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CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	229
ARTICLES :—	
Disunion—At Any Cost ...	232
The Bardoli Report. ...	233
Ideals of Indian Women's Education. By Mrs. Suloohanabai Hudlikar, B. A. ...	234
OUR EAST AFRICAN LETTER ...	236
REVIEWS :—	
America and the League of Nations. By the Rev. A. R. Low, M. A. ...	237
An Inside View of the Sinn Fein Movement. By Dewan Bahadur T. Venkoba Rao. ...	238
Awakening of Indian Woman. By K. Venugopal Rao., B. A. ...	238
SHORT NOTICES ...	239
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Compulsory Theism. ...	240
BOOKS RECEIVED ...	240

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WHILE great relief is being felt by everybody at the marked improvement in the Bombay Strike Situation during the week as indicated by the resumption of work in most of the mills a new cause of anxiety has been created by the issue of a notice by the millowners that the wages for April would not be paid unless work was resumed for at least six days before the day of payment. In a statement issued by them the millowners refer to the decision of the Fawcett Committee that a lightning strike is a breach of contract for which the forfeiture of wages was a fair penalty. But apart from the rights and wrongs of the case it is hardly wise at this stage to do anything which would cause needless heart-burning and hasten the possibility of a fresh outbreak of hostile feeling. The Bombay Government therefore have taken the right step in addressing a letter to the Millowners suggesting to them the desirability of withdrawing their notice. But the millowners seem to continue adamant on the point. As long as the workers continue in the belief that it is illegal for millowners to make resumption of work a condition for payment of past wages it is not advisable to insist on the strict letter of the law, scattering to the winds all prudence and discretion. It is to be hoped that the millowners will revise their recent decision and keep open the mills to any that join work, without imposing any

conditions. There are many who think that the Trade Disputes Act which has come into effect from the 8th inst. and which is now ready for operation owing to the notification of all the necessary rules for giving effect to the provisions of the Act should be utilized for deciding all the matters of issue between the owners and the workers. This however would necessarily be a prolonged business and we do not think the patience of the two parties would stand the strain imposed by a protracted enquiry by a Board of Conciliation. We would therefore suggest the immediate appointment of a private body constituted by an equal number of representatives of the owners and the workers which should settle urgent matters of dispute by the method of compromise and concession. We feel pretty confident that unless the request for a Board of Conciliation emanates from both the parties to the dispute, the application of the new legislation will be ineffective and might very likely become the fore runner of further mishaps and troubles. This however is said only in reference to the present critical juncture and is by no means to be construed as an attempt to detract from the merits of the Act in itself as having a wide application to future contingencies. Although the belief in the efficacy of the 'mediation rules' agreed upon by both the parties has been shaken by recent events it is better to give a fresh trial to these rules and try fresh avenues of settlements instead of becoming disheartened; otherwise the work of the Fawcett Committee will be simply thrown away. We certainly have a right to expect that the joint committee appointed to consider the best means of giving effect to the recommendations of the Fawcett Committee will bestir itself and devise means to allay the ill-feeling on both sides.

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THE Conference recently convened by the Minister of Education at Mahableshwar does not seem to have achieved anything beyond advertising the fact of the failure of Government to give effect to the provisions of the Primary Education Act of 1923. It is difficult to understand the object the Minister had in view in summoning the Conference. A perusal of his speech, which is practically all that is before the public, shows that Maulvie Rafiuddin had neither any constructive proposals of his own regarding any additional sources of revenue, nor any alternative plan or policy to put before the Conference; a press note should have sufficed under the circumstances. We

fail to understand how any amendment of the Act could have been seriously discussed. The time of the Conference would have been better spent if advantage had been taken of the presence of several gentlemen, who have firsthand experience of the working of the Primary Education Act, to understand the difficulties experienced by local authority. Instead of holding futile discussions on the amendment of the Act, the Conference should have gone into the rules and the manner in which they are being administered. Financial stringency may justify holding up fresh schemes; but it cannot be pleaded in support of the arbitrary and autocratic manner in which Government are driving a coach and four through the rules they have themselves laid down. Local authorities are being literally harassed and if the Minister desires to give some relief to them, he should look into this aspect of the question without waiting for the Hartog report. To quote only some of the recent achievements of the Education Department that have bewildered all local authorities, we would draw attention to the resolutions disallowing all peons and special teachers for purposes of provincial grant. Does the Minister realize the extent of irresponsibility involved in resolutions like these which oblige local authorities to dispense with the services of permanent employees, whatever be the length of their service, for they may not be able to find resources to bear the whole cost of expenditure on these items? And then what is there to prevent Government from declaring item after item of existing expenditure inadmissible for grant till they stand divested of all responsibility altogether? It is high time that, not an informal Conference, but a committee of experienced men, was appointed to report on the actual working of the Primary Education Act.

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THE Baroda Legislative Council has once again given faithful expression to the Reform of Baroda political aspirations of the people of the State by demanding substantial improvement in the constitution and powers of the legislative council. It is not clear if the Council has also asked for a declaration in favour of responsible government being the goal of the Baroda Government's policy in relation to their subjects. The resolution in question seems to concern itself more with the limited question of the reform of the legislative council than with anything else. The Council has asked that its strength should be increased so as to allow one representative for every 25,000 of the population, elected by direct vote. Thus with a population of nearly 21¼ lakhs, the elective strength of the Council would be 85. As regards the nominated element, we do not know if it is contemplated to do away with the official bloc altogether. But what we do know is that the strength of the nominated nonofficial members is not to exceed one-third of the number of elected members. This would be 28, so that the strength of the reformed Baroda legislature would be 113—very nearly the size of the Bombay legislative council—on the supposition that there are to be no officials as its members. We wonder if the supporters of the reform do really want such a numerous body. As to the powers of the council, it is suggested that whatever resolutions it may pass should be binding on the Government. In making this proposal, it is apparently forgotten that such resolutions are not binding on the Government even of that very democratic country, England whose constitution is generally taken as a model in this country. If the advocates of the proposed reform of the Baroda legislature want the State budget submitted to it merely "for discussion" and not for

vote, we do not think the Baroda Government will make much difficulty about meeting their wishes. What is perhaps intended however is that the council should be in a position to vote on it. For the first three years the President of the legislature is to be a person nominated by the Government and then the council which is to be elected every three years is to elect its own President. This is not the first time that a demand for the reform of the Baroda legislative council has been voiced, the Government promising sympathetic consideration every time the question was raised. But despite such promises such demands have so far come to nought. It is to be hoped that the council's latest attempt to get its constitution amended will share a better fate.

* * *

PRESIDING over the quarterly meeting of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce Mr. Walchand and the Textile Walchand Hirachand discussed the plight of the textile industry. The ostensible causes of the strikes he regards as merely the symptoms of the underlying discontent of the workers at their stationary condition and he thinks it natural that they should resist a cut in wages. At the same time he said that the industry was in a depressed condition and unable to pay higher wages. He suggested therefore that the import duty on foreign cloth should be increased by 10 per cent. and the workers should be given one-fourth of the proceeds. One obvious objection to this proposal is that the consumers would be made to suffer while the owners would be exempted from all obligation to economise and reduce their other costs. The scheme would thus put a premium on indifferent management and remove all stimulus to the reorganization of the industry. Mr. Walchand believes that the gains from the higher price resulting from the duty would be utilized in increasing the capacity of the industry but judging from the experience during the War period we do not feel confident about such a self-control being exercised by the millowners. A further justification given by him for an additional 10 per cent. duty is that India cannot be expected to be self-sufficient in her requirements of cloth if the industry earns barely the interest on capital and a trifle for depreciation charges. The duty would not have been necessary, he said, if it had not been for the critical situation due to post-war depression and the re-adjustment to the new exchange ratio. In order to put an end to the instability of industry and business he suggested the introduction of the Gold Standard so that everything would be working automatically. It must be remembered that Government themselves frittered away the gold resources of India recklessly a few years ago and have added to the difficulty of taking such a step without recourse to credits from other countries. Besides the problem of the Gold Standard and that of the Reserve Bank are so dovetailed that it is hardly likely that the one should be inaugurated without making up our mind about the other. In the meantime therefore we must try to reorganize the textile industry in spite of the handicap imposed by an unsatisfactory monetary standard. This can be done best by the owners scrutinizing every item of wasteful expenditure as detailed by the Tariff Board in their report. The idea of securing economy by the cut in wages should be eliminated altogether from their programme by the Millowners' Association; even the Fawcett Committee have dwelt on the unwisdom of having recourse to that method.

The proposals made by the Chamber to the Minister for Industries in connection with scientific research are also deserving of earnest consideration by Government. The Chamber asks the

Industries Department to consider it one of its prime duties to create a body of organized knowledge of science and technique, markets and materials which alone would put vitality into the organization. The Chamber therefore proposes that an industrial chemist and chemical engineer capable of organizing the scientific workers in the province in the interests of industrial development should be appointed next to the Director and that a Mechanical Engineer with ten year's experience should be appointed instead of the Industrial Engineer as proposed by Government. In addition they propose that the work of surveying and collection of business facts which is at present done by all the departments should be concentrated in a Statistical and Intelligence Bureau which they rightly regard as a *sine qua non* of the success of the department.

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THE administration of Bundi State has apparently very slender foundations to rest upon. Otherwise it is difficult to understand the drastic nature of the latest ordinance—how legal it sounds!—issued by the ruler. This is directed against those who "by words written or spoken, or by actions or by any other means, spread sedition or disaffection or disrepute against the State in any shape or form". Similarly, it is designed to reach those who are found "to disseminate groundless rumours against the administration or the authorities of the State, resulting in disloyalty or discontent." The Bundi penal code having been apparently found defective in that it does not cover such offences, the ruler has by this ordinance taken to himself the power of dealing with such offenders "by an executive action." But we are left in no doubt as to the meaning of this phrase. It means that "His Highness will determine the punishment for offenders under this Ordinance which may consist in the deportation, permanent or temporary, of the said person or persons from the State or the city, or internment at a certain place within the State or demand of security for good behaviour." To begin with, the Ordinance is to be in force for one year, though nobody knows why the ruler will not extend its life indefinitely when he can do so by a mere stroke of the pen. Such summary procedure which may be used with some justification in times of emergency appears to be thoroughly unnecessary in the peaceful times through which the State has to all appearances been passing. The justification for it is stated to be the existence of "conspiracies of a nefarious nature in a large number and to a great extent." If we are to believe all this the state of things in Bundi must be far more difficult than that in British India where the Government has recently taken power to itself by means of the Public Safety Ordinance to deport non-Indian Communists. As a matter of fact we have heard so little about there having been any kind of movement in the State that we have no hesitation in considering this latest attempt to augment the repressive powers of the ruler as being thoroughly unjustifiable and uncalled-for.

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A DEPUTATION led by Mr. Giri, Secretary of the Railwaymen's All-India Railwaymen's Federation, was received by the Railway Member to the Government of India during the last week and there was a frank discussion of the important points contained in a memorandum submitted by him some time ago. The deputation stated that the minimum and maximum wages of the subordinate railway employees

were most inadequate, even the maximum hardly constituting a living wage; they further complained of the stoppage of increments owing to the absence of vacancies and also of the violation of the rule of seniority in filling higher places. They consequently suggested the introduction of a time-scale and the raising of the lowest as well as the highest pay in each grade; they especially pleaded for a minimum scale which should at least be on a par with that of the Posts and Telegraph department, considering that the work of railwaymen was more arduous and hazardous than that of the employees of that department. The deputation also regarded it as desirable that there should be one uniform time scale of pay for all the railways. One important grievance over all railways is that one off day is not given to every employee according to the Washington and Geneva conventions and yet no holiday allowance is given for that day. The deputation suggested an increase in the staff for the extra work involved by an increase in traffic or at least a holiday allowance. A more serious grievance was the insecurity of service as evidenced by frequent discharges with one month's notice even in the case of employees who had served for a long term. The deputation criticized in this connection the keeping of appointments as temporary for periods extending from five to twelve years and suggested that every employee should be regarded as permanent after two years of service. In regard to medical relief it was contended that defective vision and other ailments should be treated as injuries and entitled to compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Sir George Rainy's reply to the deputation was no doubt pitched in a sympathetic key and was the model of a frank and generous criticism; but for all that it is likely to leave us rather cold since on various grounds he pleaded his inability to take prompt action. He admitted the necessity of increasing wages all round but referred to his Budget speech in which he pointed out that the only way in which this could be done was by adding to the rates and fares and consequently to the burdens of the average taxpayer. One reply to this is that since the Reserve Fund has assumed decent dimensions no consideration of finance ought to be urged as coming in the way of this vital reform. Sir George Rainy however was right in criticizing the proposal for a uniform scale over all the railways since owing to the disparity of prevailing rates of wages in various areas each railway system must be left its own discretion to fix wages in its own area according to local standards. Even then we must urge that the minimum or the living wage must be fixed at the same figure all over the country. On the question of leave Sir George Rainy promised to consider the possibility of having increased staff for providing more frequent leave; and he further promised to give a definite decision with regard to the adoption of uniform leave rules for all State-managed railways. He recognized that length of service does establish a claim on the administration which should be recognized if the services of an employee are to be discontinued and he admitted that an appeal against an order of discharge should be decided by the appellate authority after a careful review of the facts of the case. Sir George Rainy dwelt on the difficulties of dealing with Company-managed lines but they ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of vital reforms. It is something however that the Railway Member has admitted that the deputation has thrown new light on some of the questions with which he was dealing, and that their demands would receive the fullest consideration from the Railway Board.

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DISUNION—AT ANY COST.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, our readers know, not only offered the other day, on his own behalf and on behalf of his party, not to accept office under dyarchy, but made an appeal to other parties like Liberals to impose a similar self-denying ordinance upon themselves. This action amounts in Panditji's case, and would amount in the case of the Liberal party, to a sacrifice of life-long principles. Panditji evidently persuaded himself to make the sacrifice on account of his conviction that no hope of a working unity with Swarajists was possible unless he adopted, against his better judgment, the one item in the Swarajist policy which has remained unchanged in the midst of change in every other respect, viz. non-acceptance of office. This shows what supreme value he puts upon united action at this juncture of Indian history. The need for union is indeed great, but for our own part we cannot subordinate, and would not have anyone subordinate, basic principles to the exigencies of the moment. These principles must come first, even before the much-needed union of all political parties. Nor does union require the kind of sacrifice which Pandit Malaviya and men of his persuasion are willing to make. Union is quite feasible, if one takes a rational view of the matter, on lines proposed, for instance, by the "Nation First" party organized in the Madras Presidency, in which every one who is in favour of Dominion Status and opposed to communalism retains freedom of opinion and action in regard to all other matters. We of course know what Pandit Malaviya's answer would be. He would say: "Of course, if one takes a rational view, it is feasible. But we know by bitter experience that Swarajists will be irrational. If, however, unity must be achieved at any cost, we can do so only by adopting as our own what the Swarajists regard as the cardinal article of their creed. This will no doubt require a readjustment in our own political views, but it is a price that has to be cheerfully paid for the attainment of the *sine qua non* of national emancipation in the existing circumstances."

If Panditji reasoned out the matter to himself in this way, he clearly reckoned without his host. If Swarajists are irrational enough to interpose difficulties in the way of unity by insisting on every party in the country subscribing to their views, can they not be irrational enough to oppose unity even if every party does subscribe to their views? If Panditji can renounce his own principles and adopt those of Swarajists in order to bring about union, cannot Swarajists renounce their principles and adopt Panditji's discarded ones in order to maintain the existing disunion? This is precisely what has happened in Madras. Hot on the heels of Panditji's declaration of a change in his convictions has come the Swarajist declaration of a change in their convictions, of course in the contrary sense. At a meeting held immediately after Panditji's speech the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee under the leadership of Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar decided to accord freedom to Congressmen of the pro-

vince to determine their own policy in the Legislative Council, even in the matter of acceptance of office; and in interpreting this resolution, Swarajist leaders like Mr. Satyamurthy have been emphasising the need of forming a Swarajist Ministry even under dyarchy if an opportunity offers. It is of course no use for Panditji to tax Swarajists with unprincipled opportunism. They are sure to retort by levelling the same charge against Panditji—and with far more devastating effect. Panditji can no doubt claim that he makes the sacrifice on the altar of a noble cause, while the Swarajists' sacrifice is for a cause which must be characterized as otherwise than noble. Nor would it do for Panditji to question the right of a provincial organization to make a fundamental change in policy laid down by an all-India organization. It is a good point, but it can be taken only by those who are within the organization and Panditji is without. It is enough for him to take note of the fact that Swarajists have always been more anxious to keep up the gulf that separates them from other parties than to maintain the integrity of their own principles. At the Sabaramati Conference some three years ago, when compromise was within an ace of being effected between what were at the time the two wings of the Swarajist party—Swarajists proper and Responsive Co-operators—these very leaders who are sabotaging unity in Madras smashed compromise proposals then. Disunion was then maintained in the name of loyalty to their party principles. If now it can be maintained only by open and avowed disloyalty to those principles, it need not be supposed that they are incapable of this quick-change artistry. Panditji will now realise that the sacrifice which he offered to make is quite superfluous. It is indeed hard luck for him that the lesson that honesty is the best policy even in politics should come from Swarajists, with whom principles are of so little account.

Union between Swarajists and the Malaviyan party (is it the party of Responsivist Co-operationists?—R. S. V. P.) is of course now impossible, for the former difference of opinion still exists between them. Only they have exchanged their rôles: Panditji becoming an obstructionist and Swarajists Responsive (or Unresponsive) Co-operationists. But union should be possible between Swarajists and the "Nation First" party, who agree on all essentials.—Yes, if Swarajists were rational in their outlook. As it is, they call upon all other parties to disband their organizations and merge themselves into the Swarajist party as a pre-requisite of union. If other parties showed as little regard for principles as the Swarajists do in the interest of disunion and Malaviyaji does in the interest of union, we are sure that Swarajists would be ready with some other excuse which would make merger impossible. At the All-India Congress Committee session in Bombay the question of the Madras Congressmen having acted contrary to Congress principles will no doubt come up, but Madras Swarajists are prepared to answer this charge of treachery to Congress principles by bringing a comprehensive charge to the same effect against Swarajists of other pro-

vinces. Mr. Satyamurthy says roundly: "All kinds of appointments and delegations and committees by the Government of India are being accepted by the shining lights of the Congress party in the Assembly without so much as 'by your leave' of the Congress." Again, Northern India and Maharashtra have always exercised the "provincial autonomy" which Madras is now claiming for itself. Into these domestic quarrels we have no right and certainly no will to enter. We should be glad if Madras Swarajists are permitted to take office when they get a chance. We should be still more glad if this "new orientation of policy" is accepted by Swarajists in other provinces as well. We guess it will then be possible for Pandit Malaviya to return to his original convictions. We hope acceptance of office will be a universally accepted policy, irrespective of the question whether union comes about or not. For there is no hope of union of all parties so long as the largest party in the country has for its motto: "Hang principles, provided you keep up present differences."

• THE BARDOLI REPORT.

ABOUT this time last year a pitched battle between the Government of Bombay and the peasants of Bardoli seemed imminent, when Governor Wilson very wisely, albeit after issuing many threats, caused a *détente* in the political situation, which had grown extremely alarming, by appointing a well chosen Committee of two officials to inquire into the complaints of the peasantry. The action then taken is now completely vindicated, for the report of the officials, Messrs. Broomfield and Maxwell, which has just been published, shows that almost every complaint made by the peasantry was fully justified. If it required courage on the part of Sir Leslie Wilson to reopen what was to all the bureaucrats surrounding him a settled fact to be accepted without question by all concerned, it was no less brave of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and his co-workers to agree to have the question remitted to the arbitration of an official body, whose very position would expose it to the suspicion, in popular circles, of a bias in favour official decisions. Many a supporter of Government must have then thought, so critical had the situation become, that, whatever the merits of the particular question might be, Government must at the moment reaffirm its previous decisions and reassert its authority in an unmistakable manner in order to save its prestige from being utterly destroyed by the campaign of civil disobedience organised by the villagers. But the authors of the report have shown a scrupulously judicial spirit which reflects lasting credit on them. Equally creditable was the manner in which the unofficial spokesmen like Messrs. Narhari Parikh and Mahadeo Desai assisted in the inquiry. In putting forward claims on behalf of the peasants they were actuated, it is handsomely acknowledged in the report, by a single-minded desire to ascertain the real truth. Never did acute friction between Government and the public end more happily. Government's prestige has not been

lowered but very much enhanced in the eyes of the thinking people, and the triumph of the popular cause will not, as apprehended by some, encourage passive resistance whenever there is disagreement between the rulers and the ruled, but will actually discourage indiscriminate resort to it by impressing on the people the wholesome lesson that passive resistance can succeed only when the grievance in question can stand the test of a searching inquiry such as Messrs. Broomfield and Maxwell applied in the present instance.

The popular complaints in regard to the resettlement of Bardoli may be subsumed under the chief heads of exclusive reliance upon rental value in determining assessment and total absence of scrutiny in making use of the tables of letting values furnished by the subordinate officials. It was contended on behalf of the people that to base the rate of assessment solely or principally on the evidence of rentals, as was done in the case of Bardoli, was contrary to the law. This contention is pronounced by the Committee to be untenable, for it holds that however grievously the Settlement Commissioner may have erred in relying upon rental statistics to the utter neglect of the general considerations on which a revision of the rates of assessment should primarily be based, there is no warrant for saying that the method pursued by Mr. Anderson is barred by legal provisions. On this point the Committee's reasoning does not strike us as convincing. In the "Instructions for Settlement Officers" it has been expressly laid down, in Rules 9 and 18, that sole reliance ought not to be placed on the results of direct inquiry, i. e., on rental statistics, which can be legitimately employed "only as a check to prevent the enhancement from going too high," proposals for enhancement being "based primarily" on the results of indirect inquiry. Whether the prescriptions of these Rules have the force of law and whether against their violation a remedy can be sought in a judicial court are questions for lawyers, in which we can have no say, but the fact that Government themselves lately repaired to the Legislature for sanction for a change which they have already carried out administratively, viz. the substitution of rental values for general conclusions as the evidence on which reliance should primarily be placed, makes it appear that, even in Government's view, the present practice contravenes the provisions of law and requires to be validated by necessary legislative changes. Anyhow, the Committee is not the final authority in the matter of the interpretation of law, and if necessary, its findings can be tested elsewhere. Fortunately, however, there is no necessity for doing this, for rental values can no longer have, after the damaging criticism passed on the current manner of using them by the Committee, the dominant position assigned to them by Mr. Anderson, and the fate of the Bill confirming the change which had almost imperceptibly come over the land revenue methods of Government is practically sealed.

The authors of the report have shown how misleading is the use made by the Settlement Commissioner of the system of indices derived from the

average value of leases in terms of the assessment. This system was devised by Mr. Webb and first adopted by him in submitting his proposals relating to the revision settlement of Belgaum and Khanapur talukas in 1918. He himself used it, and intended that it should be used, only for testing the correctness of the grouping worked out by other methods, but Mr. Anderson, the Settlement Commissioner, used it as a substitute for the system of grouping and rating. Government have never put their seal of approval on a mechanical application of rental indices, such as Mr. Anderson's, which amounts, as the report says, "almost to a denial of the original principles of grouping" based on general fertility of the soil and other permanent characteristics of the area under settlement. In passing orders on the Khanapur proposals, Government observed: "This method of indices should be used only as a test of conclusions based on the accepted principles of grouping and rating . . . Indications are not wanting that he (the Settlement Officer) has been induced in some cases to adjust his grouping with reference to these figures, upon which too great reliance should not be placed." But Mr. Anderson has gone headlong with this essentially faulty method on his own authority, and Messrs. Broomfield and Maxwell have shown how even in the best of circumstances, i. e., when the rental data are plentiful, well sifted and of a representative character, the utmost scrutiny is necessary in order to arrive at a real indication of rental value. But in the case of Bardoli none of these circumstances existed. First, the rental material was too meagre. The Settlement Officer, Mr. Jayakar, put the proportion of the area leased to tenants for cash rents to the total area under cultivation in the taluka at 30%, but like all his other figures this is pure guesswork. The exact figures which are now available show that the total area leased for cash during the current year is no more than 11% of the total cultivated area. Anyhow it is clear, as the Broomfield-Maxwell report says, that in Bardoli "cultivation by the owner himself is the normal mode of dealing with land and leasing is more or less exceptional" (p. 36); and that the net area leased and available for such statistics can never have amounted to more than a very minor part of the whole taluka" (p. 34). The authors of the report say: "We have found comparatively few villages in which leasing for cash rents is really common, while in many others it is so rare that no conclusion as to the state of agriculture in general can fairly be based on rental figures." Apart from the insufficiency of the rental material, it is an undoubted fact that not even the faintest attempt was made to sift it. The members of the Servants of India Society who in June last made a personal inquiry into the matter found, by comparing the talatis' rent registers with the figures given in appendices to the Settlement Officers' report, that, in every village in which particulars were available, all rents were recorded without exception even when some of them represented interest or other disturbing factors which must be excluded as an index to economic rent. Messrs.

Broomfield and Maxwell have arrived at the same conclusion after an extended investigation for three months. "We are bound to record," say they, "that in no single village of the 70 which we ourselves inspected were we able to discover that he (Mr. Jayakar) had made any personal examination of leasing transactions there." He did not claim "to have made a personal examination of leasing or sale transactions, though we think he left it to be implied that he had done so." In view of these facts, viz. that "the rental and sale statistics have been carelessly compiled, are demonstrably incorrect in a large number of cases, and in general must be regarded as completely unreliable," and that the established method of using the statistics is "unsound in theory", Messrs. Broomfield and Maxwell have unhesitatingly recorded their finding that the rates of assessment fixed "cannot be allowed to stand."

In making their own calculations of the proper pitch of assessment they have been constrained to take the view that the so-called "net profits and cost of cultivation method" "has no practical value for grouping the villages and fixing the rating for each group," as the indications yielded by this method are by themselves "too far negative to afford a basis for resettlement." Indeed, we are told that Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, counsel for the peasants, in his final argument admitted as much. Messrs. Broomfield and Maxwell have therefore made use of the evidence of rents according to their interpretation of it and have arrived at a conclusion which reduces the increase in rent from 22 per cent. in Bardoli and Chorasi talukas to 5.7 per cent.

This report cannot fail to have a far-reaching effect upon the land revenue policy of the Bombay Government. The methods of fixing the assessment now in vogue will have to be entirely recast and more precise instructions than at present will have to be issued to officers in charge of resettlement. What happened in Bardoli and Chorasi probably happens in most other talukas, but these have not acquired the power of resistance to injustice which comes from organization and discipline, which the two talukas displayed in such a remarkable manner. However Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel has now accepted the leadership of the peasants in other aggrieved talukas as well and it is to be hoped that Government, who have now realized the utter worthlessness of the instruments they employ in carrying out their policy, will show its willingness to redress any possible injustice before a campaign of passive resistance is proclaimed. If in every case of grievance civil disobedience becomes necessary, it will be Government and not Mr. Gandhi's agents to whom the responsibility will attach for inculcating a spirit of defiance to law.

IDEALS OF INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

THE Indian Women's University is the only institution in India started with the specific object of imparting useful education to Indian lady students. But unfortunately there has been some misconception in the mind of the public regarding its

real aims and objects, with the result that annually a number of lady students are rushing to boys' colleges where they think they get better education. In order to place the ideals of the Indian Women's University beyond the possibility of misconception I propose to move the following proposition at the meeting of the Senate of the University to be held in June 1929 in Bombay :—

"The Senate hereby recommends to the Syndicate that a Committee be appointed to prepare an authoritative statement of educational policy defining in clear terms the principles of woman's education underlying the work of the S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University, this statement to be circulated for opinion three months in advance of the next year's Senate meeting in 1930, and that after incorporating all suggestions received from members, the Syndicate should submit the final draft at the Senate meeting in the year 1930."

This proposition is very simple and very necessary indeed. The aims and objects of the University are nowhere properly defined. I wish to point out here that the only point made clear so far is that modern Indian languages are to be the media of instruction, which alone seems to be the distinguishing feature of this University.

There is a provision in the aims and objects that a special course of study suited to the needs and requirements of women would be provided in this institution. I wish to draw pointed attention to this provision. What is the real interpretation of this clause? Last year's discussion in the Senate meeting clearly showed that this was variously interpreted and the noble object underlying the movement thoroughly confounded. If my proposition is carried, a clear and an unequivocal statement would be placed before the public for their guidance.

In his autobiography Prof. D. K. Karve says :

"I fully believe in the following principles of education which should guide us in educating women :—

- (1) To educate them as human beings.
- (2) To educate them as women in order to fit them to become good wives and wise mothers.
- (3) To educate them as members of the Nation so that they may always remember that their lives at home are related in an important manner, however hidden, to the prosperity or decay of the nation." (p. 480.)

Prof. Karve further says in his autobiography that the following four axioms are the cardinal principles guiding him in all his endeavours at organising the work of the I. W. U.

- (1) To give that education to women which will create in them confidence of their own powers and consciousness regarding their independent personality as human beings.
- (2) To educate women so as to enable them to beautify and strengthen the home and family, as the solidarity of these institutions depends entirely on women who are considered guiding geniuses of the family and the home.
- (3) To educate them in such a manner as will make them think that they are members of their nation. It is the mothers of a nation who can successfully fill the tender minds of the younger generation with a healthy patriotism for the mother-country. To educate them in such a manner as to enable them to perform this national duty.
- (4) In the life of a nation there is bound to be a small number of women who would prefer to remain unmarried and would like to serve their mother country in other useful channels. The lives of such women are sure to bring about national regeneration. Efforts must be made to give them all kinds of facilities and opportunities of receiving the same education as is received by men. There should be perfect equality and freedom given to such women for the development of their natures according to their ideals. Looking to the physical and mental constitution of the

majority of women their ideals in education are bound to be different from the ideals of education of the small number of women mentioned above. Conflict of ideals appears to be a necessary condition of life but the evolution of life is a natural result of such conflicts." (pp. 489, 490.)

Further, Prof. Karve is quite clear about the differences in duties to be performed by the two sexes justifying differences in curricula, for he says in the special number of the *Bombay Chronicle* for 1928 :

"It is often said that education knows no sex. I accept this principle so far as culture is concerned. Men and women are both human beings and they do require a common or general education; but the difference in their physical constitution and the difference in their future careers do require a change in the curriculum. Even in western countries where women are asserting their rights and trying to equal men in all their activities and vocations difference is made in many secondary schools. After having hours for common subjects a period is set apart for carpentry and smithy in the case of boys while for girls the same period is utilised for domestic economy. This fact and the handicap on a girl on account of her natural physical disabilities make a girl less capable of bearing mental and intellectual strain than a boy. The present system of education and specially of examinations is very taxing even for boys. In the case of girls, most of them are to be educated for general culture and the pressure of study and rigour of examinations must be reduced as much as possible."

Prof. Karve however warns us on p. 477 of his autobiography not to confound his views with the aims and objects of the Indian Women's University. But I fail to understand why there should be any warning to the public at all. His statement is perfectly in keeping with the principles he has enunciated in his speeches and writings. It is but proper that the I. W. U. should follow the principles so clearly and unequivocally defined by its great founder. It seems as though the Senate of the University is unwilling to accept the principles laid down by Prof. Karve.

Prof. Karve wants a separate curriculum for an average Indian lady student. This was however wrongly interpreted by the *Indian Social Reformer* as a "retrograde step in the movement for the elevation of the status of women in the country." This has perhaps upset the Senators. There is also another set back given by the Bombay University Reform Committee, which says that a separate Women's University is a waste of effort and money, and that a Women's University with the vernacular as its medium is not in the interest of the higher education of women in this Presidency. As luck would have it, amongst the signatories of this memorable Report are to be found men like Dr. R. P. Paranjpye who once occupied the post of the Vice-Chancellor of this University!

Again, recently the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., while speaking before the Women's Indian Association at Madras on the 9th April 1929 said :

"I think the fundamental defect in Prof. Karve's scheme of an Indian Women's University is that it tried to isolate women from men. Formulating a system of education as though she had different tasks, totally different mentality and totally different destinies, there I think, is the mistake lying at the very bottom of the whole idea . . ."

There thus seems a fundamental difference in this case between Prof. Karve's ideals of women's education and those of Mr. Sastri. According to Mr. Sastri, there is no need for a separate University for women at all which is virtually what is said by the Bombay University Reform Committee. If their judgment is to be accepted then it means that

we should wind up the I. W. U. I request my fellow-members of the Senate to think over this awkward situation for a while and then decide which way they would like to travel further, or whether they would like their journey to end here.

I am afraid all this tangle and confusion has been clearly due to the fact that the aims and objects of the Indian Women's University are not clearly defined. They deserve to be stated unambiguously so that the individuality of this University should be maintained at all costs.

Besides, as we all know, Prof. Karve has fashioned this University after the Japanese model, and we know also that the Japanese University has a distinct statement of its policy.

I expect that the members of the Senate and the general public outside will support my proposition which will be found to be in the best interests of Indian women.

SULOCHANABAI HUDLIKAR.

OUR EAST AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

MOMBASA, May 2.

MR. SASTRI'S DEPUTATION TO EAST AFRICA.

BOTH the Indian and the European communities are pleased that Mr. Sastri is soon to be in their midst. On all hands it is freely acknowledged that he is the one Indian statesman who commands the confidence of both the communities to a remarkable degree, and high hopes are entertained that his presence and efforts will facilitate a fair and equitable agreement on the Indian question which has vexed Kenya, India, England and the Empire for over a generation. Considering that Sir Samuel Wilson does not come here as the High Commissioner, the deputation by the Government of India of such an outstanding person as Mr. Sastri to East Africa at this juncture indicates the great importance attached by the Government of India and the Imperial Government to a settlement of the Indian question in Kenya. It is fervently hoped that the success that has so far invariably attended Mr. Sastri's missions in different parts of the Empire will crown his efforts on this occasion also and that he will be able to effect a settlement, honourable to both parties. The failure to do so is fraught with very grave consequences to India and the Commonwealth. It was Mr. Sastri who exclaimed in 1923 "Kenya lost, all is lost." It is for the people of India and the Government of India to give their full and unstinted support to Mr. Sastri.

PANDIT H. N. KUNZRU.

As President of the East African Indian National Congress, Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru was elected leader of the Indian deputation which is to interview Sir Samuel Wilson. The interview is to take place on the 6th of May when Mr. Sastri will also be present. [At the time the letter was written the expectation in Kenya was that Mr. Sastri would sail on April 24; no intimation had apparently been sent by the Government of India that Mr. Sastri could not sail on that day but sailed on May 1st. Mr. Sastri could not therefore have been present at the interview.—Ed.] In the meanwhile Mr. Kunzru is visiting the important Indian centres in Kenya and obtaining a first-hand knowledge of the conditions under which Indians live. At the time of writing he is on his way to Kisumu, on Lake Victoria, near which is the Indian agricultural settlement.

TANGANYIKA EUROPEANS.

An association called the European Constitu-

tional Association in Tanganyika has published for general information the draft memorandum which, if approved by the Constitutional Association, is to be presented to Sir Samuel Wilson. The strongly-worded memorandum vigorously protests against the imputation contained in the Hilton-Young Report that the British community in East Africa is not to be trusted to rule the country justly and impartially, and the suggestion that the progress towards responsible government by the settlers is to be held up till the backward races come up and against the slogan that native interests should be paramount in East Africa. It demands that the Imperial Government should repudiate them. The appointment of a High Commissioner with executive powers is opposed and the suggestion of the Convention of Associations that a Special Commissioner should be appointed for preliminary investigations is supported.

Another organisation, called the Tanganyika Central Planters' Association, agrees with the views of the Constitutional Association, and strongly criticises the present Government's policy of land alienation, the wholesale delegation of powers to native authorities and the encouragement of native production at the expense of the non-native community.

It is not clear what support the memorandum of the Constitutional Association will receive from the European community in Tanganyika, which consists of a majority of non-Britishers. One thing, however, is clear that the memorandum is a feather in the cap of the Convention of Associations in Kenya. In Kenya itself the Convention is losing strength. Several constituent associations have disaffiliated themselves from the Convention, and the newly formed Nairobi European Association declined to be affiliated to it.

KENYA TARIFF COMMITTEE.

While every community and country in East Africa is opposed for its own reasons to closer union in the political sphere, both Indians and Europeans in Kenya are in favour of closer union in the economic sphere. At the present moment the three countries, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, are included in a customs union, and the former two in a railway union. Uganda and Tanganyika have however discovered that their interests were being sacrificed for the benefit of a section of the people in Kenya, the settlers in the Highlands. Both the customs and railway policies at present subserve the interests of the European settlers in Kenya. The railway rates on produce for export are ridiculously low compared with the high rates on the transport of imported goods. The customs tariff includes heavy protective duties on certain articles like sugar, ghee, butter, bacon, etc. The benefit of these protective duties accrues only to the European settlers in Kenya. The growth of local production has not kept pace with the demand for local consumption in the three territories, with the result that imported articles occasionally rise to scarcity values. Tanganyika refused to be mulcted for the benefit of Kenya and took off the protective duties on certain imported articles already. Uganda is kicking against the railway policy of Kenya. Kenya apprehends that at the next Customs Conference in 1930, Tanganyika and Uganda may secede from such economic union as now obtains. The Government has, therefore, appointed a Tariff Committee to consider if the customs union should be maintained, if protective duties should be continued, and how to reconcile customs union between the three territories with protection for Kenya settlers' production.

The Indians in Kenya and Tanganyika complain that not only is the tariff policy manipulated to give protection to Kenya settlers, but that the

customs duties on articles consumed by Indians are heavier; that articles of Indian consumption are discriminated against.

The membership of the Kenya Tariff Committee includes, besides certain officials, all the elected members of the local Legislative Council. Which means eleven European members and one Indian, the Hon. Mr. A. H. Malik. The Indian Association was asked to nominate a member; but it declined to do so because the Government declined to accede to its request for five Indian members. Mr. J. B. Pandya was nominated in virtue of his office as the President of the Mombasa Indian Chamber of Commerce.

While on the subject of the Chambers of Commerce, it may be mentioned that membership is open to both Indians and Europeans. But Indians have not joined them in any numbers. This is not, however, due to any spirit of non-co-operation. The proceedings of the Chambers are conducted in the English language which most Indian merchants are unable to express themselves in, even if they understood it. Secondly, the subscriptions are considered to be too high. It is also said that the topics that come up for discussion in the Chambers do not vitally affect the Indian merchant. On these grounds is defended the organisation of Indian Chambers, not in opposition to, but as supplementary to, the Chambers of Commerce.

REVIEWS.

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE WORLD TALKS IT OVER. By BURR

PRICE. (Read Menkle Co., New York.) 1927.

7½ × 5. pp. 308. \$1-75.

THE writer, Mr. Burr Price, is a journalist who has been in close touch with leaders of the international peace movement both in Europe and the United States for the past ten years. He tells the story of how the idea of the League of Nations gradually grew up in the world, particularly in the minds of thoughtful Americans, how the war of 1914-18 brought the matter to an issue and how by the wise and patient work of hundreds and thousands of people connected with and interested in the League since its foundation the whole world has begun to concern itself with the problem of international peace and co-operation.

The book leaves upon the mind one very sad impression. Obviously, the writer is an enthusiast. He takes a legitimate pride in the number of Americans who by their deep humanitarian feeling, their cosmopolitan sympathies and their far-reaching vision, prepared the way for the great step taken by their noble President, Woodrow Wilson, during and at the close of the war. He rejoices at the increasing number of Americans who are giving time, thought and money without stint to further the activities of the League. He notes with pathetic minuteness every official advance made by the Government of his country towards participation in those activities. But not yet is the United States a member of the League. During these past eight years large-minded Americans such as he must have felt their patriotism strained to the utmost.

Mr. Burr Price is very frank. We learn from his pages that the United States at first refused to

have anything to do with the work of the Advisory Committee on the Opium Traffic, that to the Conference on Communications and Transit which paved the way for international agreements regarding ports, waterways, railways and airways in Europe, America declined to send a delegate, that the Washington Government held up the operation of the newly-devised Mandates System for two years, that it put obstacles in the way even of the Health Organisation, that in 1921 it refused to join a Conference on Traffic in Women and Children, and that, although the World Court is an institution long deemed essential by American statesmen, and although it has been functioning for five and a half years, the United States is not yet a member of it. With what intense pain the writer must have brought himself to record these facts!

One reason why he sets forth the facts so faithfully is that he believes in publicity and in the wholesome and healing influence of the white light of truth. He quotes from a Memorandum of the League of Nations Council:

"Publicity has for a long time been considered as a source of moral strength in the administration of national law. It should equally strengthen the laws and engagements which exist between nations."

It is the main theme of his book that the frank and open discussion of all questions is the surest means of discovering the solution, and of making that solution effective. Let us hope his plain speaking will help his country to abandon her policy of isolation. Meanwhile, we cannot but sympathise with him and his fellow-workers who are doing everything in their power to popularise the League, and let us give thanks for the fact that they are a steadily increasing number.

Another and a more agreeable impression which this book leaves upon the mind is that the good work already accomplished by the League of Nations is almost beyond reckoning, so numerous are its ramifications into all spheres of human life, and even more incalculable is the evil it has prevented. Critical as the past years have been since the war ended, in our relief from war strain we have remained unconscious of many perils from which the League of Nations provided the way of escape. We may have a vague recollection that in 1923 war was imminent between Italy and Greece, and in 1925 between Greece and Bulgaria. But there were other occasions when delicate situations developed, any one of which might have issued in war, not necessarily on a small scale, had it not been for the silent, tactful and persevering labour of peace-makers whose work proved effective solely because of the machinery brought into existence by the League of Nations.

Not very often does the writer allow himself the luxury of a vivid picture. One of the few places where he reveals something of the romance that lies behind the League work is in his account of the speed with which the Greco-Bulgarian incident just referred to was settled:

"The Council was summoned on October 23, 1925, four days after the killing of a Greek sentry by a Bulgarian soldier on the border line between the two nations. For

a few days a new Balkan war seemed a certainty. Realising the disastrous possibilities, officials of the League were watching the situation with anxiety and, accordingly, when Bulgaria protested against the invasion of her territory, the Secretary-General proceeded instantaneously to do his duty, which was to 'forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.' Within an hour after receiving the Bulgarian telegram, Sir Eric Drummond had telephoned M. Briand, of France, who had been President of the Council during its last session and who was therefore still its active head.

" M. Briand telegraphed the two Governments to the effect that 'not only no further military movements shall be undertaken, but that troops shall at once retire behind their respective frontiers.' In response to the special summons, the members of the Council dropped all other affairs and literally ran to the meeting. One of them went by airplane."

" The Council met at Paris at six o'clock on October 26. This was seven days after the first episode. Representatives of the two Governments were heard. Then the Council adopted a resolution requesting them 'to inform it within twenty-four hours that the Bulgarian and Greek Governments have given unconditional orders to their troops to withdraw behind their respective frontiers, and within sixty hours that all troops have been withdrawn within the national frontiers; that all hostilities have ceased and that all troops have been warned that the resumption of firing will be visited with severe punishment.'

" These stipulations were complied with in the specified time, and the danger was over.

" Since this incident, the Greco-Bulgarian affair has been repeatedly referred to by historians as a typification of the changing spirit of Europe to-day under the League of Nations."

On the whole, the book is an exhaustive and useful, if somewhat matter-of-fact, summary. Some of its pages are disfigured by lists of names and other excessive detail. Still, as a work of reference, the volume is valuable. And occasionally with a minimum of words a fact is driven home that will repay much pondering over. For example, the League's annual budget for eight separate years is quoted, after which there is one brief paragraph closing that particular chapter :

"The world at the present time is spending on armaments \$800 million dollars annually. This sum would maintain the League of Nations for approximately 758 years."

And we pride ourselves upon our twentieth century intelligence !

A. R. LOW.

AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE SINN FEIN MOVEMENT.

IRELAND'S SECRET SERVICE IN ENGLAND.

By EDWARD M. BRADY. (The Talbot Press, Dublin.) 7½ × 5. pp. 160. 3s. 6d.

THE author deserves to be congratulated on the production of this admirable little book, dealing briefly with the growth and development of the movement known as Sinn Fein and largely with its activities in England. The book is written in such a simple and lucid style that it may be confidently said that it has few equals. Into the limited space available is condensed a great deal of information about the movement and its activities and the author's experience of the British police and jail officers. The author himself was one of the most important members of the movement and had taken a prominent part in some of the most daring exploits and opera-

tions in England. He was himself an ex-police official. It is therefore in the fitness of things that he should chronicle his vast experience and the several episodes he has chosen to narrate in this little book are not only thrilling but also interesting.

The organization consisted of young, strong, desperate and brave men whose motto was "Theirs is not to make reply; theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do or die" and who stuck at nothing to achieve their object. It was an association trained to obedience, promptness, co-operation and self-sacrifice. The number of such men was not large, but their readiness for action and their grim determination are worth emulation. They were picked men. They underwent rigid training. They were watched and tested. They were made to understand that if they showed the slightest inkling to the official world of their organisation or activities or gave room for even the slightest suspicion as to their bona fides, their lives were in jeopardy. Regular meetings were held at which each man's duties were well impressed on his mind and plans in furtherance of their object laid out. All possible precautions for secrecy were taken, viz., observers were stationed at places of advantage and even at police stations and women were employed as spies.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters. The first chapter is devoted to giving the readers an idea of the movement itself, its object, its growth and its ramifications. How the author became a member of the movement, how he rose to a most important place in the movement and what the exploits of the movement were—all this is described in the remaining chapters.

In fighting for the freedom of their country the members of the Sinn Fein movement had recourse to several ways and means. Their policy of violence and their terrorist methods cannot appeal to all, but it may be doubted if in their absence the movement would have succeeded in drawing the pointed attention of the British people to the Irish problem. And from this point of view a portion of the credit for the eventual solution of the problem must go to this movement.

Incidentally the author pays a high compliment to the English Police with whom he came into contact very often. He praises them for their devotion to duty, their scrupulous obedience of orders, rules and conventions and their high sense of the sacredness of property and of life and their humane treatment of persons with whom they had to deal. In his opinion, the Scotland Yard police is immaculate and impeccable and the author has all praise for it. His description of the jail administration is anything but satisfactory. All the same the book is exceedingly readable.

T. VENKOBA RAO.

AWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMEN.

WOMAN AWAKENED. By G. SUMATI BAI (Tagore & Co. Madras.) 1928. 7¼ × 5 pp. 125 Re 1.

"WOMAN Awakened" is the first whiff of hot breath after centuries of sickly acquiescence in tyranny, divine as well as masculine, that the Indian woman is blowing, just a mild cracker if you like, but an earnest of a dangerous explosion to follow. Man's anxiety to tighten the vicious psychological chains, he has forged for her restraint and his zeal to create more lest the world should be flooded with "sin", has disillusioned her at last. She has suddenly opened her eyes to the fact that her vaunted "chastity" is devoid of virtue in so far as she practised it under the Democles' sword of her jealous lord here on

earth. It has also become painfully clear to her that in cultivating a desperate adherence to man, dead or alive, she has become an incorrigible parasite and has thus irreparably lost what is a precious possession to a human being—a distinct personality. Her helplessness was man's supreme opportunity. Originally finding woman by choice playing the part of a housekeeper, he immediately set about evolving a morality calculated to bring her within the definition of property. For his own part, he took sufficient care to retain for himself reasonable freedom to steer clear of all "moral" obligations. There was a law within the law which took into account his insatiable thirst for variety. Having laid down that education was a bane to "ohastity", he took advantage of her supreme ignorance by reducing her to the level of a beast of domestic burdens. He little realised the danger of crippling her interests so, for having but one sordid concern in life, she sought diversion in saturating herself with sex ideas and enveloping the whole of life with them in all sinister ways. Thus has come into currency a sex-fogged morality which has built for security a jungle of taboos wherewith to fight its fullthroated battles with "immoralities." "Morality guarantees the bread and butter" of the wife and for all the glories of the ancient Indian woman, that Miss Sumati Bai Sings, C. E. M. Joad says that "throughout the recorded history of civilisation, the only recognised way for a woman to make her living has been through her body. Her body being one saleable asset, she could employ it in either of the two ways. She could sell the use of it to one man for an indefinite period or she could lease it to a number of men for short or strictly regulated periods. The first method is known as marriage; the second is prostitution". Never having tried her hand at remunerative labour, "the really nice woman," observes Joad, "feels instinctively that the only decent way for her to live is on the earnings of some man." Inseparable attachment is what the masterful man demanded of her for the trouble he took of keeping her fed, clothed and pampered. Fear of losing this single source of livelihood, makes her moral and the same "has left woman no other alternative but concubinage (married or unmarried) or starvation." In India, except in Malabar, she occupies a most degrading position.

Unfortunately the little awakening, that we see in the Indian woman and to which Sumati Bai bears testimony, is still so nebulous. She is busy refuting hoary arguments, and petitioning for small mercies such as freedom to marry late, if a widow to remarry, the right to choose her husband and to educate herself. She has not soared higher for she lacks assertion and wings. Her economic dependence on man also makes it insuperably difficult for her to do so, and disobedience of heavenly law means acute suffering for her. The future of Indian womanhood is on that account glomy. There is stupendous recreative work before her which she alone must do. Self-determination is what she must secure for her-self before she ventures into the deeper waters of the struggle against the combined forces of religion and man. The old social conscience is a menace to the future well-being of the society. There is a crying need for a rational morality which does not require an external authority to enforce it.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE MASHONA. By CHARLES BULLOCK. (Juta & Co., Cape Town.) 1928. 8½×5¾. pp. 400. 12s. 6d.

THE present volume is a very valuable contribution to the study of African ethnology, as it materially adds to the sum of our knowledge of the Native people of Southern Rhodesia. It is an unvarnished record of observations made by a scientific observer who as the Native Commissioner and Examiner in Native Customs and Administration for Rhodesia, has had the best possible opportunities for observation and enquiry and has utilised his opportunities to the full. It is a thousand pities that we have no such officer for our aboriginal tracts in India. From the examination of ancient human remains, it has been ascertained that a people of characteristics similar to those of the present-day Mashona lived in South Rhodesia about 1000 years ago. The Mashona are a Bantu or Negroid people. In this volume the Mashona is depicted in his own environment, his societal and religious system is luminously explained in the light of intimate knowledge; and all those inner influences which may be called his social heritage as well as outside influences from different sources whose impact on centuries-old entrenchments of social inhibitions and organised superstition has been producing notable results, are sought to be traced and analysed as best as possible. The key-note of the Mashona's societal system is the wish for a son to carry on his life. The conception, of the spirit which is to him of paramount importance in the unseen world, is an ancestral spirit which is one with his fathers, and one with all his ancestors, back to the Wakuru of old. There is a continuity and summation of the ancestral essences in his *Mudzimu*, the spirit of his forefathers. This idea of continuity in spirit life has its counterpart in his conception of physical life. His son will be himself. And to that end his societal system has been built up. The Mashona family is governed by a patriarchal organisation which recognizes polygamy but abhors promiscuity and polyandry. The degrading local custom of *mzinini* among the Manyika and kindred tribes is not true polyandry but rather a perversion of polygamy. It imposes a special status on certain women, in so far as they have no recognized husbands, but bear children who become the "property" of their nephews. The author provides us with a wealth of material regarding the ethnography of the Mashona, and the book will form a valuable addition to the anthropologist's library.

S. C. ROY.

ULSTER: ITS ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTIQUITIES. By HENRY CAIRNES LAWLOR. (R. Carswell & Son, Belfast.) 1928. 9½×7¼. pp. 224.

THIS is an interesting book written in a popular style on a proverbially dry subject. It has grown, as the author tells us in the preface, out of a series of 'talks' to schools broadcasted and printed by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

In the first three chapters the author has given a lucid account of the setting in which early man settled in Northern Ireland and the successive phases of neolithic, bronze, megalithic and lake-dwelling culture. The first 60 pages are full of interest for the general student of early humanity. Thus the dolmens of Northern Ireland have their counterparts in the dolmens of Belgaum, Bijapur, and the Hyderabad Deccan. In the subsequent chapters

dealing with the spread of Christianity in Ireland under St. Patrick and St. Columcille, and the age of powerful monasteries, the Indian student may compare the similar, though more pacific, growth of Buddhism in his own land. Though one may not expect the splendour of the Buddhist universities of Nalanda and Vikramsila in the Irish prototypes, it is interesting to learn that the teaching in the Irish monasteries of the arts of writing illuminating manuscripts, metal-working and stone-carving raised it to such a high level that it has been called the golden age of Irish Art. The latter part of the book devotes itself to the buildings of the post-Norman period, mostly castles and churches, in connection with which a good deal of local history has had to be incorporated. The printing and get up of the book are satisfactory. An important omission which would be keenly felt by readers outside Northern Ireland is that of a map showing the various antiquarian places referred to in the book. In some places the treatment shows how the author is working under a handicap by deliberately restricting his choice to Northern Ireland instead of the whole of Ireland. On the whole, the book would well repay perusal and we would commend it to the notice of every student of culture.

ORIENTALIST.

CORRESPONDENCE

COMPULSORY THEISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—I find that Principal Gokhale, the protagonist of compulsory theism, has taken an opportunity to sneer at me in passing in the course of his pitiful attempt to reply to my brother. I hope, therefore, that you will allow me some space.

Even from a man who has not studied Logic, one might expect some common sense, but when Mr. Gokhale flagrantly contradicts himself by advocating compulsion in the name of Toleration, he shows a lack of this quality. He says, for instance, in his letter to you, "I therefore put 'tolerance' as the first virtue to be cultivated by learning to look at Truth or God, as I call it, from every possible point of view." Apart from the fact that to call truth God is a libel on Truth, I agree with him. In fact Mr. Gokhale's pose as a champion of tolerance is a sheer pretence. It is precisely he who is intolerant of atheism, as he says further on that he is not willing to set apart a day for atheism in his programme. Even the most bigoted theist will admit that atheism must be included in the expression "every possible point of view". But Mr. Gokhale does not want every possible point of view though he says so. He is not tolerant of atheism. Nobody is intolerant of his views. He and his tribe are perfectly free to believe what they please and to imagine as many gods as they please, the more the merrier. Let them also leave other people free to believe what they please.

In proof of the efficacy of prayer, Mr. Gokhale cites what he calls a fact, proving that he does not know what a fact is in scientific language. Taking it for granted that Dr. Barnardo prays for money, and that he gets cheques from generous donors, there is nothing in this to show that these things are cause and effect. My father collects funds for his institutions, but he does not sit down to pray for money, and still money comes. What does this show?

That money may come even without prayer. I suppose it would continue to come even if my father prayed for it! If this proves anything, it proves that Dr. Barnardo is simpleton enough to believe in the efficacy of prayer, or that there are other simpletons in the world besides Mr. Gokhale. One curious thing about this so-called fact is that God apparently does nothing for the result produced according to Mr. Gokhale. Dr. Barnardo sends thought waves, they strike somebody who sends cheques, and what does God do in all this? I suppose he is a kind reflector of thought-waves in the direction of the donors. One is curious to know what thought-waves are made of and what god is made of, to be a good reflector.

The absurdity of an Omnipotent and Benevolent God is patent to anyone who thinks. He must be either Wicked or Impotent since he has not abolished evil. These funny people belonging to various new-fangled religious sects think that they have improved upon orthodoxy by reducing the number of gods to one. If there is any merit in reducing the number, is it not better still to reduce it to zero?

It is as easy to prove the existence of three gods and a half as of one god, since neither can be proved. Only the chaos in the world would be much better explained on the supposition of many gods than of one; but religion is dogmatism, not reason.

I only wish Mr. Gokhale's pamphlet was widely distributed. It is a much stronger argument against his own views than anything that we can write.

Yours etc.

R. D. KARVE.

Bombay, May 12.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- EUROPE: A HISTORY OF TEN YEARS. By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL. (Macmillan, London.) 1928. 21cm. pp. 428. 10s. 6d.
- SELECTED ARTICLES ON INTER-ALLIED DEBTS AND REVISION OF THE DEBT SETTLEMENTS. Comp. by JAMES THAYER GEROULD and LAURA SHEARER TURNBULL. (The Handbook Series II, Vol. 4.) (H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1928. 20.5cm. pp. 489. \$2.40.
- LEGAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM. By PAUL APPASWAMY. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. 1929. 22.5cm. pp. 256. Rs. 3.
- WE FIGHT FOR OIL. By LUDWELL DENNY. (A Knopf. London.) 1928. 22.3cm. pp. 297. 7s. 6d.
- PANDITA RAMABAI. By Mrs. PAUL APPASWAMY. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1928. pp. 45. As. 5.
- SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY. By EARNEST R. GROVES. (Lippincott, London.) 1927. 20.5cm. pp. 314. 9s.
- SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI. Vol. II. By KRISHNADAS. (Gandhi Kutir, Dighwara, Behar.) 1928. 18.5cm. pp. 471. Rs. 3-8.
- GEORGE FOX. By RUFUS M. JONES. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1928. pp. 53. As. 8.

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