rather the "young people" for whom it is so pleasant to cater. There are *hobalogs* of course, but they are for the most part of so exceedingly youthful a character as to be unable, we fear, to distinguish accurately between Christmas Day and their own birthdays. Then we have no cattle shows, crystal Palaces, skating parties, picture exhibitions, animals, etc. and only one pantomime. The opera is a dream of the past and Dave Carson's entertainment has, we believe, also collapsed. There are, it is true, one or two Fancy Fairs to come off shortly, but these are not very exhilarating entertainments. So nothing now remains but the Assembly and private balls, and as these depend for their success chiefly on the ladies and they (thank heaven!) are always in spirits, we feel there is something good to be got out of Christmas yet, and we heartily recommend all those who are able to do so, to go and dance the Old year out and the New Year in.

CHARLES LAMB AND CHRISTMAS

By Mr. H. E. ROSEBOOM

Lamb and Christmas! Christmas and Lamb!

WHAT a choice blend of good things! No less choice intellectually than good culinarily. A right royal Christmas feast. May one not also say, the acme of a chef's highest artistic creation? This distinguished Londoner, no less than his compeer, Dickens, has left an indelible impression on this half-pagan and half catholic festival. Both loved Christmas, and all it stands for, passionately; and in a way that to-day seems to be a lost art. Lamb's view of this great festival is reflected in this delightful letter to Manning, the friend of his boyhood.

"Dear Old Friend and Absentee (he writes): This is Christmas Day with us; what it may be with you I don't know—the twelfth of June next year, perhaps—and if it should be the consecrated season I don't see how you can keep it. You have no turkeys. You would not desecrate the season by offering up a withered Chinese bantam instead of the savoury grand Norfolkian holocaust, that smokes all around my nostrils at the moment from a thousand firesides. Then what puddings have you? Where will you get holly to stick in your churches, or churches to stick your dried tea-leaves (that must be the substitute) in? What memorials you can have of the holy time I see not. A chopped missionary or two may keep up a thin idea of Lent and the wilderness, but what standing evidence have you of the Nativity? 'Tis our rosy-cheeked, home-stalled divines—whose faces shine to the tune of "Unto us a Child is born"—faces fragrant with the mince-pies of half a century, that alone can elucidate the holy mystery. I feel refreshed with the Holy tide. My zeal is great against the unedified heathen. Down with the idols, Ching Chang Fo."

Manning, at the time, was stationed in Canton. Hence the references to tea-F. 7.

leaves, chopped missionaries, and Ching Chang Fo. Again, writing to Coleridge just before Christmas 1818 he says:

"We are sorry it never lies in your way to come to us, dear Mahomet, but we will come to you. I have but one holiday, which is Christmas Day nakedly—no pretty garnish and fringes of St. John's Day, Holy Innocents, etc., that used to bestud the calendar."

And he made the same lament to Bernard Barton:

"Christmas, too, is come, which always puts a rattle into my moving skull—a visiting, unquiet, unquakerish season. I hope you have some holidays at this period. I have one day, Christmas Day—alas, too few to commemorate the season."

Yes, Lamb loved Christmas passionately. He loved its social pleasures, its good cheer, its spirit, and the very atmosphere that goes to make up this Day of days in the Christian year. And, above all, he knew how to say "Thank you!" as it should be said. For Lamb the charming claim has been made, that he was an artist in the very gracious and seasonable art of acknowledging a gift. And we may indeed envy a man who caught the whole spirit of gift-giving and enshrined it for all time in just three words—"Presents Endear Absents." Can anything be neater and more complete?

The classic "present" that endeared the "absent" was a sucking-pig, an old-fashioned dainty to which Lamb was very partial. It is preserved for us in that most delightful of delightful essays "On Roast Pig." And here are two examples of that happy blend of gratitude and hospitality which were so eminently characteristic of the man who never wearied in well-doing:

"Dear Aesop: Your pheasant is glittering but your company will be even more acceptable this evening. Wordsworth will not be with us, but the next best thing to him is Charles Lamb."

Could he have said "Thank you!" and at the same time extended hospitality in more gracious words and manner? Again, how well repaid must the dear lady of this letter have felt:

"Dear Miss H.: Thank you for a noble goose. It wanted only the massive oncrustation, that we used to pickaxe open about this season in old Gloster Place. When shall we eat another goose pie together? The pheasant too must not be forgotten, twice as large and half as good as a partridge."

But, away behind the light playfulness of his charming character and nature, there shines steadily a light that suffuses him in a glow which, more than anything else, endears him to us for all time. And that is the light of his love for that pathetic figure, Mary, his afflicted sister who, in a fit of madness, had taken the life of her own mother. It is very pleasing to know that his self-sacrifice and devotion were rewarded by the discovery of real happiness for him in Mary's company. What their companionship was all who have read the "Essays of Elia," and who have enjoyed the charm of the most natural letters ever

written, will know. Mary, of course, is immortalised in the Essays as Cousin Bridget of "the choice literary gifts and the rare humour." That Lamb was rewarded by real happiness in Mary's company is revealed to us in a letter he wrote at Christmastide of 1827:

"I have writ to say (he writes) that I hope to have a comfortable Christmas with Mary and cannot bring myself to stir from home."

So wrote the man whose delicate wit made his company the delight of the many eager to enjoy it. So surrenders he the goosy cheer, the good wine, and the convivial company he so enjoyed. And all because he preferred "a comfortable Christmas with Mary."

No wonder his memory "smells sweet and blossoms in the dust," no wonder he is as dear as his handful of books; no wonder it was said of him that he personifies "infinite riches in a little room."

Let us, this Christmas tide, seek to capture something of the spirit of the season which Charles Lamb possessed. Lamb and Christmas! Christmas and Lamb! In truth a succulent dish to gladden your heart—a dish whose flavour will remain with you as a happy memory long after the feast is over.

TO MAHATMA GANDHI

By D. M. SUBRAMANYAM

Alas! we're tired of wealth and pow'r and strife, —
Wealth built by grinding down the poor man's soul,
And pow'r by strangling out the weak man's life,
And strife that murders all wheth'r fair or foul.

In such sad state, the world looks up to thee
To lead her forward on the cherished path
To freedom, peace, fair-play and unity,
And faith that never shrinks from despot's wrath.

March on, brave soul, thy work is yet begun;
Kind God that sent thee here to heal our woes,
Will surely spare thee till thy task is done,
The self-same task for which all saints arose.

To teach the cult which sums all needs be taught
'Duty is Love, Love Duty,'—long forgot.

THE SIGH

By CYRIL MODAK

The Poet's sigh that once could shake
The palace of Love's royal heart
Down, down to its foundations, make
Emotions, drowsy inmates, start
From flattering dreams to run and greet
Love's courier-thought with welcome sweet:

This sigh that once had power to bring
To windows of Love's gracious eyes
Tear-heralds that in silence sing
Of ache for throbbing ache: it lies
Faint in the vulgar dust of chance,
But still Love! at thy feet perchance!

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes, of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's arm-chair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

(A) ESSAY-REVIEWS.

C. E. MONTAGUE—JOURNALIST AND AUTHOR—I

By MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

DR. OLIVER ELTON'S book, *C. E. Montague: A Memoir* reveals the great journalist author with a surprising clarity. There was something elusive about the late Mr. Montague, whose leaders in the *Manchester Guardian*—of which he was for years the chief leader-writer—eventually formed and shaped the opinion of the world on many vital matters, and even his books of essays and novels left his personality somewhat obscure. But Dr. Elton fills the gap, for out of a great friendship, and by quotations from letters and the writings of Montague we do get a real glimpse of the subject of the memoir, who was a great journalist, author, essayist, and novelist.

II

Charles Edward Montague was the son-in-law of Mr. C. P. Scott, the famous editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. He was a product of the Oxford University, and, until two years or so before his death, was the chief leader-writer in that world-famous paper. He has been described as one of the best leader-writers of his time, and as one of those very few who contributed to

the raising of its standard. The majority of journalists have, by choice, or by compulsion, to keep their lights under a bushel to be content to be so many violets 'neath a mossy stone, but as for leader-writers,—anonymity is the badge of their tribe, the very condition of their being. But some of these, nevertheless, attain to such distinction that it is not difficult for practised readers to identify them behind their necessarily unsigned productions. The most of us (and especially is this the case with journalists—the journalists of the leading articles and paragraphs) have a stereotyped way of writing. It has been said that every man has his own peculiar style, just as he has his own peculiar cast of countenance. Now, this is one of those truisms that are not true. The generality of mankind are not individual enough to possess a distinct style. They but imitate that which is most fashionable at the time; or, to adapt the words that Prince Henry applied to Poins' thought, their style "keeps to the road-way." It does not budge so much as an inch from the prescribed line. It requires some more than common talent to cultivate your own manner of writing out of the rubbish-heap of words

that is lying about for everybody's use. This is the first step in the process. The second step is to make that chosen instrument of yours so distinguished and so much a part of yourself that discerning readers can at once find it out to be yours wherever it is seen. This is not such an easy thing as may be supposed: this kind cometh not out but by prayer and fasting. Among such writers were the late Mr. H. W. Massingham and the late Mr. C. E. Montague. Massingham, indeed, was a prince among journalists: whatever he wrote, whether it was a leader, or a piece of dramatic criticism, or a book-review, or a "London Diary" (under the pseudonym of "A Wayfarer") became a thing of beauty in his hands. It could not have been bettered. It was *English* "of purest ray serene." We do not say that Montague was as great as Massingham; but he too had an individual style that could be easily identified among a thousand; and he brought to leader-writing such gifts as are generally bestowed on less perishable things. Today's leader is tomorrow's chaff. But the great writer is he who does not disdain to give the whole of himself to the writing of it, knowing that it has, and can have, at most but a life of twenty-four hours, if even that. This is to have a literary as well as a journalistic conscience; and we shall show in the course of this article to what a pitch Montague cultivated it. He was simply dead earnest on the leading-article, and he showered all the wealth of his irony on the *wrong* kind of leading-article: we refer our readers to his early novel, *A Hind Let Loose*.

Before I leave this branch of the subject I should like to write a few words on the extraordinary talents that are often put to the service of journalism—talents that are not always rewarded as they ought to be. Unless the journalist in question takes to book-writing also, his fame has little chance of surviving him, has little chance, that is, of sailing unhurt along the stream of time: it will, at best, be confined to his own generation. Journalism is a very hard task-mistress: it takes all or almost all from others, and gives very little in return. It is therefore, a pity that some of the greatest intellects give the most of their abilities to it. To

alter the words of the poet slightly, they give up to journalism what was meant for mankind.

III

But, fortunately for him as well as for us, Montague was an author also; and to posterity will be known only as an author. He belonged to the generation of Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy, and Conrad. Now, in any review of the novelists of the Edwardian and Georgian eras, we generally see the names of these four mentioned, but not that of Montague. But Montague brought to the writing of his books considerably more literary talent than any of the quartette of novelists above cited. One can see that he was meant for literature from the very beginning. But it is a pity that he spent so many years of his life in active journalism; with the result that, whereas Mr. Wells, Mr. Bennett, etc., have written books by the dozen, Montague was the author of only eight books in all (nine, with the posthumously published *Action and Other Stories*). This, in the majority of cases, detracts a good deal from a writer's reputation. Of course, there are authors,—as, for instance, Mr. A. E. Housman and Mr. T. S. Eliot—who are known widely despite the meagreness—the extreme meagreness—of their production. Literary merit, we know, is not always directly proportionate to the number of volumes that a writer publishes or has published. A man may write only one book, but that one book may be precious as rubies. "The poems of Sappho," said Meleager, "are few, but roses." But, all said and done, volume also counts in literature. It shows fertility of imagination. Montague, then, wrote few books; but we believe they are sufficient to ensure his fame—if not in the eyes of the "general public," at any rate in the eyes of those competent to judge. What, indeed, as Mr. Birrell furiously asks somewhere, has the "general public" to do with literature? In literary circles Montague is, and will be, known.

IV

For any detailed account of Montague's life and work as a Journalist, I shall refer

the reader to Prof. Elton's excellent memoirs, which is as interesting and informing a book as the work of that well-known author usually is. I propose to deal, however, in this survey with Mr. Montague's literary works. Now apart from the posthumous work (*Action and Other Stories*) Mr. Montague was the author of the following eight works: (Novels): *A Hind Let Loose*, *Fiery Particles*, *Rough Justice*, and *Right Off the Map*; (Essays): *The Morning's War*, *Disenchantment* and *The Right Place*; (Criticism): *Dramatic Values*.

Montague was a master of irony; and in the days when it was not fashionable,—nay, when, it was positively outrageous,—to speak truth, or to speak in favour of truth, he bent all the forces of his mind to champion its cause. The *primum mobile* of his work was to cast out hypocrisy from public life. Of course, he did not succeed: no one can. Unless the whole temper of a political community changes fundamentally, people, even if they be of the calibre of Montague and Massingham, have little chance of success against corruption in high places. For, let us admit once and for all, that *is* corruption in high places; and it reached its high water-mark in the days of the war. Montague waged an unceasing battle against it; and it is not to his discredit that he did not win. Human nature must undergo considerable alteration before such things can be possible. All the same, there is merit in fighting against evil (of whatever sort): it requires a great deal of courage, and it bespeaks a noble mind. Montague, then, stood up for truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and his irony was directed against whatever was false or underhand. Let us not minimise the importance of irony, either in literature, or in that allied art, journalism. So long as it is put to the right use, it is a weapon of the very first class against all kinds of uncleanness in life. We need not think of Swift in this connexion. Swift, of course, has his defenders, like Mr. Charles Whibley,* who, indeed, seems to believe that he is a typical instance of that

class of persons known as injured innocents. But, taking the consensus of opinion, we can say that he was at bottom a malignant person, and that the springs of his irony were consequently foul at their very source. Leaving aside, therefore, the famous Dean of St. Patrick's we may safely aver that irony, so long as its motive is to let truth have a fair chance of success in this world, is to be encouraged and not discouraged. Montague's irony was of this sort: falsehood, wherever found, was anathema to him.

"Antonio Stradivari has an eye
That winces at false work and loves the true."

He had, to apply the words that Thackeray used with reference to Swift, "a genius wonderfully bright and dazzling and strong—to seize, to know, to see, to flash upon falsehood and scorch it into perdition, to penetrate into the hidden motives, and expose the black thoughts of men."†

Now this irony of his, as it is seen in his books, is directed against two classes of persons: the politicians and diplomatists and journalists that actually contrive to promote war between nations, and the wrong kind of journalism and journealese.

V

His first novel, *A Hind Let Loose*,‡ is a rollicking fantasia on journalism, or, at least, on journalism as it was at one time. We think that this is the only novel in the whole range of English fiction that is pre-occupied, from beginning to end, with journalism and journalists; and, of course, only a journalist could have written it. Montague knew journalism as few people have ever known it; and he knew it *con amore*. There is a town called Halland which boasts of two papers: *The Warder* (Conservative), and *The Stalwart* (Liberal), edited respectively by Brumby and Pinn. Both papers happen to have (without, however, the editors being aware of it) the same leader-writer, Fay. The entire comedy of the book rests on this fact. The *Warder*

* See *Literary Studies*, by Charles Whibley. Macmillan, 1919. *Essay on Swift*.

† *Lectures on the English Humanists*, by Thackeray. *Lecture on Swift*.

‡ *A Hind Let Loose*, by C. E. Montague. Methuen, 1910.

was printed at two in the morning, and the *Stalwart* at four. 'And so.....' said Fay. The graphic ellipse was wasted on Molly (Fay's wife)..... 'So?' she asked. 'So a man can be here (i.e., at the *Warder's* office), say, from ten till one, savin' away at the Empire, and then step across to the *Stalwart*, and save it some more—from the *Warder* and all such perils of the night—from a quarter past one until three...' Fay might very well have stood for the original of Mr. Facing-Both-Ways in Bunyan's master-piece. He was a consummate artist in a certain type of leader-writing that used to be the fashion once, and which, we believe, is not completely extinct even now. Two or three columns of a paper may be filled daily, yet if you come to analyse what is written, you will fail to find a single salient thought, or a single pointed phrase: it is merely a sort of literary Harmecide feast. It scarcely touches the subject at all: it serves not to convey any idea, but rather to conceal the absence of one.

As Montague says: "Not till now had he seen with eyes fully open, the rite of splashing solemnly about in a vocabulary, for splashing's sake, the preference for just jingling, for the sound they made, the bunch of keys that, rightly turned in the locks, were inlets to gardens by rivers in Bagdad. And the strangest thing of all was connoisseurship in the practice; to a man like his uncle there were, it would seem, a better and a worse in the trade of making words stand for nothing; there were qualities of nullity, degrees of skill in keeping mind and head blank; the void was not all one, nor zero a level." (*A Hind Let Loose*, p. 218.) Fay was capable of writing on the same night two entirely different leaders on the same subject, e.g., on Lord Albry's speech. But it so happened that, on the night in question, the office of the *Stalwart* was burnt down and Pinn, its

editor, had to seek the hospitality of Brumby and the *Warder's* office for the printing of that night's *Stalwart*. While he was hobnobbing with Brumby, Fay, all unawares, entered Brumby's room and there met Pinn's eyes which were staring at him, all amazement. Fay, it is necessary to add, passed as "Moloney" in Pinn's Office. Pinn greeted him: "'Moloney! you here!' Brumby stared wildly. 'Moloney!' Pinn's eyes hunted round the room. No, there were only the three of them there. He stared back as wildly at Brumby, 'Fay?'" The cat, then was out of the bag. Fay's goose was, at long last, cooked. He was given the sack all round.

Then followed the farce. Fayless, the two papers started their existence on the morrow. But both Brumby and Pinn had reckoned without their host. Highly respectable men both, they lacked one thing—lack-
ing which they lacked all—and that was the gift of writing. For one whole week or so they lashed themselves into leader-writing and managed, no doubt, to issue their papers as of old. But there was a lack of the peculiar Fayian grandeur and of the genuine journalistic touch about their articles, and readers at once recognized it: they unerringly put their finger on the diseased spot. The talk of the town did not fail to reach the ears of our hoary and perspiring editors. What was to be done now? Nothing else but to kiss the rod, to face the inevitable humiliation, and to solicit Fay's services again: which they accordingly did, independently of each other. And the curtain descended on Fay's enhanced honor.

Now, what is the moral of this? It is "plain as way to parish church." He who runs may read it. It is to abolish insincerity in journalism, and to raise the standard of writing, and, what is most important of all to allow only such people to become editors, who know how to write.

WHEN NON-CO-OPERATION WAS AT ITS ZENITH*

By MR. PHULAN PRASAD VARMA, M.A., B.L.

A DISTINGUISHED German theologian, Dr. Heinrich Weinel, spoke of Nietzsche's philosophy as "the history of his life," adding that "the most important thing in the last instance is not that we refute him—but that we understand him. For to understand him is to overcome him." This criticism with equal truth and force applies to Mahatma Gandhi. His philosophy is also the history of his life. It is not a thing apart. It is his "experiment with truth." And the most important thing about Mahatma Gandhi also is that we understand him and not that we refute him. It is worth while understanding this man who has made one of the most heroic and adventurous experiments known to history. Criticism of his principles and methods is rife but understanding them rare. The two volumes "Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi" by Mr. Krishna Das are a contribution to the understanding of him. The author has tried not only to restate Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts but also to rethink them, using more or less his own language. He has on the whole given us a very clear idea of the personality of the Mahatma whose "experiments with truth" go far beyond the narrow boundaries of the national and the temporary. He has also described vividly, faithfully and graphically the progress and development of his greatest political enterprise—the non-co-operation movement, which convulsed the whole of India and shook the mighty British power for a time, and which succeeded—though the success was temporary and incomplete—in establishing political unity in India by bridging over the differences between Hindus and Musalmans, and was able to weld together, even though for a short time, the population of this gigantic country, torn asunder by differences religious, social and political, as actuated by one uniform national sentiment. But it was all a temporary affair. The non-co-operation movement has ostensibly

collapsed, except (at present) the idea of it which never dies and which will raise its head again and again under favourable conditions. The movement failed in a sense but one lives over those days again as one reads page after page in these exceedingly interesting volumes of the dramatic events of that critical and epoch-marking period in the history of India. They present an inward view of the non-co-operation movement, its rise and growth, its success and failure, and further an interpretation of the tendencies and ideals of the time, an explanation of some of the momentous steps taken by Mahatma Gandhi that roused the keenest controversy during that fateful period of Indian history, an elucidation from Mahatma Gandhi's point of view of some of the most controversial issues that were raised as inevitable corollaries of the movement inaugurated by him, and a vivid account of the action and interaction of the various events, collisions of principles and personalities, describing all these with the impartiality of a historian as also the personality of Mahatma Gandhi with a fidelity more touching than that of Boswell to Johnson.

II

Before referring to the actual happenings of the period covered by these two volumes, it would be useful for their proper appreciation, to refer shortly to some of the events leading up to them. Before the Great War Mahatma Gandhi was a pronounced co-operator for he believed that the sum total of the activities of the British Government was for the benefit of India. During the War Great Britain made big promises in order to secure the support of India. India responded magnificently to the appeal of help by Great Britain. The Mahatma himself took part in the recruiting of the army. But after the defeat of Germany, Britain forgot all about India. The Mahatma had still faith in the promises of Britain, but that

* *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*—2 vols. By Krishna Das. (Ram Binode Sinha, Gandhi's Kutir, P.O. Dighwara, B.N.W.Ry.) 1928-9.

faith was shattered when the Rowlatt Bill was rushed through the Legislative Assembly in 1919. As a protest against the Bill, the whole of India observed hartal under the leadership of the Mahatma on the 6th April of that year. It was a mighty demonstration. Except for some trouble at Delhi the hartal passed off peacefully. Gandhiji was rushing to the scene of occurrence, but he was arrested on the way and brought back to Bombay. The news of his arrest led to disastrous results. Subsequently there were troubles in the Punjab, followed by the proclamation of martial law, and the cold-blooded massacres at Jallianwalabagh.

The Muslims of India were also sore inasmuch as their point of view was that they had consented to support Britain during the war on the condition that Turkey would not be penalised severely after victory and Mr. Lloyd George, the then Prime Minister, had given his word for it, but in spite of his promises the treaty at Sevres imposed very severe conditions on Turkey. Despite all this Gandhiji pleaded for co-operation at the Amritsar Congress, for he was yet under the impression that the promise would be redeemed and also that the Punjab wound would be healed. But these turned out to be vain hopes. The Khilafat pledge was not redeemed and the Punjab crime was approved by the House of Lords and whitewashed. The glorification of the Punjab administration and the flouting of Muslim sentiment led to the final break with the British Government so far as Mahatma Gandhi was concerned. He accordingly advised the country to adopt non-co-operation. The movement had two aspects, one destructive and the other constructive. The destructive aspect consisted in boycotting educational institutions, legislatures and law courts. The idea was that it was the educated people who were working the Government machinery, and if they voluntarily withdrew from it, the machinery would cease to work automatically. The constructive side of the movement consisted in peaceful organisation of the masses. The pivot of all activities was to be the spinning wheel. The means prescribed was non-violence. Now this movement was Mahatma

Gandhi's greatest contribution to the emancipation of India, from two points of view. The first was that before his advent in the field of Indian politics only two methods of political warfare were known to the country, either to put pressure on the Government constitutionally or to give them a fight by an armed uprising. The first presupposed that the British Government would be so foolish as to hand over the administration of the country to the people in a fit of generosity, the other did not take into account the fact that it was a scientific age and India was exceedingly ill-equipped to give the British battle on scientific lines. So Gandhiji pointed out there was a third way and that was non-violent non-co-operation. Apart from this originality of conception and method, the other aspect from which this movement was of a far-reaching significance has been thus pointed out by Rant Fulop-Muller in his book—*Lenin and Gandhi*: "Gandhi's nationalism contains none of those elements which make the nationalise movements of the Western countries seem a menace to peace. Gandhi's national idea is not the principle of narrow concentration on his own nation and a hostile attitude to all other nations; it is rather a consciousness of having a specific task to fulfil for India. Whenever nationalism ceases to use violence and consciously and unconditionally rejects violence, it will become a principle fundamentally different from the nationalist imperialism of Europe. Gandhi has awakened the Indian people to a national ethical system which can never be a danger to other countries." As Gandhiji himself has said: "For me patriotism is the same as humanity. I am patriotic because I am human and humane." Mr. Krishna Das commenting on this aspect of his guru's teaching observed: "The movement of peace or non-co-operation, if successful, in India would be a means of World's deliverance." It is difficult to say that he is wrong in the view he thus propounds.

The programme of non-co-operation was adopted at the special session of Congress held in Calcutta, in September, 1920. After the adoption of his programme, Mahatma Gandhi carried out a whirlwind propaganda

throughout the country in connection with it. The author of *Seven months with Mahatma Gandhi* saw him when he was addressing the students of the Hindu University at Benares on the 26th of Nov., 1920, advising them to non-co-operate. It was at that meeting that while emphasising the necessity of non-violence, Gandhiji uttered that remarkable truth: "If you draw the sword, you will perish with the sword." Later, Mr. Krishna Das himself joined Mahatma Gandhi as his personal assistant. It was in August, 1921, that he joined him and was always by his side in his tempestuous, raging, tearing propaganda—chronicling the daily events until the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi in March, 1922. The events of this momentous period fall, according to the author, under four heads: (a) Awakening, (b) Preparations, (c) On the March, and (d) Halt. The first volume describes the first two phases and the second volume the last two, with an amazing fidelity to details, which make the book a most valuable contribution to the history of modern India.

III

The first volume gives a picture of the tremendous upheaval throughout the country as a result of the non-co-operation movement. It also shows the hold that Mahatma Gandhi obtained over the masses, and describes the hopes and fears, enthusiasms and excitements which swayed millions of hearts at that time, with a minuteness of detail which at present seems a trifle tedious—because they are still so fresh in public memory. They would not be so fresh, however, to succeeding generations and as the author has pointed out: "And though posterity may be eager to know and understand the intensity and magnitude of the movement and the awakening by it, no definite picture of the same may be available at that time." We also get a luminous view from the detailed descriptions in the book of some of the special features of Mahatma Gandhi's character.

It would be unnecessary to go into details here. They ought to be read in the book itself, but certain outstanding facts set forth in it may be mentioned here. When

Gandhiji succeeded, however, temporarily, in rousing unprecedented enthusiasm in the country and bringing into one camp people split up into different castes and faiths and acquired that unprecedented influence over them which Emperors might envy, the Government—say they may now what they will—became nervous at the startling success of the movement. Lord Chelmsford had left the "most foolish of all foolish schemes" to die of inanition. But his contempt did not kill the movement and his successor had to take different and stern measures. There were also instructions from London for firmness. There was great excitement in Britain as well, and the storm brewing there burst first over the heads of Ali Brothers. They were arrested and tried by the Court of Sessions at Karachi. After their arrest Mahatma Gandhi issued letters of invitation to various Provincial leaders to come and meet him at Bombay on the 4th of October to consider the situation. He also wrote an article 'Tampering with loyalty' in which he declared in unambiguous language that the offence for which the Ali Brothers were being prosecuted was no offence at all, that the Congress had been openly committing it since the special session of it held in Calcutta, in 1920, that the Khilafat Committee had also been guilty of the same offence even earlier, while he himself had committed the offence earlier still. As for the charge against them of spreading disaffection, the Congress also had been doing it and it had become its prime duty to do it.

The leaders met at Bombay on the 4th of October, 1921, in response to Mahatma Gandhi's invitation and it was decided after a great deal of discussion that a manifesto over their signatures should be published. The manifesto drafted by Mahatma Gandhi with certain modifications, was published in the newspapers. It stated that it was the inherent right of every Indian to express his opinion with full freedom about the propriety or otherwise of citizens offering their services to or continuing to remain in the employ of the Government, either in the civil or the military department. It further declared that in the present circumstances of the country it was wrong not only for Musalmans but for every Indian of whatever

persuasion to serve in the army or any other administrative department of the Government. The publication of the manifesto caused a great sensation and excitement. Government here played into the hands of Mahatma Gandhi and were non-plussed. We must skip over interesting details and come to the incidents of the 4th of November, at Delhi, where the All-India Congress Committee met. It passed the famous Civil Disobedience Resolution, congratulating the nation on its demonstrating its capacity for exemplary self-restraint by observing perfect non-violence over the imprisonment of Ali Brothers and other leaders and authorising every Province to undertake Civil Disobedience on its own responsibility and laying down certain conditions to be fulfilled before individual or mass Civil Disobedience was to be launched. In spite of this resolution Mahatma Gandhi advised the representatives assembled there on the folly of indulging in any precipitate action, and the author of the book, under review, says that Mahatma Gandhi told them informally that "the time for exercising their power had not yet arrived. Therefore he enjoined them to concentrate in the first instance on the fulfilment of the Spinning and Khaddar programme and then to finish by fulfilling the other conditions vital to the maintenance of the peaceful character of the struggle. In the meantime he would have launched his campaign of Civil Disobedience at Bardoli. At that time it would be the duty of every other province to watch closely the course of happenings at Bardoli and taking lessons therefrom, train and equip themselves for action whenever called upon." The different leaders then bade him farewell.

The success of Gandhi's experiment appeared to be within measurable distance of time. Was it all a dream? It appeared to be so. For the success of Mahatma Gandhi's experiment an absolutely peaceful atmosphere was more than indispensable. This part of the Mahatma's teaching has not been properly appreciated by the general body of the people. The Bombay riots that occurred on the very day the Prince of Wales set his foot in India showed the

dangerous character of the non-co-operation movement. The frenzied mob molested the peaceful passengers in the tram cars. Foreign caps were forcibly removed. Europeans were pelted with stones. Liquor shops were smashed and tram cars were burnt. Even Parsi ladies were badly assaulted. This was a rude shock to Mahatma Gandhi himself, for he wrote: "The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk into my nostrils. Hindu-Muslim unity has been a menace to the handful of Parsis, Christians and Jews. The non-violence of non-co-operators has been worse than the violence of co-operators." The inhumanities perpetrated during the riot proved too much for poor Mahatma Gandhi and he resolved to fast away his life and one afternoon he called Mr. Krishna Das aside and spoke to him in Hindi which the author has translated thus: "I cannot say for how many days more it will be possible for me to continue in this body. The mere cessation of carnage would not be enough for me. That would not soothe my troubled spirits. For the disturbances could be brought to an end in no time if only we would invoke the aid of the military who would shoot down rioters and restore order. There is also another way. The warring factions may go on fighting till they could fight no longer and are tired of mutual killing. That way, of course, peace of a sort might be established. But such peace is not what I have in view. The picture of peace I have before my mind's eyes is wholly different; and till that materialises, I am resolved not to break my fast. But the type of fraternal peace for which my soul is hankering seems under present circumstances to be wholly out of the range of practical politics. Therefore, as I was telling you, I do not know how many days more I am destined to live." This resolve of Mahatma Gandhi caused consternation and desperate efforts were made by leaders to restore peace which was ultimately restored. A peace breakfast conference was held where co-operators, non-co-operators, Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and Parsis all joined. The representatives of the different communities stood up one

after another to express their joy and gratifications at the restoration of peace. At the conclusion Mahatmaji read out his address after which at the earnest request of the whole party he broke his fast. The first volume ends here.

IV

The second volume of Mr. Krishna Das's *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi* takes up the thread of the narrative until the conviction and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi in March, 1922. This period, of unprecedented interest and excitement, is, as has been pointed out by the author in his preface, marked by clearly defined phases: "It showed, for instance, an India-wide movement of Civil Disobedience against the promulgation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act resulting in the arrest and imprisonment of almost all the non-co-operating leaders of India with about twenty-five thousand followers. Secondly, it was during this period that the question of a Round Table Conference with Government was mooted and negotiations were set on foot which ultimately broke down in circumstances which have been described in detail in this volume. Thirdly, it showed the preparations for aggressive mass Civil Disobedience at Bardoli under Mahatma Gandhi's direct supervision and guidance which, however, had to be suspended on account of an outbreak of mob violence at Chauri Chauri."

After the Bombay riots Mahatma Gandhi gave up the idea of unfurling the banner of peaceful revolt at Bardoli. The primary object of his activities thenceforward became "to inaugurate a reign of mass non-violence." He therefore tried to organise discipline and perfect an All-India Volunteer Organisation for this purpose. Only those who had absolute faith in non-violence and were prepared to submit to a course of discipline could be its members. But Government promulgated the Criminal Law Amendment Act and declared volunteer organisations unlawful. Now the position was that either the organisations had to be disbanded or the volunteers were to offer themselves for arrest and imprisonment. The Ahmedabad Con-

gress of 1921 chose the latter course and advised people to seek imprisonment by joining their Volunteer Associations. The Congress Working Committee at its sitting of 30th December explained the meaning of Ahmedabad resolution. It declared that the object of the Congress in passing the resolution regarding the volunteers was to assert the right of forming such Associations in spite of notifications of disbandment of volunteer organisations issued by several Local Governments. The pledges for anybody who wanted to be a member of the national corps were made very stringent. Apart from those to remain non-violent under any circumstances, to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, remove untouchability, to put on Khaddar there were two more clauses that ran thus: (1) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment; (2) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

Not only hundreds but thousands of volunteers enrolled themselves in the corps. There was tremendous enthusiasm. Suspension of Civil Disobedience on account of Bombay riots had damped the ardour of the people. It revived again when the Government took the offensive. The visit of the Prince of Wales which was under the ban of the Congress and the successful *hartal* wherever he went gave Lord Reading an opportunity to attempt to crush the movement. The peaceful activities of the non-co-operators (for it must be remembered here that aggressive Civil Disobedience had been abandoned) were sought to be crushed not only by the promulgation of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act but by a free and lawless use of section 144 and the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Government were now on the war path and the non-co-operators were on the defensive, but it was given out to the world by the Government that they were resorting to extraordinary measures for the preservation of law and order. Mahatma Gandhi thoroughly understood Lord Reading's diplomacy and said: "Swaraj, the Khilafat, and the Punjab occupy a subordinate place to the

issue sprung upon the country by the Government. We must first make good the right of free speech and free association before we could make any further progress towards our goal. The Government would kill us if they could by a flank attack. To accept defeat in the matter of free speech and free association is to court disaster. If the Government is allowed to destroy non-violent activities in the country, even the moderates' work would come to a standstill. In the general interest, therefore, we must defend those elementary rights with our lives. We cannot be coerced into welcoming the Prince, nor can we be coerced into disbanding volunteer associations. No cost is too great in purchasing those fundamental rights." There was no yielding on this by the non-co-operators and Government pursued its career of repression. Practically all the non-co-operation leaders were arrested—Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and the late Mr. C. R. Das and Lala Lajpat Rai and others. "The rank and file were not cowed down because of the arrest and imprisonment of leaders. A regular unending stream of volunteers peacefully flowed into goals by disobeying the police and magisterial orders." Government were at their wit's end and Lord Reading confessed that he was "puzzled and perplexed." These arrests shook Gandhi with joy. "In fact I had never found him in such a hilarious mood," says the author. Thus there was an orgy of repression on one side and a determined resistance on the other, and the situation in the country became very embarrassing.

V

It was at this time that the talk of the Round Table Conference was mooted. It was started by the moderates led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Even Mr. C. R. Das intervened from the jail. The negotiations, however, broke down. Did Mahatma Gandhi 'bungle' everything or did he do the right thing in the circumstances? The author has placed all the materials (that were not available to the public before on this point) in Part II of his second volume and a study of

them will make the position of Mahatma Gandhi abundantly clear.

When the negotiations failed, Gandhiji addressed an ultimatum to His Excellency, the Viceroy, intimating to him his intention of starting mass Civil Disobedience in Bardoli to enforce the threefold demands of the Congress and also to vindicate the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free press. "But" he said, "before the people of Bardoli actually commence mass Civil Disobedience I would respectfully urge you as the head of the Government of India finally to revise your policy and set free all the non-co-operating prisoners who are convicted or are under trial for non-violent activities." Continuing he said: "If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character." The Government of India issued a communique in reply in which they emphatically repudiated the statement that they had embarked on a policy of lawless repression and declared their resoluteness to enforce respect for law and order and to protect loyal and peaceful subjects of the Crown. Mahatma Gandhi published a rejoinder. All these three documents that the author has incorporated in his book, should be studied carefully for a proper appreciation of the position as it then stood. After this followed Mahatma Gandhi's furious preparations for mass Disobedience at Bardoli. When the preparation was complete and Civil Disobedience was about to be started, it had to be once again suspended on account of happenings at Chauri Chauri. Gandhiji was severely censured by his followers for the suspension, who little realised that his anguish was unutterable and was infinitely greater than theirs, in having had to suspend non-co-operation. The time of his arrest was now drawing nigh and before he was arrested, he wrote his famous article 'Death Dance' in which he said: "The councillors want their fares and extras, the ministers their salaries, the lawyers their fees, the suitors their decrees, the parents such education for their boys as would give them status in the present life, the millionaires want facilities for multiplying

their millions and the rest their unmanly peace. The whole revolve beautifully round the central corporations. It is a giddy dance from which no one cares to free himself, and so, as the speed increases, the exhilaration is the greater. But it is a death dance, and the exhilaration is induced by the rapid heart-beat of a patient who is about to expire." After Gandhiji finished writing this article he called the author of the *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi* and said to him: "Krishna Das, see what a beautiful article I have written." Beautiful indeed! Yet how terribly true! Gandhi is then arrested, tried and sent to jail. Krishna Das after seven months of trance wakes up and finds himself utterly desolate. Here comes to end a remarkable record of seven crowded months of glorious life of Mahatma Gandhi who as declared by the

late Mr. Gokhale, "is, without doubt, of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. Nay more. He possesses the marvellous spiritual power of turning ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs." In the last two parts the author gives a synthetic review of what he has described in the two volumes and a general survey of the political condition of India under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. They would be extremely helpful for a proper understanding and appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi—his message, his ideals and his contribution to the regeneration of India and of the world. The author has by writing and issuing this splendid record, done a really distinct service to India and his work deserves to be widely read and highly appreciated.

PICTURESQUE HYDERABAD--A BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW*

By MR. V. BALASUBRAMANYAM

THE Hyderabad State is one of the most picturesque tracts in India. Its scenic beauty and the peculiar habits of the people and their ways of living are special features which arrest the attention of the visitors to Hyderabad. It possesses natural scenery which no other Indian State can boast of. Its physical features are as varied as they are enchanting. This is the premier State in India, having an area of 82,698 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the British districts of Khandesh and river Tapti,

on the south by the rivers Tungabhadra and Kistna, on the east by Wardha and Godavari rivers and on the west by the British districts of Sholapore and Ahmednagar. The country is rich in minerals and deposits of iron ore are distributed over the granitic tracts of the State. In this State Hindus number about 85 per cent of the total population, Muhamadans about 10 per cent and other classes about 5 per cent. The Hyderabadis in general are generally very kind and courteous and they are noted for their lavish

* I should express my sense of gratitude to Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Madiraj, the enterprising editor and publisher of the *Pictorial Hyderabad* for having given me his cheerful consent to make use of his blocks for this illustrated article.

hospitality to outsiders. The remarkably magnificent publication regarding this State—called *Pictorial Hyderabad*—has traversed a hitherto unexplored field in unearthing to the public gaze the long-hidden history of the State and this beautifully-illustrated book deserves the foremost place among the standard works devoted to the Indian States. Its editor and publisher—Mr. K. Krishnaswamy

Islam five of the principal men of Mecca who were afterwards of immense assistance to Mohammad and lay hid with them in the cave of Mount Tira when he was in imminent danger from the Quraish who had resolved to put him to death. One of his descendants Shaikh Shahabiddin, who flourished in one of the southern provinces of Persia in the thirteenth century, was noted for his



A VIEW OF THE HYDERABAD PUBLIC GARDENS.

Mudiraj—deserves well of the Hyderabad Government and public for this truly splendid work.

The family of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who is pre-eminent among the ruling princes of India, traces its origin on the father's side to the first Khalifa Abubakar and on the mother's side to the Prophet Mohamad himself. Abubakar brought over to

sanctity and learning. Three centuries later his lineal descendant Nawab Abid Kuli Khan came to India in 1658 during the reign of the Mogul Emperor Shahjahan. In 1660 he was made one of the ministers and in 1661 he became the Chief Minister to the Emperor Aurangzeb. In 1687 he took part in the siege of Golkonda under the Emperor Aurangzeb and died as a result of a

shot from a cannon. He was succeeded, in all his honours and emoluments, by his son Mir Shahabiddin Ghaziddin Khan Feroz Jang who came to India from Samarkhand ten years after his father's death. His first enterprise was in Rajputana where he was despatched against the Rana of Udaipore and in honour of his success he was given the title of *Khan*.

title and honours and became first of the Nizams. In 1712 when Jehangir Shah, Bahadur Shah's son, ascended the throne, Mir Kamruddin was appointed to a place of trust and responsibility under him and when Farukh Seyyer became the Emperor in 1713, his very first act on ascending the throne was to appoint Mir Kamruddin, as Subedar of the Deccan and further he was also



OSMANIA GENERAL HOSPITAL, HYDERABAD.

In 1705 Feroz Jang was appointed Subedar of Gujarat. He had married a Syed lady, a descendant of the Prophet and hence that family from that date came to be known by the title of 'Mir.' In 1675 the wife of Gaziuddin, daughter of Sadulla Khan, a minister of the Emperor Shahjahan, gave birth to a child at Delhi called Mir Kamruddin, who eventually succeeded to his father's

honoured with the title of Nizam-ul-mulk, "Regulator of the State." In 1714 he was deputed by the Emperor to quell the rebellious Mahrattas who had been giving the Emperor a good deal of trouble and when he returned to the place he was amazed to find that one Syed Hussain Ali Khan had been appointed Subedar of the Deccan. Immediately Nizam-ul-mulk proceeded

to Delhi and on his arrival he was made Subedar of Moradabad and was recalled to Delhi. The next Emperor was blinded and subsequently murdered. Then the Sayyeds placed a grandson of Aurangzeb on the throne who assumed the title of Mohammad Shah and appointed Mir Kamruddin as his Prime Minister. He wanted to effect a radical change in

Hyderabad and he became supreme in the Deccan. The Emperor in appreciation of his services conferred upon him the Government of the Deccan and he was also given the power to settle the affairs of the country, repress the turbulent, punish the rebellious and cherish the people. This was held in the year 1724 and it can be said that this year marks



TOWN HALL IN THE PUBLIC GARDENS, HYDERABAD.

the administration of the country, but was not allowed any independent voice in the administration, since the Emperor was under the sway of his evil advisors and he immediately resigned his post to resume his viceroyalty of Deccan. On his return he found that his authority had been usurped by Mubarak Khan whom he had left at the helm of affairs. After killing him in a battle, Mir Kamruddin made a triumphant entry into

the beginning of the independence of the Nizam.

RESIDENTS

The relations between the British and the rulers of the Hyderabad State strictly date from the treaties of 1766 and 1768 and it was in 1779 that the first British envoy, Mr. Holland, was appointed to the Hyderabad Court. He

remained in his office for a year and was succeeded by Mr. Grant. The period of office of Captain J. A. Kirkpatrick, who was the Resident of the State from 1799 to 1809 was very memorable because during his tenure of office he negotiated several important treaties on behalf of the Governor-General with the Nizam, on the conclusion of which he received valuable presents from the latter. This Resident was on very cordial terms with the Ruler. His life was one of romance and he married a Mohammadan lady by whom he had two children. The circumstances which led to his marriage with that Mohammadan lady is given in *Pictorial Hyderabad* thus: "Achilles Kirkpatrick exercised very great personal influence in Hyderabad during the nine years that he was Resident and found a romantic attachment to a young Mohammadan lady of good attraction and related to the great family of Mir Alum. It is said that the young lady was about to be forced into a marriage which was distasteful to her and that rather than submit to it she took refuge in the Resident's house or rather zenana, for in those days it was considered no reproach for a European official to conform in this respect to the customs of the country. This naturally led to an intimate friendship between the lady and the Resident. He brought her openly to the Residency built specially for her the 'Rangmahal' and there made the usual public acknowledgment of marriage according to Mohammadan ritual by allowing garlands to be bound about his head. There was, of course, a good deal of stir in European as well as Indian society regarding this alliance. It was also said, on the other hand, that the mother of this damsel being a woman of rather questionable character actually contrived the whole affair and sent her daughter to the Resident with the avowed purpose of gaining his friend-

ship to her family. How far this version of the incident can be accepted must be left to the reader's conjecture; for in a society so full of intrigue and backdoor influences as that of Hyderabad is and has been, nothing can be said with certainty and the student of history is bewildered by proofs and counter-proofs galore." Col. Kirkpatrick went to Calcutta in 1805 to confer with the Governor-General on some political affairs and he died there due to illness. The present Resident is Sir William Barton, who succeeded on the 1st July, 1925. He has already justified the confidence reposed in him by the public by his affability and charming manners.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION

The present ruler is the sixth in descendant and was born on the 6th April, 1886. When he was very young his father gave him best possible education and besides that he travelled over the major portions of his kingdom just to acquaint himself with the local affairs. He ascended the *gaddi* under better auspices than his father and on the occasion of the ascension he said in reply to the Resident's speech: "I promise you that in every way I will do my best to do good to my people and my country by following in the footsteps of my father and I will always be loyal to the British Government." To those who have closely followed the rapid strides made by the Government in the progress of the administration it can very well be seen that His Exalted Highness has clearly followed the policy enunciated by his father in administering the country to the best advantage of the people. In 1914 when Nawab Salar Jang resigned his minister-ship, His Exalted Highness took the administration into his own hands and without the help of a minister he carried

on its administration for a period of five years and under his vigorous administration the gigantic work of damming the river Musi, for the purpose of preventing future floods and securing a plentiful water supply for the City of Hyderabad was taken in hand; the streets of Hyderabad were broadened; a new High

without a portfolio, was formed just to assist His Exalted Highness in all administrative affairs. In declaring the council open His Exalted Highness made a remarkable speech mentioning the fact that the Executive Council would strengthen the administration in all its branches and offer sound advice on those matters



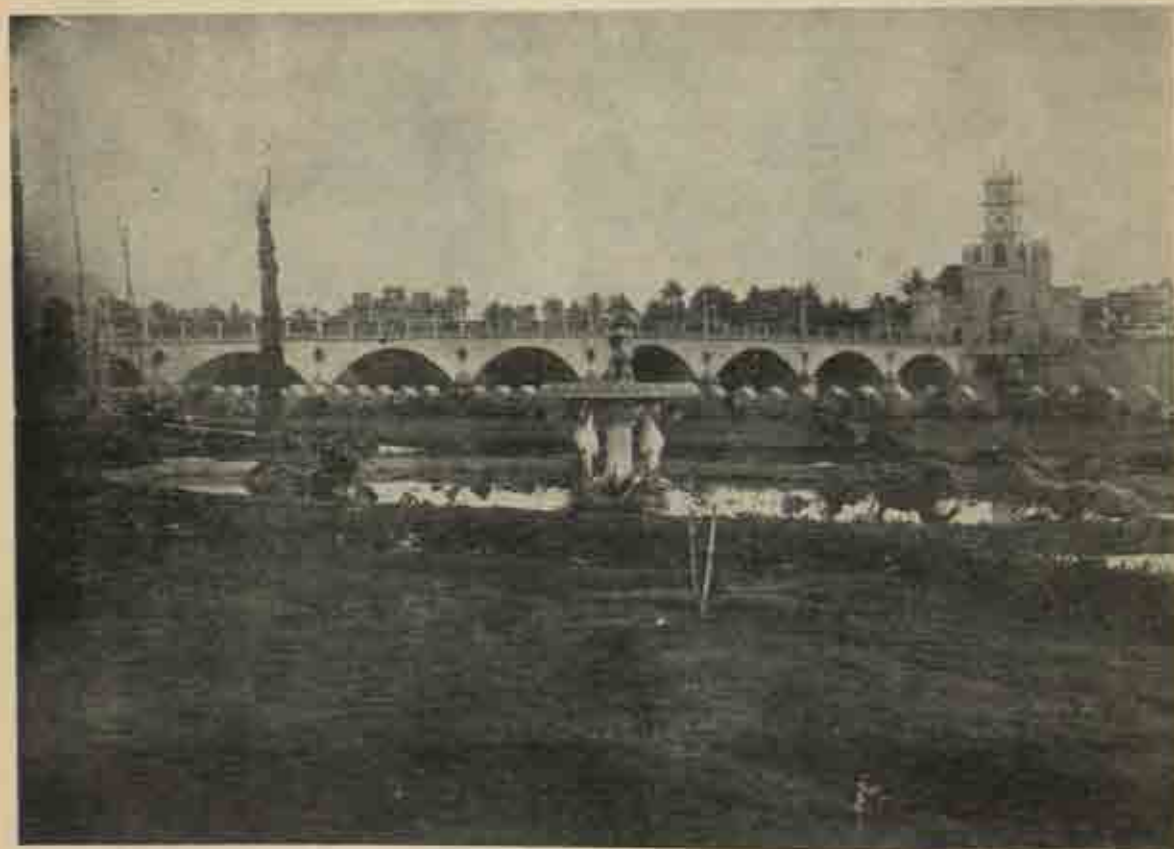
NEW HIGH COURT, HYDERABAD.

Court, a noble edifice and one of the best buildings in India in its architectural beauty was built at a cost of 20 lakhs of rupees; and enormous sums of money were expended upon planning, building and making designs for the new City of Hyderabad. Notwithstanding all this expenditure the revenue was good and finance sound. In the year 1919 an Executive Council consisting of a president and seven ordinary members and an extraordinary member,

affecting the larger interests of the State that had been specially reserved for the exercise of his own powers. Sir Ali Imam was appointed as the first President of the Nizam's Executive Council. Since 1925, Maharajah Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur has been the President and he is popular with all classes. There is no more outstanding personality in the Hyderabad State than the Maharajah Bahadur. His is a name to conjure with and it is a

common belief in Hyderabad that everything is possible with Maharajah Bahadur and nothing without him. That will perhaps sum up what his name stands for in Hyderabad politics. It is not by accident or adventitious aid that he has built up so unique a reputation for himself. He has won it by dint of honest, strenuous work

to the British India and Indian States as well. This department is the best in India at present and as the editor of *Pictorial Hyderabad*—very aptly observes: "Crime that is not detected within twelve hours of its taking place is of rare occurrence." This department is under the able hands of Mr. Venkatarama Reddy, Kotwal, who has



AFZAL BRIDGE OVER THE MUSI RIVER JOINING THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PORTIONS OF THE HYDERABAD CITY.

extending over a very long period for the advancement of the State; he having been the Prime Minister for many years under the late Nizam—Mir Mahboob Ali Khan.

Another noteworthy feature in the administration of the Hyderabad State is the efficiency of the Criminal Investigation Department which sets as a model

already established his reputation as a first-rate detective officer. The Hyderabad administration has several distinct and well-marked features which have made it a model state. The co-operative movement has made quite a considerable progress in the land. The Development departments have made noteworthy progress. The Agri-

cultural department has done much good by introducing scientific methods and new implements and the ryot has taken to them. The progress made in the education of boys and girls has been equally striking. In many branches of administration, the progress achieved has been considerable and to-day it stands as a model State for other Indian States to follow in its ideals and methods in administration.

We have but barely touched upon the fringe of a great subject which is dealt with exhaustively in *Pictorial*

Hyderabad and to which the reader must refer for vivid descriptions and striking details. Now that interest is being more and more taken in British India in the administration of Indian States, it seems to me desirable to draw the attention of my educated fellow-countrymen—both in and outside the Hyderabad State—to some of the many attractive features in its administration, through the medium of so influential and widely-circulated a periodical as the *Hindustan Review*.

(B) VIEWS IN REVIEWS

RECENT SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

MR. L. K. ANANTAKRISHNA AYYAR is an acknowledged authority on Malabar, especially on the two States of Travancore and Cochin. In his *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians* he deals exhaustively with one of the well-known and important communities of these States, which contain among their subjects the population practically of the whole of the Syrian Christian community. As becoming an anthropologist, the author studies carefully the origin of the Syrian community, and both from their physical traits, customs and ceremonial observances, he draws the conclusion that it is closely akin to the Nayairs of the State. The social position of the Syrian Christians seems to have been from the very early days one of great eminence. Indeed, their rank was of such dignity that they were reckoned 'sons of kings.' The charters that the community obtained from the kings of Kerala placed them in a privileged position. The learned author supplies a good deal of information about the habitual and social customs of the Syrians. The Latin community, a product of the evangelistic campaign of Xavier and his successors in that good harvest field, receives also the author's careful study. Every student of the subject is indebted to the author for his treatise, which is a comprehensive account of Syrian history, customs, manners, and social and religious conditions. It is a valuable study of the Syrian Christian community.

Oran Religion and Customs—By Sarat Chandra Roy. ('Man in India' Office, Ranchi.) 1929.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy is admittedly the greatest Indian anthropologist and his many books on the aboriginal tribes of old Jharkhand (now misnamed Chhota Nagpore) have been justly acclaimed by the greatest European anthropologists as valuable contributions to the study of the subjects they deal with. Professor Hodson—Reader in Ethnology in the Cambridge University says of it in his Fore-

word: "A book like this, sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive, is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and intelligible of the peoples of India." Higher praise than this it would be difficult to bestow. The author has certainly enhanced his reputation by writing this highly instructive book.

Hindu Exogamy—By S. V. Karandikar. (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay.) 1929.

It is a highly creditable work that Mr. Karandikar has written on the subject of 'Hindu Exogamy.' It is a meritorious treatise on the study of Hindu marriage outside the *gotra*. As he puts it correctly in the preface, "Hindu marriage is governed by two sorts of restrictions, endogamous and exogamous. Every Hindu must marry within his endogamous sub-caste and outside the exogamous group," called *gotra*. The present treatise deals with the exogamous restrictions only. The author's researches point to the conclusion that *gotra* and *prava* relationships do not necessarily postulate any blood relationship. Says the author: "Gotra institution was not based upon ancestry, and at least in the earlier stages the Brahmin law-givers were fully conscious of the artificiality of the organization and all their social legislation except the marriage legislation were based upon family as a unit and not the *gotra*." And further: "Gotras did not signify anything more than family names or sur-names, that *pravara*s were various schools of learning and rituals, that *pravara*s had no reference to descent.....and finally the *guna* or group organization of *gotras* was in its early days a changeable factor." That the subject is one of great importance and interest cannot be doubted, and it has been exceedingly well

handled by the author in the book under notice, which is marked by knowledge and scholarship.

The Work of Medical Women in India
—By Margaret Balfour and Ruth Young. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929.

The Purdah System and its Effect on Motherhood—By Kathleen Olga Vaughan, M.B. (W. Heffer Sons, Ltd., Cambridge.) 1928.

Domestic Science for High Schools in India—By Mable A. Needham, B.A. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929.

The three books enumerated above all deal with Indian conditions, and are written by British women working in or connected with India. The first on our list contains a large amount of facts dealing with the history of the medical women in India. In giving this history the authors also describe the conditions under which Indian women live and present a picture of those customs, now fast disappearing, which tell upon the health of the Indian women-folk. It is true that India is notorious for the high rate of infant mortality and for the miserable condition of mothers. But it is not only due to the social customs, but also to poverty, which claims such a large number of deaths of infants and their mothers. It is, indeed, unfortunate, but the causes are many and unless the economic conditions of India get better and unless the masses can afford better ways of living, there is hardly any prospect of decrease in the deaths of our infants and their mothers. These economic considerations have not been kept in view by the authors, but though their work suffers seriously from this omission, it has none-the-less great value as a useful contribution to a subject of great importance and deserves serious attention.

Dr. Leonard Hill points out in his preface to Dr. Vaughan's book, called *The Purdah System*, that condemns young girls to a hideous life of confinement, separated from all contact with sunlight and open air, and ill-fed, which atrophy their mind and body.

The osteomalacia produced by want of light leads to crippling and pelvic deformities which cause great suffering and loss of life in childbirth. Dr. Vaughan says that the canal boat and other peasant women, living in the open air of Kashmir, are fine examples of womanhood; it is the better-to-do who are deformed by the purdah life. It is very likely the Europeans interested in our social progress take an exaggerated view of our defects and disabilities, but their views are nevertheless entitled to respect, and at a time like the present when social reform and progress are in the air, a book like Dr. Vaughan's is welcome.

Domestic Science for High Schools in India is a capital text-book of the subject it deals with. Its scope is comprehensive and it brings within its survey a vast mass of practical knowledge relating to domestic economy—house, furniture, equipment, water-supply, drainage, clothes and other useful topics.

"Introductions to Modern Knowledge" series—(George Routledge Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) 1929.

The six-penny book has established itself. Its recognized function is to meet the growing demand for the right to share in the results of modern thought. But it can fulfil its function only if it unites the science and scholarship of the expert with skill in foreseeing the difficulties of those who are not experts. To give special attention to this condition is the object of the *Routledge Introductions*. They seek to provide the groundwork of modern knowledge, historical, scientific, artistic, and other, together with plain initial statements of the practical problems of life. Though there are other six-penny series, these books that are now launched claim as their chief merit that they give first essentials in lucid language, deal with practical, social problems, are written by specialists, are illustrated and supply descriptive lists of books for further reading. One of the first batch is Mr. Dudley Buxton's *From Monkey to Man* which is an ideal introduction to the subject it deals with.

Knowing Ourselves: A Book for Boys—By A. W. Barnes. (John Bale, Sons and Danielson, Ltd. 83-91 Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.) 1929.

Mr. A. W. Barnes' *Knowing Ourselves* is an excellent little book of sexual instruction for boys and should form an invaluable gift book from parents to their sons. It deals mainly with personal hygiene in the broadest sense of the term. It is now widely recognized that much mischief ensues in the case of young men for want of proper knowledge of matters sexual. Instead of leaving it to them to find them out by personal experience, it is now considered desirable to impart them through proper medium. For such a purpose the book under consideration is very well-designed and we have much pleasure in commending it.

LATEST INDIAN BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

Madhav Rao Scindia—By H. M. Bull and K. N. Haksar. (Alijah Darbar Press, Laskar, Gwalior.) 1928.

The biography of the late Maharaja of Gwalior, written by Mr. H. M. Bull and Colonel Kailas Narayan Haksar is a notable tribute to the memory of a distinguished Indian prince, distinguished in various spheres of activities. It would be hard to find among modern Indian rulers a more interesting figure for biography than the subject of this volume. The late Maharaja, who died prematurely in 1925, in Paris, at the early age of forty-nine, was noted alike as a successful administrator, broadminded statesman and sympathetic ruler and the record of his career deserved being given permanence, as has now been done in the volume under notice. A not unsympathetic critic wrote of him some time back: "There are inconsistencies enough in the character of Madhav Rao Scindia to provide the historian with a large field for his art. Innately practical yet faulty in judgment of men; an impatient idealist never looking backwards, yet a prey to delusion. A servant of his people and a life-long worker in their cause, yet impatient

of criticism and more and more an autocrat." There is everything disclosed in this criticism to make this volume a most interesting biography, and one leaves it with the impression of a great figure, the greatness of which is thrown into dramatic relief on the canvas as depicted by the authors of this book, one of whom—Colonel Haksar—was the most intimate friend of the Maharaja's and also one in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. While his failings are not to be condoned, nevertheless the great work done by Madhav Rao required the publication of a sketch like the one under survey. It is an excellent contribution to the history of the State of Gwalior in the 20th century.

Zaka Ullah of Delhi—By C. F. Andrews. (W. Heffer Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, England.) 1929.

Mr. C. F. Andrews—the author of *Zaka Ullah of Delhi*—has been for twenty years the intimate friend of Tagore and Gandhi, and is well-known and loved for his sympathy with the national awakening of India. In this book he tells a deeply moving story of one of his old Delhi friends, who was noted for the originality of his educational ideas and for his earnest desire for unity between the different religions in India, and for friendship between East and West. The author gives here, along with the portrait of his friend, an historical sketch of great value revealing the situation at Delhi before the Mutiny. Containing illustrations of Delhi, this book would be of great value as a living document to anyone travelling in the East and visiting that city. As regards the subject of the memoir, Zaka Ullah was one of the first batch of Indians who joined the school at Delhi, founded in pre-Mutiny days to impart English education and teach the Western sciences. He was a man of ideas and took a keen interest in the 'Aligarh Movement.' He was one of the last who was almost directly connected with the old Moghal court. In this book, we have the life-story of an unostentatious yet sincere worker by a man who is very well known in India for his sympathies with Indian aspirations and who

was personally acquainted with Zaka Ullah. The book will be read with interest by all who want to learn about Old Delhi and its residents.

Sir Asutosh Mookerji: A Study—By P. C. Sinha. (The Book Company, Ltd., 44A College Square, Calcutta.) 1928.

Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume.—Edited by (the late) J. N. Samaddar. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Esplanade, Calcutta.) 1928.

Mr. P. C. Sinha's *Sir Asutosh Mookerji: A Study* is the first work on the subject and, on the whole, a creditable performance for a pioneer work. We gladly endorse what Sir C. V. Raman says in his foreword: "Few will question that a biography of Sir Asutosh Mookerji is well worth writing. The extraordinary abilities and personality of the man commanded admiration and respect from all, and a record of his life and achievements cannot fail to prove an inspiration to his countrymen, young and old, both now and in future generations. Combining in himself the intellectual outlook of a great scholar with the Napoleonic vigour of a man of action, Sir Asutosh had few equals in his lifetime, either in India or outside it. In attempting, for the first time, to collect the available materials concerning the life of Sir Asutosh and presenting them in a readable form, Mr. Sinha has rendered a distinct public service." This is just the view we take alike of the subject of the memoir and the author's performance. The late Professor Samaddar's *Memorial Volume* constitutes an excellent supplement to Mr. Sinha's sketch. It contains thirty-eight contributions of great value by well-known Indian and European scholars on the different branches of Indology to which Sir Asutosh was devoted. Students of Indian research and scholarship will find in this book highly useful and instructive information.

Rajarshi Ram Mohan Roy and Brahmarshi Keshab Chandra Sen—By Manilal C. Parekh. (Oriental Christ House, Rajkot, Kathiawad.)

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Mission to England—By Brajendranath Banerji. (N. M. Roy Chowdhry & Co., College Street, Market, Calcutta.)

There is more than one life, in English, both of Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandra Sen. And yet the studies presented by Mr. Manilal Parekh are very welcome. The author himself is a well-known writer and mystic and professes to be a follower of Christ, but not of Christianity or Churchianity. He is now gone to Europe to preach what he regards as genuine Christianity of the Christ to the Western nations. So his two studies have an individuality about them, which is generally lacking in the average biography. Thus his vivid sketches and studies of the careers of the two great Bengalee reformers will usefully supplement their biographies. Mr. Brajendranath Banerji's account of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's mission to England is of great value, based as it is on unpublished records.

Prophet Muhammad—By Ahmad Shañ. (Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1929.

The Prophet of Islam—By Muhammad Ali. (Dar-ul-Kitab Islamia, Ahmadiyya Buildings, Lahore.) 1929.

Mr. Ahmad Shañ presents, in his *Prophet Muhammad*, an unvarnished and straightforward outline of the chief incidents that marked the career of a great world-personality. The incidents and conclusions recorded in this sketch have been taken from the book written by the late Maulana Shibli and other sources. Maulana Yakub Hasan has contributed two learned chapters on the *Quran* and *Hadith* and has given selections therefrom, which virtually complete the book. For the life of Muhammad, as of any prophet, will be incomplete without the teachings; and we are glad to find in this excellent monograph copious extracts from the sayings of the Prophet culled from various sources. . . . Mr. Muhammad Ali's *Prophet of Islam* is planned on the same lines and it offers an excellent sketch of the salient points of the career of the greatest Arabian

who ever lived. It is primarily meant for non-Muslims and should appeal to them.

A Woman of India—By G. S. Dutt. (The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1.) 1929.

In his *A Woman of India*, Mr. G. S. Dutt (of the Indian Civil Service in Bengal) presents a sketch of his late wife—Saroj Nalini—a daughter of Mr. Brajendra Nath De, himself one of the first batch of Indians in the Civil Service. The lady was the founder of the Mahila Samiti movement in Bengal and the chief interest of the book lies in it that it presents a comprehensive sketch of that movement; which since January, 1925 (when Saroj Nalini was cut off in the prime of her youth) has rapidly developed not only in that province, but also in those of Assam and Bihar and Orissa. The value of the book is considerably enhanced by a sympathetic Introduction by the Rev. C. F. Andrews and an Inspiring Foreword by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, both of whom knew her very well. The proceeds of the book go to the cause for which Saroj Nalini gave her life. We trust, therefore, it will prove to be one of the 'best-sellers,' and will command an extensive circulation.

Shivaji Souvenir—Edited by G. S. Sardesai. (K. B. Dhawale, Bookseller, Girgaum, Bombay.) 1928.

Mr. G. S. Sardesai's compilation was issued in connection with the celebrations of the Shivaji tercentenary in May, 1927. It comprises three sections—English, Marathi and Hindi and Gujarati. The English section—besides a foreword—has twelve different sub-sections containing highly useful and informative matter on topics relating to Shivaji and his times. Apart from matter which embodies the result of modern research, there is one section devoted to original documents. These include Shahaji's letter to Ali Adil Shah, a (Persian) *firman*, Shivaji's letter to his father, another letter to Maloji Ghorpade and also letters to his

officers. All these are of very great value to the student of the Marhatta period of Indian history. For the rest, there is other much useful matter in this very instructive compilation, which should interest all Indian historical writers. As a contribution to the history of the man who "taught modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth," the book has a distinct value of its own.

RECENT LITERATURE OF TRAVEL

Friendly Siam—By Ebbe Kornerup. (G. P. Putnam's Son, Ltd., 24 Bedford Street, London.) 1929.

Friendly Siam is the work of a Danish traveller and the translation is well-rendered. It is a travel book full of highly interesting information. The author was allowed by the reigning prince to go everywhere and see everything which he puts down systematically place by place and illustrates with photographs. It is evidently a most fascinating country of courteous people much, as we say, behind the times with its feudalism, but go-ahead in many other ways. The book is a story of pure enjoyment of life lived among the people of the country. In one marked respect it follows traditional lines, for it is seldom that travellers in Siam do not indulge in an imitation of the emotional style of Pierre Loti. Our author is a master of descriptive language and has a keen eye for colour; his descriptions of the virgin forests of Siam and of its waterways, of sunset and tropical night are excellent poems in prose. The author's story is certainly a series of emphasis. If more reserved in nature, the reader may find a note of artificiality and feel that some descriptions are sophisticated, but the general atmosphere of the book is attractive in its traditional setting. The scope of the work under consideration is comprehensive and the author deals with the country as a whole, and not only—as many writers do—with Bangkok, the capital, only. The maps and illustrations add to the value of the letter-press.

An Account of a Motor-Car Journey from London to Delhi: Express to Hindustan—By H. M. Ellis. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., London.) 1929.

Express to Hindustan: the Story of a Motor Car Journey from London to Delhi by Mr. H. M. Ellis, is the record of an unusual attempt by three Australians to reach Australia by motor-car over a route in which sea travel was reduced to a maximum of 800 miles. Although bad weather prevented the remainder of the journey, the author and his companions were the first people to complete a motor-car journey from London to India without taking train or crossing unnecessary water anywhere. The route followed was through Vienna, Budapest, Sofia, Constantinople, Aleppo and Bagdad, and the party had many strange experiences, including imprisonment in Turkey and breakdowns in inaccessible places. The book is a very readable account of a journey which was notable as a feat of endurance both on the part of the car and its inmates. The author has left out all technical details and written his story in what the French call the *anecdorique* style, knocking off the miles with bursts of boisterous humour and snatches of song, with the result that the book is a scrumptious work of travel. Much the best part of the narrative is the section—about half the book—dealing with Turkey. The Turks on the whole treated the motorists kindly, in spite of the playful efforts of the author's companions; but they had some troubles. They were under open arrest for some days at Ismid. Beyond Konia they stuck in the mud and nearly got into trouble with the villagers; and between Konia and the Cilician Gates they had to wait three weeks for spare parts. During this delay the author had talks with Turks who had seen the Kut prisoners and the Armenians as they passed that way, and came close to being knifed by a man who said he used to be Enver Bey's chauffeur. Mr. Ellis captures our fancy with his story of the Persian carpets. The people in Yezd kept on running out and putting carpets in front of the car. At first the motorists

thought this was a hint to them to stop, but afterwards they found this was the local way of making carpets old for Americans! Altogether, it is a very delightful book.

On Mediterranean Shores—By Emil Ludwig. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

Herr Emil Ludwig is one of the foremost literary men in Germany and has long since made his mark—especially as a biographer. In his latest book, called *On Mediterranean Shores*, he traverses the new sphere of the literature of travel. In it Herr Ludwig sets out from Genoa, visits Capri and Paestum, spends a considerable time in Sicily, looks for a moment at Tunis, traverses Egypt, goes thence to Constantinople, crosses Asia Minor, gets back to Greece by way of Palestine, and makes his way home to Venice. An almost stereotyped round, you may say: but the famous author of *Christ, Napoleon* and *Bismarck* gives us no ordinary book of travel, and his account is alert, sympathetic, charming, and entrancing. We are aware that opinions are apt to be divided about books of travel, and what might seem fascinating to one critic might prove tedious to another. Thus one critic of the book under notice has recorded his opinion about it as follows: "His descriptions seem to us to degenerate more often than not into mere pretentious wordiness, and his reflections bear the stamp of counterfeit emotion. Only once, in his description of Troy, does he seem to be genuinely moved by the place he is describing. This book is, in fact, fustian. When Herr Ludwig wrote his *Life of Christ*, he was widely suspected of literary charlatanism. His present book seems to us to justify that suspicion. The ungenerous might be inclined to label it literary barnstorming." This seems to us 'Johnsonese run mad.' In our opinion it is a book which every impartial reader will find beautiful and entertaining, and those, who (like the present reviewer) have themselves revelled in the glory of the Mediterranean shores, will be stirred to the depths of their hearts by the perusal of this beautifully-written book.

An Adventurous Journey—Russia, Siberia, China—By Mrs. Alec Tweedie. (Thornton B. terworth, Ltd., 15 Bedford Street, London, W.C.) 1929.

We welcome the revised and popular edition of Mrs. Tweedie's book, which was originally issued in 1926. She experienced rather more adventure than she cared to appreciate. After leaving China because of the civil war in the winter of 1924, she determined to return to its lure in more peaceful times. As a means to that end she went to Russia in April, 1925, saw sights and heard tales that have made her call a chapter 'Russia in Rags,' and another 'Hell.' Crossing Siberia, which was even worse, led to many queer and some terrible experiences. And when she landed in China, at Harbin, she found civil war had ceased for the moment, but a more serious anti-foreign war was beginning, inflamed by the Soviets who had crossed Siberia with her. She stayed many months in China during some of the most anxious days for Europeans. Before she left a new civil war was well under way, and the foreign boycott and intimidation were still in full force. Adventures and unique experiences indeed befell this much-travelled lady, often called by the press 'the world's greatest woman traveller,' and her book under notice is a wonderfully graphic delineation of the lights and shadows in the countries she traversed.

Dreiser Looks at Russia—By Theodore Dreiser. (Constable & Co., 10-12 Orange Street, London.) 1929.

Theodore Dreiser, a well-known American novelist, visited Russia at the invitation of the Soviet Government and surveyed the working of the communist State, from a critical but sympathetic standpoint. He travelled to such far inland cities and outlying regions as Perm, Novgorod, Kiev, Kharkoff, Rostov, Tiflis, Baku, Batoum and Odessa. In fact, his tour was planned on a comprehensive scale. In this book he tells of what he doesn't like as well as of what he does; and there is genuine interest as well as valuable information to be derived from the chapters on Women and the Sex

Question; Literature and Art; Religion; Propaganda; the Peasant; and the Russian *versus* the American Temperament. And there is humour, charm and pathos in 'There Russian Restaurants' and 'Vignettes.' Though but a small book on a large subject, it is marked by truth and candour and is a valuable contribution to the study of modern Russia.

The Egypt of the Sojourner—By Gladys Peto. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1929.

Things Seen in Sicily—By Isabel Emerson. (Seely Service & Co., Ltd., 196 Shaftesbury Avenue, London.) 1929.

We have already noticed appreciatively the earlier volumes of the 'Outward Bound Library,' in which Miss Peto's *Egypt* has now appeared. It is a series of illustrated handbooks for the information and entertainment of travellers, which aims at presenting a vivid, accurate and absolutely up-to-date view of the *life* under post-war conditions in all parts of the British Empire. Every author is a writer of established reputation (in many cases a woman writer) who has lately made his or her *home* in the country depicted; and the same requirement has been made of each artist. The books, therefore, may be taken not as transient 'impressions,' but as the fruit of intimate and up-to-date knowledge. Miss Peto's *Egypt* is comprehensive in scope, practical in design and vividly depicts life, as it is today, in the land of the Nile. . . . Isabel Emerson's *Things Seen in Sicily* is a charming description of one of the most beautiful islands of the world, with its many ancient buildings of golden sandstone and its interesting people, their legends and history. It is quite worthy of the 'Things Seen' series.

LATEST TOURIST LITERATURE

A Satchel Guide to Europe—By W. J. Rolfe. Forty-ninth edition. Revised and enlarged by W. D. Crockett. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, U.S.A., and George Allen Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1929.

The Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe—By E. C. Stedman. Edited by T. L. Stedman. Twenty-fourth edition. (Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, U.S.A.) 1928.

We welcome once again the new editions of the two highly useful and excellent American guides to Europe, which have passed through many editions. The late Dr. Rolfe's book is a very useful, reliable and readable travelling companion for the tourist in Europe, which has been brought to a rare standard of accuracy and thoroughness. Clear, compact and comprehensive, it gives in its revised and enlarged edition wonderfully detailed and clear maps and town-plans and the freshest information on all matters relating to European travel. This guide has now reached its forty-ninth edition. It is essentially practical in scope and design, and it has condensed successfully a vast mass of sound information which gives the tourist all that he need know to make his tour comfortable and interesting. The select bibliographies are a very useful feature of the *Satchel Guide*, which is the indispensable travelling companion for the tourist in Europe, giving as it does the latest information on all kinds of travel, including motor and airplane. It will save time and money, as every important route is described, the war zones are fully treated, and all information essential for an easy, economical and delightful tour is clearly given in the fullest detail. In spite of its nearly six hundred pages of small but clear print, it is handy enough for a satchel or handbag and it supplies a veritable cyclopædia of European travel.

Its competitor, compiled by Mr. Stedman, is also a meritorious work in its sphere. For more than twenty-five years it has been thoroughly tested by wide use among travellers. Its convenient size, logical arrangement and compactness of information, make it of inestimable value throughout those portions of Europe generally covered in a single tour. The present edition has been carefully revised up-to-date, and furnished with entirely new maps, especially prepared for the purpose. Further, its scope is more comprehensive and it traverses a larger ground

than the *Satchel Guide*. Its size, adapted to the pocket—which is its distinctive feature—and its lucid arrangement render it highly useful to travellers in Europe. It were much to be wished that there was available to the tourists in India a pocket-guide modelled upon these two excellent American hand-books to Europe.

The Official Pocket Guide to Europe and The Real North America Pocket Guide-Book—By Harman Black. (Real Book Company, Woolworth Building, New York, U.S.A.) 1929.

Mr. Harman Black's series of guides, called 'Black's Blue-Books'—so named because of the colour of their covers and also their authoritative information derived from official sources—are truly unique in the literature of travel at any rate, in English. They are in the matter of books for travellers what tabloids are in medicine—the concentrated essence of highly rarefied, up-to-date, practical information, giving just the quintessence which a traveller is likely to require. They are thus remarkable for brevity, comprehensiveness and simplicity and will help to reduce to a minimum the time, expense and worry of travel and the study of voluminous guides, as they boil down to their last essence the directions for travel, and are equally careful in what they describe and in what they omit. They give (in clear readable type) practical information and sound advice about all matters appertaining to travel and facilitate reference by supplying maps, indexes of routes, plan for using the books, tables of principal objects of interest (in black-face type) and lists of worthwhile things. Of this series of many volumes, three of the best-known are *The Real Round the World Guide*—the first and the only one so far (in English) describing a complete eastward and westward trip, *The United States and Canada Pocket Guide*—now issued, duly revised and enlarged, as *The Real North America Pocket Guide-Book*—dealing not only with Canada and the United States, but also with the rest of North America and even Hawai—and last but not least *The Official Guide to Europe*, a new edition of which—thoroughly revised

and carefully overhauled—has been issued during the current year.

Considering the scope and the object of the series in which it appears, Mr. Black's *Guide to Europe* differs materially (in its treatment of the subject dealt with) from the two descriptive guides to Europe, noticed above. It can be justly characterized as—so to say—an up-to-the minute Guide to European travel and also to Egypt and Palestine, while it gives the fullest particulars (in a booklet in pocket) of all the air services, with schedules, of routes, distances and fares. For the rest, its distinctive features are: outline maps showing the distances between the places covered in the book, and the time required by train, ship or automobile between these places, all of new Europe under Versailles treaty boundaries, including new Russia, no abbreviations, and the arrangement of the countries and maps in alphabetical order, indexes of maps, cities and countries in front of the book, and references to pages where places are actually described in black-face type, also complete study and research references to *Encyclopædia Britannica* by volumes, page and maps, systematic continuous trips through each country and each city as a unit, also complete general European trips, every route to the metropolis of each country (by land or sea) from every frontier, each city's objects of interest in black-face type, the direction travelled—North, East, South, West, and lastly complete airplane routes throughout Europe, with detailed information about air-travel in the form referred to above. Put shortly, it is difficult to over-rate the usefulness and value of a skilfully-compiled book of reference like Mr. Black's *Official Pocket Guide to Europe*, with the aid of which the worries incidental to travel in the British Isles and on the Continent will be reduced to a minimum and the information contained in which will conduce alike to comfort, economy and enjoyment.

Passing Through Germany—(Terramare Office, 23 Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, S. W. 48, Germany.) Sixth edition, 1929.

Printed and published in Berlin, *Passing Through Germany* is a capital annual guide-book (in English) to that great country. The

edition under notice for (1929-30) is the sixth annual publication. It deals not only with the scenes and sights of the important cities, but also natural scenery, religious art, music, aviation, automobilism, city life, ports, industries and scientific studies. Very neatly printed, well-got-up, beautifully illustrated and embellished with maps, *Passing Through Germany* is not so much a guide-book as an almost ideal supplement to Baedekers. The contributor's who's who shows that the book has been written by experts: hence why it is not only accurate, sound and informative, but also readable and interesting. As some of the articles are changed, from year to year, it would be as well to indicate in each annual edition those omitted and the new ones introduced. It would be still better if each edition, in future, had a table of the articles omitted, with reference given to the particular issue in which they appeared. This will be of great assistance to lovers of Germany, who may possess a set of this highly interesting, instructive and informative work of reference and study combined.

The British Isles—Fourth and enlarged edition (Ed. J. Barrow & Co., Ltd., Central House, 43-5-7 Kingsway, London.) 1929.

The fourth, remodelled and enlarged edition of *The British Isles*—issued in association with the White Star line—is a comprehensive hand-book to Great Britain and Ireland on new and improved lines and will be highly useful to tourists in these countries. Embellished with 28 maps and plans, which materially enhance the usefulness of the letter-press—it contains a complete gazetteer of the principal towns and places famed for their beauty, history or antiquarian features; list of the chief show-places throughout the country with hours of admission; concise guide to London; outline tours of the favourite British touring areas; descriptive list of the noted architectural treasures of Great Britain; section on American pilgrim shrines; calendar of annual classic sports, events and quaint local customs worth seeing with the dates, together with a great amount of valuable information not found in the ordinary guide-books. The arrangement of the descriptive

matter is alphabetical and topographical and is thus likely to facilitate reference for the tourist in a hurry. The range of its practical information is wide and the book, as a whole, will be invaluable to short-term tourists.

The 'Pilot Guide Books'—(The Pilot Press, 2 Little Essex Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

The Pilot Press have embarked upon a new series of guides, which are well-planned and well-written. The series is intended to comprise almost all the famous cities and historic sites in Britain, such as Oxford, Cambridge, Stratford (upon Avon), Exeter, Canterbury, Windsor and others. The first three volumes issued deal with the two University towns of Oxford and Cambridge and Shakespeare's birthplace, Stratford. These illustrated booklets are both descriptive and informative, and each contains practical information for the guidance of the tourists. When completed, the series (as a whole) will be one of the best for the tourists in Britain.

A Tourist's Guide to Ireland—By Liam O'Flaherty. (The Mandrake Press, 41 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1.) 1929.

Book of Dublin—Edited by B. Hobson. (The Corporation of Dublin, Dublin, Ireland.) 1929.

These two guide-books to (Ireland and her capital) differ entirely in their scope, scheme and outlook. Mr. O'Flaherty's *Tourist's Guide to Ireland* is not a guide-book at all, in the ordinary acceptance of that term. It is neither descriptive, practical, nor topographical, but purely psychological. It does not describe places, does not tell you what to see, where to go to, or even what to do, but analyses skilfully and deftly the psychology of the Irish priests, politicians, publicans and peasants. Though, therefore, not a guide-book, it will be found highly useful by tourists in Ireland as a supplement to the guide-books to that country. . . . Mr. Hobson's *Book of Dublin* is the official hand-book to the capital of Ireland, issued by the Corporation of that city. It is a capital, illustrated hand-

book to the metropolis of Ireland—or rather technically to that of the Irish Free State. It describes succinctly—yet in sufficient detail for the purposes of the resident in or visitor to Dublin—the scenes and sites, arts and crafts, manufactures and commerce, transport facilities, libraries and museums, academics and galleries, holiday resorts and suburbs, parks and gardens and other important aspects and institutions of the capital of the country, and as such it will be found highly useful. But it lacks practical information, which should be provided in the next edition.

Salter's Guide to the Thames—By J. H. Salter and J. A. Salter. (Salter Bros., Ltd., Folly Bridge, Oxford.) 1929.

Burrows Guide to the River Thames—By A. D. Murray. (Ed.—J. Burrow Co., Ltd., Central House, 43-57 Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.) 1929.

Both the above guides are well-known to the many frequenters of the Thames valley. Mr. Murray's *Burrows Guide*—which is issued on behalf of the Thames Boating Trades Association—is lucid, and compact but rather condensed; whereas that by Messrs. Salter is systematic, detailed and comprehensive. Both are well-illustrated and embellished with sectional maps of the river and folding maps of the Thames valley. *Burrows Guide* is a new work, while *Salter's Guide* is now in its thirty-first edition. Each of these two guides will serve the object of the average traveller in the Thames valley, while armed with both of them—which usefully supplement each other—he will have at his command a well-arranged conspectus of highly useful and practical information about all details of travel in the Thames region.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

The Bloody Assize—By Sir Edward Parry. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie Street, Strand, London.) 1929.

His Honour Sir Edward Parry's *The Bloody Assize* is an account of the terrible tragedy of 1685, known in history as 'The Blood Assize.' The author has followed the

methods of portraying the true facts of history in the graphic and readable form, which he used with such signal success in his previous work, *The Overbury Mystery*. The political causes of the Bloody Assize are fully treated of, but the main theme of this book is the drama enacted by human beings and illustrated by scenes actually played. Three men of strange and varied characters, whose lives were full of colour and adventure, all young men of the same age, seem to have been fated to bring about this tragedy by their selfish ambitions and to have destroyed themselves with their victims. The careers of two evil-doers, George Jeffreys and Titus Oates, and the sad story of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, and the part played by common citizens, innocent and guilty, great and small, who became involved in their conspiracies and adventures, make a stirring drama of a remarkable period of England's history. The story of the Bloody Assize has to be gathered from letters and memories and dying speeches and the traditions and legends of the countryside. Fully to understand these fragments it is good to visit the actual scenes they describe. Much of the England of 1685 is happily for the historian even today. You may still stand on the Cobb at Lyme Regis where Monmouth landed, and follow his marches through Dorset and Somerset, as the author has done, and picture the debacle at Sedgemoor. Moreover, you can visit the great halls of Winchester and Taunton and fill them in imagination with the victims of Jeffrey's lust of cruelty. By his methods of breathing the spirit of life into bones of things, which being dry as dust the world is condemned to oblivion, the author has constructed a picture of the age and a narrative of the tragedy which is of fascinating interest. Titus Oates, Judge Jeffreys, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Monmouth rebellion live most vividly in these pages. Judge Parry has undertaken much research work and has approached the handling of his material as an expert lawyer with a lifelong experience of the value of evidence. The result is that we have considerable new light shed on the chief characters in the great Monmouth drama.

For this especially the book is worth careful reading.

Legal Aspect of Social Reform—By Paul Appasamy, M.A., L.L.B. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1929.

Mr. Paul Appasamy's *Legal Aspects of Social Reform* is a work which breaks new ground, both in law and in Indian sociology. It is a highly interesting book, as it deals with problems of social reform, which are to the fore today in India, from the point of view of a legal expert. It sets before the ordinary reader in clear language the directions in which Hindu Law should be reformed. A genuine attempt is made in it to appreciate whatever is fine behind the ancient laws of India and to adapt it to modern conditions, and thus this book has a distinct value of its own at the present juncture. The author takes the three principal peculiarities of the Hindu Law—the status of women, caste and the joint family—and he treats them from the point of view of a legal expert. He is fully at home with his subject and writes with the authority of a trained mind. The book is not a text-book, though many important cases are referred to, neither is it a treatise. Its chapters are short and to the point and are arranged in an orderly sequence. The author shows a careful appreciation of what is fine and just in the old Hindu Law, but it is not difficult to see that at heart he is a modernist and that he would be glad to see many doubtful old customs dropped. It is a very informing little volume, useful to the thoughtful layman rather than to the practising lawyer for whom it is probably not meant. At the same time, the book will appeal to all educated Indians interested in social reform and progress by means of legislation—though whether the result obtained by legislative interference is worth having is a proposition open to doubt. But though the views expressed by the author—an Indian Christian and a high judicial officer in Madras—may not prove palatable to some, they are none-the-less worthy of careful consideration at the hands of earnest reformers.

The Point-Noted Index of Cases Overruled and Reversed (1809—1929)—By A. S. Srinivasa Aiyar. (Law Publishing Company, Mylapore, Madras.) 1929.

Mr. A. S. Srinivasa Aiyar's *Point-Noted Index of Cases Overruled and Reversed (1809—1929)* will be found an exceedingly useful reference work by the Judiciary and the Bar. The need has been felt for a handy little book which shows at a glance to the busy practitioner whether the cases that he proposes to rely on his arguments before the Court are good law or whether they have been overruled or reversed by later decisions; and it is this need that has been met by this very useful publication. It is tedious work wading through digests to find out whether the cases that support your position are current law; for the digests deal with all cases, whether they support or rely on or dissent from or overrule or reverse. Such tedious reference is now obviated by this handy book which comprises in a tiny volume all references to cases which are no longer law, but which encumber the law reports and mislead the unwary practitioner or judge. The scope of the work is truly comprehensive. The compiler has considered all the cases reported in the authorised as well as unauthorised reports of the highest courts in British India and has carefully noted whether an entire case has been overruled or whether only one or more of the questions covered by it. The labour involved, in the preparation of the work, must have been enormous. The printing and get-up are quite satisfactory. If the book be revised, from time to time, and kept up-to-date, it will form a most useful companion alike to the judge and the practising lawyer.

The Bengal Land Registration Act—By R. N. Prasad, B.L. (Pleader, Arrah, E.I.R.) 1929.

Rent and Revenue Law of the United Provinces—By L. P. Saksena. (Rai Sahab Ram Dayal Agarwala, Law Publisher, Allahabad.) 1929.

Both these books deal with the revenue laws of the two neighbouring provinces of

Bihar and Orissa and Agra and Oudh. Mr. R. N. Prasad's *Bengal Land Registration Act* is an excellent annotated edition of the Bengal Land Registration Act, which is in force in Bengal and also in Bihar and Orissa. The book is comprehensive in its scope and the notes are highly elucidative and fully explanatory. It will be found to be of great utility to revenue officers and practitioners in revenue courts. . . . Mr. L. P. Saksena's *Rent and Revenue Law of the United Provinces* is intended as a guide for students and it is well-designed for the object in view. It covers in a short compass the whole ground of rent and revenue law and procedure and will be of great assistance to law students who have to master the subject.

Indian Administration—By M. R. Palande. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929.

That Professor Palande's text-book called *Indian Administration* should have gone into a second edition in the course of three years from its first appearance, is a conclusive proof as to its popularity amongst and usefulness to our college students, for whom it is primarily intended. At the same time, it is so well-planned and well-put and is withal so sound and accurate that it may justly claim to appeal to a much larger circle outside the colleges. Of the dozens and scores of such works published in recent years, it is one of the very good ones.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

Amongst Indian publishers few are more enterprising than the old-established firm of Messrs. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., of 190 Hornby Road, Bombay. Their latest important publication is Mr. K. M. Panikkar's *Malabar and the Portuguese*. Of the author we can but reiterate that he is a thoughtful writer, who brings study and research to bear upon the historical subjects he handles, with the result that his works justly merit appreciation for scholarship. His latest work is a valuable contribution to the history of south-eastern India. This is the first comprehensive and connected history of the dealings of the Portuguese on the West Coast of India.

The whole story, from the first voyage to the final collapse of Portuguese power in India, is treated in considerable detail. Apart from its value to students of Indian history, Mr. Panikkar's book will appeal to all those in-



terested in the relations between Europe and Asia and in the wider problems of Empire, since British trade in the East is to a great extent inherited from the commercial monopoly established by the Portuguese. The manuscript of the work, which is written from original sources was read with great interest and admiration by several eminent scholars including Sir Richard Temple and Sir Evan Cotton, Chairman of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Sir Richard Temple who contributes an appreciative and interesting foreword to this work, writes: "Mr. Panikkar has performed a work of value to students in providing a summary of the history of the Portuguese in Malabar. He has, however, thus confined himself to a portion only of their doings in the East, rigorously moreover keeping to this theme, and the chief value of his observations (to my mind) is that he gives the history from the point of view of the Indian who has been trained in historical research and is capable of bringing out the essentials of the story he

has to tell. It is not a pleasant tale, but that is not his fault,—rather that of his subject." We readily and heartily endorse the encomium bestowed—and justly so—upon this young Malayali scholar by Sir Richard Temple. We shall watch his literary career with great interest.

Amongst other books recently issued by Messrs. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. (Hornby Road, Bombay) we may particularly deal with two concerned with the women's movement in India—*Women in Modern India* and the second edition of Professor N. S. Phadke's *Sex Problems in India*. To praise the latter—which we have already noticed in terms of appreciation—would be an act of supererogation. It deserves very wide circulation in view of the very great importance of the subject it deals with in a masterly way. *Women in Modern India*—which is introduced by Mrs. Naidu—is an excellent collection of fifteen essays by highly cultured Indian women writers on various subjects connected with the woman's movement in this country. Written by persons who know what they are writing about, these essays are highly informative and constitute a useful compendium of the present position of educational and social progress amongst Indian women. The book should appeal to all social reformers.

We welcome the popular edition, in two volumes, of the revised text of Messrs. Monypenny and Buckle's *Life of Disraeli: Earl of Beaconsfield* (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.). As Mr. Buckle himself—who has edited the new edition—justly remarks the "*Life* has indeed been criticised for its bulk, but of which the comprehensiveness and authority have never been questioned." The book is not likely to be superseded, as it is bound to remain for all time the final authority on the full career of Disraeli. But in its original six volumes, it was apt to prove bulky and unwieldy to handle. Therefore, Mr. Murray has decided to reissue this standard work complete in two volumes, for a guinea. By the adoption of very thin but durable paper, the whole of the letter-press of the six volumes, including prefaces and appendices, is given, and nothing has been omitted except a certain

number of illustrations. Mr. Buckle has carefully revised the work throughout, but solely with the view of correcting mistakes, making needed explanations, and adding such new facts of importance—in themselves extremely few—as have come to light since the original publication. In its present form, bringing the book within the means of readers of moderate means, this classic in biographical literature will be very welcome.

Mr. A. S. MacNalty's *Book of Crimes* (Elkin Methews and Marrot, Ltd., 54 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.) is a notable addition to the literature of criminology. This book contains twelve studies of crimes. It differs from the usual presentation of crime-stories in that the author, in each case, has made it his aim to give something more than a bare narrative. By attention to the historical setting of the drama and the characters of the actors, he has written a book which is easy to read and is full of human interest. The crimes considered are mostly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a certain number of them are now given in detail for the first time. Mysteries of the nineteenth century, such as 'Madeleine Smith' and 'The Death of Charles Bravo,' are also included, but even concerning these more familiar cases the author has new information to give and fresh speculations to advance. There are also two stories and all lovers of 'The Beggar's Opera' will be interested to find one of them concerned with that demure flame of Mac-Heath, Jenny Diver. In many cases the author has fresh information to give and fresh speculations to advance, which make his book highly interesting.

Most anthologies are restricted to English poetry, and exceptional interest, therefore, attaches to *An Anthology of World Poetry*, edited by Mr. Mark Van Doren (Cassell & Co., Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, London, E. C.). Lovers of poetry, will find in this volume examples of the best poetry of practically every country of the world, and in many cases the poems will direct them to hitherto untapped sources of delight. In selecting the foreign poems Mr. Van Doren has wisely made it a rule to admit only those which seemed to him beautiful in their English

rendering, and no reader is likely to doubt the soundness of his choice. Though the book runs to over 1,200 pages, it is not bulky, and the three indexes—authors and translators, titles and first lines—add greatly to its value. A comprehensive anthology of this kind has been wanted till now and it only remains to be said that the production—type, paper and printing—is worthy of the contents. Here for the first time the poetry of the world is made accessible to English readers, and this volume brings together the full chronological anthologies of the poetry of China, Japan, India, Persia, Arabia, the Hebrews, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Russia, Britain and America. It thus takes its place among the standard anthologies, as indispensable to every library as to every poetry lover.

Mr. Clement Wood's *Outline of Man's Knowledge* (Lewis Copeland Company, New York, U.S.A., and The Richards Press, Ltd., 90 Newman Street, London) is a truly remarkable work—accurate, comprehensive and instructive. We welcome this book which contains, in a single volume, the things that every informed person is expected to know. The author deals vividly with the history of man since he first appeared on the earth and with all his achievements in Science and in Art. This fascinating book is a story to read with excitement, to re-read with benefit, and to keep for constant reference. It is divided into six sections: History, Science, Literature, Art, Religion and Philosophy—each subdivided into various sub-sections. Here is a firm foundation, compressed into 600 pages: History, with its romance and tragedy; Science, including animal life, astronomy, mathematics, modern inventions and Nature itself; Literature, from its beginning to the latest authors; Art, from neolithic stones to modern masters; Religion from its superstitious origins, Philosophy, from age-old wisdom to modern philosophers—all compressed in a brilliantly-written volume in which is graphically sketched the complete march of mankind. To conclude, the book is a university in itself; its facts are marshalled in a masterly manner; and it is lucid in its style and modern in its point of view. It may justly be described as a synopsis of human

knowledge; a library in one volume; not only invaluable for people who have not had time for much reading, but so brilliant and scholarly that it can be read with real interest and appreciation by those who are already possessed of a good background of general knowledge. At the end of the book is a chronological chart, extending to many pages, arranged in six parallel columns, whereby man's achievements in any century or part of a century may be seen at a glance.

We have lying before us some excellent text-books of Indian history for our young students—either new books or new editions. Amongst new books we have *A History of India* (in two separate parts dealing with the Hindu and the Muslim periods) by Professor Srinivasachari and Ramaswami Aiyangar (Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., 4 Mount Road, Madras). This is out-and-out the best text-book of the subject—absolutely sound, accurate, scholarly and impartial. But for those who may regard it as a little too comprehensive for young students, we may safely recommend Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's *School History of India* (Longmans, Green & Co., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta), which is fortunately not tainted with the author's spirit of blatant communalism, which generally disfigures his political writings. The three new editions before us are Mr. Prothero's *Short Primer of Indian History*, revised and enlarged by Mr. T. O. Hodges; *A History of Ancient and Modern India* by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, brought up-to-date by Professor Bokil (both issued by Macmillan & Co., of St. Martin's Street, London) and a *History of India* by Mr. David Sinclair, revised by Mr. A. D. Dhopeswarkar, with an additional chapter on the present administration of India (Oxford University Press, Bombay). Each of these three is for the average student, an excellent text-book.

It is a great pleasure to welcome an authoritative work on India, which hails from America. *The Annals* is the organ of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Philadelphia, and its September number contains a volume exclusively devoted to Indian topics. This particular volume has been published under the able editorship of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the

Calcutta University. It is one of the most authoritative publications of its kind issued in a foreign country, for in the list of its contributors one finds such names as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapra, who writes the chapter on Indian Constitution, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, who writes on Industry and Commerce, Sir J. C. Coyajee, who writes on money reconstruction in India and Sir P. J. Hartogg who writes on the Indian Universities. Messrs. Ramananda Chatterjee and A. H. Watson, who deal with journalism among Indians and Anglo-Indians respectively, Mahatma Gandhi who writes on the Backward and Untouchable classes and the late Lala Lajpat Rai, who writes on Europeanisation and the Ancient Culture of India are other eminent contributors. Thus the scope of the work is fairly comprehensive. In the face of such a publication one need have little fear for the pernicious propaganda launched by *Mother India* and works of that ilk. Unhesitatingly we would recommend this volume for careful reading to people not only in America but in every other foreign country, who may have some interest, however little, in India; while it should be also attentively studied by educated Indians, since it is a highly valuable compendium of accurate and sound information about Indian institutions and problems.

The Madras Library Association, which is a registered institution, was formed as a sequel to the sessions of the All-India Library Conference held in Madras in the year 1927. Its object is to propagate and popularise the idea of the Library movement, to promote education by means of libraries and to encourage and foster mass education. In order to carry out its objects the Association has now brought out a collection of valuable articles from the pen of many well-known men and earnest workers in the cause—called *Library Movement*. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has furnished the volume with a small but forceful foreword in which he emphasises the importance and timeliness of the movement. The other essays also are by eminent writers. The Association has rightly recognised that the movement cannot make much headway unless the vernaculars are used as instruments in its service. The volume,

therefore, contains also essays in the principal vernaculars of the Southern Province, viz., Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. The book, which is neatly printed and got-up, deserves to be widely read and kept in all reading rooms and libraries, as it is a pioneer work of great interest and usefulness in the interest of the library movement in this country. As such it deserves wide circulation and genuine appreciation.

The Process of Literature by Agnes Mure Mackenzie, M.A., D.Litt. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) has as its sub-title 'an essay towards some reconsiderations.' The author is fully qualified for the task she has undertaken. Her book is a masterly study of the art of letters considered from a new point of view, as a process of human activity rather than as a series of objects produced by that activity. It examines in detail 'the process of literature' from the stimulus of the writer by his experience of life to the reader's reaction to what has been created as a result of that stimulus, and describes just how a book comes into being. It is intended for the writer, critic, and teacher, as well as the professional psychologist. It is by no means easy reading, but those who will persevere with it will find it highly stimulating and thought-provoking.

The Renewal of Culture (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London, E. C.) is an excellent rendering into English from the Swedish of Lars Ringbom, and it is all for the best that this highly important work

has now been rendered accessible (thanks to the enterprise of the Publishers) to English-knowing readers. In it Dr. Ringbom begins with a biological analysis of human society, and shows how human nature is dominated by the desire for power—creative or destructive. A civilisation in which a lust of destructive power predominates is doomed to extinction. Progress is due to two antagonistic instincts—for self-preservation and for race-preservation, individualist and collectivist. Freedom nowadays is threatened by collectivism; we rely too much on subordination; whereas it is free and voluntary co-operation that is required, an identification of individual and racial instincts. Dr. Ringbom, who has known the excesses both of the Russian Imperial System and of the Mob Rule, sees signs of a new development. In a work, so to say, breaking new ground, it is difficult to say that all the views expressed by the author will command general assent. But howsoever that be, there can be no two opinions that his data and conclusions alike merit very careful consideration.

Who's Who in Film Land, the second edition of which has just appeared (The Diamond Press, Ltd., 128 Long Acre, London, W. C. 2) has been carefully edited by Langford Reed and Hetty Spiers. It is a biographical Year-Book of 1,750 men and women of the screen. The sketches, though brief, are accurate and succinct and should interest that large circle of human beings who obtain their recreation and entertainment from cinema shows.

LAHORE: A BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW OF THE CITY OF THE CONGRESS

"From the destined walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne
To Paquin of Sinoean Kings; and thence
To Agra and Lahore of the Great Mogul."

Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

THE SIGHTS OF LAHORE

"They had now arrived at the splendid city of Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless.....would have powerfully affected the heart and imagination of Lalla Rookh.....Such brilliant displays of life and pageantry among the palaces and domed and gilded minarets of Lahore, made the city altogether like a place of enchantment."—Moore's *Lalla Rookh*.

"Fresh gardens and heavy trees beside well-kept roads, cool houses and an upstanding cathedral, dispersed over four square miles of ground, and besides the Mall the bitter smell and silence of a tan gallop. Offices there are too.....roomy and adequate; hospitals and colleges, institutes and horticultural gardens.....all that makes for contentment and efficiency. Thrust tightly into one upper corner of this city of distances and spaces, and nudging it uncertainly in half-a-dozen places, are the crooked alleys of the densely-packed

native town. Beyond that, again, overlooking the wooded level to the north, an inhospitable bulk of red sandstone rises, sign unmistakable of yet another of the palace fortresses of the Moguls—this is Lahore."—Perceval Landon in his *Under the Sun*.

"Lahore.....has a history old enough.....going far back beyond any trustworthy annals. When Alexander the Great was here, Lahore.....was certainly an imposing city. There are temples and mosques and tombs by the score, although some of them have crumbled into.....decay.....and many are scarcely distinguishable from tumble-down and deserted houses..The handsome edifices reared by the modern rulers.....tell of another aspect of affairs, in which lavish magnificence, the splendour of lost arts, the pride of despotism, have given place to quiet work, to unrelenting effort in a stupendous task.....to even handed justice. That is Lahore to-day."—Sir Henry Craik in his *Impressions of India*.

The above four extracts put into a nutshell the chief scenic attractions of Lahore. To begin with, all that is best in the shape of splendid monuments belongs (in Milton's words) to the "Lahore of the Great Mogul"—no remains of any pre-Mogul architecture being in existence. Similarly,

- *1. *Lahore*: By T. H. Thornton and J. L. Kipling. (Government Civil Secretariat Press, Lahore.) 1876.
2. *Lahore*: By Syed Muhammad Latif, Khan Bahadur. (New Imperial Press, Lahore.) 1892.
3. *The Gazetteer of Lahore*: "Panjab District Gazetteers" series. (Panjab Secretariat, Lahore.) 1907.
4. *A Descriptive Guide to the Lahore Museum*: In Two Parts. By Percy Brown. (Museum Sale Room, Lahore.) 1908-9.
5. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*: By David Ross. (Chapman and Hall, Limited, London.) 1883.
6. *Picturesque India*: By W. S. Caine, M. P. (George Routledge & Sons, Limited, London.) 1898.
7. *Under the Sun*: By Perceval Landon. (Hurst and Blackett, London.) 1907.
8. *The Tourist's India*: By Eustace Reynolds Ball. (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., London.) 1907.
9. *Murray's Handbook of the Panjab*: (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London.) 1883.
10. *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*:—(John Murray, London.) Thirtieth edition, 1929.
11. *Impressions of India*: By Sir Henry Craik. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1908. And many other books.

Moore, in describing, in *Lalla Rookh*, "the splendid city of Lahore," refers to "its mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless" and to its "palaces and domes and gilded minarets"—all of which we owe to Akbar and his descendants. Mr. Perceval Landon and Sir Henry Craik—while referring respectively to the "red sandstone-palace of the Moguls" and the "temples and mosques and tombs by the score,"—draw prominent attention to "the handsome edifices reared by modern rulers," in the shape of "offices.....hospitals, colleges, institutes and horticultural gardens." The attractions of Lahore thus consist of the mosques and palaces reared by the Mogul Emperors and their administrators, and the public buildings which we owe to the British, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Pathan remains are non-existent (except what can be seen in the Lahore Museum) and Sikh architecture, as exemplified in Ranjit Singh's *Samadh*, is at best tawdry and insignificant. Lahore thus cannot boast of any remains of antiquity and its interest to the student of Indian history is only sentimental, as standing on the site of an ancient city, close to the line of Alexander's march into the Panjab. For the sake of convenience, we shall first guide the visitor to modern Lahore, in which the best objects worth seeing lie on the surface, and then lead him into the labyrinths of the city, "the crooked alleys of the densely-packed native town," in the words of Mr. Landon, in which are situated the famous mosques and the Mogul Fort.

THE CIVIL STATION

The civil station of Lahore is known as Donald Town and is named after Sir Donald Macleod, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. It extends over a large area and is connected by an excellent road with the cantonment of Meean Meer. Of the latter, the "military city," it is sufficient to note that it is said by Mr. Reynolds-Ball to boast of the "most prosperous cemetery of any military station in India!" The civil station is well laid out. It is a city of handsome public edifices, excellent residential quarters, fresh and green public gardens and parks, with heavy and

umbrageous trees, all intersected by well-kept roads, the chief of which is that known as the Upper Mall (in common parlance only "The Mall") along the length and nearabouts of which lie the principal public buildings, hotels and shops. The Mall boasts as handsome edifices and well-stocked a range of shops as few other Indian cities, outside the presidency towns; while the improvements it has undergone during the last two decades of the present century, have transformed it into one of the finest promenades for "eating the air" of an evening. In fact, the transformation of the Mall has been so great and so striking that one wonders whether it could ever have been the same parched, dreary and sunscorched road on which one used, till the end of the first decade of this century, to (literally) "eat the dusty air." Now a drive up and down the Mall reveals to the astonished and admiring eyes of the visitor unsuspected picturesqueness, from end to end. The whole length of the Mall—extending, for about three miles, from the Victoria Jubilee (Town) Hall to the Aitchison Chief's College—is a fine promenade, the central portion well-metalled, with turf laid on a slightly raised platform, which renders the whole length beautifully green and immensely soothing and refreshing to the eyes. On this turfed platform, running on one side along the whole length, are installed massive iron pillars for electric lights. Beyond it come wide earth and cinder footpaths for pedestrians, while on one side, between the footpath and the turfed platform, is laid out a splendid riding course covered with tan-bark. The open sites available have been laid out to the best advantage with shrubs and flowers. Water pipes, laid throughout the length, not only enable the turf to be kept green, but the road itself beautifully cool and moist. The properly-kerfed footways, the dustless central portion, the lovely green margins and the glorious tan ride, with the floods of electric light at night over all, show what can be done by judicious expenditure of money in turning a dusty desert into a thing of beauty and a joy for ever.

The chief public edifices are best seen by taking a drive along the Mall, from end to end; other notable buildings are close to it.

A striking feature on the modern architecture in the Panjab—and the finest examples of which are to be seen in Lahore—is the successful attempt made to adapt the Indo-Saracenic style to our present-day requirements. The graceful result is due to the efforts of Mr. J. L. Kipling (father of the more famous Rudyard, and Principal of the Mayo School of Art) and to the late Rai Bahadur Kanhya Lall and the late Sir Ganga Ram, both distinguished engineers. The new style is notable for the harmonious blending of the beauty of the Indo-Saracenic design with the largeness of dimensions characteristic of Western architectural art. Perhaps the most notable examples of this new East-and-West style—which deserves to be largely adopted all over the country—are the Lahore Museum, the University Hall, the High Court and the Aitchison Chief's College, all of which lie along the Mall. It is a great pity, however, that side by side with these, there are other structures—palatial and handsome in their own way—quite out of keeping with the beautiful buildings of the new Indo-Saracenic School. For instance, close to the Museum there is the Victoria Jubilee (Town) Hall, which is bad enough in all conscience, but to pile on the agony, a Post Office, and the Roman Catholic Cathedral, both in the Renaissance style, have been built, which are quite out of place, especially as they are so close to the fine building of the High Court.

THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS

We shall now enumerate the chief public buildings which lie along the Mall. Starting from the Town Hall end, we pass to our right, in the order named, the Mayo School of Art, the Lahore Museum, the Municipal Market, the Post Office, the Accountant-General's Office, the High Court, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Masonic Lodge and the combined Lawrence-and-Montgomery Hall, the last in frigidly classical style. Starting from the same place we pass to our left, in the order named, the University Hall, the Imperial Bank of India, the Anglican Cathedral, the Victoria Memorial (covered in by a beautiful Indo-Saracenic canopy of delicate tracery), Nedou's Hotel, the Government House (an

old tomb of a cousin of Akbar's adapted to modern requirements), the Panjab Club and the Aitchison Chief's College which comprises, says Sir Henry Craik, "a spacious well-timbered park, where, at wide and convenient distances, stately buildings arise—chapels, class-rooms, living rooms, dining rooms, gymnasias, stables—all on an imposing scale." The other buildings which are close to the Mall, and which are worth a visit, are the many educational institutions in which Lahore is so rich. These are the Government College, the Forman Christian College, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, and the Medical College, besides the Training College, the Model School, and the Mayo School of Art, referred to already. At the back of the Museum is situated the Panjab Public Library, housed in a Mogul pavilion, with four white copulas, and well-adapted to the purpose in view. The Railway workshops—one of the largest in India—employ two thousand workmen and are worth a visit. None of these buildings or institutions requires any detailed description, but an exception should be made in the case of the Museum, for no sketch of Lahore, howsoever slight, can be regarded as complete without some detailed reference to that great institution.

In point of importance, as a collection of Indian arts and industries, the Lahore Museum ranks third in the list, coming below only those of Calcutta and Madras. Its nucleus consisted of the collections brought together for the first Panjab Exhibition of 1864. A temporary structure was put up for these; and they remained in it until 1894, when they were removed to the present splendidly-designed, commodious building, which—apart from the wonderful collection it houses—is one of the sights of Lahore, and of which the foundation stone was laid by the late Duke of Clarence, elder brother of the present king, during his Indian tour of 1890-91. No visitor to Lahore but should pay a visit—if possible, prolonged—to the splendid collection in the Museum, of the contents of which Mr. Percy Brown, when curator, brought out exhaustive catalogues, a perusal of which is an intellectual treat. The catalogues can be had at the office of the

museum; and are cheaply priced. "The central interest of Lahore," says Mr. Perceval Landon, is "the Museum," and he adds that "nowhere in the world is Buddhism portrayed so finely as in these stones." The picture gallery is no less interesting. The exhibits are displayed on the walls and also on specially-designed screens in the centre of the gallery. Even more important for educational purposes is the Industrial Art Department, which is so arranged and classified that it is possible for a visitor, without any previous instruction, to follow out the details of the important local and provincial trades—as one may read in a well-illustrated book. Each bay of the gallery is devoted to some particular manufacture and the first or index case, in each bay contains a model (to scale) of work-people engaged in the various branches of the industry. This arrangement appeals to even the most casual and aimless visitor, while to the intelligent observer it reads like an interesting book.

THE CITY

Donald Town, the civil station, is joined to the Lahore gate of the city by the Anarkali Bazar—a long, busy, bustling thoroughfare about a mile in length, crowded with Indian shops—which abuts on the Mall. The city of Lahore, the "native town," covers nearly seven hundred acres and is one of the largest urban areas in India, containing a population of over two hundred thousand. It is surrounded by a brick wall cut down to fifteen feet. The moat has been filled in and converted into a public garden, which now encircles the city on all sides, except the North-West. A metalled road runs round the rampart and gives access to the city by thirteen gates. This city-garden, which is planted with luscious fruit trees, acts as a lung to the teeming population of the city, who are too busy in their work-a-day life to go out for fresh air either to the prettily-laid-out Gol Bagh, ("Circular Garden"), also known as the Anarkali Garden, in front of the Victoria Jubilee (Town) Hall, or to the much more extensive Lawrence Gardens (along the Mall) which cover 112 acres and contain a botanical section comprising a large

variety of beautiful trees and shrubs, as also a zoological section divided into an aviary and a menagerie. The Lawrence Gardens are handsomely laid out, are beautifully kept up and they form an excellent recreation ground.

The Mogul buildings are all situated inside the city, except one—the tomb of Anarkali. It is an octagon cased in plaster and surmounted by a dome. There is nothing remarkable about the building which, long used as the station church, is even now desecrated as a Government Library. It is worth visiting, however, for the sarcophagus which was placed over the tomb in the central chamber, but which has now been relegated to a small corner room at the east end. The cenotaph, which is declared by the writer of Murray's *Handbook of Panjab* as "for some reasons the most interesting thing to be seen in Lahore," is made of the purest white marble, and the ninety-nine names of God carved on it are—in the words of the same writer—"so exquisitely-formed as to surpass anything of the kind in India." Anarkali ("Pomegranate Blossom") was the name of the lady buried in the building. She was the beloved of Prince Salim (afterwards the Emperor Jahangir), and died in 1599; the building and the cenotaph were erected by the royal lover in 1615.

The best way to approach the city is through the Delhi gate. The city has extorted for centuries the admiration of artists and lovers of the picturesque. "Its flat roofs and balconies," says Mr. Reynolds-Ball, "recall old Cairo.....and its bazars should appeal especially to artists." The following graphic description of the city of Lahore, by Sir Henry Craik (in his *Impressions of India*) gives a vivid idea of the capital of the Panjab: "Imagine a city standing on a space of some six hundred acres, inhabited by a teeming population, pent up in narrow, twisted streets and girt by a wall with thirteen gates. Within its narrow limits, are palaces and gardens, spacious and splendid mosques with towering minarets and gilded domes, wedged in by a narrow street of shops and rabbit warrens of houses, all decorated with marvellous lattice-work, carved in teak and bright with hangings of every hue. The walls of the city still stand; the crowded buildings still in many cases

retain their dainty lattice-work, all dusty and decayed. Some of the mosques still glitter with their gilded minarets and sparkle in the sun with the wondrous beauty of their tiles."

Driving in an open carriage—or better still riding an elephant, for the streets are too narrow at places for carriages to pass easily—you first reach the very beautiful mosque built, in 1634, by Hakim-Ala-ud-din, Vazir of Emperor Shah Jahan, and hence popularly known as Vazir Khan's mosque. It has little architectural pretensions, but it is deservedly famous for the wonderful encaustic tiles which cover its walls and minarets. It is beautiful inlaid work, the colours of the tiles being burnt in and set in hard mortar. It is a true fresco painting and gives the mosque a superb appearance. Altogether, Vazir Khan's mosque is one of the finest sights of Lahore. Leaving the mosque and proceeding beyond it, along a street remarkable for handsomely-carved corbelled balconies and projecting oriel windows, you reach the Sonahari Masjid ("the Golden Mosque") which is prominent for its three gilt domes, and was built in 1753. It is poor as a piece of architecture, but its situation at the junction of two narrow and crowded streets is extremely picturesque and its domes glittering in the sun give it very attractive appearance.

Proceeding further through the city, you enter the pretty garden called "Hazuri Bagh." It forms an outer court to the Fort and the Jama Masjid or Aurangzeb's mosque. On the eastern side of it stands the high crenellated wall of the Fort and in its centre the Akbari Darwaza, a massive gateway built by Akbar, which was formerly the entrance to the citadel but is now closed. Its towers attract attention by the elegance of their design. On the western side of it, stands the splendid Jama Masjid (also called Badshahi Masjid) being the principal mosque of the city, built by the Emperor Aurangzeb, in 1674. It is raised on a lofty platform supported by arches and is approached by a fine flight of steps. Though it is, in the main, a replica of the more famous Shah Jahan's superb Jama Masjid at Delhi, still its magnificent proportions and massiveness excite admiration and its graceful minarets are the most prominent feature in the landscape. Between the Fort and the

Jama Masjid is the prettily-laid-out Hazuri Bagh, in the midst of which stands the Barahdari, a beautifully-designed marble pavilion. It was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh—"the lion of the Punjab"—with marbles exploited from the Mogul mausoleums, and is perhaps the only elegant building that can be placed to the Maharaja's credit. His *samadh* or mausoleum, a glittering white structure, in which his ashes lie, adjoins the "Hazuri Bagh," but is too fantastic and tawdry to interest critics with an æsthetic sense. Not far from Ranjit Singh's *Samadh* is the shrine of Arjun, the fifth Guru and the compiler of the *Adi Granth* the Sikh Scriptures.

THE FORT

Facing Ranjit Singh's *Samadh*, is situate the Hathi Paon gate of the Fort. A steep incline, made by the British, leads into the interior. The walls facing the gate are decorated, the facade being inlaid with a mosaic of encaustic tiles representing grotesque figures. On the left, near the top of the incline, is the Moti Masjid (the "Pearl Mosque") built (in 1598) of white marble, with three domes. North of it, is the enclosure of the Shish Mahal ("Palace of Mirrors"), which is the joint work of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The main building in the enclosure is memorable as the place where the sovereignty of the Panjab was transferred to the British, in 1849. The painting and the mirror-work with which the walls and the ceilings are embellished were done by the Sikhs, and they ill-agree with chaste beauty of Mogul architecture. In the centre of the west side of the quadrangle, is a graceful white marble pavilion called Nau Lakha, which, as its name indicated, is said to have cost nine lakhs. It is a beautiful work of art, inlaid with the *Pietradura* work, associated with the decoration of the Taj Mahal. Between the pillars on the south side of the quadrangle, walls have been put up and the enclosure is utilized as an Armoury, the contents of which are very interesting, notably the battle-axe and shield of Guru Govind. To the east from here is the enclosure of Akbari Mahal. In it are situated the Dewan-i-Khas and the Dewan-i-Am, both built by the

Emperor Shah Jahan. The Dewan-i-Khas is a beautiful building of white marble, supported on thirty-two columns, with a tessellated black-and-white marble pavement. From this you proceed to the Khwabgah-i-Kalan, the architraves of the pillars of which are beautifully carved in Hindu style. Near the centre of the Fort is the Dewan-i-Am, supported in the centre by twelve columns. It remains to add with regret that the beautiful buildings in the Lahore Fort have greatly suffered by reason of vandalism—Indian and British. Ranjit Singh converted the Moti Masjid into a treasury and it continued to be so used until the late Lord Curzon came to its rescue. But the "British barbarians" went one better. They used, till lately, the Dewan-i-Khas as a church, and the Dewan-i-Am as barracks for Tommy Atkins! Fortunately, the excrescences they introduced have now been removed, and the buildings restored to their former glory. Anarkali's tomb, as noted above, still continues, however, to be used as the Historical Record Room. It is sincerely to be hoped that such desecration of the splendid remains of the Mogul period will be completely given up before long.

EXCURSIONS TO SHALAMAR AND SHAH DARÀ

It only remains to add a word about the two well-known excursions from Lahore, the Shalamar Gardens and the mausoleum of Jahangir at Shah Dara. The Gardens are five miles from the railway station and the drive is dusty—unless you drive on the road along the canal, which is well-metalled. About half way you pass Gulabi Bagh ("Rose Garden") laid out, in 1655, by a cousin of Imdad-ud-daulah an Admiral of the fleet to Shah Jahan. The Nakkashi work of coloured tiles is very beautiful, hardly inferior to that on Vazir Khan's mosque. Opposite to the Gulabi Bagh, across a field on the south side of the road, is the tomb of Ali Mardan Khan, the celebrated engineer who laid out the Shalamar Gardens, in 1637. The most striking feature of the Gardens is, that they are laid out in terraces, divided into three parts, in tiers of different levels. The whole extent is about eighty acres, surrounded by a

high wall, with a large gateway and pavilions at each corner. Canals traverse the Gardens and there are hundreds of fountains. In the centre there is a fine pavilion suited for picnics. Though laid out in monotonous squares and now in a state of decay, the Shalamar Gardens are still a favourite resort of the citizens of Lahore and well deserve a visit.

The other excursion from Lahore—that to the mausoleum of Jahangir at Shah Dara, on the right bank of the Ravi, is more interesting and is a pleasant drive of five and a half miles over the railway bridge. Before crossing the railway, is seen the tomb of Noor Jahan (the famous wife of Jahangir) which was probably never finished and is now totally in ruins. After passing the railway, a domed building is passed, which is the tomb of Asaf Khan, brother of the Empress Noor Jahan, and one of the principal administrators under Jahangir. It has been utterly ruined and desecrated. An archway of white marble, fifty feet high, leads into the garden court of Jahangir's mausoleum (once the Dilkusha garden of Noor Jahan) which stands on a fine terraced platform, with four slender and graceful minarets at the corners and a pavilion over the tomb chamber in the centre. The passage to the tomb chamber is paved with beautifully streaked marble and the cenotaph (of white marble) is inlaid with *pietra dura* work and stands in the centre of an octagonal chamber. On the east and west sides of the sarcophagus are beautifully carved the ninety-nine names of God, and there is also an inscription which gives the date of the building of the mausoleum as 1627. A stair-case leads up to the roof on which stand the minarets four storeys high—built of magnificent blocks of white marble eight feet long—from the tops of which fine views of the city and the country are obtainable. "Altogether this mausoleum," says Murray's *Handbook of the Panjab*, "is one of the finest in the world and, after the Taj and the Kutub Minar, is the noblest building in India. It is vast, solemn and exquisitely beautiful." And this is the best place at which to bring our peregrinations to a close.

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THOUGH Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—who is now in forty-first year—is not the youngest President of the Indian National Congress (for Mr. Gokhale, who in his thirty-ninth year, presided over the Benares session, held in 1905, has still that distinction), he has this to his credit that he will be the first to have presided who was born after the Congress came into existence, in 1885. Viewed in any light, Pandit Jawaharlal—who was born in this very city of Allahabad on the 14th November, 1889—is by no means elderly for the great work he will be called upon to undertake in the last week of the current year and in the ensuing year, in the cause of the political progress of India. The only son of his distinguished father—Pandit Motilal Nehru—young Jawaharlal was given the best education his father could arrange for. It is true Pandit Motilal had not come quite to the front at the Allahabad High Court Vakil Bar till 1896, when he was made an 'Advocate,' but even in 1889, he occupied a prominent position alike in the Profession and Society. So from the very beginning of his son's career as a student, he made the best arrangements for his education.

The present writer first met Jawaharlal in 1896, when he was only seven, and has watched his career ever since with sympathy and interest. He recalls that at that time Pandit Motilal was anxious more for the health of young Jawahar than his intellectual development and so, in 1897, he took him with the rest of his family to Kashmir. Later, he engaged for him capable private tutors (mostly Englishmen) of whom the most notable was a well-known writer and theosophist, Mr. F. T. Brooks. In 1905—at the age of fifteen—Jawaharlal left India for education in England, accompanied by his father, mother and sister, and took his admittance into the famous public school at Harrow, from

which he went later to the Trinity College, Cambridge. He also joined, in London, the Inns of Court and was called to the Bar, at the Hon'ble Society of the Inner Temple, in 1912. He returned to India in the same year after taking, at Cambridge, second class honors in Natural Science, Chemistry, Zoology and Botany. Later, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him by his University. It is to be noted with gratification that in spite of work in other and wholly different fields, he has not lost touch with his first-love—Science—as is evidenced by the publication, but a few weeks back, of his *Letters from a Father to his Daughter* (Allahabad Law Journal Press) which is an excellent, illustrated sketch, in remarkably simple English for children, which will be found by them very interesting and highly instructive.

During his stay in England, Jawaharlal took great interest in Indian affairs. He was deeply stirred, in 1907, on receiving the news of the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and was greatly interested in the then new upheaval in Indian politics due to the activities of 'Bal, Pal and Lal'—as Messrs. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai were, in common parlance, called in those days. These three Indian publicmen and Mrs. Besant were to him then the outstanding personalities in the sphere of Indian politics and their views influenced his to a very large extent. But though his youthful views were affected largely by those of the three Indian leaders and Mrs. Besant, he had not evidently during his stay in England any settled political convictions other than those which may be vaguely called socialistic. From 1913 to 1920 he practised in the Allahabad High Court, but obviously his heart was not in the work and he does not seem to have striven after or aspired to professional success, or was possibly overshadowed by his father. Be that as it might, he formally renounced practice on the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement in September, 1920, and is not

likely to resume it. So his professional career may be taken as closed.

Shortly after his return home, he attended as but a 'visitor' the session of the Congress, held at Patna (then officially called 'Bankipore') in 1912, which was presided over by the late lamented Rao Bahadur R. N. Madholkar, for many years a prominent public man of the old-school of Indian politics. But even while practising, Jawaharlal was deeply interested in our public activities. In 1914 when Mr. Gokhale issued an appeal for funds, for public purposes, Jawaharlal collected about forty thousand rupees. In 1917 he took a prominent part in Mrs. Besant's Home Rule agitation of that year and in Mr. Tilak's Home Rule League, and was appointed Secretary of Mrs. Besant's League. In 1919 when his father started at Allahabad an Indo-English daily, called the *Independent*, Jawaharlal was one of the directors of the concern, and one of the principal literary contributors to that paper. If it died after a short life, its death must be attributed to others than Jawaharlal. In the same year he went to the Punjab immediately after the martial law period and took part in the Congress enquiry there. Later in that year, he took a prominent part in the agrarian agitation in Oudh, which resulted in a substantial change in the tenancy law in favour of the tenantry. In 1920, he was externed by Government from Mussoorie on his refusal to give any undertaking that he would not meet the Afghan delegates, who had come there for the Peace Conference. His refusal was 'on principle,' and was withdrawn after a few days. Since the inauguration of non-co-operation in September, 1920 (at the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta, under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai) Jawaharlal has been, of course, prominently connected with that movement, and in December, 1921, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Released after three months, he was re-arrested after some weeks, and was, on conviction, sentenced to a term of one year and nine months. Discharged after nine months in jail, he was again arrested in the latter half of 1923, in the Nabha State, where he had gone to see to the treatment accorded to the Akali Sikhs and was sentenced

(for disobedience of order to leave the State) to six months and also to two years for an alleged conspiracy. Both the sentences were apparently indefinitely suspended till the crack of doom, and he was discharged almost immediately. He has thus been 'at large' for now over six years.

Since 1923 when he was elected General Secretary of the Congress, Jawaharlal has been intimately associated with that great political organization, the fortunes of which he will be now called upon to direct in the present and in the next year, as its President. During the last six years he has been successively elected President of a large number of political and industrial conferences and organisations, a list of which would extend over many columns. In the course of these years of strenuous public activities, he spent the greater part of 1926-27 in Europe, where also he brought to the fore, on the platform and in the press of the various countries, the problem of India's freedom. He was at Moscow in November, 1927, on the occasion of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Republic. In 1928 he contributed to some leading Indian journals a series of highly informative articles on Soviet Russia, which have been since brought together—under that title—in book form and present a very interesting account of the present political and economic condition in that country. Influenced evidently by his travels in Russia, he went to the Madras session of the Congress, in 1928, and brought up there his resolution urging India's claim to 'Independence' of which he has been since then perhaps the chief protagonist.

Such is, in brief, a record of the life and career of the President-elect of the Lahore session of the National Congress. It is clear from it that Pandit Jawaharlal is a highly educated and remarkably cultured gentleman, and what he may be lacking in political or administrative experience, he more than makes up by a regular course of daily, intensive study of the best sociological literature which, indeed, now constitutes his chief hobby. He has been—like many others—mainly influenced in his views by the books he has read and the personalities he has met,

as also by such soul-stirring events as the shooting in the Rai-Bareilly district (in Oudh) in his presence. Himself the embodiment of a synthesis alike of Eastern and Western cultures, he naturally attaches very great importance to the cultural side in the development of a nation. Having received training in Science and qualified in it, he naturally sets very great store by it; nevertheless he would give a high place in Indian cultural renaissance to poetry, art, music, religion and even town-planning. In the domain of Indian sociology, it is believed, he would recognize private property in all personal things, but would not exploit national resources like minerals. In the sphere of politics, he is said to believe in 'world-federation,' and that all truly backward classes should be specially taken care of by the State, and also in the protection of genuine minorities, who but for it may suffer from exploitation.

Pandit Jawaharlal lives a very simple life and dresses generally in Khaddar. He was married in 1916 to a highly intelligent and well-educated lady, who sympathises with his ideals and supports him in his trials and tribulations. They have but one daughter of twelve, for whose behoof Jawaharlal wrote the letters (now published in book form), noticed above. Unlike some of the great Indian leaders of the past, he has not made an impression on the public mind by his merits as either a great publicist or a renowned public speaker. His speeches—which have been just made accessible in a handy and useful collection, called *Life and Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru* (through the enterprise of a local publishing firm, National Publishing House)—do not impress one by their oratorical fire but by their obvious sincerity, remarkable earnestness and strength of conviction. We published in the last issue of the *Hindustan Review* a long symposium showing how well, on the whole, his election to the presidential chair of the National Congress, had been received by the Indian press, and we offered our felicitations to Pandit Jawaharlal on such almost unanimous support in the organs of Indian public opinion. It but remains to wish him success in the very arduous task he has undertaken, at this

critical juncture in the affairs of the country, in guiding the destinies of the oldest and still the most influential of our political organizations, and we venture to express the hope that he will so manage its affairs as to lead India onward on the road to responsible Government.

SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna—who is a distinguished publicman—was born on October 8, 1866, and received his early education in Calcutta. Having matriculated at the University of that city, he went over to Bombay, and having graduated at the University of Bombay in 1887, joined his father in business, in which he has occupied, for years, a very high position. Sir Phiroze, who has been a Justice of the Peace and an Honorary Magistrate of Bombay for nearly 25 years, was honoured with the award of the O.B.E. in 1916 and ten years later, in 1926, he was knighted.

His participation in the public administrative life of Bombay commenced in the year 1907 when he first became a member of the municipality. The notable part which he took in the affairs of this body is disclosed by the fact that he became the chairman of its standing committee in 1911, and its president in 1915—at the time this being considered a record. Since then he has been continuously serving on the municipality. But apart from his work on the latter body, he has also served for more than a decade as a port trustee for Bombay, and is also at present serving as trustee for the Improvement Trust of Bombay. In 1916 he was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council and since the date of the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, in 1921, he has been elected a member of the Council of State heading the poll at the elections held in 1921 and again in 1926.

The prominent position which Sir Phiroze holds in the financial and commercial life of the city of Bombay is well-known. He is a past President of the Indian Merchants'

Chamber, and is Chairman of the Central Bank of India with which institution he has closely identified himself. But his interests by no means have been confined to municipal, legislative, commercial and financial affairs.

It may be recalled that he ran the exhibition of 'Old Bombay,' with Mr. Wardlaw Milne as joint secretary on the occasion of the visit of His Majesty the King-Emperor in 1911. Besides he has been treasurer of various important funds started in Bombay, and he has been secretary of the Women's Branch of the Bombay Presidency War Relief Fund. In the Commander-in-Chief's Despatch of March, 1919, dealing with the part played by India in the war, it may be remembered that His Excellency submitted two lists of persons, and the more restricted one contained the names of those whose services were described as "having been of particular value and whose assistance and work are brought specially to notice." In this restricted list there were only ten names from the Bombay Presidency, and amongst the ten there was only one Indian name, that of Mr. now Sir Phiroze) Sethna.

A prominent member of the Parsi community, Sir Phiroze is connected with several important religious and charitable institutions. But he is first and foremost a patriotic Indian. As already shown, his business interests are wide and varied, but he now devotes much attention to insurance in all its branches. He is the General Manager of the Sun Life Insurance Co. of Canada for India, Burma and Ceylon, a company which is known to do the largest amount of new business of any British insurance company throughout the world. As previously mentioned, he is the Chairman of the Central Bank of India which is by far the largest Indian bank, and he is also Director of several other important companies, including the Tata Iron and Steel, the New India, the Bombay Telephone, the Bombay Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., the Union Bank and about a dozen cotton mills.

It will perhaps be remembered that Sir Phiroze was appointed by the Government of

India a member of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, and also of the sub-committee which visited the Military Schools of the United Kingdom, France, Canada and the United States. He was also one of the six delegates sent by the Government of India to the Government of the Union of South Africa to settle the question of Indians residing in the Union. He and Sir William Currie were appointed members of the committee to investigate the affairs of the Army Canteen Board. In connection with this work, he came much in contact with army contractors, and when they recently formed what is known as the Canteen Contractors' Syndicate, consisting exclusively of contractors, they unanimously invited him to be their chairman. He is, undoubtedly, a prominent figure in the Council of State and is regarded as a very active member of that body, where he represents sane and progressive nationalism. At one time he took a keen interest in Masonic affairs and was for two years Grand Master of all Scottish Freemasonry in India. He has travelled extensively and has paid frequent visits to Europe and America, and is a typical cultured and enlightened Indian. It was during his first visit to Europe in 1900 that he met with a railway accident and was seriously injured. This one of the worst railway disasters recorded, occurred at Slough near Windsor. Her Majesty the Queen Victoria showed Mr. Sethna much kindness when he was lying for weeks in the Windsor Infirmary, and he was in fact the last Indian to have been presented to Her Majesty whose death occurred a few months later. Sir Phiroze is thus an experienced publicist, who is in intimate touch with the problems and affairs of his country, and there is every reason to hope that a man of his capacity, patriotism and culture will give such a lead to the proceedings of the National Liberal Federation—at its forthcoming session at Madras, in the last week of the current year—as will make that body compare favourably with others in advanced political outlook.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTH

NOT only the State of Nepal, but India (as a whole) has lost heavily in the premature death of Maharaja Chandra Shamsher Rana, who was great alike as a military commander and a civil administrator. He was born on July 8, 1863, and was the fifth son of Jang Bahadur's youngest brother General Dhir Shamsher, who held for a long time the actual office of Commander-in-Chief and practically that of Prime Minister also. At the age of nine he began the study of English under Nepalese tutors. He was the first of his family to secure the matriculation certificate of the Calcutta University and his success stirred him to further academic ambitions. But the sudden illness of his father compelled him to abandon his schemes. He was called to Nepal to attend his father's death-bed. The death of his father was the turning-point of Chandra's life. In 1885 the important position of Senior Commanding-General was inherited by him on the death of an elder brother, and he rapidly rose in military rank, and held the portfolios of the Foreign Office and of Public Construction. On the death of his eldest brother in March, 1901, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Nepalese army. In the following year a bloodless revolution brought him to the place of first authority, and on June 26, 1901, he became Prime Minister and Marshal.

In 1903, Chandra Shamsher represented the kingdom of Nepal at the Delhi Durbar, held to announce the accession of Edward VII as King-Emperor. His first important service to the British Government was the effective aid he gave in connection with the expedition which 'unveiled' Lhasa. In his letter to Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy, he summed up once for all the policy of Nepal towards the Government of India. It represented his constant and determined attitude and it might also be said that it is as true to-day as when it was written. He wrote: "I shall take this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency's Government that I shall always deem it a sacred duty and a valued privilege, not only to cultivate and continue unimpaired

the friendly relations subsisting between the Government of India and Nepal, but to strengthen and improve them, so that we may realise all those expectations which the association of a power like that of England naturally raises in our minds. I am fully conscious that our interests can best be served by the continuance of friendly relations between India and Nepal." The peace and order maintained in Nepal by the strength of character, firmness and good sense of the Premier enabled him to leave the country for a visit to England in 1908. He was most cordially received by King Edward. He toured throughout the United Kingdom. A visit to Oxford was marked by the conferment of the D.C.L. degree by the University. The personality of His Highness made a marked impression on English society. When the present King-Emperor held the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, in 1911, the Maharaja was granted a personal salute of 19 guns. He did not go to Delhi as on this occasion the potentates of independent territory were not asked to be present. He later had the privilege of entertaining the King-Emperor in the Terai jungles. On his return to British India, the King-Emperor telegraphed to the Maharaja: "Dear Maharaja, I know I can always count upon you and your people as my truest friends." Continuity was given to the cordial relations between the Royal family of Great Britain and the head of the Nepal administration during the Indian tour of the Prince of Wales, who spent a happy week in the Nepal Terai as the guest of the Maharaja.

The efforts of the Maharaja to raise the moral and humanitarian standards of his country have been crowned with success. Slavery, which was an institution in the country from the time of the Gurkha conquest, has been abolished, and all slaves have been manumitted with the general consent of the slave owners and the population of the country generally. The total cost of the measure was Rs. 3,670,000. To Chandra Shamsher also must be given the credit for abolishing the practice of *Sati* from one end of Nepal

to the other. He replaced the obsolete judicial system of Nepal by modern courts and established an Ayurvedic School at Khatmandu and a number of hospitals at various centres. The present trade prosperity of Nepal is due to the late Maharaja's new road policy. The roads and bridges and ropeways that he caused to be built have greatly facilitated transport, and a small railway connecting Indian border with roads and a ropeway to Khatmandu was opened some three years ago. Immediately on the outbreak of the Great War the Maharaja threw himself with energy and thoroughness into the great work of helping the British cause. The Maharaja saw at once that help must be given on a large scale, and most active efforts were made to increase rapidly the man-power contribution of the State. The help given was remarkable not only in quantity but in quality. In December, 1923, a new treaty between Nepal and Great Britain was signed. The Treaty provided for perpetual peace and friendship and for mutual recognition of the independence of the two Governments. The late Maharaja received many decorations from the King-Emperors—Edward VII and George V—and several foreign countries, and shortly before his death the French Government honoured him with the highest French dignity the Grand Croix of the Legion of Honour.

In the death of the Maharaja of Kasimbazar, Bengal in particular and the Hindu community in general have lost a great philanthropist. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy was born in 1860. He lost his mother when he was barely two years old and his father when he was thirteen. On the death of his maternal aunt, Maharanee Swarnamoyee, he succeeded to the Kasimbazar estate and since then, he spent about a crore of rupees in furthering the cause of education in and outside Bengal. In respect of education he was perhaps the greatest benefactor of India in modern times. He maintained a first-grade college at Berhampore, named after his maternal uncle at an annual expense of over half a lakh of rupees. The Polytechnic Institute at Calcutta and the School of Mines at Ethora also testify to his desire to see his

countrymen qualify in departments of study other than Arts. Several schools were likewise maintained by him, while he contributed liberally to the funds of the Doulatpur College and the Rungpur College and paid two lakhs of rupees each to the Benares Hindu University and the Bose Institute. The Calcutta University was the recipient of a large sum from him and he also paid Rs. 40,000 to the establishment of a Medical school at Berhampore. He sent students to England, Japan, Germany, America, etc., for industrial training and the association for the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, the Bengal Technical Institute, the Deaf and Dumb School, the School for Blind Children and others all received liberal donations from him. He paid the fees of fifty students of the Sanskrit College and spent more than Rs. 2,000 every year on impecunious students sitting for University examinations. A generous patron of literature, he employed Pundits to edit and translate Sanskrit books. The Sahitya Sammilan, a literary conference, which has now become an annual institution, was first held in 1910 under his auspices at the Kasimbazar Rajbati. The cause of suffering humanity always appealed to him. He helped liberally to establish the Albert Victor Hospital at Calcutta and himself established and maintained the Curzon Charitable Hospital at Kasimbazar. For the industrial development of his country, he did much and he was chosen to open the first Exhibition organised by the Congress at Calcutta. He was connected with almost every public movement in Bengal for the last thirty years. He was for over fifteen years the Chairman of the Berhampore Municipality and till the day of his death the Chairman of the Murshidabad District Board and President of the British Indian Association, and of various other political, social, educational and industrial institutions.

Indian industry and commerce have sustained a great loss in the premature death of Mr. Narotam Morarji Gokuldas of Bombay. He was born in the year 1877 at Porbander, and educated at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, on leaving which he joined the firm

of his father, Messrs. Gokuldas Morarji and Company, merchants and mill-agents. Here he soon made a name as a good businessman and came into prominence in the public life of Bombay by his active participation in its public movements, which had for their object the amelioration of the condition of the poor and relief of distress caused by floods and famine. He did not take an active part in politics or in the Municipal affairs of the city, but at the same time he was a silent supporter of the school of politics as represented by the Indian Liberals. In recognition of his services to the city he was appointed Sheriff of Bombay in the year 1912. Latterly he took great interest in the scout movement, and was District Commissioner of the Bombay Scouts Association. Last year he went to Genoa as the employers' representative at the Labour Conference. He rendered valuable service to Government on important

occasions, notably during the Great War when he helped Lord Willingdon (the then Governor of Bombay) in making the war loan a success in Bombay and the Presidency. He helped in a similar manner when the development loan was raised during the time of Lord Lloyd. As a partner in the firm of Messrs. Morarji Gokuldas and Company he brought the two mills under the management of the firm, to the highest state of prosperity. His greatest achievement, however, was the floating of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. He was a director of several joint stock companies in Bombay, including some of the Tata concerns. He was one of the original directors of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, who had made the floating of the company possible by taking up large blocks of shares. He was also a founder of the Morarji Cloth Market at Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

THE MONTH : FROM THE EDITOR'S ARM-CHAIR

WHEN as Prime Minister, Disraeli (then the Earl of Beaconsfield), attended the Berlin Congress of 1878, from which he was said to have brought 'peace with honour,' Bismark—the man of blood and iron—was evidently so impressed with him that he was reported to have said openly:—"The old Jew, that is the man!" Well, we have a real 'old Jew' in dear Lord Reading, for Disraeli had been baptized when quite a boy. But no one can say of Rufus Isaacs (metamorphosed into a peer of the Realm with five balls) what Bismark said justly of Disraeli—"that is the man." For profoundly disappointing as has been the whole debate (in the House of Lords) on Lord Irwin's announcement, the most disappointing contribution to it was the speech of the Israelite predecessor of the present Viceroy—who like good king George II is proud to declare that he "glories in the name of Britain!" In the course of a long, rambling and rhapsodical speech, he permitted himself to perpetrate as many egregious follies as he liked, taking advantage of the gross ignorance of his audience. Amongst other things, this is what he let himself say as the gist of his speech:—"I now approach the matter which is the gravest subject of issue. After the two proposals to which I have referred, a further proposal was made by the Secretary of State, which was that the reference should be made to the future of India in the language, or something approaching the language, used in the statement issued. The purport of it was to say that in the use of the term 'responsible government' in the famous declaration of 1917 and in the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919, when the new reforms were first declared and instituted, it was implicit in that term that the ultimate goal to be attained should be Dominion Status. I at once took objection to the use of the term. It is not that I or my party object to Dominion Status being regarded as the ideal which we eventually hope to reach in relation to the Government of India. In due course there are various stages through which,

undoubtedly, India will have to pass. That she may reach, first, responsible government, and then full responsible government and a Government which would really be formed very much on the basis of the Dominion Governments, will not be disputed by me. But I objected to the use of the term, because it never had been used hitherto in any formal document and it was a new departure fraught with considerable peril, and in no circumstances ought any reference to be made to a change of term indicating the ultimate status to be attained without waiting until after the Simon Commission had reported." It seems to us that 'the old Jew' is clearly deteriorating, or you would not expect an ex-Lord Chief-Justice of England and also ex-Viceroy to betray so crass an ignorance. Now, is it a fact that the term 'Dominion Status,' either as such or in its implication, "never had been used hitherto in any formal document and it was a new departure"? Is that the knowledge which this five-balled peer possesses (as the last great ex-Viceroy) of Indian public affairs? If that be so, he has justly merited the censure cast on him by Lord Ronaldshay (now the Marquis of Zetland) in the course of a letter to the *Times*, for his misinterpreting the terms of the Viceroy's announcement. It may be useful, therefore, to recall some only out of the many previous declarations of British policy in India, which have been made, since 1917, by British statesmen and public-men, which will show that there has been no difference of opinion in the interpretation of the declaration of 1917.

We shall quote but ten declarations, out of many, of the use of the term Dominion Status or its implication:—

Previous Declarations since 1919. (1) June 5, 1919. Mr. Montagu (on the second reading of Government of India Bill): "That pronouncement, (*viz.*, of August 20, 1917) was made in order to achieve what I believe is the only logical, the only possible, the only acceptable meaning of Empire and Democracy—namely, an opportunity to all nations flying the

Imperial flag to control their own destinies." (2) December 5, 1919. Sir Donald Maclean (on the third reading of the Government of India Bill): "I would say to those honourable friends of mine who are afraid of the future of India within the circle of the British Dominions across the seas this one thing: if we wish to retain India within the British Empire, we must not be afraid of development and change." (3) December 11, 1919. Lord Sinha (on the second reading of the Government of India Bill): "I have sufficient faith... to believe that the result of this measure will be to inaugurate a relationship between them which will enable India in due time to reach the full stature of a prosperous, loyal and grateful partner in the privileges and duties which belong to the great world family of the British Empire." (4) December 23, 1919. Extract from Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions: "For above all things, it is our will and pleasure that the plans laid by our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible government in British India, as an integral part of Our Empire, may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions." (5) February 9, 1921. The Duke of Connaught (at the inauguration of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly): "I am the bearer of a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is this:—For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy." (6) May 7th, 1921. Lord Reading (as Viceroy at Simla): "I need not assure you that I assumed my office actuated by the earnest desire that I might be privileged to contribute to the happy and peaceful development of that high destiny which awaits India, if she chooses to avail herself of it as a partner in the British Empire. The road is mapped out for her. An auspicious start has been made, and it rests with the King-Emperor's message as their guiding star." (7) February 26, 1924. Lord Olivier (in the House of Lords as Secretary of State for India): "His Majesty's Government, having themselves the same ultimate aim as the Indian Swaraj party, namely, the substitu-

tion of responsible Indian Dominion Government for the present admittedly transitional political constitution, are earnestly desirous of availing themselves in whatever may be found the best possible method of this manifest disposition towards effectual consultation." (8) April 13, 1924. The Under-Secretary of State for India (in the House of Commons): "The object of that (Government of India Act) was gradually to train the people of India in the art of self-government so that eventually they might, as I have suggested, take their place alongside the other free nations in the British Commonwealth." (9) March 18, 1927. Lord Birkenhead (as Secretary of State for India): "There was much that might be gladly offered and loyally accepted which would afford a precious promise of a constitution which might last for long, and might bring India really, and perhaps permanently, on equal terms as an honoured partner into that free community of British Dominions which men knew as the Empire." (10) May 24, 1927. Mr. Baldwin (as Prime Minister): "Some ten years ago it was declared that the aim of British policy was the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. Since then great strides towards that goal have been made, and in all the joint activities of the British Commonwealth of Nations India now plays her part, and in the fullness of time we look forward to seeing her in equal partnership with the Dominions." Such declarations could easily be multiplied but those already quoted are enough and to spare. Let others alone, what of Lord Reading's own observations quoted above?

But that is not all. As pointed out by a vigilant Indian correspondent of the *Times of India* the matter has (so to

A Privy Council Declaration. say) received judicial support from their lordships of the Privy Council, as would appear from the following

extract from a judgment of the late Viscount Haldane (sitting in collaboration with Lords Dunedin, Atkinson, Sumner and Salvesen) in respect of a criminal appeal from the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Nagpur, delivered on the 20th November, 1924 (Lord Birkenhead was then the Secretary of State for India):—"I should like to make this observation. The power

to entertain appeals here arises not from the relation of this Board to the court below, as a court of criminal appeal, but as the Privy Council advising the Sovereign with regard to the exercise of the prerogative. The prerogative is that remnant of the power of the Crown which remains to the Crown to interfere with tribunals of justice, which does not exist in this country at all; it has passed away in the historic development of the constitution; it used to exist and it does exist to some extent in the case of the Crown Colonies, because they are managed directly by the Crown through Ministers; but when one comes to self-governing dominions, I should be very sorry to say that even the principles of Dillet's case could be applied to the constitution of Canada. The constitution of Canada and of Australia, taking those as illustrations, have so developed that they are virtually self-governing dominions, and it is a question to my mind as to whether the principles of Dillet's case apply in the case of self-governing dominions. India is not yet in that state, but it has been publicly said that India is recognised by the Imperial Government as being on the way to becoming now self-governing dominion and, therefore, even with regard to India, it is with the utmost care that we should pronounce any proposition that, that disappearing fragment of the prerogative, of which I have spoken, remains. The Crown has to be extraordinarily cautious in asserting the survivor even of that very restricted prerogative which existed fifty years ago but which may not exist now." As justly remarked by the *Indian Social Reformer*: "Nothing could be more explicit than these words of the late Lord Haldane that Dominion Status has been the officially recognised goal for India, and Lord Irwin in his recent pronouncement merely emphasised the same thing once again so that the possibility of any other interpretation of the declaration of 1917 might be definitely excluded." And yet such is innate human prejudice and the inherent feeling of racial domination that Lord Reading felt no hesitation in indulging in the terminological inexactitude that the term Dominion Status, "never had been used hitherto in any formal document and it was a new departure." We may now understand why Lord Reading was such a miserable and hopeless failure as Viceroy.

If Lord Irwin is justly regarded as the embodiment of sincerity, no wonder that those who came in contact with Lord Reading found him to be the very personification of insincerity.

But that is not all. It is clear from Lord Reading's speech that—as rightly remarked

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by the *Hindu*—those for whom he had made himself the spokesman were strongly opposed to the idea of self-

government for this country materializing at any time till the Greek Kalends, and this view of the matter is fully borne out by the full text of the speech. Lord Reading was careful to point out that, all through his period in India, he himself had never used nor allowed to be used the words "Dominion Status," and he therefore declared that Lord Irwin had acted foolishly in uttering those dangerous words—utterly oblivious of the fact that the goal of India as equal partnership with the Dominions had been repeatedly affirmed, since 1919, in the many declarations quoted above. If these were not 'formal documents,' we do not know the meaning of the term. But Lord Reading calmly ignored them—including his own—and took Lord Irwin to task, simply because it suited him to do so. And what is his substantive objection to the use of "Dominion Status"? This can be best understood by putting together two passages in his speech—to which attention has been specifically drawn by the *Hindu*—side by side. The first reads:—"It is not that I, or my Party, object to Dominion Status being regarded as the ideal which we eventually hope to reach in relation to the Government of India. That in due course of time, through the various stages which India undoubtedly will have to pass, we may reach first responsible Government and then full responsible Government and a Government which would really be formed very much on the basis of Dominion Government, certainly will not be disputed by me." The second states that the considered view of himself and his party was: "The mere mention of Dominion Status at a moment immediately after the prolonged consultations of the Viceroy with the Government at home, after the discussion with the various political parties and with the knowledge that the Simon Commission had brought to an end the collection of evidence and was,

therefore, considering its report, would inevitably convey to the opinion of India that it was meant to confer Dominion Status, if not at once, at least within a very short period of time; that the effect of this statement was to bring the ultimate goal appreciably nearer and that it could never have been made but for that purpose." Now the first passage represents the Liberal vision of India's progress in at least three different stages—and an ideal. The stages are "responsible Government," "full responsible Government" and "a government which would really be formed very much on the basis of Dominion Governments." We agree with our esteemed contemporary that what it comes to, shorn of its circumlocution, is that Lord Reading and those who think like him do not contemplate any time when India might claim to be placed on a footing of absolute equality with the Dominions. It is, therefore, nothing short of a disingenuous jugglery with words to say, as Lord Reading did, that he regarded Dominion Status as the ideal which might some day be realised if all the obstacles thereto were removed by that time. He and his like are firmly persuaded that these obstacles will never be removed, because with them the wish is most emphatically father to the thought. That is why Lord Reading dreaded, as the second passage quoted above shows, the Government's mere reiteration of Dominion Status as the natural issue or goal for this country. Lord Reading and his like, not being sincere about the goal, naturally cannot tolerate the idea of negotiation with India and would make the Simon Commission the arbiter, though that involves them in the preposterous position that the Commission has a better understanding of the needs of the Indian situation than the Viceroy! Lord Reading has, by his performance, done a service neither to Britain nor to India, whose salt he has eaten. From such personal experience as we had of him when he was Viceroy, we are firmly persuaded that Lord Reading is a wholly unmoral man of the Lloyd George type. Not surprising then that the two are very great and life-long friends and that it was Mr. Lloyd George who inflicted upon India as Viceroy this Hebrew opportunist, whose administration wrought great mischief in the matter of Indian political progress. There can be no doubt now that it was he who put up Sir Malcolm

Hailey to advance the untenable plea that "responsible Government" was different from "Dominion Status." Speaking in the Legislative Assembly in 1924, this is what Sir Malcolm (who was then Home Member) was led to say, beyond all doubt at the instigation of Lord Reading:—"The pronouncement of August, 1917, spoke of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India. That is also the term used in the Royal Warrant of Instructions which adds that 'thus will India be fitted to take her place among other Dominions.' The term has its significance. We knew that was deliberately chosen. The Congress and the League had asked the Imperial Government to proclaim its intention to confer Self-Government on India at an early date and the Cabinet chose the present term. The expression used in the Act is a term of precision, conveying that the Executive in India would be responsible to the Indian Legislature instead of to the British Parliament. If you analyse the term 'full Dominion Self-Government' you will see that it is of somewhat wider extent, conveying that not only will the Executive be responsible to the Legislature, but the Legislature will in itself have the full powers which are typical of the modern Dominion. I say there is some difference of substance, because responsible Government is not necessarily incompatible with a legislature with limited or restricted powers. It may be that full Dominion Self-Government is the logical outcome of responsible Government, nay, it may be the inevitable and historical development of responsible Government, but it is a further and a final step." Now that this unconstitutional cobweb has been brushed away by the Irwin announcement, we can quite realise the discomfiture of and consequent annoyance on the part of Lord Reading. Hence his speech accompanied by the gnashing of teeth and the tearing of hair. Hence his joining hands with India's arch-enemy, Lord Birkenhead, who was justly exposed by Mr. Secretary Wedgwood Benn as now but a negligible quantity in British public affairs. We are afraid, however, that we have not yet seen the last of this Reading-Birkenhead combination against India. Let the country be fully prepared for their doing their worst in the way of

hindering India's progress towards Dominion Status.

Yet another serious split has occurred this month—next in importance only to

that of the National Congress itself, in 1920. It would

The Trade Union split. seem that we Indians—say what we may, or feel what we will—are incapable of carrying on any struggle—aye, even for freedom—for even a few years without yielding to the baneful influences of the fissaporous tendencies and the centrifugal factors which have played, and still do, so important a part in our life and activities. It were much to be wished that instead of devoting himself to the discovery of the means for the resuscitation of a frog's heart, a scientist of Sir Jagdis Bose's high reputation would apply himself to analyse the food we eat, the water we drink, and the earth we live upon to find out the exact nature of the germs underlying them, which evidently are capable of perpetually breeding disunity and dissension amongst all classes, communities and ranks in this unfortunate country, and of which the split in the Trade Union Congress is the latest example, in a long series. Naturally the newspapers have been full of it, but the best account of the trouble and the reasons therefor has been written by that exceedingly well-informed weekly, the *Servant of India* of Poona, and we shall utilise its impartial summary as an absolutely correct statement of the facts. For some years past, it writes, a struggle has been going on within the bosom of the All-India Trade Union Congress between the so-called "reformist" and communist elements, and it was only a question of time as to when a permanent cleavage between them would come about. In spite of the fact that most of the prominent leaders of the communist persuasion were disabled from being present at Nagpur to stampede the Congress into a position of subordination to Moscow, it was known for some time before the Congress actually was convened that a crisis would develop and that the final rupture would be consummated at this year's session. In his presidential address Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru vigorously advocated the boycott of the Whitley Commission. But the crucial point was whether he would counsel the affiliation of the Congress with the Communist International. On this point he was undecided. He was of

course quite convinced that the Second International was not the body to which the Congress should be affiliated. The Third International or the Communist International was organised in Moscow in 1919. It has 1,707,769 members, chiefly in Russia and Germany. The reasons advanced by Pandit Nehru for not affiliating the Trade Union Congress to the Second International will not bear examination. He ended by saying that the Congress should be independent of both bodies, establishing a contact with either as might be found useful. He might have told his audience, if he wanted to instruct them, that the Third International is committed to a programme of world revolution and then perhaps its objective as well as its method would have been disowned by them. As it was, the evasive speech of the President made little difference to the resolutions which the Congress adopted in the end. The resolutions for the affiliation to the League against Imperialism and to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, rejection of the proposal to hold an Asiatic Labour Congress, refusal to send delegations on behalf of Indian workers to the I.L.C., recognition of the Workers' Welfare League, all of which made it clear that the majority wanted to leave on the Congress the stamp of communism. In face of such resolutions it was impossible for the older leaders of the Labour movement like Mr. Joshi, Dewan Chaman Lall, Mr. Sanjiva Rao, and others to continue in the Congress any longer. They at once seceded, clearly explaining the reasons of their secession in statement. Not only have they come out of the Congress, but have decided on forming a separate body entirely free from communistic influences. The breach—as emphasised by the Poona journal—may be regrettable, but was in the circumstances inevitable. The anxiety of the older leaders to keep divers elements together is well-known, but they could not obviously allow the infant labour movement in this country to be tied to the chariot wheels of Moscow. The Labour movement is now split into two sections, and when both are at work for some time workers will be in a position to decide each one where his place is. The net result is that just as the great political organization of the country, the National Congress, split into two in 1920, so has the Trade Union Congress, nine years later. A

similar situation developed two years back in the Muslim League, of which two separate sessions were held—one in Calcutta and the other in Lahore. There are also now, we believe, two separate organizations of the Social Conference, one of which is held wherever the National Congress is in session, and the other where the Liberal Federation meets. All this does not betoken a development in our capacity for ruling ourselves, which we so much profess to desire. The present disruptive situation in the country—whether in the political organization (the National Congress), or the labour movement (the Trade Union Congress), or the social reform propaganda (the Social Conference) or communal associations (the Muslim League) or any other, is the direct result of the intense impulsiveness of a section of people (mostly of the younger generation) belonging to each of these bodies, due to their lacking a sense of discipline and a broader outlook on life. There was much wisdom in the teaching of Gokhale that a yard of joint progress achieved by all of us marching together is more advantageous than fifty yards, scoured over in advance of others, by one section only. But evidently such wisdom is at discount in these go ahead days, when a section of the people believe in running on by themselves like a steam-engine, leaving the passenger and goods vans standing stock-still at the last station!

The appointment of Mr. Sripad Balwant Tambe—Senior Member of the Executive Council, in Central Provinces and Berar—as the Acting Governor, has naturally evoked interest for more reasons than one. It is the second time an Indian has been so appointed, since the late Lord Sinha was the recipient of this honour in 1920—the elevation to the *gadi* of the Nawab of Chhatari on the sudden death of the Governor of the United Provinces being due to an act of God! In this respect—as rightly pointed out by the *Leader*—the Labour Government have done far better than their predecessors. Mr. Baldwin and Lord Birkenhead passed over Sir Abdur Rahim and appointed Sir John Kerr to officiate as Governor of Bengal; while, when Lord Peel was Secretary of State, the Nawab of Chhatari was similarly passed over in the United Provinces in favour of Mr. George Lambert, notwith-

standing the circumstance that the Nawab had acted a few months earlier by force of statute consequent on the sudden death of Sir Alexander Muddiman. We are glad that the Hon. Mr. Tambe has been treated with justice, and we congratulate him on his good luck. It may be doubted if when he left his party (the Swaraj) in 1925, to become a member of the Executive Council, he dreamed that he would one day be His Excellency, albeit for a short time only. This is, therefore, the first time that by deliberate choice the senior Indian Executive Councillor has been duly appointed to act as Governor. Political circles, therefore, find in this appointment a gesture symptomatic of the change in the political situation, which has come about by the adoption of the Montague policy by Mr. Wedgwood Benn. But quite apart from that Mr. Tambe himself has contributed another chapter to modern political history in India. He it was who, though returned on the Swarajist ticket of non-acceptance of office, agreed to his appointment as the Home Member, thereby creating considerable flutter in the Swarajist ranks at that time. Nor was it at all surprising. Before his acceptance of office under the crown, Mr. Tambe was President of the Central Provinces and Berar Legislative Council. His election to the Council, in 1925 was chiefly due to the Swarajist vote and there was, therefore, nothing unintelligible in the outcry of Congressmen that he had "betrayed" them by accepting office. That was a just criticism on his political somersault. Mr. Tambe, who is 54 years old, was educated first at a high school at Amraoti (Berar) and then at the Elphinstone College and the Government Law College, Bombay. He set up practice at Amraoti and had a successful career both at the Bar and the Municipal Committee. Seeking wider opportunities of service, he was elected a member of the local Legislative Council (1917-1920) and President of the Provincial Congress Committee. In pursuance of the Congress creed, he kept back from the Council in the period that followed (1920-23), but took an active part in getting the Council Boycott decision reversed. In 1924, after the new elections in which the Pro-Council Party of the Congress participated, he was elected President of the Council, which post he was occupying when he was invited to join the Government, which offer he but too

willingly accepted. Thus technically, Mr. Tambe—as a native of Berar—is not a British Indian, but the subject of the Nizam. So his appointment as the Acting Governor is interesting from various points of view—that of an Indian State subject rising to the position of a Governor of a British Indian Province, that of an avowed Swarajist (at one time voting for the abolition of the Ministry and the reduction of the Minister's salary to a couple of rupees) accepting a little later the highest-paid post next to that of the Governor in the province, and now figuring in the public mind—at any rate, the official mind—in the country as a symbol of a great change in the political atmosphere, as a result of the succession of the Labour Party to power, in administering the affairs of this country.

In the development of a people in the scale of nations, uniformity in cultural and social amenities plays a very important part. Under the

latter category comes perhaps sartorial uniformity. The present writer who witnessed the sartorial heterogeneity at the fourth session of the National Congress held in this very City of Allahabad, in 1888, has noticed with unfeigned satisfaction the movement towards partial uniformity in men's raiment to be worn on public occasions. But in this respect Indian ladies have a great advantage over men, since almost all of them, in every part of the country, wear the most suitable and picturesque costume which women could adopt, the *Sari*. Nor do provincial or communal differences matter, since in every province all Indian women—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian and others—now wear the *Sari*. In Bengal, in the seventies of the last century, Indian Christian women used unfortunately to affect the foreign style in clothes, and we have seen a portrait of the charming poetess (Toru Dutt) in the grotesque habiliment of the western women of that period, which made her look like an *ayah*. Fortunately all that is ancient history long since and the Indian Christian ladies to-day rival, if not excel, their Indian sisters of other communities in the use of beautifully designed *Saris*. The one exception to this general rule, however, has been so far the Indian women of Goa and the other Portuguese territories in this country, who still affect the hideous foreign style. We have, therefore, read with great interest as to how the Pope himself was brought round by a

patriotic Indian lady to accord his formal sanction to the use of the *Sari*, at the papal court at the Vatican. This lady is Mrs. Albuquerque, wife of the Assistant Official Assignee at Madras, who recently returned with her husband after a six months' stay in Europe. The lady, while staying in Rome, was anxious to have the privilege of having an audience with the Pope. Accordingly she communicated her desire to the special officer who agreed to obtain an audience provided Mrs. Albuquerque conformed to the dress regulations enjoined on lady visitors while in the presence of the Pope. The official went on to explain that it was entirely out of question for any lady in short skirt or sleeves to have an audience with His Holiness. The dress insisted upon was an all-black dress reaching right down to the heels, with upper garments of the same colour and buttoned up to the neck. As for the sleeves they should be long and cover the arms up to the wrist. Mrs. Albuquerque pointed out that as an Indian lady she was used to wearing only *Saris*, and unfortunately she did not happen to have an all-black *Sari* in the wardrobe. For the rest even her ordinary everyday dress would more than satisfy the rules of the Vatican. The official then went away promising to write to her and the following day she received a communication inviting the lady and her husband to a private audience with the Pope. His Holiness received them very graciously. We hope this notable incident will go a long way in popularising the use of the *Sari* even in Goa and other parts where Indian women still adopt foreign style in clothes.

In 1907 the Government of India printed an excellent descriptive list of some four

hundred of the leading libraries in British India. The *An Indian Library Directory*, Lahore Conference of Librarians, convened by the

Government, in 1918, proposed that a new census of libraries should be taken and that the Indian States should be included therein. Nothing however came out of this proposal. We are now glad to learn that the editor of the *Libraries, Museums and Art Galleries' Year-book*, who is compiling a *Library Encyclopaedia*, has asked Mr. Newton, M. Dutt, F. L. A. (Curator of Libraries, Central Library, Baroda), to act as his literary representative for India in connection with the forthcoming publication. In

attempting to collect the desired information, the need for a complete directory of the libraries in India has been borne upon Mr. Dutt. He, therefore, asks the secretaries of all the libraries in this country—public, educational, or departmental—to co-operate with him by sending him the latest statistics about the institutions in their charge, preferably using the questionnaire form which will be found in this issue of the *Hindustan Review*. It need hardly be stated that a library directory will be found of great service to libraries, authors, research workers, newspapers, publishers and booksellers; so that it is hoped that the response to Mr. Dutt's questionnaire will be a very hearty one.

In the section (of this issue of the *Hindustan Review*) headed "The Necrology of the Month," we have set out the careers of three eminent Indians

Three Notable Losses.

who have passed away recently. The Bombay Commercial magnate (Mr. Narotam Morarji Gokuldas) was a great industrialist and shipowner, the Bengal landed magnate (the Maharaja of Kasimbazar) was a philanthropist and a great patron of education, while the Prime Minister of Nepal—an account of whose interesting career, we have adapted from the *Pioneer*—was truly great alike as a civil administrator and a military commander. But withal, he was a man of modern type—highly cultured and much-travelled in Europe. Each of the three was remarkable in his own way, though they worked in different spheres of activities. It is to be hoped that the great examples they set and the success they achieved, each in his own walk of life, will not be lost upon the rising generation of their countrymen.

COMMUNICATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

MR. NEWTON MOHUN DUTT (Curator of Libraries, Baroda, Fellow of the Library Association, Vice-President, Indian Library Association, Hon. Foreign Correspondent, Royal Society of Literature, and Reader to H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad) sends the following communication:

Having been appointed Correspondent for India in connection with a *Library Encyclopedia* which is projected by Mr. A. J. Philip, M.B.E., editor of the *Librarian & Book World*, I desire to obtain the latest statistics about the libraries of this country—public, educational, departmental and private. I, therefore, request the readers of the *Hindustan Review* to be so good as to assist me in the matter, after reading this announcement in this widely-circulated magazine. The accompanying questionnaire will give them particulars of my requirements. I shall be glad if such of readers of this *Review*, as are in charge of libraries, will fill up the form and return it to me. If I receive sufficient informa-

tion, I propose eventually to print a separate directory of the libraries of this country.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name and full address of the library, with date of foundation.
2. Whether (a) public.....(b) school.....(c) college.....(d) university.....(e) belonging to a society or institute.....(f) private.....
3. Whether free for consultation.....for borrowing.....
4. Number of paying members.....free borrowers.....
5. Maximum.....and minimum.....annual subscription.
6. Number of periodicals taken.....
7. Total stock of books.....of MSS.....
8. Total number of books lent for home reading.....

9. Total number of books consulted on the premises (if a record is kept of same).....

10. Annual grants from Government Rs. from Municipality Rs. from Local Board Rs.

11. Annual expenditure—Books..... periodicals..... binding..... salaries of staff and menials..... miscellaneous..... TOTAL..

12. Has the library a building of its own?

13. Date of catalogue if printed.

14. Has the library any special activities, such as classes or lectures?

15. What are the main languages of the books in stock?

16. Names of secretary and librarian or either, with any academic distinctions and names of any books they may have written.

Secretary. Librarian.

17. The above statistics are for the year ending.....

18. Please send printed catalogue, book of rules, and latest report, if printed.

19. Please add any interesting information about the institution, its history its collection and its work.

II

Lady Emily Lutyens and Mrs. Hannah Sen send the following communication from the Lyceum Club, London: May we use the columns of your esteemed Journal to draw attention to the work of *The Indo-British Mutual Welfare League*, a non-political and non-sectarian organization of Indian and British men and women in London, linked together for greater friendship and mutual service. The Aims and Objects of the League, as set out in its official leaflet, are as follows:—(1) to promote a closer friendship between India and Britain through mutual understanding and service, (2) to help existing organizations in their work of social development, (3) to provide a bureau where accurate information on India may be obtained, (4) to assist Indian visitors to become acquainted with welfare work in Britain, (5) to hold lectures and conferences on social subjects of

interest to Britishers and Indians, and (6) to raise a Scholarship Fund for students. Recent events have awakened considerable British interest in Indian Problems, resulting in the growth of several societies and committees desirous of helping India on her path of social progress. The League as a strong central unit is endeavouring to affiliate all such existing organizations and has on its Committee representatives from the Women's Indian Association (Mrs. D. Jinarajadasa), British Commonwealth League (Mrs. Rama Rau), Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association for the spread of Women's Institutes (Mrs. Matthai), The Ladies' Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Y.M.C.A. (Mrs. M. Palit), etc. The spirit animating the League is one of mutual responsibility with a willingness to learn rather than a wish to dictate. In placing these facts and avenues for co-operation before your public, we invite response from your readers and would welcome any suggestions and criticisms.

III

THE 'HINDUSTAN REVIEW' AS OTHERS SEE US.

The *Hindustan Review* has, for three decades, been one of the most progressive and renovating forces in the political and the literary life of India. It was founded by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, in 1900, and continued to be one of the best monthly journals in the country. On account of Mr. Sinha's appointment as a Member of the Bihar Executive Council, the *Review* had for the last seven years been published as a quarterly; but from July last, it has, as usual, been published as a monthly under the editorship of Mr. Sinha.

The July, August, September, October and November issues of the *Review*, constitute one of the most powerful and reinvigorating assets of journalistic literature and carry about them a halo of literary excellence and consecration to the highest ideals of public life and conduct, that are truly reminiscent of the cloistered seclusion of a sincere religious devotee and the exhilarating serenity of a literary academy. Without disparagement to any of the monthly magazines published in our country, we may say, without

the slightest fear of contradiction or the attribution of mawkish sentimentality, that a cursory perusal of the issues of the *Review* before us, leaves an indelible impression on the reader's mind, that, in the realm of literature as in those of art and science, the *Hindustan Review* is one of the most progressive and renovating forces in the literary and the political life of India. The variety of the subjects dealt with and the vast erudition brought to bear upon the discussion of those subjects is visualised by the reader.

As for the discussion of the political subjects, we doubt even if Mahatmajī could expound his principles of non-co-operation and civil disobedience more unassailably than is done in the pages of the *Hindustan Review*. Ranging from intransigent idealism to sophistry and casuistry, every shade of political thought in the country is portrayed in the pages of the *Review* in incomparably dispassionate terms, absolutely divested of any tinge of personal or party insinuation or innuendo. In illustration of what is stated above, let us take the masterly exposition of the principle of non-co-operation by Srijut Rajendra Prasad, M. A., whose articles have rightly

been given the first place in two issues of the *Review*. One would have expected nothing but intransigent idealism in the article under reference. But we are happily disillusioned when we find Srijut Rajendra Prasad presenting his case with a logical acumen and a consummate insight into the practical implications of the propositions which he enunciates, that it would really make a trained logician stare and gasp for breath.

On the top of all comes the retrospect of the *Hindustan Review's* thirty years' work, given by its talented editor. Mr. Sinha has, so to speak, distilled, in his retrospect, a whole thesis into a single phrase. The inimitable raciness of diction, mastery of detail, and fervour of patriotism, writ large in every syllable of the retrospect, shows that Mr. Sinha stands for the highest ideals of political life and conduct. We do not mean to suggest that we see eye to eye with all that is written in the issues of the *Review* before us. That would mean intellectual sterility and mental stagnation. But slight differences apart, the *Hindustan Review* is one of the most patriotic monthly magazines in the country. —The *Daily News* (Madras).





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