

THE Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	313
ARTICLES :—	
Bombay Council and Bookmakers	316
Mr. Statham's Report on Elementary Education in Madras. By Prof. V. N. Godbole, M.A.	317
REVIEWS :—	
In China. By Dr. Lim Boon Keng, Ph.D.	318
Indian States. By Prof. G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B.	320
Religion and Sex. By V. Venkatasubbaiya	322
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Mr. Sastri's Durban Speech	322
BOOKS RECEIVED	324

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

RAINS have stopped and floods are subsiding; communication has been restored and Gujar & Kathiawad Flood Relief. the railway connection has been re-established. It is a mercy that the loss of life was not much more than it actually was. The damage to property and crops on the other hand has been far more extensive than anybody was prepared for and there is utter desolation in some parts. Whole villages have been washed away and thousands of people rendered homeless and destitute. In Baroda alone the number of houses wholly or partially destroyed is estimated at 4500! But while the damage in urban parts, has been considerable, it is the agriculturist in the village who has been most hard hit, having lost his cattle, seeds, crops and all. For him to regain his pre-flood position in the near future is beyond human means; but much can surely be done to set him on his feet again. To this end it is necessary that he should be immediately supplied with seeds for resowing his crops and loans for purchase of cattle, which will have to be imported from other provinces. As most of the agriculturists in rural parts are at present without homes, they should be afforded all possible facilities like the supply of timber and loans through co-operative banks for that purpose. These measures appear to be urgently necessary and if the situation is not to be allowed to grow hopeless, no time should be lost in putting them into effect. It is some consolation that relief measures were promptly organised and for days past official and non-official agencies have been ceaselessly at work. Government have authorised Collectors of the affected districts to spend on gratuitous relief as much as they think necessary in anticipation of sanction and the Collectors of Ahmedabad and Kaira have each so far distributed Rs. 20,000 and the Collector of Broach Rs. 5,000. Tagai loans are also being arranged. His Excellency the Governor is personally in touch with the relief operations and is ready at short notice to make himself useful in any way he can. He presided over the Poona public meeting on the 6th inst. when about Rs. 36,000 were collected, which is quite a good collection for Poona. Poona ladies are also anxious to do their bit and are meeting on the 12th inst. with Lady Chunilal Mehta in the chair. A suggestion was made that the Governor should himself proceed to Gujarat. The suggestion was no doubt well-meant; but whatever good by way of addition to the relief fund because of the Governor's personal appeal it may bring, the loss due to the diversion of the officials from the more urgent work of relief would be irreparable. Our President, Mr. Devadhar, has gone to the affected parts, leaving Mr. Deole in charge of the office at Bombay. Members at different centres have been asked to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Gujarat, if necessary and funds have been started at places where the Society has its branches. The Congress volunteers are doing good work and Ahmedabad has contributed Rs. 6 lakhs for purposes of relief. The Central Fund in Bombay is also progressing and now stands at a little in excess of Rs. 3 lakhs.

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THE conviction of the author of an article entitled "A Trip to Hell" in the *Kisala-i-Vartaman* should set at rest the question, raised by Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's judgment in a similar case, whether any further legislation was needed to punish writings in which founders of religion were reviled in foul language. In such cases of course the question is not whether the persons attacked are lowered in the estimation of the public or whether an injury is done to their reputation, but only whether the effect of such writings on the community at large or on sections of them is such as to produce feelings of hatred or contempt towards any class of the population. In this particular case there could be no doubt whatever that the article in question would have such a result and the author of the article must have deliberately written it with that purpose. The convicting Judge has made it clear that "there is no evidence of any sort showing that the promoters of the Shudhi and Sangathan movements were in any way connected with the two accused or with this article," but, as he says, that the writer was not voicing the views of any organized body or community, should make no difference to the guilt of the writer himself. He certainly wrote, and presumably meant to write, in such a way as to outrage the religious feelings of the Muhammadans and as such he was certainly punishable under Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code. When such scurrilous attacks on personages held sacred by sections of the people can be punished under this section as causing hatred between class and class, there is no need apparently to make such attacks *qua* attacks illegal. That is to say, the moral of this particular case would seem to be that there is no need to have

on our statute book a specific Balthemy Law such as exists in other countries. The sentence passed in this case is criticised in certain quarters as being too severe, but when the antecedents of the writer of the article are taken into consideration, viz. that, as editor of another periodical he had received warnings, the sentence actually imposed does not appear to us to be too heavy. It was in the highest degree necessary to make an example of writings which indulge in scurrility.

* * *

CONFIRMATION of our interpretation of the White Paper of 14th July is afforded by the "A Betrays!" "uneasiness" expressed by Mr. J. H. Thomas, we should say even by Mr. Thomas, in the debate on the Colonial Office Vote regarding the change of policy reflected in the White Paper and Mr. Amery's laboured defence. As the Hansard for the 19th July, when the debate took place, has, however, not yet arrived in this country, we defer further comment on this; but the remarks made by the East African press bear eloquent testimony to the fact that this new White Paper embodies a complete reversal of the Devonshire White Paper. *The East African Standard* of 21st ult. says: "The noteworthy difference between the principles contained in the White Paper of 1923 and that which has followed it just four years later, is the willingness, now expressed by the British Government as the author of both declarations of policy, to share the responsibility of trusteeship with the immigrant communities in East Africa. . . . Sound thinking people in East Africa have never objected to the assumption by the Imperial Government of the final responsibility as trustees of the African, but they have objected to the suggestion that the centralisation of that responsibility in London implied that, or was essential because, the community on the spot in Africa was unfitted to exercise it. . . . We must be grateful to the Imperial Government for their belief in the honesty of our intention and effort when they offer to share with us so great a privilege and responsibility. The mere fact of recognition of the partnership is of immense moral value to East Africa. What we shall, however, expect is the opportunity effectively to exercise our responsibility as a community." The effective exercise of the responsibility will come when the white settlers obtain self-government, and the White Paper issued last week has anyhow made them confident that they will obtain it at no distant time. *The Standard* says: "Although the absence of references in official speeches in England to the specific question of an Elected (European) Majority suggested at first sight that Sir Edward Grigg's mission in that connexion had not been successful," it is really successful in that the admission of the white planters to native trusteeship involves a "recognition of the identification of the interests of colonists and residents in the prosperity of the various countries." And if this community of interests of immigrants and aboriginal residents is once assumed, what conceivable objection can there be to a grant of self-government to the Colony, even if it should result in the wielding of power exclusively by the (white) immigrant community?

* * *

SINCE Lord Birkenhead will have the nomination of one member of the East African Commission, names are being recommended. We hope and trust that this member will be an Indian. The questions that will be discussed by the Commission will be mainly economic, as is indeed clear from the fact that Sir Hilton Young will be at its head. The Indian member also should, therefore, be a financial expert, and the name that would first sug-

gest itself to any one will be that of Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, who has also large interests in that region. He could not accept membership of the Round Table Conference at Capetown last year because of the Currency Bill that was then pending; but it is hoped he will be able to serve on this Commission, now that the Reserve Bank Bill will be out of the way by the time the Commission starts on its work. If, however, he is not available, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla would appear to us to be the best substitute. His Highness the Aga Khan's name too has been suggested. His would be an excellent choice in so far as political questions are concerned if he could be persuaded to accept nomination. Other names that suggest themselves to us are those of Mr. Rangachariar, who was a member of the Committee that discussed the subject of Kenya with the Colonial Office in London, and Mr Phadke, who is a member of the Executive Council of Kenya. In the hands of anyone of these men the interests of the Indian community would be safe, and we hope that the Government of India's choice will fall on some one of these.

* * *

IN his speech summarised elsewhere, Mr. Sastri dis-claimed his desire to go beyond the social and economic amelioration of the Indian community to a demand for political rights. In order to understand why such a disclaimer became necessary we should know that the Agreement was attacked in South Africa on the ground that the concessions made therein would be made a stepping-stone to the acquisition of the State and Union franchise, for this, the opponents of Indian claims maintain, is, as Mr. Marwick put it, "the logical end" of the policy embodied in the Agreement. "There is no doubt," Mr. Marwick said, "that within a measurable period the Indians who avail themselves of the Minister's facilities for education and the purchase of land will be demanding the franchise on the ground of educational attainments and because of their being of the land-owning class. The Minister must tell us whether he will accede to the demand for the franchise when it is made. As far as we in Natal are concerned, the enfranchisement of the Indians within ten years would mean an end to the predominance of European ideals in the representation of that province. We shall find Indians dominating elections and Natal as a province would return a number of members representing the Indian electors." When the Agreement itself is in peril on account of anti-Asiatic attacks, Mr. Sastri who as the Government of India's agent could in no case go beyond the Agreement, had naturally to say that he as a practical politician would confine his immediate objective to the implementing of the Agreement. Mr. Sastri, however, took care to say that neither he nor the Government of India could limit, even if they would, the political ambitions of Indians abroad, who in their own country are aspiring soon to attain to dominion status.

* * *

PEOPLE in India will be pleased to see the complimentary references made to Mr. Andrews' Messrs. Sastri and Andrews by the Great Services. Minister of the Interior, Dr. Malan, in his speech on the second reading of the Indian Relief Bill. The references to Mr. Sastri were cabled to this country by Mr. Andrews, but those to himself as is always his wont, Mr. Andrews kept back. Said Dr. Malan: "I can assure the House that the Government of India in their co-operation with us is certainly fulfilling all our expectations. I do not think there is any reason to complain about their goodwill and co-operation in this matter. The

have sent over to us as their representative certainly one of the most distinguished men in India and the British Empire and I for my part, and I think the Government with me, are very glad Mr. Sastri is coming, because he took a very prominent part in the negotiations leading up to this Agreement, and he knows the spirit and shares the spirit and knows the intention of the Conference, and I think no better selection could have been made than Mr. Sastri. Everybody who knows Mr. Sastri knows that he is a man who is straightforward and honest as certainly few persons whom I have ever come in contact with. I have great hopes of hearty co-operation in the carrying out of this Agreement when he is in South Africa. I am very glad to say, too, that we have not only the hearty co-operation of the Government of India in this scheme of assisted emigration, but we are getting more and more, if not the co-operation, goodwill, of the Indian community in South Africa. That means a great deal to us, and I think I ought to state on this occasion that we are very much indebted, as far as that is concerned, to the Rev. Andrews, a man who is trusted absolutely by the Indian community and who remained in the country and has done his best in various parts of the Union to explain the Agreement to the Indian community and to ask them for their goodwill and their co-operation with us." We hope Mr. Andrews will be accorded a rousing reception on his coming home next week.

* * *

THE Central Provinces promise to be the first among our provinces to initiate, on however small a scale, an experiment in prohibition. In March last the Legislative Council demanded the closure from beginning of next year of all liquor shops numbering only 20 in the rural parts of the Damoh district; and in opening the present session of the Council the Governor made the very welcome announcement that the wishes of the Council would be respected. So far as one can see, the district is favourably situated for the working of the experiment, having a very low consumption and one that is steadily diminishing. In 1916 it was 7,749 gallons and the number of shops 36. Last year's consumption in urban areas was 734'4 gallons and in rural 549'3 gallons. This year in January and February it was respectively 40 and 39 gallons respectively in urban parts and 56 and 65 in rural parts. It should be noted that the experiment relates only to country liquor, and will not be extended to foreign liquor. But those who know something of the habits of the people living in rural parts of the district feel confident that the disappearance of country liquor will not mean added patronage to liquors of foreign manufacture. It is to be hoped that facts will not belie this confidence in the sobriety of the people.

The C. P. Government also propose to appoint an officer on the special duty of working up compulsory education schemes in consultation with local bodies desiring to go in for it. This is expected to result in a saving of time, a good deal of which is now wasted in correspondence between them and the Government. Here is something which other provinces may copy with benefit. The Governor also bespoke the Council's co-operation in softening the present strained relations between the Marathi and Hindi speaking areas. The problem is apparently as serious as the Hindu-Muslim or the Brahman-Non-Brahman problem; and the Governor's appeal to the Councillors not to approach it from the narrow communalistic or territorial point of view, but as citizens of a united Indian nation, deserves cordial response from all those who have the true interests of the country at heart.

* * *

THERE was a motion before the Council in its last session for a committee to go into the system of primary and secondary education with a view to reorganise it so as to adjust it to present-day requirements. In view of the fact that the question of primary education was thoroughly gone into by the Chandavarkar Committee only five years ago and that of higher education by the University Reforms Committee about two years ago, some educationists look upon the proposed inquiry as somewhat superfluous. The Education Minister, Hon. Dewsn Bahadur Harilal Desai, however feels that such an inquiry would be of great help in many ways and readily accepted the resolution. And though the discussion on the resolution had to be postponed till the next session, the inquiry will in all probability have been set on foot before the Council meets again in October. An attempt was also made to raise a debate on the manner in which the Textile Tariff Board's report had been dealt with by the Government of India; but owing to shortness of time at the Council's disposal no full-dress debate was possible; but the Government readily came to the rescue of mill-owners by obligingly coming forward to send on to the Central Government that day's proceedings. It is a great pity that, mainly owing to the floods in Gujerat, Kathiawar and Sind necessitating the absence of a number of M. L. C.s, the time, viz. 9 days, allotted to non-official business, could be only partially utilised. This is all the more deplorable, because so little time falls to the lot of private business.

* * *

IT is Great Britain's glory that she has afforded safe asylum to foreigners who owing to religious or political persecution were forced to leave their country.

This, according to Lord Haldane, was "a sacred and fundamental tenet of our constitution repeated carefully from time to time." The new Aliens Bill, which has passed the Lords and for which a safe passage may be forecasted in the present House of Commons, however gives the go-by to this fundamental feature of the English constitution. Under it the authorities will enjoy the power to exclude and even deport aliens whom they may regard as undesirable. But by far the most surprising part of it is that the Bill abolishes the right to appeal against exclusion by an immigration officer and the right to appeal against deportation, which have been so far allowed to the aggrieved party. In the opinion of the *Manchester Guardian*, which we heartily endorse, "to eliminate the possibility of appeal is to increase the likelihood of inflicting unmerited hardship and injustice." But there are other equally objectionable features of the Bill, which subjects aliens to close control once they are allowed to enter, makes registration and notification compulsory, exposes them to annoying police interference and virtually places them at the mercy of those in authority. The Bill is thus utterly un-English and a "child of the mentality which during the war saw an enemy in every alien." It is strange that while the so-called police States like Prussia should be adopting a very liberal attitude towards foreigners, England should be going back upon her best traditions and almost shutting her door in their face. If it is argued that this step has been dictated by considerations of reducing unemployment, the experience of Berlin and Vienna which harbour innumerable foreigners does not appear to lend any support to that contention. The Bill thus constitutes an utterly unjustifiable encroachment upon the freedom of access to and safety of asylum in England so long enjoyed by foreigners and deserves to be strongly condemned.

BOMBAY COUNCIL AND BOOKMAKERS.

LAST week the local Legislative Council spent the greater part of two precious days in discussing Race-gambling and Bookmakers, at a time when the Gujarat and Sindh Members were anxious to go back to their districts which were being devastated by unparalleled floods. The result, however, of the debate must be considered satisfactory, since the ingenious attempt of an English Member to reintroduce Bookmakers on the Race-Course and to pass it off as a measure for the *prevention* of gambling was defeated and the Bill thrown out at the first reading by an overwhelming vote of the Legislative Council. For this result the Indian elected members of the Council, who voted to a man against the Bill, are to be congratulated. The speeches of Mr. Nariman, Mr. Chandrachud, Mr. Pradhan, Mr. Angadi, and Mr. Shaikh were particularly valuable contributions to the debate.

We wish we could pay a similar compliment to the Government. They announced their neutrality, it is true, but the freedom of voting given at the same time to the official members was regarded as nullifying this profession of neutrality. Nor did the Home Member's attempt to belittle the very clear assurances given by Lord Sydenham's Government in 1912 suggest that the present Government were indifferent to, much less opposed to, the passing of the Bill. It is not then surprising that their unfortunate attitude came in for considerable unfavourable criticism.

Mr. Addyman protested that he did not want to do anything that might lead to increase of gambling on the Turf, but beyond asserting that the main purpose of his Bill was, by allowing the Club to set up a number of licensed book-makers, to acquire a hold over surreptitious operators on the Course, and even to check bucket-shops outside, he did not give any ground for such an anticipation. The Home Member, while he feebly echoed Mr. Addyman's assertion regarding the existence of bucket-shops, was careful not to say with him that the Police were powerless to, or had failed to, deal with irregular operators on the Course or with bucket shops outside it. He did not indicate that Government intended to bring in any measure for increasing the powers of the Police, nor could he have said so, seeing that only as recently as 1919 the Act for the Prevention of Gambling had been amended in that direction, and "one of the two main objects of the amendment was to make it clear that betting offices, or as they are popularly known, bucket-shops, were within the purview of the Act of 1887, while the second object was to suppress betting in streets and other public places." The Home Member did not in so many words say that Government had had any strong grounds to depart from the principle and policy laid down for "future Governments" in 1912, but he claimed for the present Government the liberty of departing from that policy. This sounds more like an academic position than a reasoned argument. Let it be observed, in passing,

that the Hon. Mr. Hotson was Private Secretary to the then Governor, Lord Sydenham, in 1912, and was presumably in accord with his chief and the then Members of Government who all firmly supported the Act of 1912. He could therefore have easily stated, as he was challenged by various speakers to do, what had transpired since 1912 to compel the present Government to waver in their opposition to the Bill before the Council. The Hon. Mr. Hotson had however nothing to say on this point. We are therefore justified in concluding that the change of policy, if it was contemplated, was so ill-judged as to support the charge of a breach of pledge brought against Government by some of the speakers. We feel sure the lesson of this episode will not be lost on the present Government. They cannot minimise, as they attempted to do on this occasion, the binding force of a promise made by a previous Governor or Government, when particularly no vital cause exists for such a serious step as that of departing from a clear engagement.

That the present Government, however, does not realise its responsibility in regard to Race-Course gambling as keenly as was done by Lord Sydenham's Government is shown by the answers given by the Home Member to some of Mr. Shivdasani's questions on the subject. It is and has been clearly the duty of Government to keep a watch on totalizator-betting both for the purposes of the license to be issued to the Turf Club from year to year and of the Betting Tax. For if the betting assumed such proportions as to require further checks, it is the duty of Government to impose such checks. There is a general complaint both among the public and among race-goers that betting on the totalizator has increased by leaps and bounds since 1912, so as almost to defeat the purpose of allowing the totalizator while book-makers were abolished. But Government replied to Mr. Shivdasani that they could not furnish the figures of betting on the totalizator, still the Home Member asserted that for several years past it has been on the decrease, not on the increase. How could he say so if he had not the figures? It is a strange result of the amendment of the Gambling Act in 1922 that since bets on the totalizator are now protected in the case of licensed race-courses, Government do not now consider it their business to attempt to prevent the growth of such betting. The time has therefore now come to bring home to Government their duty in this respect. The power given to them under the Act of 1912 to license race-courses with appropriate conditions and restrictions can only be continued if Government acknowledge their duty of watching the betting and of providing suitable checks from time to time, to prevent the excessive growth of such gambling. We understand that a Bill to amend the Race Course Licensing Act in these directions is under preparation, and Government have only to thank themselves if it results in restricting their powers under that Act. The necessity for tightening the conditions regarding totalizator-betting and reducing the number of race meetings and the attractions so lavishly provi-

ded by the Turf Club to tempt the public was brought to the notice of Government over two years ago by the Deccan Sabha, the Poona Missionary Conference of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon and the Bombay Municipal Corporation. But no action was taken by Government on their representations beyond the closing of the third enclosure. It therefore has now become necessary for the Legislative Council itself to impose additional restrictions on race-course betting by amending the Act.

We have only one word more to say regarding the improper attack made by Mr. Addyman on this paper in respect of the article in our issue of the 28th July. A reprint of the article was furnished to the members of the Council and seems to have made a good impression on them. This seems to have annoyed Mr. Addyman, but we cannot see that the references to him personally in that article or to the Englishman's addiction to betting in his country, which was so fully established before the Parliamentary Committee on Betting in 1923, can reasonably be stigmatised as "hitting below the belt." We would advise Mr. Addyman to be prepared for public criticism of his public acts. We fully accept his assurance that he is not for the increase of race-course gambling, and we are glad to hear of his social welfare activities, but he singularly misjudged his duty, when he brought the present Bill before the Council in the teeth of Indian public opinion.

We welcome the more active participation of English non-official members in the business of the Legislative Council, but surely they have better things to do in the interest of the Indian people among whom they live than to do anything which diminishes the latter's trust in the word of the English Government or provides them with one more vice in addition to those by which they are already being ruined.

MR. STATHAM'S REPORT ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MADRAS.

ALLOWING for a few differences in culture and environment the educational needs of the major provinces in India are pretty much the same. A scheme for the development of primary education in Madras is bound to have some lessons for us in this presidency. A comparison of Madras with other provinces reveals the fact that it tops the list of Indian provinces in the matter of primary education, with the largest percentage of boys and girls in elementary schools. The pace of progress however is very slow and the ultimate goal of the complete extinction of illiteracy seems to be as far as ever. The Report consequently addresses itself to the task of consolidating and expanding primary education in all possible ways. According to Mr. Statham, the main defects of the present system are the wastage between standard and standard, inefficient teaching and want of a carefully planned programme. The inefficient teaching is largely attributed to the predominance of single-teacher schools having to in-

struct 60 and in some cases 90 pupils, the money spent on which is regarded as practically wasted. The Report regards the District Educational Councils to have failed completely partly owing to their having no control over education and none over finance either and recommends that they should be abolished. The most suitable agency taking the place of these Councils will be the Taluk boards who should be entrusted with the complete control of primary education or if Taluk boards are abolished the District Local Boards. The capacity of these Boards however to adopt a constructive programme and to take effective steps to further compulsory education is mistrusted and it is definitely suggested that the future policy should be enunciated and largely directed by the officers of the Education Department. With this view a School Committee should be constituted in every District Board with 3 ex-officio members who are Government officers, 6 elected representatives of the District Boards and 3 nominated members and a similar constitution is recommended for Municipalities. This School Committee should have the power of payment of all grants-in-aid, but will not have the power to grant recognition to primary schools. We think this is a retrograde proposal. A committee dominated by three superior officers of the Government cannot be expected to develop much initiative and display independence of judgment. After having obtained the right of electing their own non-official presidents it would be suicidal for local bodies to acquiesce in the compulsory presence of three high-grade officials on their school-committees. Unfortunately it is too true that School Committees of local bodies contain very few experts and intelligent advisers and are erratic in their actions. All the same the proposal to include three superior officers would be a repetition of the officializing tactics of a by-gone age. As a compromise we would suggest that the District Educational Officer alone should be an ex-officio member of the District School Committee and we would even concede to him the right to vote at the meetings.

We endorse the proposal of the Report to hand over the work of inspection to the Education Department which can more easily secure the expert agency for this important work and the allied proposal to appoint a whole time officer for supervising primary education. This proposal is eminently suited to ensure a continuous and energetic pursuit of the ideal of universal literacy. Even in Bombay the present administration of primary education is slipshod and half-hearted and a whole time officer in charge of primary education would quicken the pace. The Report is very keen on compulsion and believes that sooner or later we shall have to adopt it. In this connection the attitude of those who oppose the right of Government to apply compulsion is criticised as illogical. "A local body which refuses to introduce compulsion when conditions are such that compulsion is obviously essential is itself destroying the educative value of Local Self-Government." It is quite true that without compulsion no general programme of expansion of primary education can be

successfully worked and no amount of money spent will completely remove illiteracy. We in Bombay can feel sympathy for this enthusiasm for compulsion, seeing as we do that hardly any local body has introduced compulsion in spite of the facilities afforded by the Act of 1923. But after all, the financial difficulties will always act as chasteners and for the present at least we must regard compulsion as beyond the bounds of practical politics.

The Report does well to insist on the important truth that it is not multiplicity of schools that indicates progress but increased efficiency and it goes so far as to recommend that unnecessary schools should be closed and inefficient schools should be either mended or ended. A definite programme of reconstruction is to be supplied by the District Educational Officer and Inspectress of schools, which would guide and assist the school-boards in arriving at definite lines of action. One important duty of the District Inspector in this connection would be a careful investigation of the number of children of school-going age who are absent from school and to employ persuasion by personal interviews with the parents. Parents' societies which would induce parents to take a pledge to keep their children at school in the primary stage have been tried with success in the Punjab and ought to be copied by other provinces.

The percentage of trained teachers to the total number of teachers is 50; this compares favourably with Bombay which has got only 48·7 p.c. trained teachers. The Report however admits that the provision of a large number of trained teachers and the payment of higher wages can only be achieved with great difficulty. The most disquieting feature of the progress during recent years is that the rate of expansion of the number of scholars has not appreciably exceeded the rate of expansion of the number of institutions. We have the same situation in Bombay where between 1923-24 and 1924-25 the number of schools increased by 2·8 p.c. and the number of pupils by 2·7 p.c. With regard to the curriculum the Report inculcates the high ideal of regarding the village-school as the fountain-head of rural welfare. All the lessons should react on the life of the village. The primary object of the expansion of elementary education is described as the amelioration of the village-life. This is a noble ideal; but the crux of the problem is the securing of a teacher who would be capable of realizing all this for a pittance of Rs. 25 a month.

Previous attempts at arriving at an ultimate estimate of the cost of bringing all children of school-going age are deprecated as producing inaction by creating the impression that the ultimate goal is very far off. For the present it is enough if data are collected for preparing an estimate and the Report would not commit the Government to undertake definite financial liabilities. After submission of the first set of programmes by experts in the Education Department, the Government will be in a position to estimate its liabilities for a given period and will withhold parts of the programme if the finances do not permit their realization. Amongst the general

principles governing contributions from the State, on applicable to Bombay as well as the rest of India is that local bodies must spend a definite minimum percentage of their revenues on primary education before they become entitled for a contribution from provincial revenues. This would constitute a healthy check to parasitism and cultivate self-respect and a spirit of self-help. Some of the estimates of additional costs required for an expansion of primary education are worth noting. If the grant-in-aid to each primary school is increased by Rs. 5 the additional cost would come to nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs; if all the single-teacher schools are given one teacher in addition, the increased cost would amount to Rs. 60 lakhs with teachers on Rs. 25 a month; even if half of this were borne by local boards the State will have to supply Rs. 30 lakhs annually.

According to the Report the education of the girls is at the moment more important than the education of boys. It recommends a special survey of the whole field of women's education and a separate consideration of that aspect of the problem. In view of the prejudice against co-education a widely-developed system on this basis is believed as likely to retard the progress of girls' education. The difficulties in Madras are akin to those in this presidency; the paucity of unmarried women teachers and the unwillingness of Government to be directly responsible for primary teaching of girls. The solution is to expand more slowly but more thoroughly; a small number of well-managed separate schools for girls being better than a number of co-education schools which are fought shy of by parents. The one great handicap from which we are free in Bombay is the impossibility of a combined staff of men and women in the same school which might solve some of the difficulties. The most practical course for the present is to have separate schools for girls, only in areas where the total number of boys and girls is large enough to necessitate more than one teacher per standard.

V. N. GODBOLE.

REVIEWS.

IN CHINA.

IN CHINA. By ABEL BONNARD. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1926. 8¾ × 5½. pp. viii, 361. 15s.

THIS most interesting volume is a translation of "En Chine 1920-1921" by V. Lucas and faithfully represents the French opinions relating to China and Far Eastern politics. While it may be regarded as an up-to-date philosophic review of the present state of China by a mature French scholar, who is always as profound as he is frank, the book may be considered as the best specimen of a modern traveller's journal of his experiences, if we remember that the author, unlike the majority of those who have written on the perplexing and baffling problems of politics, economics and sociology of the Far East starts thoroughly equipped with profound insight and extensive acquaintance with the literature of the terrain in all its relations, and realising to the full

that "to arrive is to gain a whole world but it is also to risk losing one . . ."

The first impression of an expert who is sincere, is always an opinion of real value. Says our guide:—"At the first glance, however, it is easy to decide that one is dealing with an untouched and impenetrable world here . . . a country which never surrenders its soul, which buries its secrets deeply, immovably, . . . difficult, difficult China." From these chances of the average globe trotter to write wisely or usefully on China may therefore be easily judged. A careful perusal of M. Bonnard's journal convinces one that he did not penetrate the veil.

The book is difficult to review as it deals with so many subjects and questions, met with in so many places. However to those who have never visited China and who desire to gain a knowledge of the present condition of affairs in that much convulsed land, now in the very glare of the limelight—possibly qualifying for the seat of Armageddon—no work in one single volume can afford better and sounder information couched in the most eloquent and elegant language so characteristic of French authors. M. Bonnard is a good guide, generally entertaining, full of poetry and imagination, kindly communicative of his own soul, humorous and often sarcastic, and always M. Bonnard is an outspoken patriotic Frenchman, when it comes to a question of the propagation of the French language in China or the maintenance of the intellectual prestige of the French, once so grandly and proudly held by the Jesuits. The book must be read. No review can do it any justice. It is always fresh, full of lively anecdotes, and while redolent of the atmosphere of the study, is a sound exposition of the views of an experienced man of the world on the puzzling problems which call for solution to-day. It is a valuable contribution to the study of contemporary China, especially in regard to the intricate and obscure political and literary renaissance which, thanks to Soviet Russia, threatens to be the nucleus of a world revolution or world war.

But first impressions and the opinions which they give rise to must always be taken "cum grano." M. Bonnard would not be human if he did not fail to reflect to some extent the views of the majority of the old residents in China; but on the whole, he has escaped from being entangled in the net of the orthodox views of the old "bundlers" in which so many travellers have lost themselves.

European criticism of Chinese life and society is always the very antipodes of the Chinese views of things European, however impartial the parties themselves may claim to be. M. Bonnard records that the missionaries meet with many insults, injuries and miseries—humiliations and vexations—but these are inevitable when they come purposely to upset the most cherished traditions of the people, in the most determined and haughty manner, talking as the vicegerents of God on earth and condemning all not of their own belief to limbo, if not something more terrible. What the missionaries meet with in China is the same all the world over e. g. in France, in Scotland and in America, being due solely to the religious propaganda and the people's reaction to it. A Chinese Confucian missionary among French Catholics in France or among Presbyterians in Scotland will encounter like rebuffs if he will adopt the attitude of the average Christian and will insist on working in a land in which he is a *persona non grata*, being backed up solely by the military and naval forces of his country. One reads of the enormous energy and the great devotion of the missionaries. Incredible sums of money have been spent by the faithful in Europe and America. Yet as if by the wand of a magician, a few Soviet agents could

create in a few months anti-Christian reaction, ten times worse than that caused by the Boxers with Mandarin and Imperial connivance. This of course can easily be explained by M. Bonnard's ready-made formula: "the cleverness and astuteness of Asiatics in imperceptibly humiliating the Europeans who are serving them..." (p. 111.) Recent events prove that Christian missions in China must seek to lay the foundation of their work upon a sounder bottom than sectarian theology and its now obsolete shibboleths.

Naturally the students, often proclaimed by the Y. M. C. A. orators as "the saviours" of the country, catch the eyes of our observant narrator. While sympathetic, he is not much enamoured with them, for they seem to him to be in "a state of nervous unrest", with "swelled heads" and "envious hearts" (p. 300). He however vouchsafes a sound advice that "they ought to be encouraged to refer back in all things to their source." This safe hint might be kept in mind by the American enthusiasts who have seen their magnificent labours fallen overnight like a house built of cards. Students of any country are mostly young men, and they can only behave and react according to the training and the teaching they have received as your blood will do. They have been urged to save the country and to purge it of its obsolete things and they have tried to do so with a vengeance. In this upheaval, the advisers are found to be standing on the obsolete rock of holy scriptures. So much the worse for them, for an explosion is no respecter of persons or things!

It is always interesting and instructive to find what concrete impressions are produced upon a thoroughly prepared scholar on his first contact with a civilisation so entirely different. From these, we may value the opinions of the average tourist writer. The people seem to him to be quite devoid of sensibility and to be guided by motives that are unintelligible to the Europeans. Therefore the actions of the natives are liable to be misinterpreted and misunderstood; although this is mutual, since no more do the Chinese comprehend the strangers within their gates, while the obvious traits of the people, their group energy, the *laissez faire* attitude of the individual, their formal courtesy, their liability to mob hysterics, their cosmic idealism, their plebian sympathies, their childish simplicity of habits, their real love of learning, their fatalistic surrender to fate or to acts of providence, and their faith in their own opinions, receive the watchful scrutiny of the itinerant philosopher, who has noted down some characteristics of the inhabitants which seem to him prevalent. M. Abel Bonnard has been staggered by the sight of "ceaseless eating," at all times and by all classes! This seems quite in keeping with the old philosophy that the seat of intelligence lies in the stomach! China is thus a country of gourmands worthy of the ancient Romans, but without the institution of the vomitorium! He remarks on the eclecticism of the Chinese in many things. He has something to say about Chinese cookery of course. He thinks the Chinese are excellent business men with a good capacity of judging men. But the universal squalor, the ubiquitous noise, the all-pervading mephetism of the atmosphere, the horrors of miseries, the silence of the tombs, the bizarre imitation of the goose step, the contradictory attitudes of the "returned" students, the eternal perplexities of "keeping face", etc., are some of the typical local vignettes drawn with a delicacy of irony and wit, that betrays a philosophic insight into the problems of real life. Nor has the author failed to tell us what things of beauty and what pathos of love he has discovered, what inspiration, religion, poetry and philosophy have come to him in his visit. He frankly says he finds only prose in the Flowery land; and "the Soul of China

does not overflow." He therefore has no patience with the street orator with his shrill and cracked voice but with a mind which contains "a poor and faint conception of reality." Strangely enough M. Bonnard seems to believe that the Chinese idolise "Idleness."

When everything in this volume is so readable it is invidious to make distinctions, but we may be permitted to call special attention to the splendid pen pictures of typical scenes, social groups, or men and women in life. The descriptions are vivid, sparkling and eloquent, full of humour, sarcasm and irony, expressed goodnatureedly and with utmost sincerity.

It is very pleasant to read that despite appearances to the contrary, our author finds a real *entente cordiale* between individual Frenchmen and Englishmen, because each is "a finished article" (p. 260) and the vivacious Frenchman sees in the reticent Anglo-Saxon, the counterpart unexpressed of the whole man in himself; so that according to this ingenious theory, the union affords an agreeable occasion for mutual admiration—the best guarantee possible of a lasting entente. But this placebo does not seem convincing even as seen in the references in this volume to the British, and this sole quotation will suffice to show that in spite of the fraternity of the trenches La belle France is true to her national instinct and faith in "the time-honoured English custom of taking everything for England and leaving nothing for anybody else." Incidentally M. Bonnard proclaims, "France is virile," objecting to a French artist's picture which was meant to illustrate the entente, by portraying the encouraging glances which the pretty French girls bestow upon a young English visitor to a French chateau! So much for the Anglo-French Alliance.

After all this hurried, most impressive and laborious circuit and the varied information culled from many sources en route, our author leaves China to visit Macao, "a strange little place", "a Portuguese town," supplanted by Hongkong and now degenerated to the condition of an insignificant sea-side resort with casinos. The author tells us what will interest Indian readers, that the heroes of the Ramsyans used to gamble like "all Asiatics, particularly the Southern Chinese" (p. 312.) Then comes Hongkong, that incarnation of "English force and English organisation." M. Bonnard should really say "British", for in reality the grit and force will be found to be mostly derived from the Celtic Scot, who cannot be described inclusively in the term English by any stretch of the imagination!

However our author is pleased after so many months "amongst darkies" to have his eye "seize, embrace and adore the right of a blonde woman," and he thinks "the life here is typically English, proud, intact and cut off from the elements that it dominates." With these austere virtues "the Anglo-Saxons have rendered a signal service to civilisation, not only by maintaining the prestige of the WHITE man all the world over, but by guarding the unmixed purity of their race, so far as is humanly possible" (p. 316). M. Bonnard is fully convinced that in "half breeds" there is a "debasement of soul and confusion of mind" underlying "the bombastic jabber of half-known languages, hideously confused." These quotations will show that the learned author has not escaped entirely from the pitfalls of exaggeration, whenever his *amour propre* is threatened.

It is more congenial to follow the author in his vain attempt to discover "the Soul of China" He tells us he finds a gulf, then a veil, but nevertheless he persists. Here he discovers the outward manifestations—a terrible list—politeness, exclusiveness, scepticism, superstition, indifference, curiosity, com-

passion, cruelty, honesty, trickery. What lies behind this hotch potch?

The world must be thankful to M. Bonnard for discovering it and resolving it into a geometrical formula—a circle with a square formed by intersecting lines of the four tangents standing vertical to the ends of two diameters which cross to form four right angles at the centre! The circle represents the centre immobility of pride; circumference or rotundity which suggests among other things obesity! The square is seen in the form of enclosures and the furnitures. Nevertheless, in spite of catching glimpses of it, the author fails to interview the inmost soul of China; and even should he encounter the real entity and beard the lion in his den, what good would the interview do, as the author himself, referring to interviews in general, shows his contempt of such futilities in these words: "Nothing but the most depressing banalities are in fact exchanged."

However the West is discovering the ways of deciphering the riddle of the Sphynx, and the Chinese are in fact preparing to take part in world affairs as Nationalists "preserving their special peculiarities in their integrity," and not being ashamed to own their characteristics.

LIM BOON KENG.

INDIAN STATES.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF INDIAN STATES WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By K. M.

PANIKKAR. (Martin Hopkinson & Co. Ltd., London.) 1927. 9 × 5½. pp. xxxi. 169. 10s. 6d.

IN his introduction Lord Olivier has diagnosed the present agitation of the Indian Princes very correctly. He says that the Indian States cannot willingly consent to be governed by a National Assembly constituted only of the Provinces of British India. We fail to see what bearing the composition of the National Assembly has upon the Indian States. The Indian States are under the control of the Government of India, the control being exercised through its Foreign Department. The present Government of India is manned by the bureaucracy. The future Government of India, to use Mr. Montagu's words, is going to be formed by the representatives of the peoples of India. "In order to realise the ideal of responsible government and in order to get devolution upon which there is general agreement we must gradually get rid of government by the agents of Parliament and replace it by government by the agents of the representatives of the peoples of India." The future changes consist in the personnel of the governing body and its responsibility to the people. The Indian Princes are at present under the control of the Political Department which is neither responsible nor responsive to the people, and they have a holy horror of this Department ever becoming responsible. They want the enthronement of the bureaucracy as it obtains at present in the Political Department which means the very negation of progress and reform. Lord Olivier beyond insinuating the misgivings and the fears of the Indian Rulers, has not suggested the causes underlying these fears or their justification. He strangely holds "that it would not be possible in the event of Dominion status being conferred on India that the government of principal Native States should be left outside of the organic constitutional structure and all interurrences in their affairs and negotiations with them effected as now with the representatives of His Majesty through their Indian Political Department." Lord Olivier-

has not discussed why this is not possible. He has suggested a question: how far the relations now subsisting between the King and all Native States can be transferred to the Executive of an Indian National Government not responsible as now to the British Parliament but to a Federal Indian Assembly. This question is based on various assumptions which are not founded on facts. What are the relations subsisting between the King and all the Native States? The Indian States are related to the Government of India, which rules in the name of His Majesty. The treaties and engagements are made with and by the Government of India. The Government of India Act includes provisions applicable to India, both British and Indian. The states are directly under the control of the Political Department which is a part and parcel of the structure and the composition of the Government of India. We are not aware of any direct relations subsisting between the King and Native States. There is a fallacy now current and sedulously circulated by some Indian Princes that they have direct relations with the King maintained through the Viceroy as distinct from the Governor-General. The history of the Indian constitution does not lend support to this theory. We are equally astonished to find the statement that the Executive of the future Indian National Government cannot manage the Political Department, since it is being managed by irresponsible bureaucrats on behalf of the Government of India for the last seventy years. Lord Olivier's assumption that the present bureaucratic Government is responsible to the British Parliament is also not very accurate.

We put it to his Lordship if Parliament has taken any interest in affairs of Indian States since the government was transferred from the Company to the Crown. So far it is the bureaucracy that is wielding all power and has made any progress impossible in the condition of Indian States. It is purely a government by dispatches. The future government would be one by vote and would be responsible to the people or to the Federal Indian Assembly. How this change in the constitution would disqualify the Parliamentary executive from controlling the destinies of the Indian States, we are at a loss to understand. Neither the foreword nor the exposition of the subject by the Author investigates this problem thoroughly or tries to suggest a solution of this complicated question.

The book is divided into ten chapters; but the first nine chapters are only of an introductory character and do not bear on the *de facto* relations subsisting between the Indian States and the Government of India. The first chapter deals with the British occupation which brought about the subordinate alliance of the Indian States and relates to a period when the East India Company rose from a position of equality to one of predominance. The second chapter narrates the history from the Viceroyalty of the Marquess of Hastings to the Mutiny—a period which may be fittingly described as one of absorption resulting from the policy of annexation, lapse, exploitation and the using of every opportunity of acquisition of territory and the aggrandisement of the Empire. The third chapter describes the assumption of the government by the Crown and the proclamation of the King of England as the Emperor of India and as the sovereign paramount Lord Shah-in-shah. The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters summarise the assertion of the rights of the sovereign power by the British Government as regards the succession to the States, recognition of adoption, undertaking of minority administration, the extension of imperial authority by assuming extraterritorial jurisdiction, by the control of post, railway and telegraph

and other commercial services, by the acquisition of salt, opium and Abkari and exchange monopolies even superceding and deliberately ignoring the treaty rights of the States. The seventh chapter bears on the intervention in the internal affairs of the States, which is manifested in the depositions and voluntary abdications and in the veiled dictatorship of political officers. The peaceful penetration of the sovereign authority and the meddling even on minor pretexts in the internal administration of the States are brought up to date in this chapter. Those who have studied the instructive work of Sir William Lee-Warner will find that the thread of history is continued on the same lines and is of a nature which may be styled as introductory to the relations of the Indian States with the Government of India. It is said that there is nothing unfair in love and war and also in conquest. Whatever may be the historical reasons which degraded the once sovereign Princes to the position of dependent vassals, the fact of their present helpless and subordinate condition remains.

It is at this juncture necessary to suggest ways and means by which the Indian States could be harmoniously blended in the body politic without prejudicing the ideal of responsible government and without in any way militating against the free, healthy and democratic growth of the several States in their internal administration and autonomy. We are however sorry to find that absolutely no attempt has been made to suggest any solution or to weigh the pros and cons of this question. The constitutional position of the Indian Princes was very briefly described by Lord Hobhouse on a very memorable occasion. "The plain fact is that our position as paramount power was gained by superior force, that is, by wars waged through many years and with great variety of circumstances. The independence of Native States varies from almost complete sovereignty in internal affairs down to jurisdiction of a very petty kind; but lying at the bottom of all things was their origin, namely, conquest, and the sanction and limitation of all was military force very rarely coming to actual blows but taking the political shape of acts of States. In fact it was very seldom that anything was needed but steady and quiet pressure on the Indian Ruler by the Resident Agent." The question at present is how to improve their administrations and to bring them in a line with the Central Government. This aspect of the problem remains unnoticed in this book. Mr. Panikkar is inclined to consider the tie which binds the Indian States to the British Government as federal and he bases his conclusion upon the dictum of Sir Henry Maine that sovereignty is divisible. But whether the tie is feudal or federal or international or imperial, or one of subordinate alliance, it is one which has exercised the minds of men like Tupper, Lee-Warner, Westlake and a host of others. It is however very difficult to give a definite reply to this question. The treatment of this subject in chapter nine is very meagre.

Mr. Panikkar seems to be labouring under some wrong notions about the Chamber of Princes. He is of opinion that it has helped to solve many knotty and intricate problems such as minority administration, succession procedure, the difference between sovereign and non-sovereign States. Those who are conversant with the composition of this Chamber and with its proceedings will not join with Mr. Panikkar in entertaining high hopes about this institution, which is characterised by Indian an Administrator of Sir Visveshvarayya's type as an anachronism. The Chamber does not recognise the difference in the status based on historical antecedents, extent, income or population. An unknown taste of salute is adopted for the qualification of membership. Its resolutions have

no binding force on anybody. Individual states are not worse off for approaching Government for redress in spite of this institution. Important States like Hyderabad, Mysore, Indore and some Moslem states in the North have studiously remained aloof from this institution for the levelling influence which it is bound to produce. The proceedings also disclose that under the immediate presence of the Viceroy it lamentably lacks the independence of judgment, freedom of expression and fearless exposition of state interests. The description of Mr. Panikkar, therefore, fails to carry conviction about the utility of this institution. The real question is about the internal improvement of Indian States. They are entirely autocratic in their character and there is no rule of law as understood under the English constitution in any one of them. This, as Mr. Panikkar correctly points out, is the crux of the problem of Indian Princes; but unfortunately this was outside the scope of Mr. Panikkar's work. Even for a federal ideal it is superfluous for us to suggest that it is necessary that each unit of the federation must have a standard form of government compatible with the central ideal of responsible government. We find such provisions in various federal constitutions. The important subject, therefore, of the constitutional development in the States finds no exposition in this book. This has caused very great disappointment in us. Mr. Panikkar has tried to emphasise the classification of the Indian States into treaty States, quasi-sovereign States and non-sovereign States. As a matter of fact so far as the Government is concerned this classification is not at all recognised. We are however sure that the suggestion to preserve only treaty States and quasi-sovereign States and to reduce the remaining rulers to the position of Zamindars and landed gentry is bound to create tremendous unrest in the 600 and odd petty despots of Indian India.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

RELIGION AND SEX.

THE CHURCH AND THE SEX QUESTION. By JOHN W. COUTTS. (James Clarke & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 256. 6s.

THIS book deals with the important topics of instructing youth in sex matters, marriage, divorce and birth control. The discussion is frank, lucid and helpful. The view-point is that of an earnest Christian, of the follower of the living Christ; but it is also one that will commend itself to most people irrespective of creed that care for an ordered existence of society. If he strongly disapproves the hush-hush policy of the Victorians in regard to sex knowledge—an instance of which was that a well-known firm of publishers instructed Huxley to omit all reference to the reproductive function in a school text book on physiology—and their double standard of morality, he equally disapproves the lengths to which the revolt against Victorian ideals has now gone: when freedom is claimed to the contracting parties to make sexual relation permanent, semi-permanent or merely occasional, and when by the abolition of the double standard is meant “not that the man was to be held to as strict an ideal of personal purity before marriage and strict monogamy after marriage as the woman, but that the woman is to be as free to indulge her personal desires before and after, or without marriage, as the man.” Dora, in Ibsen's *Doll's House*, slams the door against her husband and children in order to develop her own personality. One's impulse is to sympathise with her. Yes, but asks Mr. Coutts very pertinently, what of the children, for bringing whom into this world she was jointly responsible with her husband? That question has

to be satisfactorily answered before the degree of freedom in sex relationship asked for by some could be thought of.

Mr. Coutts advocates sex instruction in a suitable manner not only in the home and the school but also in the Church and the Sunday school. He urges the Church, meaning thereby not merely the clergy but all the responsible members of the congregation, in particular to discover different ways in which the sexual energy of their adolescents and the unmarried may be sublimated in social service. When divorce is sought he would have the Church in the above sense do its best to bring back the erring member to the fold. “If after all has been done that can be done; if after forgiveness ungrudgingly and uncensoriously offered; if after a resolute attempt to win back to the compulsions of love one who has grossly offended against it, there is no response whatever;” then no good is served by refusing divorce. His views on birth control he would rather describe as inconclusive. It is nevertheless clear to the reader that he does not consider the practice as unnatural, that in a Christian view of life it is not permissible outside marriage, that within marriage it is permissible for those who feel that they already have as many children as they can properly look after or where child-bearing is forbidden on medical grounds. He holds, too, that since the well-to-do are permitted to obtain information regarding birth control from their doctors, the poor should be enabled to obtain it from the doctors employed by the State. This is going as far as most advocates of birth control care to go.

What makes the book specially valuable is the true Christian spirit that pervades it. “In the Church of Jesus, when it is true to Him, there will be no harsh condemnation for the lad who has not learned to resist the lure of sex; only sympathy and the effort to teach him control and the regaining of his manhood; there will be no excommunication for the unmarried mother, or blight upon her innocent child; rather a desire to understand to make the burden easier to carry; no stones for the woman taken in adultery, but instead a compassionate endeavour to help to mend three broken lives, and where there are children, to shield them from the worst consequences of others' wrong-doing.” It is very edifying reading.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYA.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RECEPTION AT DURBAN.

MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

“MADAME PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, the size and distinction of this gathering, the flattering—too flattering—things that have been read and spoken to-day, the expectations which have been aroused by those flattering words, all combined to make my task exceptionally difficult to-night. I will however ask you to accept my most grateful thanks for the munificence and cordiality of this reception. It has made me think how little I deserve so much kindness at your hands. If in the future you feel that a part of what you have so lavishly bestowed is deserved I shall count myself pleased. My task in this county is defined by the designation that my office bears. I am here as the agent of the Government of India and my orders are to help the Government of this country in carrying out the Capetown Agreement, described in the beautiful words of the Deputy Mayor as “a gentleman's agreement” (applause) Whatever my character may be as a political agitator—

tor of some standing in my own country (laughter), believe me that while I am among you clothed with the authority of the Government of India, I will endeavour faithfully to confine my vision to the four corners of the Agreement. I mean that in anything I may say or do in my representations with the Government of the Union I do not intend to ask for anything not provided for in the Agreement. That should establish my good faith sufficiently, but I know that no political agitator finds it always possible by a clear enunciation of the position to get fully understood and recognised. The minds of people on such occasions travel a little beyond the words spoken, and they try to discover meanings which are not there, and motives and desires which are not there. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, you will find that if you trust those words of mine that I do not look beyond the terms of the Agreement you will not be mistaken. Moreover in as far as I have any influence with my countrymen I shall use it for securing the same observance by them for the limitations of the Agreement. But I cannot speak for the young and ambitious hearts. For once in my life I find myself to-day very much at home. The speakers before me have spoken forcibly—almost heroically—of the virtue of moderation. In my country moderates in politics are despised (laughter), but I have always belonged to the party described as moderate—I am a hardy moderate. Nevertheless it is an experience of the most pleasurable kind to me to hear moderation preached and for a wonder listened to with so much patience. I do hope that my countrymen will realise that there is much in this Agreement which can be made good by patient effort. For many a long day they will find their endeavours fully met by the requirements of the Agreement. Further than that it will be hardly necessary for them now to contemplate. I have heard it said that they have often asked for the franchise which has caused alarm in the minds of those now in political power. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have read the Agreement very carefully—I took some part in the preparation of it, and all I need say is that I did not find franchise in that Agreement. That should reassure you of the lengths to which I am prepared to go. But to you who represent the ruling power in this country may I say one word in this connection which may not be inappropriate? Our country, India, is marching forward towards that dominion status which has lately been reached by your country (applause). Do you then think it unnatural that my countrymen should feel inspired by that achievement? They had the parliamentary franchise until the law took it away. It was only two years ago that the municipal franchise was taken from them. Do you think it possible for them to forget so soon? I cannot control their ambition and all you can ask is that we confine resolutions rigidly to the four corners of the agreement. I would ask you therefore if now and again you hear words about the franchise to exercise a little patience and forbearance and remember that our hearts are the same as your hearts and if we occasionally dare it is then only human for us to do so. You have set the position so clearly, Madame President, that I dare not say another word. You have said clearly that this city will observe faithfully the Capetown Agreement. So be it. For there is in the Agreement much that will rest with the people of Natal, and especially the people of Durban, to carry out, much that will try your patience, much that will engage your thoughts, much that will seem to you in excess of the requirements of the situation. It is therefore with feelings of great hope and encouragement that I heard the words uttered by your Deputy Mayor to-night. Some of you may imagine that this agreement is divided into

sections, some of which may be adopted at once and others which may be held over until some more favourable time, but we have already heard this agreement described as a "gentleman's agreement" and each side is bound faithfully to carry it out and to sustain the other in its observance. There is every reason to hope that when the appeal is made to the people of Natal they will understand the requirements of the situation and not hold back on any particular part of the agreement. What a wonderful change has occurred in the political atmosphere? Shall it be said that Natal has not experienced it? Far be it from me to entertain anything like that proposition, but I seem to have heard accounts of protest meetings held in your province against the Agreement. I have heard of one meeting at which resolutions were passed which went a long way towards it but just fell short of repudiation of the Agreement. I recognise the fact that they did fall short, most gratefully. The gentlemen who spoke on that occasion left themselves some opening by which they may travel from repudiation to tolerance and so through to complete consent. That is my hope, for you cannot accept one part of the Agreement without labouring to fulfil another part of it. It has been brought home to the authorities in the history of this matter that the utmost good faith and goodwill is necessary on both sides even if this system of assisted emigration is to bear fruit. There is one promising clause in the second part of the Agreement and that is a part I must emphasise. It is the education of Indian children in this province. I once before spoke upon this subject at this very place but the subject is so important that I cannot refer to it too frequently. To my countrymen I will read a little exhortation. Many among you have prospered and amassed wealth. Some there are who have much more than for your individual needs. You have magnificent equipages, noble mansions. Take them and enjoy them by all means. Pledged as I am to a poor and humble mode of life, I will not venture to reproach you for these ways of spending what God has given you. But when you have taken the necessary satisfactions, I ask for a portion of what each of you has left over for the benefit of your own children. Build schools, endow them, appoint good teachers, and then reap the reward and you will find it is like nothing on earth. No honour, no joy can equal what will come to each of you if you can say, "I reared this promising generation." "I helped to make them honest citizens." If you can say that to yourself, if you are able to feel something of the joy, believe me, you will have spent your money most usefully and most nobly, and a generation of thousands and thousands of young hearts will bless you for having made money and known how to use it in your time. But there are, I regret to say, many who have enjoyed the benefits of a good education, who do not think that other people need it. They consider that there are certain lower orders of society which are better without education and whom it is dangerous to bring up in the way of civilisation, in the way of refinement, of culture, of noble citizenship. I believe that those of this way of thinking will keep their thoughts to themselves and leave the world which believes in education to go its own way. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, history teaches us that no community can be interested in the illiteracy of another community, but on the other hand all human experience points to this fact that the existence of a backward community is a menace to civilisation. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, you must make up your minds in regard to the education of the Indian community, you cannot overlook this danger to the public weal. It is not right to leave any part of the community in ignor-

ance and I am happy to say that that fact has been nobly and eloquently mentioned in the Agreement, I feel sure that when the Government of the Union have pledged their word they will regard the Indian community with the same beneficent eye as they regard another section of the community. I cannot bring myself to believe that there will be any serious opposition to any scheme that may be put forward for the amelioration of the condition of the Indians. How is it possible? The Government of the Union desire before embarking upon any programme to ascertain the expenditure required to have the ground surveyed and that is why a commission to go into Indian education is to be appointed. Surely that proposal would receive your faithful consideration. I trust rather to the character of this Province, the most British of the provinces of South Africa (applause), I trust to the spirit of this Province to maintain the high and honourable traditions of the British race. I know with what valour, with what passion and devotion you fought for the inclusion of the Union Jack in the National Flag. Shall it be said that while you honour and revere the might of the British Flag with the political gains and advantages it brings, you do not remember what it also stands for in the way of chivalry and fair play, the guarantee for freedom it conveys to the peoples who come under it? No, ladies and gentlemen, I would rather disbelieve my eyes, rather disbelieve my ears, than believe that the character of the British Empire will be betrayed by the people of Natal. I look to you, in whom I am trying to strike a note of sympathy, not to remain silent, when the battle rages, not to fold your hands and say 'there goes a wrong turn.' Let your voices be heard and let your noble thoughts be expressed. Do not be ashamed of them and do not be afraid of them, but let them be sounded in the world as a call to duty and you will find that when truth raises her voice injustice must flee. We will all march forward in honourable and peaceful citizenship as a noble part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. You who are in political power and we who have it not, we shall march forward as brothers unashamed of each other, sharing in common a task of high endeavour and high hope."

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