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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE dissolution of the Assam and Bengal Legislative Councils has been announced. In both cases the Governor finding it difficult to secure a ministry enjoying the confidence of the Council. In Assam the excise policy of the minister who has recently shown a tendency to increase the register of pass-holders for opium consumption has given rise to much dissatisfaction which found vent in a censure motion in the course of the budget debate being carried against him. Subsequently a vote of no-confidence in him was also passed by the Council. The other ministership was vacant, its incumbent having been made executive councillor, when the Governor unable to find a suitable substitute took over the administration of the Transferred departments. The result was that when the vote of no-confidence in the only surviving minister was carried, and difficulties were experienced in the formation of a ministry, the Governor dissolved the legislature. One would have expected that the passage of a vote of no-confidence against the minister would be followed by his resignation as required by constitutional usage; but to everybody's surprise the minister is still continuing in office. Under the Government of India Act he can of course do so during the Governor's pleasure; all the same the Governor's action in allowing him to go on as Minister in spite of the passage of the vote of no-confidence can be justifiably interpreted, as is being done already, as defiance of the legislature—a point which cannot be a source of strength to Government's supporters in the coming election. If the Governor could take over one Minister's portfolios, why could he not have done the same with regard to the other rather than placing the friends of Government in a disadvantageous position on the eve of the election?

A similar situation arose in Bengal as well. The death of an executive councillor was followed by the translation of one of the ministers as his successor. The Governor, finding it impossible even after diligent search to get a minister acceptable to the Council, has dissolved the council. But whether the dissolution would very much improve the position as regards the setting up of a ministry remains a doubtful point. In Bengal, it is said, the Swarajists are growing strong at the present moment and will in all probability come back in their present, if not increased, strength; while in Assam though the suddenness with which the new election has come places the popular parties at a disadvantage, it is confidently asserted that Swarajists would be able to retain all their seats. Whether these prophecies come true remains to be seen. The situation would of course be different for the Swarajists who expect to be the largest single group in Bengal at any rate accept offices, of which there appears to be little chance. If Bengal is afflicted with a succession of short-lived ministries as it has been all these years, the blame must be attributed to the Swarajist policy of non-acceptance of office.

INDIA is sometimes asked, as she is asked by Mr. Woolacott in his recent publication "Revival of the Press Act?" which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, to look upon non-official Europeans in this country as friends of Indian progress and liberty. They would certainly be so regarded but for the fact that some of their acts make one doubtful as to the suitability of this description in their case. To take the most recent instance. The question of the stoppage of the preaching of communal hatred by newspapers recently engaged the attention of their Association in Calcutta which has addressed a letter to Government on the subject. There can of course be no difference of opinion among normally minded people that the preaching of class hatred is an evil which should not be tolerated. But if under the garb of putting down that evil anybody were to propose fresh fetters on the liberty of the press which in the hands of an irresponsible executive are more often than not likely to be misused, it gives ground for the suspicion whether the proposer of such reactionary measures could at all be looked upon as a friend of liberty. And yet that is exactly what the European Association has done. The Association does not favour the prosecution of the offending editors under the existing law of the land, "for although individual editors may be punished the newspapers gain their object by the advertisement of such prosecutions." The remedy proposed is some legislation, perhaps on the lines of the old Press Act, under which Government could make the publication of the offending paper impossible. The efficacy of this method to meet the evil, however, appears to be open to question, for even if a newspaper is

suppressed, there is nothing to prevent its reappearance, though under a different name, the old editors being free to go on with their dirty game of setting up class against class. The real remedy would be the education of public opinion on right lines, which the Association itself only mentions but does not stop to emphasise sufficiently. The Association would, in our opinion, be far better serving the cause it professes to have at heart by using all the influence it possesses for getting Government to exert itself more vigorously for educating the public rather than egging them on to repressive action.

* * *

THE late Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhary whose death took place at Calcutta last week began his public career by being a prominent supporter of the Bengal Partition and on the strength of this service to Government at a critical time he was the recipient of a succession of honours from the Government of Bengal. He was a great champion of the communal electorates and had much to do with their introduction into the Local Self-Government Act passed by the first Council under diarchy. He was appointed Minister twice and was later on appointed Member of the Executive Council in succession to Sir Abdur Rahim. He was closely associated with most of the social and political movements in Bengal and was a staunch nationalist in spite of his partiality towards Muslim claims. His death is a loss to the public life of Bengal.

The late Mr. Balakram whose sudden and untimely death at Mahabeshwar last week is deeply to be mourned, showed himself in his early career as a student of brilliant parts and easily secured an entry into the Indian Civil Service in 1901. After successively filling the posts of Assistant Accountant-General, Assistant Judge and Sessions Judge he was confirmed in the appointment of Remembrancer of Legal Affairs at the end of 1926. His conspicuous ability as a Judge marked him out prominently for higher honours and he was recently made a Puisne Judge of the High Court. Amongst Indian circles he had been known for his genial sociability and charitableness.

* * *

THE final Report of the Indian delegation to the League of Nations Session of November last year is now out and it utters a warning against the constantly increasing expenditure of the League. The delegates note that the benefit to India from the work of the League did not correspond to her share of the expenditure. They further draw attention to the suspicion entertained in Eastern countries that the tendency of the League was to strengthen European interests at the expense of those of other continents. It was the duty of the League therefore to show that it worked impartially both for Asia and Europe. The Report describes how Lord Lytton reminded the Assembly that a dissentient member can only command respect for its views by refusing to vote the Budget of the League and expressed the hope that India would not be compelled to resort to this method. It is to be noted that the Norwegian delegate Mr. Hambro supported Lord Lytton; and although both of them refrained from taking extreme action their warning served to draw attention to the need for broadening the basis of the activities of the League. It was timely, say the delegates in the Report, to remind the League that its preoccupation with European affairs must now cease with a tolerable reconstruction achieved in European countries. The part played by the Indian delegation was of importance in securing that the League observed in practice that universality which it claimed in prin-

ciple. The delegates further emphasize the view that the non-European countries cannot reasonably be expected to consent to an ever-increasing Budget and they express the hope that their action taken last year may have its due effect on the total expenditure this year and on the relative share of India so that the relative value to India of the result of the League's expenditure may be proportionate to her contribution. At the same time the Report admits wholeheartedly that the advantages which India derives from her being an original member of the League have been considerable and are becoming more important on account of the degree of international status which she enjoys. Apart from the protest against unreasonable expenditure, the great service which the Indian delegation has performed in our opinion is to insist upon the point that the only solution of the question created by the distrust of Asia in the interests and ideals of the League lay in greater collaboration between the East and the West.

* * *

FOLLOWING the lead given by Mr. Preston as President of the annual convention of the International Bankers' Association, American Banking Association Mr. Kisch writing in the *Financial Times* makes out a very good case for an International Bankers' Association. Such a body, he says, would furnish a platform for the ventilation of the reports issued by the League of Nations on financial issues. Mr. Kisch does not believe that the world at present dances to the tune of New York; on the contrary he thinks that all the money markets are interdependent. He deplores that the conference between the Central Banks of the world recommended by the International Economic Conference has not been held, since the situation created by the re-established Gold Standard requires close watching for many years. He praises the action taken by Central Banks in assisting one another with credits for the reconstruction of currencies and the continuance of a sound monetary policy; nonetheless he rightly stresses the need for instructed scrutiny and criticism. The objective of the Genoa Conference was, as he points out, a gold standard without gold in circulation and the Bank of England has loyally carried out this programme by maintaining an unchanged bank rate irrespective of changes in the gold reserve. In view however of the action of other banks in increasing their reserves he thinks that the problem of maintaining the existing price level is one of the most important international problems. For this reason he regards the initiative taken by Mr. Preston as a timely one, inasmuch as he suggested the reference of the problem of a shortage of gold to a gathering of international bankers. Another group of questions suitable for reference to an International Association is that relating to a restriction of credit for speculative dealings without curtailing a reasonable amount of credit supplied to industry and agriculture by high interest charges. There are many variations, he says, between the American system, the British system and the systems likely to be adopted in other countries; and these ought to be considered by the sort of Association suggested by Mr. Preston. Similarly, such questions as the promotion of the habit of thrift and making provision for safe investment would be best explored, in his opinion, by a conference of world bankers. The development of the banking mechanism—including the question of the responsibility of bankers and that of the relation between banker and customer—is another big question which is suitable for discussion by a gathering of bankers according to Mr. Kisch; it is good however that he admits that

the formulation of uniform principles, irrespective of the peculiar history and traditions of a country is not to be expected. He is not in favour of restricting the scope of such an association to banking problems only but would extend it to all international economic problems. One useful work which an International Bankers' Association might take up would be, in his opinion, the publication of a volume of information relating to banking activities throughout the world. In view of the fact that the League of Nations is already doing this work he recognizes the need to guard against over-lapping. Although we do not think that India in the present condition of the evolution of her banking would benefit much from such an Association, we agree with Mr. Kisch that in the interests of advanced countries an International Bankers' Association is a great desideratum and will introduce the needed unity into the practice of the monetary authorities of the world.

MR. BALDWIN'S speech at the recent meeting of the Premier's Election Policy. Conservatives is hardly calculated to appeal to anybody excepting his own followers who have been trained by habit to think on his own lines. His reference to the solid performance of the Conservatives with respect to the removal of unemployment can only excite a smile since the Labour leaders have shown time after time that there has been no appreciable reduction of the number of the unemployed. His optimism about British trade is no doubt justified since there has been a marked recovery of the export trade but very little of this can be credited to the safeguarding policy on which Mr. Baldwin has set his heart. In many cases safeguarding has actually diminished and in some cases destroyed altogether the entrepot trade of Great Britain which flourished on the large quantity of re-exported articles. If the Conservatives have decided against large borrowings because they lead to currency inflation they can certainly be congratulated on this resolution. As for protection to agriculture he frankly admitted that a policy of protection by subsidies was out of the question; this would at least let the farmers know where they are and guard them against indulging in false hopes. He however promised that the defence services would give preference to home-grown wheat. As for the housing-scheme nothing can be gained by making it the private property of any particular party; there is a consensus of opinion about the work of the Ministry of Health and whichever party comes into power it is not likely to turn down the scheme. Mr. Baldwin promises a commission to consider the development of new resources in colonial territories and this would certainly be a catching programme. The reduction of the duty on tea by four pence in the Budget gives some justification to his claim that the Conservative policy is one which goes into every home and every cottage throughout the country. He however fails to say in what other ways the middle class and the poor householders stand to benefit by the Budget. As for the concern shown by him about the responsibilities of a British democracy of men and women towards the progress of millions of people in Africa and Asia—which latter term is synonymous with India—the less the solicitude shown by these trustees the better for the millions of people in these two continents. Instead of fitting the British people for their task of governing the Indians, Mr. Baldwin would utilize his energies to better purpose if he attempted to fit Indians for the task of governing themselves which, we think, with all due apologies to him, "Providence has laid upon them". Altogether the speech of the Prime Minister is not calculated to win waverers over to the views and policy of his party.

THE BUTLER REPORT.

BEFORE the appointment of the Butler Committee was announced, the *London Times* gave publicity to a letter which showed that some obstacle in the path of Indian Swaraj was being hatched. The theory of direct relations with the Crown, the separation of the office of Viceroy from that of the Governor-General in Council, the separation of the Political Department from the Government of India and the unwillingness of the Indian Princes to be in subordination to any Government which was responsible to the Indian Legislature—all these were clearly suggested in that letter. Then came the Butler Committee. Its narrow terms of reference, the still more limited interpretation put on them by its Chairman, the injudicious procedure adopted by the Committee in the matter of receiving evidence and the complete secrecy which shrouded its working created serious apprehensions in the minds of some people that the Committee was intended to devise a plan which would act as a brake on the movement for self-government for India. The report of the Committee shows that these fears were fully justified. It is attempted to show in this article the far-reaching consequences which some recommendations of the Committee are sure to have on British India. What the Princes have gained by the labours of this Committee and how the report affects the interests of the states subjects we leave aside for the moment, as the full text of the report is not yet available.

So far as British India is concerned, the composition of the Committee left everything to be desired, British India being totally unrepresented on it. No opportunity was given to the British Indian public to submit their views to the Committee. The Committee however had the audacity on ex parte evidence to make recommendations seriously prejudicing the powers and status of the future Indian Government. Its first conclusion is that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship with the Crown and that treaties made by the princes with it are treaties made with the Crown. This is what is now termed as the theory of direct relations with the Crown. The present writer has on numberless occasions exposed the hollowness of this theory. The memorandum of the Indian States' People exposes the fallacious character of this theory. So eminent a jurist as Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer holds the new theory untenable and the Nehru Committee also thinks likewise. The Butler Report neither cites any authorities in support of its conclusion nor does it mention any treaties concluded with the Crown. The Committee complacently state that "we find ourselves in agreement with much of Sir Leslie Scott's opinion and we agree that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship to the Crown."

The Committee has tried to define the expression "Paramount Power." According to it, "Paramount Power" means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and Governor-General in Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great

Britain. This definition is based upon sections 1, 2 and 33 of the Government of India Act. The government of this country was taken over by the Crown in 1858, when the office of Secretary of State for India was created; and the Board of Commissioners abolished. The East India Company being virtually the dominant power in India prior to that year, all treaties and engagements relating to the political status of Indian States concluded before 1858 were concluded with it. The treaties concluded since relate mostly to financial relations and have no political significance. The Government of India Act of 1858 distinctly lays down that all treaties made with the Indian States prior to 1858 are binding on the Crown. From this brief historical retrospect it will be as clear as daylight that the treaty relations of the states were first with the East India Company and were subsequently transferred by the authority of Parliament to the Paramount Power, which under the definition means nothing more or less than the Government of India. The Committee appears however to have been misled by the specious and onesided arguments advanced by Sir Leslie Scott.

The real sting of this conclusion however lies in its recommendation that the Viceroy and not the Governor-General in Council should in future be the agent of the Crown in its relations with the Princes. This is a most mischievous recommendation intended to deprive the future Government of India of all control over Indian States. To begin with, the term 'Viceroy' is not at all recognized by the constitution. It appears that the Committee now want to create this new office in opposition to the Governor-General in Council. We do not know whether it is suggested that the Viceroy should be a person distinct from the Governor-General, nor do we know whether the Viceroy would be responsible to Parliament. The idea underlying this mischievous recommendation appears to be to set up a rival government functioning under an irresponsible Viceroy subordinate to the Crown in opposition to the Government of British India carried on in the name of the King by a Governor-General responsible to Parliament and working with Ministers responsible to the Legislature. If this dangerous idea materialises there would be perpetual diarchy in India and the Swaraj Government of the future would be deprived of control over one-third of India and could hardly flourish under the shadow of the Viceroy.

Those who have put forward this recommendation are apparently anxious to keep the Indian States as a close preserve for the white bureaucracy. When India attains Dominion Status it is impossible that the permanent services will remain alien in character; there would be Indianisation from top to bottom. Fearing that if this happened in the Political Department as well, it would result in the loss of so many places for the whites, the Committee has recommended that the recruitment for the Political Department should be made separately from British Universities. An irresponsible Viceroy helped by a department recruited from British Universities is for

all time to come to control the destinies of the Indian States! Indian swaraj with the Indian States left out of its purview would be a farce and a mockery. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer is right in saying that the Butler Committee while maintaining the delusion of the Princes about their relationship with the Crown has tried to strengthen the unseen powers of the bureaucracy behind the shadow of the Viceroy. Similarly, one cannot but endorse the apt observation of the *Leader* that the highly reactionary report of the Butler Committee may be regarded as the shadow of the Simon Commission's report which is expected to be its counterpart.

The third recommendation which is likely to be productive of serious disunion and discord in India is to the following effect :

"We record our strong opinion that in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to the Indian Legislature."

We wish the Committee had not relied upon history as a basis for this recommendation, for, as already pointed out, history does not provide any warranty for it. If we were to ransack history we would find that all constitutional changes have taken place without the concurrence of the Indian princes. The Crown took over the administration of this country from the East India Company without the consent of the Indian princes. Similarly when Parliament delegated its powers to the Secretary of State and to the Governor-General no consent of the Indian States was taken. Again when the King of England proclaimed himself as the Emperor of India, no attempt was made to secure the consent of the Princes to the change. When the Interpretation Act reduced the Indian Princes still then styled as friends and allies to the position of dependent vassals their consent was never sought. Does not all this show that the British Government have carried out important constitutional changes without waiting for the approval of the Indian Princes? Why should their consent be now made a condition precedent to the control over them being transferred to the Swaraj Government? The implication of the new doctrine is that so long as the States were governed by white and irresponsible agents of the Crown the consent of the Princes was taken for granted. But when brown agents are to govern them and when they are to be responsible to the Central Government, the consent of the Indian Princes is made indispensable!

While the Princes are able to take care of themselves and are free to give expression to their views we should be greatly surprised if the Butler Report is found satisfactory even by them. Their position under the arrangements proposed in the Report remains practically unaltered. The Committee's one anxiety seems to be to drive a wedge between British India and the Indian States and to prevent them from joining hands at any time. We hope the princes will properly understand the inwardness of this proposal. They would be taking a very shortsighted step if they approve of the proposal.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

LAND REVENUE LEGISLATION.

IN accordance with the suggestion of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, various provincial Councils have passed land revenue legislation incorporating the basic principles of assessment; it will be therefore instructive to make comparisons and also note the points of difference to enable us to pass a final judgment on the general policy governing this important form of taxation. We shall begin by considering the Punjab Land Revenue Amendment Act. The first thing that strikes one in the debate on the measure is that several amendments were moved in order to make a minute inventory of the several items of the expenses of cultivation by deducting which the net assets are determined. Although the majority of these amendments were lost, the debate on them is a clear testimony of the suspicion which is almost universal that the net assets were not calculated correctly by settlement officers because they ignored various important heads. For example, one of the amendments which was carried was the inclusion in the expenses of cultivation of the interest on the advances made to the tenants. An attempt was made to move the exemption of the owners of holdings not exceeding two acres in canal-irrigated areas and five acres in areas without such irrigation. Although we think that this is an impracticable proposal it shows that the feeling about the inability of the poor agriculturist to pay anything is very keen. The strongest objection made to the proposal is that if this exemption were granted there would be a marked deficiency of income from land which it would be almost impossible to make up by means of alternative taxes. Another objection is that such an exemption would invite the process of breaking up the land into fragments and accentuate the evil which every province is at present decriing against. In fact the proposal would work against the consolidation of holdings. If the deficiency is to be made up by taxing the owners of larger holdings then the rate of assessment in their case would have to be pitched so high as to amount to a grave injustice to them. One of the most important reforms introduced by the Punjab Act has been that in any reassessment the standard of assessment should be fixed at the maximum of 25 per cent. of the net assets instead of one-third. During the debate it was pointed out that the Sikh Government never exceeded the limit of 20 or 25 per cent; Mr. R. C. Dutt's opinion was also quoted to the effect that sometimes a larger percentage of the net assets than fifty was taken in the latter part of the nineteenth century. As was to be expected, the members of Government stoutly resisted this modification of the existing standard. The principal point of their argument was that the increased assessment was not taken from the fruits of enterprise but from unearned increment. One obvious reply to this was actually made during the debate and it was that there is very little of unearned increment. Owing to the phenomenal increase in the costs of cultivation, the sad plight of the small Zamindar was urged by member after member speaking in support of the amendment. On behalf of Government a promise was given that although the standard was fixed at one-third of the net assets as a maximum in actual practice the settlement officers would keep the actual demand very much below that limit; this however can hardly be regarded as reliable and when the object is to codify the principles of assessment, there is no reason why a limit which is regarded as undesirable should be specified as the maximum. The authority of the Taxation Enquiry Committee was also quoted in favour of the change since they clearly laid down that the State should not take more

than 25 per cent. as their share. It must be remembered however that the Committee did not fix the limit on any principle of equitable taxation but on the basis of fact, since on enquiry they ascertained that the land tax did not exceed 25 per cent of the net assets in any province of India. It was asserted on behalf of the Punjab Government that at the beginning of the British rule the settlement officers assessed up to 50 per cent. and as years went on the tendency was to bring it down so that the policy has been one of progressive liberality. Granting however that it is true there is no reason why the Government should have any objection to the fixing by statute what they admit to have actually been the practice. It is worth noticing that a proposal to require the previous approval of the Legislative Council for a general assessment of the land revenue was negatived probably with the assistance of the votes of the nominated members. Another important provision of the Punjab Act is that the rate of enhancement of land revenue as compared with the previous rate is finally, after great deliberation, fixed at one-fourth for any assessment circle; it is also enacted that even in respect of any single estate the rate of incidence shall not exceed the rate of the previous assessment by more than two-thirds. The period of time for which an assessment shall remain in force has been fixed at forty years; this would give a greater security of enjoying the fruits of improvements made by the landlord. In view however of the longer period of duration it is the duty of the landlord to give a longer lease to his tenants so that they may take greater interest in the cultivation of his holding. Without this corresponding benefit accruing to the tenant, the true interests of agriculture would not be served by such a one-sided bargain.

V. N. G.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN THE
DUTCH EAST INDIES.

THE news received this week of a change being effected in the composition of the *Volksraad* (or the People's Council) shows that the long wished-for reform in the constitution of the Netherlands East Indies is being at last taken in hand. The *Volksraad* has at present a majority of elected over nominated members (38 elected and 22 nominated), but natives are in it in a minority as compared to Europeans (25 natives; 30 Europeans; and five Chinese &c.). It would now appear that by the revision of the Constitution now being carried through, the natives would be in a preponderant position in the *Volksraad*. This is a change of vital moment and may well betoken the inauguration of other reforms culminating in the establishment at no distant date of a parliamentary system of government in Netherlands India.

To grasp the significance of the changes which we are witnessing at present a brief survey of the political history of the Dutch East Indies may be useful. Such a survey has been greatly facilitated by the appearance of the third volume of "The Netherlands and the World War." This volume is entitled "The Effect of the War upon the Colonies" by Professor J. H. Carpenter Atling and Mr. W. de Cock Buning* and belongs to the monumental

* Yale University Press, 1928. 10 x 6½. pp. 140. \$2.25.

series "Economic and Social History of the World War" planned by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Throughout the last century Netherlands India was under a purely autocratic rule. There was no nationalistic movement among the natives who were content to give a passive obedience to a dominating rule by European officials. There was no demand on their part for a share in the management of public affairs. The first move towards a change came in the eighties of the last century, when some Ministers and other non-official Europeans, very much distressed by the thought that the colony was being administered "more for the purpose of upholding the Netherlands rule than on behalf of the native population," urged upon the authorities the necessity of giving more thought to matters directly touching the welfare of the natives and of giving them a voice in the affairs of state. As a result of these pleadings a good deal has been done for public instruction, public health, removal of social distinctions and, what is of far greater moment, the native population itself has been showing a keen interest in its own improvement, and latterly the impulse for progress has come mainly from Indonesians themselves.

The first step in allowing the people to participate in the administration was taken by the Netherlands Government in 1903, when a Decentralization Law was passed, under which all towns of any importance were endowed with local councils composed of the residents of the towns. "Where these councils are created, they are charged with local interests, and for this purpose they receive subsidies from the general treasury and also collect certain rates which they are authorised to levy under government supervision." These local councils were either appointed or elected by the population. This principle of calling upon representative groups of the population to take a share in the management of public affairs was carried further by the formation of the *Volksraad* under the law of 1916, which became completely effective in 1918. The *Volksraad* as at first constituted, consisted of 38 members, half of them elected and half nominated. In 1920 the number of members was raised to 48 and in 1925 to 60. The proportion of elected to nominated members was altered in favour of the former, but the natives continued to be in a minority. It was only an advisory body. Its duty was to advise the Government of the Netherlands East Indies in respect of all important bills and of the formation of the budget. It has no deciding vote in regard to any of these matters. "Nevertheless, during the years that the Council existed, its influence was very great. The advice submitted by the Council has not only influenced the legislative measures which were adopted, although not to so great an extent as was properly desired in the Netherlands East Indies, but its influence has been manifested above all when the annual budgets are discussed, as this has enabled the Council to make known certain important desires of the population and to subject the Government's action to criticism, which has

often been quite sound. In addition, according to the right of interpellation given to the Council, the Government has frequently been obliged to grant information." (p. 57.)

The powers thus conferred upon the *Volksraad* were modest enough, but this reform was intended to be followed by further accelerations, looking eventually toward the establishment of self-government on the Western model. Professor A. J. Toynbee in his "Survey of International Affairs, 1926" (p. 445) compares the utterance of the Governor-General (Dr. J.P. Count van Limburg Stirum) in opening the *Volksraad* in 1918 to the famous declaration of Mr. Montagu in the British Parliament in 1917 in regard to our own country. The Governor-General of Netherlands India said on this occasion: "The road has been taken, never to be abandoned, toward the goal of responsible government in the Netherlands East Indies themselves, which, in concert with the *Volksraad*, shall have the right to take final decisions in all matters which are not of general Imperial [or, rather, State] concern. In proper time and degree, so far as is compatible with due appreciation of the consequences of each new step, we must proceed directly toward this end." The activities of the *Volksraad* showed that even during the period of autocratic rule the Indonesians had trained themselves in the knowledge of affairs, that they had formed their own judgment on all important problems and that there were men of talent who were able to make their opinions known in the proper place. "The way in which the *Volksraad* discharged its task, especially in discussing the budget, showed an awakened political intelligence in the different groups of the people. The discussions gave evidence of expert knowledge, and many needs were thus made known. The *Volksraad* was, as was repeatedly declared, 'a revelation' both to the Government and to the country." Opinion was general that the constitution of Netherlands India must be liberalised, and, in response to the general demand the Netherlands Government appointed in Dec. 1918 a commission to inquire into the desirability of amending the constitution. This Commission of Revision, as it was called, issued its exhaustive report in June 1920. To the report was appended a draft for a new Governing Law which was to be the foundation of the frame of government, and also a project regarding consequent changes to be made in the constitution. The main recommendations of the Report were:—

- (a) Recognition of the Netherlands East Indies as an independent part of the Kingdom, the centre of gravity of the Government being shifted to the Indies themselves;
- (b) elevation of the *Volksraad* to the status of a general co-legislative representative body, to be constituted for the greater part by election;
- (c) transference of the Government of the Netherlands East Indies to a Board

- formed by the Governor-General and the Council of Netherlands India, the former having authority to overrule the latter, and the members of the Governing Body being charged with political control of the general administrative Departments;
- (d) limitation of the authority of the Legislative Body in the Netherlands East Indies to (i) settlement of questions affecting the Kingdom as a whole, (ii) suspension or annulment of legislative measures adopted in the Netherlands East Indies if contrary to the interest of the State, and (iii) adjustment of disputes in dealing with legislative measures arising between Government and Parliament in the Netherlands East Indies;
- (e) transfer of the right of establishing the budget to the Governor-General and the *Volksraad* under the supervision of the Legislative Body in the Netherlands similar to that mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

These recommendations were far from giving an unrestricted measure of autonomy to the Netherlands East Indies; much less establishing full-fledged parliamentary system. Still they were warmly combated by the conservative elements and, naturally enough, equally warmly repudiated by the extremists. The Government rejected these recommendations, and the organic legislation it adopted in 1922 and 1925 reserved large prerogatives for the authorities in Europe both in matters of legislation and the budget. The legislation follows and carries out, subject to these reservations, the general principle that the management of domestic affairs in the Netherlands East Indies should be entrusted to organizations established in those areas, and that the power of the Crown should be limited to cases to be indicated expressly by law, *i. e.*, by the Legislative Body in the Netherlands. It enacts that, except where the Legislative Body in the Netherlands reserves certain subjects within its competence, legislation will be vested in the Governor-General together with the *Volksraad*, which will thus obtain co-legislative functions. Furthermore, the government budget will be determined by the same authorities, subject to the approval of the Legislative Body in the Netherlands. All possible occasions for constitutional deadlocks between the *Volksraad* and the Governor-General have been carefully provided for. The machinery used for breaking deadlocks is almost identical with that which is in force in our country: certification, restoration of the budget, veto, ordinance, &c.

The existing restrictions on the powers of the *Volksraad* are apparently to remain in force, but its composition is to undergo a radical change. "Natives, Europeans and Oriental foreigners will (now) have equal rights of representation, which means we suppose representation of all communities on the basis of a uniform franchise and on a common register." The total population of the Netherlands

East Indies is 50,000,000, of whom Indonesians (natives) are 49,000,000; 169,000 Europeans; and 810,000 Chinese. The proportion of the enfranchised among the races will of course vary very greatly; but it can easily be understood, as indeed we are told in the cabled news, that natives will have a majority over Europeans. The next step after this will of course be a widening of the powers of the *Volksraad*.

S. G. V.

OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, April 20.

LIBERALS & BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS.

TWO topics are slowly emerging from the many political issues engaging the public mind at present, and are bound to gain in importance with the progress of the year. They are the boycott of British goods and the question of presenting a united front to the foreign Government and their Indian allies in the coming elections to the provincial and central Legislatures. It is of happy augury that in both matters, an important section of political India has expressed itself unequivocally. The Liberals, though numerically small, are politically a party whose allegiance to a cause would wholly change the course of events. Your readers need not be reminded that the political success of the boycott of the Simon Commission is in a large measure due to the Liberals; in fact it was a Liberal, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was the first to unfurl the flag of opposition to the Commission at Allahabad.

The boycott of British goods, as advocated by the *Leader*, the organ of the Liberal party in upper India, has, therefore, produced not a little impression on the public. This advocacy of boycott by the *Leader* and some differences within the party on this question, as rumoured by the *Pioneer*, are the topic of the day in these parts. Though undoubtedly there are some differences in the Liberal party on the question of the boycott of British goods, there is not the shadow of a doubt that a large majority of the party is for the boycott. The *Pioneer* has, it seems, not stated the position of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru correctly. As a very old and prominent Liberal told me yesterday, it is, in a sense, a case of conflict between the head and the heart. It is well known that the Liberals are temperamentally averse to picketing and such other methods. Unfortunately in a campaign such as that of boycott of British goods, picketing has to be resorted to at a certain stage. This is the difficulty of some old and orthodox Liberals. But it is obvious that the Liberal party need not give its support to picketing. The moral support of the Liberal party to the boycott of foreign goods, specially British, more specially British cloth, as the resolution of the U. P. Liberal Conference held at Lucknow put it, is bound to further the cause very much.

Nor are the prospects of unity among the progressive political parties in fighting the next elections less bright in the United Provinces. In fact the attitude of the Government towards the cherished aspirations of the people is bringing about unity in the country without much effort on the part of the different parties! The last U. P. Liberal Conference at Lucknow adopted a resolution appointing a Committee to confer with other political parties on the question of united action in the elections. Dr. Besant also made an impassioned appeal to all parties to join hands and fight the com-

mon enemy. But some doubts have since begun to arise due to certain conversations in political circles here and it is said that Pandit Motilal Nehru wants a pledge from every one wishing to stand on the joint ticket of non-acceptance of office till provincial autonomy (or Dominion Status?) was conferred as a condition of a united election fight. But his Agra speech has set all such apprehensions at rest. And it may now be said that so far as this province is concerned, it is very likely that, in the coming elections all the progressive political parties will present a united front to the reactionaries.

REVIEWS.

AMERICAN JUVENILE COURTS.

JUVENILE COURTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By HERBERT H. LOU. (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.) 1927. 9 × 6. pp. 277. \$ 3-0.

THE Juvenile Court movement began in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Europe and America, but it underwent any considerable development only during the last twenty-five years. It is based on the recognition that the child offender needs to be dealt with differently from the adult, and that much more than in the case of adults the object of treatment should be not retribution or punishment but correction and change of environment; so that the child may be given a fair chance of growing up into a normal citizen. Therefore the law, the court, the procedure and treatment are all made different from those obtaining in the case of adult offenders. Two important features of the Juvenile Court are the physical and mental examination of the offending child before trial and the use of the probation system in treatment. Medical examination often discloses physical causes which account for the abnormal behaviour of a child; and on the removal of those causes the child's behaviour becomes normal. The probation system of treatment is indeed the most characteristic and important feature of the Juvenile Court. Under it the Court orders the child to be under the supervision of an officer, usually a trained social worker, who has studied the child before his trial and helped the judge with suggestions and who will be the child's guide, friend, and philosopher during the period of probation. The best development of the Juvenile Court is to be seen in the United States of America, where indeed special attention is being paid to every kind of sociological study, especially in the Universities, and where there is a greater readiness than in other countries to apply scientific knowledge and methods to the remedying of social evils. We in India are yet on the threshold. Only Bombay, Madras and one or two other big cities have just made a beginning of children's courts. In due course, as the public conscience awakens to its duty towards the delinquent and neglected child, and as our energies get more and more diverted towards social service, we shall follow in the footsteps of the United States.

"Mr. Lou's book is an extraordinarily good piece of work in my opinion," says Mr. Bernard Flexner, himself a well-known author on the subject of

children's courts, and the reader will heartily endorse his opinion. Every aspect of the Juvenile Court is adequately dealt with and particularly useful information is given regarding probation and the organisation of probation staff. The book has two very useful appendices, one of them being the Report of a Committee appointed by the United States Children's Bureau to formulate Juvenile Court Standards, and the other being a Standard Juvenile Court Law. But equally valuable is the bibliography that follows, though it is almost confined to American publications. The University of North Carolina may well be proud of its publication. We commend it specially to magistrates, legislators and social workers.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYA.

INDIA ON TRIAL.

INDIA ON TRIAL. By J. E. WOOLACOTT. (Macmillan.) 1929. 8¼ × 5½. pp. 257. 10s.

MR. WOOLACOTT has written this book for the education of the British people; but his "study of present conditions" is not at all free from anti-Indian bias. If the people in England were to rely solely on Mr. Woolacott for enlightenment about India, they would get a wholly distorted view about it and would start with a prejudice against Indians. Anybody innocent of any knowledge about this country, as most people in Great Britain are, who reads this book would go away with the impression that Indians are a God-forsaken people, that they are a lot extremely difficult to please and whatever you may do to make them happy, they would continue to be miserable and discontented. The best way for the British administrator was not to mind them, but to go on with his lofty mission of doing good to humanity of which fortunately or unfortunately they form part. We wish Mr. Woolacott's book had not been written, not because we are anxious that the British people should not know anything about our defects, but because our anxiety is that they should be enabled to form a reasonably fair and just estimate of Indian character. This is exactly what Mr. Woolacott's book will not help them to do. The author writes throughout as an apologist of Government. He paints the British administrator as a paragon of virtues whose altruistic mission is not understood by the Indian.

But whatever the impression the author may seek to create about Indians, they are not slow to appreciate the good that British rule has done to them in the way of opening their eyes to such social abuses as suttee and of promoting their economic uplift by such means as the co-operative movement, agricultural improvements, etc. If successive Governments in India had been fired by the same zeal for social reform as the early British administrators were, many of the social evils upon which Miss Mayo has been trading would have become extinct long ago. As recent events, however, have shown, the Government has become rather lukewarm in the matter with the result that progress of the social reform movement is not as rapid as it well might be. In his analysis of the causes of India's poverty Mr. Woolacott only echoes the official explanations with which Indians are but too familiar. The land revenue system against which there is always such a hue and cry strikes him as "of inestimable value in enhancing the ability of the cultivator to face periods of economic distress." (p. 51.) If wild beasts play havoc with the crops of

the Hindu agriculturists, to what else can it be due but their unwillingness to destroy the mischief-makers, thanks to their love of *ahimsa*? As a matter of fact, however, a great part of the responsibility for the damage done to crops by wild animals must be laid at the door of the Government, who, in spite of repeated demands, have studiously refused to work the arms act rules more sympathetically so as to enable Indian agriculturists to secure arms without much difficulty for being used against wild animals.

But our concern is more with Mr. Woolacott's views on Indian politics. He takes as his starting-point the Rowlatt Committee's report and in characteristic official style describes the 1919 happenings in the Punjab as a "rising." While even a child in this country knows that the excitement of those days was the direct result of the obnoxious Rowlatt legislation, Mr. Woolacott asserts that "the allegation that the troubles had their origin in public indignation against the Rowlatt Acts is pure fiction." After passing in review the non-co-operation movement and its aftermath, he discusses "India's Gravest Problem." We may not agree with all that he says in this chapter; but there will be general agreement that "of all the obstacles that lie in the way of India's political progress on western lines none is more formidable than internal dissension." (p. 141.)

The burden of his song in the chapter dealing with the Assembly's working is that it has acted irresponsibly all along and he cites in support of his contention its attitude to the increased salt duty, the Reserve Bank Bill, the Public Safety Bill, the Simon Commission and, last but not least, its insistent demand for further constitutional reforms. In September 1921 the Assembly carried a resolution demanding "a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1929." It fell to Viscount Peel who succeeded the late Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State to deal officially with this demand of the Assembly; but it appears from an informal talk the author had with Mr. Montagu that Mr. Montagu fully shared his successor's views.

"We have", he said with emphasis, "granted these people a brand new constitution, and now, before the ink on it is dry, they are demanding another. I will be no party to any change unless it can be shown either that the machinery of the constitution has proved unworkable or that those who are working it have given proof of fitness for further responsibility. Neither of these conditions exists, and I may tell you that my position in this matter represents the considered decision of His Majesty's Government." (p. 159.)

But we do not wish to follow Mr. Woolacott in all his arguments to prove the irresponsibility of the Assembly. Suffice it to say that he entertains a very poor opinion about that body. He says on p. 178 that after attending a debate in the Assembly he had often "experienced a feeling of helplessness for India's political future"; on the other hand "a few hours spent in the Council of State give rise to more optimistic feeling." Further, "the history of the Council has shown that India, so far from being bankrupt in statesmanship, possesses public men of high calibre animated by a sincere desire to advance the interests of their country and to make the best use of the opportunities afforded them by constitutional reforms." Left to himself, the author would obviously like to curtail instead of expanding the powers of the Assembly which, according to him, is "neither representative nor animated by a sense of responsibility." (p. 181.) In holding this view he is by no means alone but is supported by some "thoughtful Indians" who apparently choose to conceal their identity.

If he is so hard on the Assembly he is not less so on the provincial councils. He grants that "diarchy may be a clumsy device but where it has been worked with goodwill considerable progress has been made. At the same time it is doubtful whether a unitary system would have been productive of better results in the provinces where implacable hostility to Government has been a characteristic of the Legislative Councils." (p. 182.) Here too, were Mr. Woolacott the Secretary of State for India, Indians need not have expected any advance whatever. If we understand him properly he is opposed to any further advance in the provinces "until an electorate which can appreciate the implications of representative government is forthcoming" (p. 186). Such an electorate, in his view, can come into being only when "education is more widely diffused and people who have been accustomed to personal rule are able to realise the implications of a representative system." In other words, Mr. Woolacott would have Indians wait even for some slight advance in the provinces until the Greek Kalends and yet show no impatience.

The Nehru Report is dealt with at some length. The author does not of course like it, but makes no attempt to deal with its contents. What Mr. Woolacott does is to ridicule both the scheme and the personnel of the committee that was responsible for it and to belittle the volume of public support behind the scheme.

Much more can be written about the contents of the book. We would be exceeding the limits of space for a review, did we do so. But we have said enough, we think, to justify our contention that the representation of political public life in India which this book contains is a highly coloured and prejudiced one.

D. V. A.

SHORT NOTICES.

KALKI OR THE FUTURE OF CIVILISATION.

By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. (George Routledge & Sons, London.) 1929. 2s. 6d.

PROFESSOR Radhakrishnan looks at the modern world in this new volume of the *Today and Tomorrow* series and gathers up his many impressions into a single survey. He says, what many thinkers have said, that the principal evil which afflicts our world is the ridiculous disproportion between our physical and moral stature, and he wonders, as Mr. Wells wondered after visiting America, whether the very bigness of the thing did not deny the promise it contained; whether the size possessed some vital stabilising principle to save it from toppling over. He concludes that the world unity of today which is a unique, stupendous physical fact must once more find its natural inner divisions before mankind can provide itself with adequate means for self-culture. But he says all this in such a way as to make the reader sit up and take notice. A profound insight into historical processes without any wearisome exposition of their anatomy and without glibness is by no means a common virtue in a university teacher even in our journalistic age. Professor Radhakrishnan possesses it in a great measure, and when a philosopher is also a social reformer because he has something of the prophet in him we have the type of a Platonic mind. When to this structure can also be added the function of a brilliant epigrammatic manner, we have the highest type of a modern. And that men like Professor Radhakrishnan could remain Hindu, Indian to their fingers-tips, and yet attain this vast mental horizon is a

certain proof of the vitality of our culture, sufficient to give the lie to many caricatures.

RAGHUNATH ROW.

DUPLEIX ET L'INDE FRANCAISE. 1749-1754.

By ALFRED MARTINEAU. (Societe D'Editions, Paris.) 1928. 9¾ 6¼. pp. 466. 50 francs.

THE book under notice is the third volume of the author's projected four volumes on Dupleix and French India. In the first two volumes the author had described the events of French history up to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle which restored Madras to the English. Dupleix, although hated on account of his differences with La Bourdonnais, was the hero of the hour and his gallant defence of Pondicherry and capture of Madras were acknowledged to be glorious deeds.

The events which took place in the succeeding years viz. between 1749-1754 raised Dupleix still higher in the eyes of all, yet the same events simultaneously contributed to his fall. This period in Dupleix's career is extremely interesting and the author has studied it with a wealth of material not utilised heretofore. The main sources which are utilised by the author and are yet unpublished are from (i) Archives du Ministère des Colonies, (ii) Bibliothèque Nationale and (iii) Archives de Seine-et-Oise. The material for the events of the period under consideration viz. the wars of Carnatic is so vast that in spite of the author's judicious selection, the Carnatic wars have occupied 342 pages of the present volume. Among other things it is very interesting to read Dupleix's opinion about the English (Chapter III § 5 pp. 154 ff.). The author, without himself prejudicing the view of the readers, has allowed Dupleix to express his views, in which Dupleix has painted the darker sides of English Machiavellian policy. When reading these passivate ebullitions, the reader ought to remember that after all these come from the worsted enemies of the English and should not therefore bias his historical judgment

R. D. VADEKAR.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND FEDERATED MALAY STATES. By J. STEWART NAGLE. (John H. Laird & Sons, Inc., Philadelphia.) 1928. 9 x 6. pp. 191.

THE thesis submitted by the author to the Johns Hopkin's University for the Ph. D. degree is now brought out in book form. In its preparation the author was apparently at considerable pains to examine all available documentary material bearing on Malayan education. As a consequence his thesis may be taken to be a fairly complete and thorough presentation of the educational problem in Malaya. (1) Advancement of the native peoples in social culture and a firm foundation for the Empire, (2) National identity and international influence, (3) Moral progress and (4) Social and economic improvement through the development of an effective native leadership—these are given as the objectives of the educational policy. In some quarters the Government of Malaya is blamed for not doing as much for education as one might wish. Dr. Nagle however does not share this view. According to him, between 1896 and 1921 school attendance in the Straits Settlements increased less than three times, and the total Government expenditure in all departments including education less than seven times. On the other hand, he points out, the expenditure on elementary education alone has increased more than ten times during the same period. Even so there is

no doubt that much more remains to be done than has been already achieved. For we find that in 1924 in Federated and Unfederated States together the number of children at school was not very much more than 85,000, while with a population of 33½ lakhs, on the basis of 15 per cent. of the population being of school age, there would be nearly five lakhs of children to be brought under instruction if there is to be universal literacy. It is to be hoped that the Malay Government instead of resting on their oars will redouble their efforts for the spread of education. To people in this country who are keenly interested in the moral uplift of their countrymen settled in Malaya Dr. Nagle's thesis is invaluable as enabling them to understand the educational needs of Malaya.

D. E. W.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

By J. L. RAINA. (Taraporevala.) 1928. 18-1cm. pp. 130. Rs. 2.

THE title is a misleading one. The book is in the nature of a tourist's account of the country he has visited. It does not seriously consider the problems relating to the movement in India. It will be of no use to the student who wants to study the movement seriously or to the practical cooperator. It may be of some use to the busy politician who has no personal knowledge of the movement. The writer has given a few figures taken mainly from the provincial reports for 1924-25. Even the figures are not as full as might have been. The book is practically a review of the administrative reports of Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces and it is a superficial review even at that. It contains the description of a few successful societies like the Hadasper (near Poona) Cooperative Society, the Triplicane Cooperative Store, the Anti-Malarial Societies in Bengal, etc. The information given about the Provincial Banks, the District Banks and the agricultural societies is rather scrappy. On the whole it is a disappointing book.

T. A. RAMALINGAM CHETTIAR.

THE HAND-BOOK OF THE CEYLON NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1919-1928. Ed. by

S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE. (Congress Office, Colombo.) 1928. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 1074.

THOSE who wish to understand the national movement in Ceylon cannot do without this book. It is something like Natesan's publication dealing with the Indian National Congress, but it is more comprehensive. Not only does it reproduce the presidential addresses and addresses delivered by the Chairmen of Reception Committees of the different sessions of the Ceylon National Congress and the resolutions passed thereat, but it also does so in the case of conferences held in pre-Congress days to consider the question of constitutional reform in Ceylon. Official despatches, memorials submitted to the Colonial Office from time to time on behalf of the Ceylonese people, the more important orders-in-council and the constitution of the Congress, all of which find a place in this bulky volume, greatly add to its utility.

G. B. J.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF H. H.

SAYAJI RAO III. Ed. by ALBAN G. WIDGERY. (Macmillan.) 1928. 9½ x 6½. pp. 518. 15s.

MR. WIDGERY has published in book form the numerous speeches and addresses delivered by Sir Sayaji Rao during the fifty years and more that he

has been Maharaja of Baroda. The speeches deal with a variety of subjects—social, educational, economic, religious—and show what an advanced thinker Sir Sayaji Rao is. His reply to the Poona Sarva-janik Sabha's address in 1881 serves to remind us of the close relations that then existed between the princes and political bodies in British India. The Editor is apparently labouring under a misapprehension when he describes the Sabha as "a Marathi Society for social advance and general progress," for the Sabha has always been essentially a political association. In a speech delivered in 1917 the Maharaja developed his ideas about the place and duties of priests in modern social life. Even with the lapse of a dozen years the speech has not lost its force and might, if repeated to-day, he found to be an apt description of present conditions. Mr. Widgery deserves praise for making such valuable utterances of the Maharaja available in a handy form.

S. T. A.

THE HUSBANDLESS WIFE. By IRENE ROOKE.

(Mathews & Marrot.) 1928. 20cm. pp.252. 7s. 6d.

It is only the title of this novel that offends conventional morality. The story itself has no such shocks in store for the reader. The husbandless wife is too unfamiliar a phenomenon even for an audacious imagination to speculate on, much less to give a place in noveldom. What Irene Rooke does however is to paint life using most exaggerated colours in order to provoke our contrary feelings of resentment and pity. Four characters, a man and his wife, his step-son and her daughter, the offspring of her romantic blunder, play their part in this passionate drama. The man is too consummate a fraud and a miscreant to be real and the wife too submissive a sleep-walker to be true to the world. The man or rather the man-eater in human form, Cressdale by name, marries a weak sentimental woman brought up in cotton-wool, having made up his mind to make her innocent life utterly miserable for her. Unconsciously her agonized soul seeks relief in sinful liaison, the issue of which is a daughter. This illegitimate creature, no sooner it is born, is snatched away from her bosom and given out for adoption. By a happy circumstance the mother meets the daughter, now a great theatre star and reveals her identity to her a week before death puts an end to her suffering existence. Lawrie, the daughter, pronounces vengeance on Cressdale and his son. Fortune however plays a delightful trick with the result that rings are exchanged and Cressdale is left to drink the bitter cup of humiliation. Psychologically faulty though the novel is, it offers intensely stimulating reading.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, 1929. (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Manchester.) 1929.

21.1cm. pp. 344. About 2s. 6d.

THIS twelfth issue of a very useful reference book brings the information (given in it) relating to the co-operative movement in different countries up to date. About Indian co-operation the opinion is expressed that its distributive branch is still very weak. "Co-operative Stores are insignificant in number, and their position (exceptions apart), as depicted in official reports is calculated to make an impression by no means cheering. The causes of this backward position are many, but principally the lack of education." (p. 140) A summary of the proceedings of the Co-operative Congress held in May last in England and a review of the work of the Co-operative Party are full of interest to co-operators generally. The

half-a-dozen articles, some of them by well-known authorities on the subject they handle, 'on topics of the day' connected with co-operation add considerably to the value of the Book.

G. P. G.

SALVAGE ALL. By GRACE JONES MORGAN. (The Richards Press, Ltd. London.) 1928. 19.4 cm. pp. 337. 7s. 6d.

THE impressive charm of this novel consists in this that two unspoilt children of the Earth contribute to the pathos of their life. There is not a trace of artificial excitement in the way their chaste love develops. The ball room, the piano, and the unstrung nerves do not enter into their elemental concerns. Tisana who is so like a woodland nymph, makes her pennies by singing at the street corners, in order to keep her thin body and soul together as also that of her depraved father. She feels drawn towards Peter, a mass of tough muscles, smelling of "sea salt and tar," a man noble in all his primal instincts. To both these kindred spirits "souls are luxuries." Religion has no meaning for them. They are content to leave it to the parson Daly who believes that "advertising is the order of the day, even in religious matters. I realise that we must get salvation on a business basis." Like a bull-dog Peter lavishes his affection on his brother Rhue, and sees him grow into a promising solicitor, about his knees. In all the grandeur of her love, Tisana flings textbook maxims and conventions to the winds and undertakes to keep house for Peter. She simply shuts her eyes to the world full of dirt for "thinking of pretty things, she hasn't time to think bad." "To Peter women and babes belonged in one picture, their sweetness and softness." Though currents and cross-currents play havoc with these two innocent flowers until at last they arise unharmed and enriched, even Peter's brother is restored to him and wedded to a lovely ministering angel, Clarise. Nemesis mercilessly pursues Pulchree and Tisana's father and they end fatally. "Laugh, Peter, laugh," cries the silver-throated Tisana mentally hearing the sound of church bells.

K. V. R.

THE SOUTH AND EAST AFRICAN YEAR-BOOK AND GUIDE FOR 1929. Ed. By A. S. BROWN & G. G. BROWN. (Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd., London.) 1929. 7¼ x 5, pp. 912.

THIS handbook is extremely useful to tourists who would find in it all the information they need on such matters as steamer and railway services, travel amenities in those countries, and a description of conditions of life there.

N. M. D.

PROSTITUTION UNDER RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS. REPORT SUBMITTED BY P. G. NAIK. (Kanji Dwarkadas, Bombay.) 1928. 8½ x 5¼, pp. 13.

IN India, many abominable practices sail under the holy colours of religion, such as blood-sacrifice and sanctified prostitution. Mr. Naik has, with the most laudable of motives, investigated the question of religious prostitution, the home of which, according to him, is Goa. This man-made pestilence travels to the important cities in British India, especially Bombay Presidency, and contaminates the air as nothing else does. Moral pollution is punished by society with segregation and social

amenities being denied to the prostitutes, they are obliged to continue their dishonourable trade. Mr. Naik himself has, on behalf of the Bombay Vigilance Association, helped to reform many of these unfortunate sinners and given their progeny new environments to enable them to live decent lives. All social reformers and those who do not subscribe to religious horrors must read this pamphlet.

M. P. O.

VAISHNAVISM OF THE GOWD SARASWAT BRAHMINS, ETC. AND A FEW KONKANI FOLKLORE TALES. By V. P. CHAVAN. (Ramachandra Govind & Son, Bombay.)

8½ × 5¼. pp. 59. Re. 1.

THE cult of Vaishnavism has an interesting history behind it. It is believed to be as old as the Rig-Veda. Dr. Chavan traces as much of the past of this devotional faith as is relevant and brings it to the time when the Goud Saraswats adopted it. There are conflicting opinions as to who baptised them to the new religion. Some say that it is Madhwacharya and others, Ramanand. All that matters however is that the Saraswats now practise a happy mixture of Vaishnavism and Shaivism. The Saraswat Brahmans like the rest of the Indian communities are fond of claiming legendary origin from some Rishi and their starting point from some Himalayan region. How much of their imagination is fact and how much fiction is difficult to see. Dr. Chavan's book however gives an insight into the "how, whence and whither" of the Saraswats. Students of philology and anthropology must not fail to read this highly interesting book.

H. M. N.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"TRUE STORIES" OF KATHERINE MAYO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA,

SIR,—I have not had the pleasure of reading Katherine Mayo's new venture, "Slaves of the Gods," nor do I want to. But I am filled with indignation to read one of her amazing "true stories" which has been quoted by a reviewer in your issue of April 11th last. Sita according to her was stripped of her only piece of cloth under threats of Gandhiji's displeasure, because it was Manchester made. She stopped indoors after that because she had nothing to wear until she was hunted out by her son-in-law. The shame of her being found naked by her son-in-law led her to hang herself.

Your reviewer doubts the truth of the story and characterises it as a gross exaggeration. Unfortunately it is much worse. *It is a true story*, with just that modification which makes it an outrageous lie. It happened in Dacca District where a woman hanged herself on being discovered in that condition by her son-in-law, but long before Mr. Gandhi thought of non-co-operation or boycott of foreign cloth.

It was during the Great War. When prices of cloth as well as of food-stuffs had risen to such heights that acutest distress was felt. In the District of Dacca, where I then was, the sufferings of the poor were extreme and many people were only served by the generous bounty of the rich. In outlying parts of the district where relief was less quickly available stories of the greatest distress were heard and it was nothing unusual to find women

forced to go about in less than the scantiest raiment needed to cover their shame. Foreign cloth was not available, and prices of Indian mill made cloth went up to an enormous height. The difficulty was so great that the Dacca Branch of the Bengal Home Industries Association, of which I was then the Secretary, made serious efforts to reintroduce hand-spinning. A large number of charkas were made and sold or distributed and regular classes started in Dacca to teach spinning to girls and women. That was at least three years before the non-co-operation movement, at a time when Mr. Gandhi was wholeheartedly co-operating with the Government and helping recruitment of soldiers.

It was at this time of distress that a story was published in the vernacular papers of Dacca that a woman had hanged herself on being discovered in her room by her son-in-law with nothing on, because she had nothing to put on. The story was officially declared to be an exaggeration, but in Dacca it was widely believed to be true.

That the notorious author of *Mother India* should have used the story for her own purposes is just like her. That she has heard about it is clear and she must therefore have known the truth. This is perhaps a sample of the many *true stories* which have embellished her wicked undertaking. The license of fiction-writers is great but nevertheless, the only name for a fiction-writer who distorts facts like this with a purpose is—an infamous liar.—Yours, etc.

NARES C. SEN-GUPTA.

Calcutta, April 18.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC. By JOHANNES MATTERN. (Johns Hopkins Press.) 1928. 24cm. pp. 682. \$5.00.
- WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY AND ITS RENUNCIATION IN THE PACT OF PARIS. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL. (Constable.) 1929. 23cm. pp. 300. 15s.
- THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE. By K. R. SUBRAMANIAN. (Author, Madras.) 1928. 18.4cm. pp. 105. Re. 1.
- THE CONTROL OF WAGES. By WALTON HAMILTON and STACY MAY. (Macmillan, London.) 1928. 19cm. pp. 185. 6s.
- THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE AND WORKING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By C. HOWARD-ELLIS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 24.5cm. pp. 528. 21s.
- THE SEGREGATION FALLACY AND OTHER PAPERS. By D. D. T. JABAVU. (Lovedale Institution Press, S. Africa.) 1928. 20cm. pp. 137. 2s. 6d.
- TOWN PLANNING IN INDIA. By J. M. LINTON BOGLE. (India of Today Series, Vol. IX.) (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1929. 19cm. Rs. 2-8.
- REPORT ON THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS (1924-25 to 1926-27) OF STUDENTS OF THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY. By K. B. MADHAVA. (Official.) 1928. 24.6cm. pp. 78.
- LATIN AMERICA—MEN AND MARKETS. By CLAYTON SEDGWICK COOPER. (Ginn & Co., New York.) 1927. 21.4cm. pp. 466. 15s.

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