

THE Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	297
ARTICLES :—	
The Princes' Scheme ...	299
The Indian Position in Kenya. By U. K. Oza ...	300
Sir Leslie Scott's Scheme. By Prof. G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B. ...	301
OUR EUROPEAN LETTER ...	302
OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER ...	304
OUR KENYA LETTER ...	305
OUR U. P. LETTER ...	306
REVIEWS :—	
Josephine Butler. By Rao Bahadur Dr. P. V. Shikhare, L.M. & S., F.C.P.S., B.M.S. (Retired) ...	306
Western Indian Village Communities. By D. V. Kale, B.A. ...	308
BOOKS RECEIVED ...	308

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WITH all its exaggerations and misstatements Mr. Nariman's presidential address at the fifth Karnatak Provincial Conference contains much that is undeniably true. Examining the several blessings of British rule he pointed out the great agricultural depression and the vast amount of rural indebtedness; it is curious, he says, that after a century of British rule the Government thinks that the time is not yet ripe for introducing compulsory education. And after refusing the opportunity for education it is trying to make the illiteracy itself as a reason for withholding further privileges. The blessing of peace Mr. Nariman regards as tantamount to emasculating the nation; at the rate laid down at present the nationalisation of the Indian army would take 800 years. The Government of India Act of 1919 has introduced what he calls a fraudulent constitution. With regard to the fitness of Indians Mr. Nariman quoted an Englishman who said that, judged by English as well as natural standards, Indians are infinitely better fitted to govern India than their English overlords. Mr. Nariman thinks that the final goal cannot be achieved through the British Parliament; here of course we cannot follow him as we believe that much can be done by a proper representation through parliamentary channels. He is in favour of preparing a constitution which would be acceptable to all Indians and he regards the National Demand passed by the Assembly some time ago as a basis for such a constitution. Mr. Nariman strongly

ly deprecates the unreasonable class domination involved in untouchability and is not prepared to allow orthodoxy to go so far as to become a barrier to ordinary civic rights of a citizen. Anent the Hindu-Moslem unity he hopes that leaders of both communities will soon succeed in solving the problem to the satisfaction of all. He cites the examples of Canada and Ireland to show that internal disorders and troubles disappear as soon as self-government is granted. It is good however that he advised his audience not to wait till this consummation was reached but to sink their minor differences and look to the larger interests of the whole country. We hope his appeal to the youth to work for the national cause will not fall on deaf ears.

* * *

THERE are few signs that the Mill-owners in Bombay are inclined to give up their extreme The Labour Out-claims with a view to a compromise. look. A recent reply sent by the Committee of the Mill-owners' Association denies the correctness of the figures of profit given by the Strike Committee and emphasizes that the cost of living has gone down from 183 in 1920 to 144 in 1928. If it is so, the Mill-owners ought to have proposed a reduction to the representatives of labour unions openly at a meeting, instead of cutting down wages by various subterfuges. With regard to His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson's opinion that the responsibility for the strike rests on the shoulders of those who advised a strike without giving the mill-owners any opportunity to consider the grievances of the men, Mr. N. M. Joshi has shown how the mill-owners cannot be absolved from responsibility, since it is they who had created the atmosphere of discontent favourable for bellicose advisers. If the owners expect the workers to give due notice of striking work, they should be the first, says Mr. Joshi, to set the proper example; whereas it is common for workmen to be dismissed without notice. The report issued by Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth on Indian labour conditions admits that many unjust conditions of work obtain in India. As a remedy the signatories of the report propose that the British movement must be linked up with the Indian movement with the object of raising Indian workers physically, morally and socially. Before however this can be done, the Indian trade unions must bring all the workers in India under their protecting wing. This is the first piece of work to which the labour leaders must set their hands. All this however will take some time for its achievement; the immediate need however is a frank exchange of views between the representatives of owners and those of the workers at a joint conference, which, it seems, will not be very long in coming, at any rate so far as the Bombay Strike is concerned.

The news that the E. I. Railway has opened an employment department in charge of a specially selected officer to look after the interests and well-being of the workers is welcome as an indication of at least a changed mentality in the administration. At the same time the agent of the G. I. P. Railway has recognized the Workers' Union and has agreed to ask the sanction of the Railway Board to the appointment of a special officer to whom the men could personally represent their grievances, although he refused the demand for a Joint Board.

THE recent settlement through the good offices of Lord Irwin of what is known as the Jain-Palitana Dispute closes a long drawn out controversy between the Jain community and the Palitana Durbar about the use of the Shatrunjaya hill for pilgrimage purposes. As every body knows, the hill is situated within Palitana limits and has always been much resorted to by pious Jains. For this, under an agreement arrived at between the parties so far back as in 1886 the Jain community was paying to the Palitana Durbar the sum of Rs. 15,000 every year, while the control of the Durbar over the hill was limited only to police purposes. When the agreement was about to expire, the Durbar asked to be allowed to levy a tax of Rs 2 upon every pilgrim using the hill. To this the community was strongly opposed. If we have understood their mind correctly, what the Jains objected to was not so much the demand for higher payment, but the intention to make a capital levy rather than asking for a fixed sum. The dispute was in due course referred for settlement about two years ago to Mr. Watson, whose award raising the amount to be paid by the Jains from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 100,000 at one stretch and permitting the Durbar after the lapse of ten years to levy from the pilgrims not more than Rs. 2 per head failed to satisfy anybody. The iniquitous nature of the award can best be realised when it is remembered that even the *Times of India* was constrained to regard it as one-sided. In consequence Jains decided to refrain from going to Shatrunjaya until the matter was satisfactorily settled and since the Watson award there have been no Jain pilgrimages to the hill. The Viceroy, anxious to see if some way out could not be found, recently summoned the parties concerned to something like a round table conference and his labours have been rewarded by the composition of the dispute in a way satisfactory to the parties concerned. Under this, the amount to be paid to Palitana has been raised to Rs. 60,000, Jain temples are declared to be Jain property, State control on the hill being limited only to police purposes as before, and the right of the community to appeal in case of disagreement between itself and the Durbar to the Agent to the Governor-General recognised, though in the first instance they are required to go to the Thakoresaheb himself in his executive capacity. This satisfactory result, upon which all parties deserve to be congratulated, would have been impossible but for the reasonable attitude taken up by them especially by the Thakursahab of Palitana, to whose generosity, it is said, the Jains owe the proposed exemption from any tax by the State of the personal baggage of pilgrims.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, writing in the Glasgow *Forward*, of a fortnight ago says that if the Labour Party comes to power, it has been decided to put India on a footing of Dominion status. This is very satisfactory to hear: unfortunately Mr. MacDonald

only makes the statement a text on which to hang a homily exhorting Indians to cooperate with the Simon Committee. "The British Government and people", Mr. MacDonald is quoted as saying, "want to lay down responsibilities for generations to come, responsibilities which can brook no unwilling communities within the bounds of loyalty. Will India give them a chance? British Labour is ready to help." Now this is the traditional Labour attitude to the Indian problem and one will not go wrong in surmising that Labour's Leader was prompted to emphasize it, because there must be a good deal of uneasiness in the rank and file about finding their party taking the side of men like Lord Birkenhead, as against the pretty well unanimous voice of India herself. And the *Forward* passage does not stand alone. Only a week ago, when Mr. Vernon Harshorn's outburst against "Comrade" Saklatwala led him into a stupid indictment of the Tata's, and the Indian Chamber of Commerce in London sent a protest to Mr. MacDonald, the latter wrote back in the following terms:

"I am much obliged to you for this, and I shall note your complaint as the Labour Party as a whole and its leading members individually are always striving to maintain the friendliest relations between India and our own country."

One begins to wonder after all this, whether he is not at least in his heart of hearts beginning to realize that he has been outmanoeuvred by Lord Birkenhead over Labour's participation in the Simon Commission. At all events the game of reassuring the voter that a Labour victory at the next Elections will not mean giving *carte blanche* to wild extremists can obviously be overdone: and if Mr. MacDonald goes on advocating for his own party what amounts merely to a "safe" Tory policy in general and on India in particular, the voter may well ask, why he should place Mr. MacDonald in power, rather than Mr. Baldwin. Hence, we believe, a little more profession of distinctively Labour sentiments has become necessary. At the same time, will he have the heart to make India a party issue at the General Elections? We very much doubt it. And further we doubt whether, when his Party is returned to power, he will at all remember his election pledges.

THE special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* expounds his views on provincial autonomy in a series of articles contributed to the paper and they deserve study at the hands of Indians who find themselves opposed to Dyarchy. The main argument in favour of transference of reserved subjects in his opinion is that provincial politicians may refuse to work Dyarchy at all. In this case the Government of India should, he says, insist on a certain minimum standard of justice and efficiency. The difficulty about transferring land revenue is that the department is supervised by the All-India Civil Service and Mr. Gwynn thinks that All-India Services should not be controlled by provincial Ministers. But he believes that if land revenue is transferred there would be no difficulty in establishing good relations between the head of the district and the Minister. With regard to transferring magistracy and the police the great difficulty will be the Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Unless the Minister faces the responsibility of dealing with communal riots and their consequences, he cannot be allowed to control the police. It is better in his opinion to keep law and order as a reserved subject. With regard to the representation on the legislatures and local boards of the members of the rival communities he thinks an agreement can be reached if the question is settled in every province and not on

an All-India basis. On the question of the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions he still holds the old fashioned opinion that their separation is undesirable although he admits that under the system every man was under the heel of the official. The mainspring of the Indian machine, the Collector-Magistrate, has no parallel in the British system of local self-government and on this ground he regards Lord Ripon's reforms as ill-advised. He has the candour to admit that the influence of the District Officer checked the development of local self governing institutions. He regards the French or Italian system as the best model for self-government in India, but he fears opposition from Indian politicians because in his view they have always stood for the wholesale importation of purely British institutions. This however is not strictly correct because we can easily point out several schemes of local self-government in which Indian politicians have based their demands on indigenous Indian systems. His prophecy that the local bodies are not likely to play an effective part in the uplift of India cannot be accepted. The slipping of power from the hands of the head of the district is according to him a great disaster. Without the unequalled driving power supplied by the district officer who should control the revenue the magistracy, the police as well as local self-government, the Ministers in his picture would be inert masses devoid of energy. He proposes therefore that the Collector should be to the District Board what the Governor is to the Provincial Legislature. One explanation of these reactionary views probably is that Mr. Gwynn spent his whole life in the I. C. S. and can only think in familiar terms.

WE extend our sympathy to the Municipal Boards of the United Provinces on the proposed withdrawal of the right enjoyed by them since 1916 to conduct and control their own elections. A draft notification published in the U. P. Gazette of May 12 says that henceforth the district magistrate will be responsible for preparing the electoral roll, fixing the dates for nomination and election, appointing the Returning Officer as well as Presiding and Polling Officers. Further an innovation is introduced in the draft rules that even if there is no election petition against a successful candidate, the Commissioner may of his own motion set aside the election of any person as a member of the Municipal Board.

Three weeks is the maximum time permitted to the Boards in which any suggestions or representations on the draft rules can be made. Does the U. P. Government seriously believe that this is ample time for municipal commissioners to read and digest the rules, frame their proposals, discuss them at a meeting of the Board and despatch them in time to reach Naini Tal on or before June 2 when they mean to take them into consideration? We find mention of no grave irregularities committed by any Board in managing municipal elections during the last 12 years, which may have compelled the U. P. Government to take this drastic action. Subtle and insidious moves such as these will not enable the Government successfully to stop the onward march to political progress which India has in view. We stand for purity in elections as in other spheres of public administration, but we also stand for extending the popular rights till they are contemporaneous with full and complete control over all national affairs. We hope that the municipalities and the Legislative Council will not let the Government persist in their reactionary and anti-national move.

THE PRINCES' SCHEME.

THE scheme which Sir Leslie Scott has drawn up on behalf of the Princes' Chamber and which bids fair to be laid before the Butler Committee as containing the consensus of opinion among the Indian Princes is open to the gravest possible objection from every point of view and can easily be riddled with criticism if it is subjected to detailed examination. We do not, however, propose to consider it in detail on the present occasion, particularly because such detailed examination has been promised by Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, who has an exceptional knowledge and insight into the Indian States problem. We would rather concentrate our criticism to-day on one point, which affects more than anything else the welfare of the subjects of Indian States. Under the scheme as it is put forward, the Political Department, which is now in the portfolio of the Governor-General himself, is to be under the control of the Indian States Council. That is to say, the kind and degree of intervention that may be required in the affairs of any particular State, which is at present determined by the Governor-General on the advice of the Political Secretary, will hereafter be determined by the Governor-General on the advice of the Indian States Council. Further interpreted, this means that instead of the Political Secretary deciding to all intents and purposes what steps, if any, should be taken against an erring Prince, the decision would henceforward be taken by a newly created organ of government which is to be composed of three Princes, the Political Secretary and two men specially imported for the purpose, from beyond the seas.

The first point to be noted in this connexion is that the scheme seeks to effect a fundamental change in the existing position. This point is worthy of special note because it is often represented that all that the Princes care for is the maintenance intact of the rights, privileges and dignities already conferred on them by existing engagements and that nothing further is now needed to reassure the Princes than a reaffirmation of those guarantees. In the present case, however, the power of intervention which is now exercised by the Political Department is proposed to be vested in a body which is to control the Political Department. The Princes thus desire that the British Government should divest itself of its control over them and transfer it to a Council, half the personnel of which is to be drawn from among themselves. This surely is an attempt to acquire new power and not to maintain what is already conceded to them.

The second point to be noted is that the scheme provides that "in the event of gross misgovernment or flagrant injustice in any State," the determination of the fact of misgovernment or injustice and of the nature of the punitive action to be taken against any Prince is to be left—not to an independent tribunal or a neutral body but to a Council half of whose members are to be either ruling Princes or their representatives. As we said recently, every canon of political science

sternly forbids the inclusion of even a single ruling Prince or a Prince's representative in a Commission of Inquiry charged with investigating the alleged misdeeds of any Prince. The present procedure whereby the Political Department carries on an inquiry behind closed doors and without affording the Prince concerned an opportunity to prove his innocence is not an ideal one. It stands in urgent need of reform, but to make the accused himself the judge is not the best way of reforming it. For to include Princes in a body which is to advise the Governor-General on the action to be taken in any particular case is nothing less than erecting the offender into a judge. When the inclusion of Princes on the inquiring body is further supported by the exclusion of their subjects therefrom, the injustice becomes aggravated. A Prince is suspected to be guilty of gross misrule. The misrule in question is of course the misrule of the subjects. It follows therefore that the power of making inquiry should reside neither in the particular Prince concerned nor other Princes nor his or their subjects, but persons unconnected with either. If however one of these two parties is included the other must be included as well. If the Prince who is alleged to have misruled his subjects is to have his representatives on the Council which is to recommend the action to be taken, it is only fair that the people against whom the offence is alleged to be committed and in whose behalf the action is to be taken should also have a voice and an equal voice in making the recommendation.

The sound position, however, is that both of them should be rigidly left out. Both of them—and not the Princes merely—have a right to claim that their respective cases be heard in the open and that all the relevant documents be made accessible to them. The Princes must have an opportunity to rebut the charge of misrule and the subjects must have an opportunity of bringing the charge home to the Princes. All the papers required either for supporting or rebutting the charge must be thrown open equally to all parties. And if the Political Department is not considered impartial enough to be the judge in the matter, and there is good ground to hold that it is not impartial, let the final determination of the matter be committed to an absolutely independent tribunal to whose verdict the Political Department must submit. But if such a tribunal is not to be thought of, there is at least this much to be said in favour of the Political Department, that it is not connected with the order of Princes. In all bodies where any pretence to impartiality is made the common precaution is taken to exclude, by statute, from the inquiring body representatives of persons whose acts are called in question. On the Mandates Commission, to whose composition we drew attention as an exemplar the other day, it is a rule that no official of any Government shall sit. Why? Because it is believed that officials, no matter of which Government, will from the nature of the case be apt to look with sympathy upon and to condone acts done by a mandatory Power in a mandated country. The Mandates Commission is empowered merely to report

even as the Indian States Council is empowered only to report. The report then goes before the Council of the League and at a later stage before the Assembly, as the report of the Indian States Council is to go before the Viceroy. The exclusion of Princes from the Indian States Council is demanded just by those elementary principles of jurisprudence on which the exclusion of officials from the Mandates Commission is founded. And we would emphasise precisely those rights to be given to the subjects of Indian States as are accorded to the people in mandated countries. The rights are simple enough: they can make petitions, not to the Mandatory Power, but against the Mandatory Power to the Mandates Commission. The petitions have to pass through the Mandatory Power but the latter is obliged to forward them to the Commission with such explanation as they can put forward. The Commissioners are entitled to base their inquiry on the petitions and a representative of the Mandatory Power must be in attendance to answer queries. The Indian States reform is however proceeding on altogether wrong lines: The present proposal is dangerously like the new idea mooted in Kenya of Government sharing its trusteeship with immigrant communities. It will result in surrendering the Indian States people to the tender mercies of the Princes just as much as the association of immigrant communities of East Africa in trusteeship can only result in handing over the African natives to the unchecked exploitation of Europeans. The present trusteeship is as little worth in practice to Indian States people as it is to the natives of Africa, but it has at any rate potentialities for good. It would therefore be infinitely better—and certainly more honest—for British statesmen openly to repudiate the trusteeship than share it either with Indian Princes or European land-grabbers.

THE INDIAN POSITION IN KENYA.

SINCE I last wrote in this paper about the position in East Africa, there have been important developments and it may be fairly expected that a crisis may occur before the year of grace 1928 is over. The splendid memorandum of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress drafted by a committee of Messrs. Phadke, Malik, Thakore and Oza, on the question of the Federation of British East African territories and constitutional advance in Kenya was duly presented to the Hilton-Young Commission on the 8th of February. This memorandum was sent to the press in India, but I was surprised to see that it was noticed by very few papers. The memorandum was also accompanied by a supplement giving concrete details of the disabilities of the Indian community in Kenya. Simultaneously with the Indian community the Kikuyu Central Association, the Darot Somali and the Ishaak Somali communities of Kenya also submitted their memoranda, which documents were also sent to the Indian press and were entirely neglected. This neglect served to show that the Indian newspapers in general did not understand and were not interested in the struggle our countrymen were waging in East Africa. Nor, engrossed in home affairs, in the exhilarating task of boycotting the Simon Commission, were they prepared to consider the larger question of our relations with the down-trodden and exploited races of Africa. The

neglect of the Indian press has however neither disappointed workers in Kenya nor checked the movement for securing an equal status for our countrymen in this part of the world. The necessity for drawing closer to the native tribes and placing their interests in the forefront has been steadily kept in view. Everyone feels that the Indian community are in a much stronger position than two years ago, and if they were assured of continued interest and assistance on the other side of the Indian Ocean, no doubt would exist as to the ultimate success of the Indian fight.

The December session of the East African Indian National Congress had resolved that as the Government of the Colony had attempted to secure a constitutional advance in Kenya before the question of the Indian franchise had been finally settled, Indians should boycott the election fixed for March 3rd, 1928. As the Government proceeded to prepare for the election without any reference to the resolution of the Congress, it was feared that they were pretty sure that some Indians would be forthcoming in spite of the Congress. What happened was a great surprise not only to the Government, but also to ourselves. The polling booth was entirely deserted on the 3rd of March. There were neither candidates nor electors, and the only Indians to be seen there were the presidents of the Congress and the local Indian associations with the secretaries who watched affairs. The complete and unprecedented success of the Congress programme produced a great impression and in the first moment of nervousness the European organ of the Colony, the *East African Standard*, thrown off its guard, called upon the Government to take steps to set at rest this eternally springing up, ever impeding communal question. The Government of Sir Edward Grigg however maintained their attitude of masterly indifference, and proceeded to see if they could find Indians to enter the Legislature as Government's nominees. Their search was in vain. So on Saturday, the 7th of April His Excellency took the unusual and bold step of calling the Executive of the Congress and some other Indian leaders to a conversation at Government House, and pressed upon them the necessity of the presence of Indian members on the Legislature, as, said His Excellency, important measures were to come up before the session fixed to meet on the 8th of this month. Sir Edward Grigg was tactful enough to say that if the Congress consented to send Indian members, he would nominate only those who were proposed by the Congress, and also that our acceptance of representation on a nomination basis would not, as His Excellency put it, prejudice our demand for a common roll or would not compromise "any principle the community held dear to their heart." Apart from this generality, there was no word about the important questions of the day. There was no promise of modification of the Government's policy of exclusion of Indians from all fields of political, agricultural and social life of the Colony. There was no hope held out of slowing down Government's activities with regard to the Feetham Commission's recommendations. The Indian leaders naturally refrained from giving an immediate reply, and the question was referred for consideration to a special meeting of the political body concerned. Meanwhile the Indian press of the Colony and some of the leading Indians who were interviewed by the *East African Standard* clearly showed that Indian opinion was solidly against accepting His Excellency the Governor's offer "in view of the experiences of the past and of risks involved in a premature compromise" as it was put. In view of this Sir Edward Grigg repeated his offer publicly in his speech on St. George's Day, and took care to add a reference to

the Round Table Agreement of South Africa, further stating that there was room in this Colony for such a concordat, and that he would do his utmost to promote such a one here. Had this speech not contained a charge that the Indian community were pursuing a policy of non-co-operation and had it recognised the fact that the decision of the Indian Congress in 1926 to work the communal roll was only provisional and taken under protest, it would have been received much better by the Indian community of Kenya. But the diplomatic vagueness and equivocation of the pronouncement were only too apparent to delude anybody, and so when the question came up for consideration at a very representative meeting of Kenya Indians it was unanimously resolved to reject the offer of His Excellency as it stood on the 7th of April. The offer of the concordat has not been formally made to the Congress, and was therefore not considered. It seems however that if it is ever formally made, it will receive sympathetic consideration from all and actual support from not a few. The *Democrat*, the oldest organ of Indian opinion in East Africa, has already said as much. The Government do not seem to have made any move in this direction till the moment of closing the mail.

Not only that but they have considerably inflamed Indian opinion by publishing a bill arising out of the recommendations of the Report of the Feetham Commission. This has materially affected a hopeful situation for the worse and it is further expected that Sir Edward Grigg's speech to the Legislative Council on Monday will not help to improve the situation.

A struggle is impending ahead of us. Two factors stand out prominently—one is the determination of the Indian community to secure a common roll and that of the European community to withhold it. The other is the alliance of the Colonial Government with the die-hard settler element of the territory for the purpose of forging ahead in the work of making Kenya a White Dominion irrespective of the Indians as well as the Natives. The latter are without education and leaders. The fate of Kenya and incidentally that of East Africa depends wholly on the way in which the Indians of the Colony conduct themselves.

U. K. OZA.

SIR LESLIE SCOTT'S SCHEME.

THE full text of the draft scheme prepared by Sir Leslie Scott, the legal adviser of the Indian Princes, and placed before the meeting of the Indian Princes held recently in Bombay, has been now published. Before entering into a detailed examination of the various proposals contained in this scheme it is necessary to make certain general observations about the whole tenor and spirit of this scheme.

Sir Leslie Scott does not seem to think that any improvement is necessary in the internal administration of the Indian States when it is desired that they should participate in common action under conditions of reciprocity in the interest of India as a whole and of the Empire. The scheme does not even recognise the existence of States' subjects numbering nearly 70 millions, whose interests require to be protected and safeguarded. When one-fourth of India is seething with discontent caused by autocratic rule side by side with British India pulsating with new life and new aspirations created by the ideal of responsible government, can Indian India cooperate with British India to promote the welfare of this country as a whole? No scheme of federation or anything akin to the same is possible when the con-

stituent parts differ so much in the matter of political development. It is therefore extremely surprising that a politician of the position and standing of Sir Leslie Scott should have altogether ignored this important aspect when framing his scheme.

Sir Leslie Scott also seems to be under the impression that Indian States are in a position of perfect equality with the Government of India. This impression is neither supported by history nor warranted by treaties. As I have shown conclusively in a series of articles on the subject published in these columns not long ago, Indian States are as a matter of fact in subordinate union with the Government of India. According to the constitution, under section 33 of the Government of India Act, the superintendence, direction and control of the whole of India, both British and Indian, vests in the Governor-General. Sir Leslie Scott wants to divest the Governor-General of these powers and to vest them in a Viceroy, who under the present constitution has no legal recognition. It is therefore necessary to consider what justification there is for divesting the Governor-General, the head of the Government of India of these powers and to elevate the Princes from the position of subordinate union to that of perfect equality. They have not shown the slightest inclination to follow the example of His Majesty's Government in placing their subjects on the road to responsible government and there is no gesture on their part of making their administration conform to the standards of good government. If we hear something nowadays about the fixing of a civil list for them and the establishment of an independent judiciary, it is due solely to the exigencies of the situation. And be it noted that even these elementary reforms do not go beyond the stage of mere talk. To me it seems only fair that until the Indian States become thoroughly self-governing no claim for equality deserves to be considered. It need not be pointed out that the demand of the Indian Princes to be left unfettered in their relations with the subjects goes completely against the whole spirit of the Montagu reforms and as such must be rejected. While Sir Leslie Scott wants to put certain limitations upon the constitutional responsibility of the Governor-General for the welfare of the Indian States' subjects there is absolutely no provision in the whole of his scheme fixing any responsibility upon the Indian Rulers for the well-being of their subjects. Sir Leslie Scott's scheme contemplates the transfer of the Political Department from the Government of India to the proposed Indian States Council, which will mean the perpetuation of dyarchy in this country with the result that while one-fourth of India would be under the domination of a Viceroy controlling Indian States with the advice of an Indian States Council and through the machinery of the Political Department, the remaining three-fourths would be under the control of a constitutional Governor-General carrying on the administration with the assistance of Ministers responsible to the people. In spite of the Princes' professions of sympathy with the political aspirations of the people of British India, there is no doubt in my mind that they are at heart opposed to them.

It has been already pointed out that the Viceroy has no statutory existence. The treaties with the Indian Princes have been concluded by the Governor-General through the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. As Sir William Hunter and Sir O'Moore Creigh have stated, the Viceroy is really intended more for ceremonial than for political purposes. This scheme is ominously silent on the point whether the Viceroy and the Governor-General are to be two persons or only one. But the bifur-

cation of their powers and the possibility of conflict between these two distinct positions argue the creation of two separate offices. Though dyarchy in the provinces is condemned, it is apparently being found handy in the consideration of the problem of Indian States. To be brief, the scheme appears to me to be impracticable and unworkable. In matters of common interest like justice, reciprocity, extradition, internal peace and order, conflict would arise between the two parts which would ultimately lead to a civil war. The Government of British India carried on by Ministers responsible to the people will have to fight every inch of their ground against autocrats and bureaucrats combined together and the door to all these dissensions is to be opened in the name of reforms.

It is also not clear why it is intended to divest some of the powers of the Governor-General which are vested in him under the existing constitution. As things stand, the civil and military government of this country is vested in the Governor-General, who is also responsible for maintaining peace in the land. The Indian army, moreover, which protects the Indian princes from internal commotion or foreign invasion, is maintained at the cost of the tax-payer in British India. We are not able to discover what provision for the protection of Indian States is made by Sir Leslie Scott in his scheme. But if the idea is that the Indian army should continue to perform that very useful function, is it not only fair that the Governor-General as the mouthpiece of British India should have some responsibility for the good government of Indian States? Does Sir Leslie Scott suggest that this responsibility should be shifted to the Viceroy? Is the control over the Indian army to be shared between the Governor-General and the Viceroy? If so, this would clearly mean that the control of the entire army will never be handed to India, even after she has attained self-government, that is to say, so long as the Indian States are in existence. Pandit Motilal Nehru described graphically recently in Bombay the evil consequences of such a proposal, which will result in keeping both British and Indian India in perpetual bondage. Sir Leslie Scott may afford to neglect this aspect of the question; but the leaders in British India cannot, and ought to lose no time in exposing the dangerous implications concealed in it. Sir Leslie Scott has also ignored the British Indian people. He seems to imagine that British India would never develop politically, and has accordingly framed his scheme. But British India is constantly progressing and Imperial and Provincial popular Councils have been established with definite powers of legislation and taxation, and the day may not be far off when India will be self-governing. Sir Leslie Scott's scheme has not been framed in the light of such possible developments. How impracticable the proposed Union Council would be will be shown at a later date. Suffice it to say for the present that the scheme practically confers full autonomy on the Indian States even in matters of common concern and places them in a position of decided superiority over British India.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, May 9,

ECHOES OF TSINAN.

THE recent developments in China are followed all over Europe with the closest attention. The drama of Shanghai, which called for such a spectacular display of British forces a little more than a year ago, is now being enacted anew with a different cast and

with even greater international issues being involved in it. From the stalemate of only a few weeks past, with the war-lords unready or unwilling, because of intrigue, to move against each other, the military situation has evolved with unexpected speed, and Shantung has become another Shanghai. From the point of view of the development of Chinese nationalism Shantung is even more important than Shanghai as the vast amount of attention it provoked at the Peace Conference in Paris showed. Able at last to compose their differences, even if it were only for the military purposes on hand, the Southern commanders encounter little difficulty in defeating the minor feudal and military lords who practise a wavering allegiance to the ruler of Peking. Outside Manchuria, at all events, Chang Tsolin's power is built upon sand, and if it appeared any different until now, it was mostly due to the support he obtained from the interested parties in the Chinese struggle to maintain that illusion. The dwindling of this extraneous aid, the revolt of the long suffering masses against exactions for unabashed personal purposes, and the military experience which sustained skirmishes have brought together, account for the undermining of the might of the Northern war-lord. The Southerners, like the Angora Nationalists before them, have, though perhaps to a lesser extent, coupled diplomatic triumph with their military achievement. Not only did the Nanking Government recently conclude a successful concord with the United States, but also when an issue arose about two Chinese Communists who sought refuge in the French concession, it ended only with the French having to abandon them to the now anti-Communist Southerners. Their greatest triumph would, however, seem to consist in forcing on Japan a different attitude than what generally characterised her until lately. Japan's interest in Shantung is second only to that in Manchuria both on account of trade and investments. The attention given in Europe at present to the Chinese developments arises mostly from the reported clash between the Southern and Japanese troops at Tsinan. The question is, Will Japan change her new policy of conciliation regarding China? A categorical answer to this question is impossible in the circumstances, but the probabilities are that she will not. The international situation to-day and the intricacies of the Chinese question together make a real war in China an incalculable adventure, and the recent crisis in Japanese finance has been of so severe a nature that Japan has need to take the utmost caution in the matter. Besides, there is no popular willingness in Japan to go to war against China. This was sufficiently proved by the reverses which Baron Tanaka suffered in the recent elections on account of his "strong policy" in China. So the probabilities are that, as was the case with Nanking, the "incidents" between the Nationalist and Japanese troops at Tsinan would result in little more than apologies and reparation for damage done. Great Britain then would be the only one among the Great Powers concerned to be unable to bring the negotiations with the Chinese Nationalists to a successful issue.

THE ISSUE IN EGYPT.

For the moment Sir Austen Chamberlain is being much applauded for what is considered to be the feat of having brought the Egyptian crisis to a close. Whatever the reactions in Great Britain on this point—and they are by no means as unanimous as the peculiar composition of the present House and the unwritten law of London journalism in the matter of supporting the government of the day in certain issues, would seem to bear out—there is very clear recognition abroad that the Egyptian crisis is in its opening rather than closing phase. The Anglo-Egyptian issue is so important both from the point of view of practical considerations and in principle that it needs to be clearly comprehended. The existing law, No. 14 of 1923, regarding the conduct of public meetings requires that five applicants shall sign the request for the privilege of holding a public meeting, and two in the case of political meetings. These applicants must be persons of good character and must live in the community in which the meeting is to be held, but the police may refuse permission for the meeting, "in the interests of public order." The change now proposed in the law would require only two applicants concerning whom no conditions are laid down. They merely notify the police of their intention to hold the meetings, and there is no reference to the police prohibition. The existing law allows the police to be present at all meetings and to stop them if "illegal" speeches are made, and to arrest the organisers, who may be imprisoned for six months and fined upto £E10. The proposed law specifies the place which any police officer present at the meeting may take, and one of the places he may not occupy is a seat on the platform. The other changes contemplated include the stopping of the meeting by the police only on the written request of the organisers, the continuation of the meeting on the restoration of discipline if disorder ensues, and lighter penalties than before for breaches of regulations. The new measure would impose a fine of £E30 and imprisonment upto one month on a police officer improperly interfering with a meeting whereas the offending organiser or participant need pay no more than £E1 by way of fine or risk imprisonment for more than a week. In the Egyptian view these changes are accounted for by the fact that in the past there has been unwarranted interference with the political rights of the Egyptian people, and Egypt must now modernise the process of holding public meetings and enlarge her democratic privileges. The British objection to the new law is that it is based on a belief in interference after disorder has started, instead of barring out the possibilities of disorder by a rigid control of all public meetings and demonstrations. While the British Note is manifestly based on Great Britain's responsibilities towards other Powers in the matter of protecting the interests of their nationals in Egypt, there is little doubt that the emphatic position Great Britain has taken in this question is wholly actuated by the anxiety for Britain's position in Egypt, once the Egyptian

Nationalists have an unrestricted field for their activities. It is evident from the nature of the issue that if Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons which implies that Egypt need never hope for any change in the existing law governing the conduct of public meetings is really final, continued and growing friction is all that can be expected in the Anglo-Egyptian relations in the future. The Labour Party would seem to favour further negotiations and to point to placing the vital imperial interests in Egypt under international guarantees but the Labour leader has burnt all his boats where colonial policy is in question and his views are eclipsed by his own past.

THE TREND IN TURKEY.

The situation in the Near East, however, is gradually growing in importance, and it is not likely that Great Britain will be capable of resisting Egyptian Nationalism with all the force conveyed by the statement of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. As in Persia, where to the surprise of Persian officials the British have had to seek conciliation, driven to it by the pressure of the international situation in that region, so also it is probable that sooner or later, the rising forces on the borders of the Mediterranean will more effectively tone down the British attitude towards Egypt than any arguments can do it. The divorce between religion and State in Turkey is no isolated phenomenon, but the logical outcome of a series of changes which Kemal Pasha's Turkey has witnessed. These changes might as well be recounted here. First the Sultanate was abolished, Turkey being officially proclaimed a Republic on October 29, 1923; on March 3, 1924, the Ottoman Caliphate was abolished by Angora; on April 8, 1924, the Makhemes, or courts of Moslem institution, were abolished, being replaced by law-courts formed on an Occidental model; on September 30, 1925, the Dervishes and the Tekkes in which they lived were abolished; after the autumn of 1926, orthodox Private Law was abandoned in favour of a Turkish Civil Code copied from Switzerland; and, last year complete liberty of choice in religion was officially accorded to Turkish citizens having attained their majority. It was quite natural, therefore, that the State, as a result of these steps, should be secularized. While these events with their wide spectacular appeal have been engaging public attention, in political circles in Europe Turkey is assuming a different interest, and this comes from certain mutually complementary things which the Turkish and Italian newspapers and statesmen have been saying. Signor Mussolini no longer indulges in reminding the Moslem, of Vienna, should he dare to venture into Europe. On the other hand, relations between Turkey and Italy are 'very friendly,' as Tewfik Rushdy Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, remarked in the National Assembly. At the same time he referred to the Duce as "one of the most important personalities of our epoch," and said that his conversation with him in Milan "constituted a notable step in the course of these friendly relations." Italian news-

papers have been returning the compliment to the Turkish President. There has been some apprehension in Greece about this Turko-Italian rapprochement, and developments are being watched closely.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pietermaritzburg, May 7.

CONDONATION.

THE question of condonation of illegal entrants into the Union which has been hanging fire these ten months or more took a dramatic turn on the 27th April when the Transvaal Supreme Court decided in the case *Daya Purshottam vs. Immigration Appeal Board*, that Sec. 5 of Act 37 of 1927 has no retrospective effect. The Court held that Sec. 5 took away a very important common law right, curtailed the jurisdiction of the Superior Courts, invested a public official and the Immigration Board with power to cancel and deprive Indians of important rights granted to them by law, and it was contrary to the principles of the interpretation of laws to give retrospective effect to such a law when it did not expressly provide for it. The Court apprehended that under the section even innocent persons, who were not parties to the fraudulent representations by which a certificate was obtained, were liable to the deprivation of their rights. This judgment knocks the bottom out of the whole scheme of condonation, at any rate as far as the holders of registration or other papers in the Transvaal are concerned. The case of the Cape and Natal, where no such system of registration exists stands on a different footing.

The Indians in the Transvaal are naturally jubilant over the decision. But they are now rather worried when they are told that the Department had decided to appeal to the Supreme Court, and failing there, to go to the legislature with an amending bill. For it is contended that the Minister's policy continues to be the same, only the law as passed has been declared by the Court to be capable of a different interpretation. An amendment would bring the language of the law into line with the intentions of the Government. On the Indian side, the case is but a pyrrhic victory. This much, however, can be said for it, that it strengthens morally the plea of the Indians that the present judgment should stand, and, should not be disturbed by amending legislation. The Court as it were disapproved of the policy of the Government. That is something gained.

EXEMPTED INDIANS.

Mr. S. B. Medh is the holder of a "letter of exemption" granted to him in July 1914, which permitted his admission into the Transvaal and authorised his residence therein "so long as you maintain a domicile in the Transvaal." He left the Transvaal in 1918 and returned in 1927. He was then declared by the Immigration authorities as a "prohibited immigrant". The matter was taken to the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. The Court found for Mr. Medh and went beyond and behind the letter of exemption, into the circumstances that surrounded it and held that the Minister could have given that letter only under Sec. 22 of the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, and that section did not empower the Minister to lay down any conditions in granting letters of exemption. Consequently, the condition that Mr. Medh should have maintained his domicile was invalid, and he could not, therefore, be declared a prohibited immigrant. There are about 80 Indians with letters of exemption, and their status is altered for the better by this decision. It is

understood, however, that the Government intend to appeal in this case also.

EDUCATION EXPERTS.

Mr. K. P. Kichlu presented a very able and comprehensive Memorandum on Indian education in Natal to the Indian Education Enquiry Committee. His work has been greatly appreciated both by the Education Department, the Commission and the press. Mr. Kichlu's work in Natal is not quite finished, for he is to meet the Commission again on the 15th May. In the meanwhile, he is going to the Transvaal to study the condition of Indian education in that Province and confer with the Administrator and the Education Department.

Besides giving valuable assistance to Mr. Kichlu, Miss Gordon availed herself of opportunities to address meetings in Maritzburg on subjects of Indian interest. By her sympathetic exposition based on knowledge and understanding of India and Indian problems, she was able to correct certain misconceptions regarding India which have gained currency in this country on account of Miss Mayo's "Mother India." By speaking to the Tamil people in their mother tongue she has touched the heart of these humble and "depressed" people with whom she is very popular. She has been a social success with the European community, and in particular with the Education Commissioners; and that has helped not a little to kindle a living interest in Indian education among the Commissioners.

FINANCE OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

By his researches Mr. Kichlu has unearthed and mercilessly exposed the fact that the Provincial Administration of Natal have diverted for other purposes the moneys provided by the Union Government for Indian education, and recommended that the sums so diverted should be refunded and made available for Indian education. The *Natal Witness* and the *Natal Advertiser* have both strongly supported Mr. Kichlu's contentions. They also support his recommendations that the whole of the Union subsidy should be spent on Indian education, that the Province should contribute some funds from the Provincial treasury and that the Union Government should be requested to raise the subsidy. The papers frankly acknowledge the fact that Indians have contributed generously toward their education. Thus the *Natal Advertiser*—

"Yet the Provincial Council can find nothing better to do than to apply for other purposes part of the already small sum advanced by the Government. It can find nothing better to do than to hamper the efforts of the Indian people, backed to a great extent by their money, to do that which they have been urged and implored to do."

It is of great significance to find a leading paper saying that far from betraying apathy and indifference towards education and the improvement in social and health standards that comes therefrom Indians have done a great deal for themselves and that the only sympathy they received in their praiseworthy efforts from the Administration was of a negative character.

CONDONATION AND REPATRIATION.

Soon after the terms of condonation of illegal entrants into the Union were announced a South African-born Indian correspondent wrote a letter to the *Natal Mercury* in which he asked why if the upliftment of the Indian community was dependent upon its reduction, the Government should condone the illegal entry of thousands of a section of Indians viz. the traders, who have no right to be here at all, and whose presence is the chief source of racial animosity and friction, and at the same time, vote public funds, to which the resident Indians contribute, to induce the repatriation of the lawfully domiciled

Indians of another section, viz. the descendants of the indentured Indians, who are wanted in the country. These have no homes in India, are pucca South Africans and yet are being induced to leave the country for an uncertain life in India. The *Natal Mercury* favourably comments on this plea and demands an explanation of Dr. Malan.

OUR KENYA LETTER.

(From Our Correspondent.)

Mombasa, May 18.

SIR EDWARD GRIGG'S ADVICE.

SPEAKING on St. George's day, Sir Edward Grigg remarked that the policy of noncooperation embarked upon by Kenya Indians was one of extremes. He said.

"What we desire to achieve in this colony is agreement within the Colony, agreement amongst ourselves, agreement amongst all communities together; and that if that agreement can be attained, it must have of its own nature a greater stability than any agreement imposed upon us from without. I therefore particularly regret that the Indian community of this Colony has recently decided to cut itself off from the political life of the Colony. I am sure that from their own point of view that is not a wise course and I have therefore made a proposal to them by which they may, without compromising any principle to which they are attached, continue their part in the constitutional life of the Colony."

This is a sort of bait offered to the Indian community; if they succumb to the temptation, they sacrifice the avowed principles and the general interest of the community at the threshold of the Council Chamber, where mere registering of the protest is the only thing that they can do. But the Governor's advice has fallen flat. The Indian community has, through its national Executive and through mass meetings, declared its determination that in the event of the passage of the Bill to amend the law relating to municipal government, through the Legislative Council without satisfying the Indian demands, all the Indian members of all the municipal bodies and District Committees should forthwith resign and further that they should cease all co-operation in municipal work and raise all possible constitutional difficulties. The Government has published the Municipalities Bill for information and criticism. It was at first evident that the Bill will be rushed through the May session of the Council. But it was not published till the end of April. It appears that pressure from the Colonial Office might have made its publication necessary. The Bill itself goes no further than the Report. The points embodied in the minority reports of the Indian members of the Feetham Commission have of course been callously disregarded; and a new proportion of representation is proposed by which European representation is increased and the Indian representation is not correspondingly increased at all. Even the modest Indian demand of equal seats with Europeans is "thrown out!" It is interesting to note how this constitutional crisis will be overcome.

THE INDIAN TRADE MISSION.

The Trade Mission sent by the Government of India visited this Colony last month. Whether the Commission will do any good to Indian trade remains to be seen; but the way in which it endeavoured to get materials and facts appears to many Indian minds superficial and disappointing. It has failed to establish any contact with the Indian trading community who are the proper people to approach, if the Mission is really out to foster Indian trade in this Colony. In Mombasa, they had not time enough even to consult or meet the members of the Indian Merchants' Cham-

ber and Bureau. It is also not known if this mission succeeded in securing any concessions for Indian trade from the Colonial authorities.

OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, May 25.

FRESH LEASE OF LIFE TO MINISTERS.

THE two Hindu Ministers who had incurred the wrath of the high and mighty by not falling in with the super-bureaucrats, when the Council made its first assault on the Simon Commission, and allowed the Government forces to be outnumbered by the Opposition by one, would seem to have obtained a fresh lease of life. But it is surmised that its duration is a short one. It would appear that Sir Alexander Muddiman is manoeuvring to turn the tables on the Commission boycotters by making the Council reverse its decision. The Council is expected to be summoned in the last week of August and then the Government is going to bring forward a resolution for the appointment of a committee of seven to co-operate with the Simon Seven. The lure of Ministerships will be held out to the waverers to make them desert the cause of freedom of the country and join hands with the enemies. It is hoped thus to achieve a victory over the boycotters. The two Hindu Ministers will then be faced with the Council's mature decision and asked if they are prepared to abide by it. If they refuse to do so our constitutionalist Governor will be obliged to demand their resignation as they will cease to enjoy the confidence of the majority in the Council. Only if such is the scrupulous regard that the Governor entertains for constitutional proprieties, His Excellency should have demanded the resignation of Nawab Mahammad Yusuf who voted with the minority when the Council decided to boycott the Commission. However, I leave it to the constitutional conscience of the Governor to solve this dilemma. But I hope the Ministers must as Indians have independent opinions of their own on the Simon Commission and should not act as mere automatons to register the decree of the Council. If their opinions do not coincide with those of the majority in the Council the only honourable course for them is to resign.

U. P. GOVERNMENT'S WAYS.

In unscrupulousness our provincial Government perhaps surpasses every other Government in the world. Here is a sample of the spirit in which it works the constitution. The United Provinces Government Gazette of May 5 notifies that the disqualification incurred by Rai Bahadur Sahu Shyam Sunder Lal of Bareilly for election to the Legislative Council has been removed by order of the local Government. Thus the Rai Bahadur obtained the reward of his great virtue of unquestioning obedience to the Government whip in the Council. During the period he was a member of the Council prior to his unseating and disqualification he never once voted against Government in any crucial division. The by-election which followed his removal from the Council, contrary to the expectations of certain persons, resulted in the election of a nationalist who augmented the forces of the opposition. There was then an election petition against this nationalist M.L.C., the hearing of which by the election tribunal concluded on May 12. Nothing could be known about the decision of the election commissioners on May 5 and it has not yet been published, but the Governor in Council is not evidently lacking in foresight and has made timely preparations for a by-election, in case the decision went against the sitting member. An Associated Press message dated Lucknow, May 18, reported that it is understood that the Commissioners appointed by the

Governor to enquire into the Bareilly election petition have recommended that Mr. Capoor be unseated and disqualified for some years. "There will thus be three elections during one term from the same constituency. It is a record for India." There have been others, e. g., the Raja Sahib of Tirwa and Babu Prag Narain, who have incurred disqualifications as a result of election petitions, but the Governor in Council has not betrayed the same solicitude to remove their disqualification. But they belong to nationalist ranks. Can any other Government boast of such impartiality?

ANTICS OF A PUPPET MINISTER.

After the chastising influence of the war and during the hot days of the non-co-operation campaign some of our sturdy public men were appointed to Ministerships and Executive Councillorships, but much water has flown down the Ganges since then. Now independence is at a discount and only such men are chosen for these offices as combine in themselves the quality of subservience with a capacity to capture sectional and communal votes. One such Minister is the Hon. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf, the author of the two notorious letters to certain members of the Muslim League, asking them to use the present opportunity to advance Muslim interests, by co-operating with the All-White Commission, at the sacrifice of national interests. This dummy Minister does not appear to be exercising his thinking capacity, if he has any, in administering the department under his charge, and readily agrees to become the illegitimate father of any scheme hatched by his I. C. S. masters. Since he took charge of office as Minister of Local Self-Government, several attempts have been made to curtail the powers and rights of local bodies.

REVIEWS.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER. By M. G. FAWCETT & F. M. TURNER. (The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 163. 2s. 6d.

THIS volume is written specially in connection with the Josephine Butler centenary which falls in this month. In every nation which is neither primitive nor decadent, we come across men and women who stand pre-eminently above the crowd, who shine forth as stars against a dark background, men and women who are wedded to a cause almost under a divine inspiration and fight for it, live for it, and sacrifice their lives for it facing bravely all opposition, all opprobrium, and all manner of misrepresentation and calumny till the goal is reached or in case of apparent failure hand over the banner to another comrade in the struggle who may be lucky enough to plan it over the coveted spot. Josephine Butler will easily take a high rank amongst such personalities in the history of England. Hers was a lifelong fight against tremendous odds for the primary rights of womanhood.

What are generally known as the C. D. Acts—the Contagious Diseases Acts—were passed by Parliament in instalments between the years 1864 to 1869. These acts involved measures which were a direct violation of the liberty of womanhood in general although they were intended mainly to put a check on or to regulate prostitution.

"Prostitution is a very old institution. It has its root in the old belief that "the irregular indulgence of natural impulse" is right for men and wrong for women. Yet a man cannot have this "irregular indulgence" and

he can find a woman to be his partner. If the majority of women are to be "regular" while the majority of men are "irregular," it follows that there must be a small body of women to whom large numbers of men can resort and that this condition of things must inevitably lead to social disorder and disease. Men have from time to time attempted to deal with this disorder and disease by regulation or by suppression. Both methods have been aimed solely at the women who were alleged to be prostitutes and no attempt was made to deal with the vastly greater body of men who consorted with them and who were, if only by reason of their greater numbers, a far graver source of danger to the general community. It is impossible to read the history of prostitution without a deep feeling of indignation at the stupidities and injustices perpetrated against the unfortunate and sometimes innocent women in the name of health, public order and even religion."

The cause of introduction of the C. D. Acts to regulate prostitution was the alarm at the increase in disease not only among the men of the army, and navy but also among the civil population of England, especially where it was congregating in ever increasing numbers in industrial centres. They applied at first to certain military and naval centres and their operation was by degrees extended throughout England. The main features of the Acts were: (i) Registration and police supervision of prostitutes (ii) Their periodical medical examination for the detection of venereal disease, and (iii) Their compulsory detention in special hospitals if diseased.

Mrs. Butler always maintained that the C. D. Acts were a violation of English law. In her book "The Violated" published in 1870 she compares the provisions of Magna Carta and Habeas Corpus with the provisions of the C. D. Acts and shows that women (and not only known prostitutes but all women "suspected of being prostitutes") were deprived of the safeguards and personal security hitherto secured to them by law; that they were liable for punishment for an offence that was not an offence in law, and that they were liable on the mere suspicion of a policeman to arrest and a forced medical examination which constituted a serious invasion of their personal liberty. If they resisted this examination, they were imprisoned with hard labour.

It was against such Acts which made an invidious distinction between the liberties of men and those of women, that Josephine Butler took a firm stand and launched a campaign which was gallant, determined and long continued till she had the Acts repealed in the year 1886. A noteworthy landmark in her agitation against the Acts was the manifesto giving the main reasons why the C. D. Acts were unjust and showing how they trampled upon the rights of women. This was widely circulated and did a good deal to focus public attention on the question. In spite of regular persecution, she addressed meetings in various places and helped the election to Parliament of candidates who were expected to help her cause. The agitation started by her led to the appointment in 1870 of a Royal Commission to inquire into and report upon the administration and operation of the Acts. Although the Commission did not recommend a repeal of the Acts it unanimously recommended the immediate discontinuance of compulsory examination and the abandonment of the virtual imprisonment of the suspected women.

Josephine Butler kept up the agitation against the C. D. Acts, and while working strenuously for their repeal, she came in possession of certain facts and figures which showed the extent of the white slave traffic in England at the time. On the strength of this information she published a statement which

involved the Chief of Police of the Belgian Government. It was chiefly with Belgium that this traffic was going on. However her statements, based as they were on incontrovertible facts, were not challenged by the Belgian Government or by anybody else. Her deposition made on oath produced results in Belgium, for which all the friends of justice were thankful. A strong committee was later formed in London for the suppression of the accursed traffic, which brought in Mr. W. A. Coote into the movement and led a few years later to his appointment as Secretary of the National Vigilance Association, a position in which he did invaluable work. And if the Governments of Europe, represented at the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1921, signed an international convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, it was Josephine and her colleagues in 1880 that had sowed the seed, which fructified so richly forty years later.

The cause of the children was taken up by Mr. W. T. Stead who published a series of articles called the "Maiden Tribute" in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885. For Mr. Stead's generous and impulsive heart was profoundly moved by Mrs. Butler's revelations concerning the continued "sale of children for infamous purposes", which had been denounced by the Royal Commission in 1871; but this had not succeeded in moving Parliament to amend the law for their protection. On the contrary the man who had attempted to provide further protection for them was charged with criminal conspiracy and cooperation with another to disregard the sacred right of the father to the possession of the child and on this charge Mr. Stead was condemned in 1885 to six months imprisonment as an ordinary offender! In 1883 Mrs. Butler published the story of the persecution of the Salvation Army in Switzerland, which gave wide publicity to her campaign against the white slave traffic.

"The keepers of the State-protected houses of ill-fame in Geneva were up in arms against the Salvationists; and like the sellers of trophies from the shrine of Diana in Ephesus, some 1800 years earlier, fearing their hopes of gain were threatened, they secured bands of roughs who disturbed an army meeting and caused scenes of violence and disorder. Miss Catherine Booth and Miss Charlesworth were expelled from Geneva. But the persecution did their cause good rather than harm; and these strange events—the spectacle of the city of Calvin identifying itself with the keepers of bad houses and expelling the Salvationists—came as near a farce as was within the bounds of possibility."

All this brought Josephine Butler's work to light not only in England but throughout Europe and one of the first results was that the operation of the C. D. Acts was suspended in 1883, though their actual repeal was not carried out until three years later.

But Josephine Butler did not confine her benevolent activities only to England but decided to extend their scope to other countries as well by starting an organisation called the International Abolitionist Society having for its object the abolition of the Government Regulation of Prostitution in Great Britain and the Continent. Of this new organisation, the first one of its kind, Mrs. Butler was the first honorary secretary. Nor were the colonies and India left out. For in the very year in which the C. D. Acts were repealed what is known as the "Infamous Memorandum" was issued by Major-General Chapman, under instructions from the Commander-in-Chief in India. This had the following objects:—

(i) "To arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazars, whether in cantonments or on the line of march."

(ii) "To have a certain number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses."

The memorandum includes reference to many previous instructions on the subject; and it was pointed out that the "number of women on the register is not in proportion to the number of men who visit them". Also that "His Excellency will be prepared to sanction any reasonable expenditure from cantonment funds on the measure therein suggested".

When the Abolitionists came to know of this memorandum they at once took up the challenge. Meetings and conferences were held, statistics collected and circulated and constant parliamentary vigilance maintained, till the Indian C. D. Acts were repealed in the year 1888. This was followed by the passage of a new Cantonment Act which practically revived the old system and Anglo-Indian journals were jubilant that the Abolitionists had been outwitted. But the official victory was only short-lived and the final repeal of the C. D. Acts in India, which Mrs. Butler alas! did not live to see, was accomplished owing to the earnest efforts made by the Rev. T. and Mrs. Katherine Dixon, who worked in India during the war (1914-18) and succeeded in getting up a strong public opinion against the regulations. Abolitionists were also at work in Hong Kong, Singapore, Ceylon, Gibraltar, Malta, South Africa, Australia and there can be no doubt that they all got their inspiration from Josephine Butler, who laid down her life in 1906, but whose work was continued by the Abolitionists in all countries, and the final victory won only so recently as in 1927. Their creed can be summed up in their leader's own words:—

"Injustice is immoral, oppression is immoral, the sacrifice of the interests of the weaker to the stronger is immoral, and all these immoralities are embodied in all systems of legalised prostitution in whatever part of the world or under whatever title they exist."

P. V. SHIKHARE.

WESTERN INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

A HISTORY OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN INDIA. By A. S. ALTEKAR. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. p. p. 144. Rs 3.

MORE concrete and particular in its treatment, than the better known treatises by Baden-Powell, Mr. Altekar's contribution to the knowledge of the village communities in Western India deserves to be prominently noted. So far as his 'history of the important aspects and institutions of the village communities' is concerned, the author may be relied upon to have presented only the results of a careful research, through a number of Sanskrit authorities. But when he proposes to exaggerate the Aryan origin of the institution, in opposition to the other extreme countenanced by Baden-Powell, he unnecessarily enters upon controversial ground. And in the face of the fact that the author could not even discuss 'the result of the contact of the Aryan and Dravidian village communities in prehistoric times', because 'there was no evidence whatever to form any idea about the purely Dravidian villages community,' (p. 135), many of his statements would seem to proceed from prejudice. What he insists upon to be the difference between the 'Aryan' and 'Dravidian' village commu-

nities in historic times, may be only the outcome of independent provincial developments (cf. p. iv). It cannot be ignored that Dr. Hoernle's theory regarding the origin of the Aryo-Dravidians (Risley, *People of India*, 1908, pp. 53-54) is bound to go against him.

His contention as to the existence of marked provincial peculiarities being developed by the village communities in India (p. iii) does not seem to be warranted from his own statements on pp. 121-22. The use of the term, 'the Pandharpul School' (p. 118) is certainly unusual. The obvious misprint 'Kerki' for 'Harki' (p. 47) cannot be excused in a University publication. The explanation of the term ought to be corrected, if it is to be interpreted without anachronism.

The author is evidently more at home with the Sanskrit than the Marathi material. He uses the latter more sparingly than he promises to do in his preface. He should not have referred to Rajwade's publications as 'Aitibasik Lekha Sangraha', as he invariably does. That title properly suggests Khare's work.

It may be suggested in passing that much valuable material may yet have remained unconsulted. The discussion in Chapter V could have been improved with the help of the 'Report on the Village Communities of the Deccan' by Mr. R. N. Gooddine (1852), which seems to have curiously escaped the notice of the author.

On the whole we cannot but consider the book as extremely valuable as a genuine piece of research and well deserving of a prominent place in the University Economic series. The binding and get-up seem poor when compared with the permanent value of the contents.

D. V. KALE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE LIBERAL STATE. By THOMAS WHITTAKER. (Watts and Co., London.) 1928. 8 × 5½. pp. 159. 6s.
- HUMAN MIGRATION AND FUTURE. By J. W. GREGORY. (Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 218. 12s. 6d.
- J. ALLEN BAKER: A MEMOIR. By E. B. BAKER, and E. J. NOFL BAKER. (The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ × 6. pp. 269. 7s. 6d.
- THE DECCAN AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF ACT. By K. S. GUPTA. (Author, Poona.) 1928. pp. 355. Rs. 5.
- NEGRO LABOUR IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1925. By CHARLES H. WESLEY. (Vanguard Press, New York.) 1927. 7½ × 4½. pp. 343.
- ENQUIRY INTO MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY BUDGETS IN BOMBAY CITY. 1928. pp. 33. Rs. 1-1-0.
- ENQUIRY INTO DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES OR PAYMENTS IN RESPECT OF FINES. 1928. pp. 94. Rs. 1-7-0.
- INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN CAMBODIA. By BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJI. (Calcutta University Press, Calcutta.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 303.
- REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION IN MADRAS. 1928. 9½ × 6. pp. 152. As. 12.

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