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Topics of the Week.

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

THE news of Pandit Motilal Nehru's illness in Naini jail will be received with great regret and grave concern both in India and in England. It appears that he took ill with fever in Yerawada jail and that he developed influenza in Naini, and that Sir Nilratan Sircar and Dr. B. C. Roy from Calcutta examined him and declared that his condition was not free from anxiety. The Government of the United Provinces have promptly assembled a Medical Board to examine the patient and report to the Government. Apart from personal considerations, which are not less weighty, the illness of the venerable Pandit, the veteran politician of seventy, at this juncture, when he was playing a very important part in the peace negotiations, is a misfortune of the first order. We trust the Government of India will fully realise the grave responsibility they are taking in detaining the Pandit in jail in the present state of his health, notwithstanding the best medical help that they will place at his disposal. Every consideration of prudence, chivalry, and public policy demands his immediate release. For all the expert medical aid that will be made available, there is something in the atmosphere of the jail which is not conducive to the Pandit's recovery from ill-health.

While on the subject of the Pandit, we have not been able to understand why when the Pandit, his son and Dr. Mahmud were fetched down to Poona to meet Mr. Gandhi, there was such an imposing police escort. Was it feared that the prisoners would escape from custody or violate jail regulations and restrictions? Or was it mere unimaginative redtape or steel frame? Lesser men than the august prisoners have been let out on parole as it were. Pandit Motilal Nahru when requested to give a message by some Congressmen on arrival at Naini declined to do so on the ground that he was a prisoner. Where was the

necessity for a police *bundobast* for him and his colleagues? Much of the trouble in India is due to the lack of imagination and sympathy in the governing race.

Anarchists in Bengal.

THE recent annals of Bengal have been disfigured by the cult of the bomb. One of the reasons which Mahatma Gandhi offered for launching his premature campaign of *satyagraha* was his desire thereby to control and eliminate violence of this kind. His hopes have not been realised, for after the Chittagong affair of some months ago, we have now the dastardly attack on the life of Sir Charles Tegart, the Police Commissioner of Calcutta, which fortunately failed in its purpose. Such heinous crimes serve no good purpose. On the other hand, they provoke repression under which both the guilty and the innocent suffer. It was only the previous week that the Bengal Government secured the passage in the Bengal Legislative Council of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill which gave the Government for a further period of five years the powers of arrest and detention without trial which the Governor General's Ordinance of May last gave them for six months. Government urged their knowledge of the existence of live anarchism as the justification for this lawless law. The opposition no doubt pleaded with considerable force that the existence of such powers under the Ordinance had not enabled the Government to stamp out anarchism and that, therefore, such powers were useless, except to hurt innocent people. Nevertheless the Bengal Council found it necessary to give the Government the powers it desired.

Postponement of the R. T. Conference.

THE *Leader* of Allahabad made the suggestion that the Round Table Conference should be postponed till next year on the grounds that it would give adequate time to persuade the Congress to join the Conference and that Indian delegates would escape the rigours of the English winter. Dr. Annie Besant is reported to have seconded the proposal. Such influential opinion must command great weight. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to postpone the Conference. It will only prolong the agony of India—unless a truce can be arranged and the civil disobedience movement and its corollary, the repressive policy of the Government, are both galled off at once. If a truce can be arranged, there is no reason why the Conference should not be held to settle the terms of peace. There is an influential section of public opinion both in India and in England which is hopeful that the Round Table Conference will bring about a settlement. Considering the close approximation between the demands put forward by Mahatma Gandhi and the offer made by the Viceroy, there is every hope that peace will result. It would be unwise to reject

the hope. A mere postponement is not likely to make any change in the attitude of either party unless it is expected that one party or the other and perhaps both will soon tire of the situation and be in a more chastened mood for peace. But before that stage is reached, much irreparable harm will have been done to India. No, it is not in postponing peace but in striving for it with undiminished zeal that salvation lies. And the Round Table Conference is the only method of arriving at it; it is at the Conference that both parties will shed their prestige and come to grips with the subject.

Postponement will be playing into the hands of the diehard reactionaries in India and in England. The support which the proposal has received from the Indian Empire Society composed of Lord Sydenham, Sir Reginald Craddock, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others of the tribe, and of the European fire-eaters in Calcutta must make it suspect.

* * *

Improvement ?

IN their last weekly report to the Secretary of State on the situation in India the Government of India record an improvement. There has undoubtedly been a comparative lull in the aggressive activities of the Congress. Several causes contributed to this result. Notwithstanding brave and wild statements to the contrary, Congressmen have grown weary of the fight; staleness has damped their ardour; it is hard to maintain excitement at fever pitch for long. The sinews of war have slackened; in attempting to paralyse the Government Congress enthusiasts have succeeded in paralysing trade and industry, particularly in Bombay and have brought ruin on their own countrymen. Those who financed the Congress have suffered most and are no longer able to maintain an undiminished flow of funds to the Congress coffers. For every blow they gave the enemy, they gave two to their own friends. "War is not murder," said Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, "but it is suicide." The "non-violent war" of the Congress is no exception.

Reaction has set in. Several mills in Bombay have closed down or are about to do so, and thousands of workers, millhands and clerks, have been thrown out of employment and are enquiring why. Even handloom weavers who should have enjoyed a boom in their industry on account of the Swadeshi propaganda, have suffered terribly on account of the indiscriminate boycott and the unsettled conditions in the country. Merchants whose capital lies locked up in British cloth and foreign goods have become restive and resent the coercion of the Congress. The students in colleges which have been picketed have turned round on the picketers. Apart from exhaustion and the reaction, Congressmen themselves have slackened their aggressive actions in order to give every chance to the peace parleys initiated by Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. Left alone, the lull would have lasted, and the situation would have become easier and better.

* * *

Provocation.

BUT judged by their recent actions, Government seem to regret the improvement. They have arrested the Acting President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; they have declared unlawful a large number of Congress and allied organisations in Maharashtra and elsewhere and arrested the prominent leaders thereof. And now to crown all, they have declared the holding of the Congress Working Committee meeting at Delhi illegal and arrested Dr. M. A. Ansari, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and other members of it except the lady members.

It is hard to see any the least justification for the uncalled-for provocation that the Government are offering to the Congress. The admitted lull in the Congress activities and the consequent improvement in the situation is due either to its goodwill or to its exhaustion, or perhaps to both. If it was the first, it imposes a reciprocal obligation on the Government not to give any unnecessary provocation to the Congress; if it was the second, it were cowardly, unchivalrous and unsportsman-like of the Government to harass and pursue an antagonist who lowered his flag. Such vindictive action is not calculated to rally public opinion to the side of the Government or help reason to reassert itself. Is it too much for the Government to hold its hands and refrain from making peace more difficult? Would it not be wiser to allow the incipient reaction against the extravagances and suicidal policies of the Congress to develop and make itself increasingly felt?

* * *

Adding fuel to the fire.

WHILE the Government seem to be bent on increasing the difficulties in the way of peace, their die hard European friends in India and England have not been idle. A largely attended meeting of Europeans in Calcutta recently passed resolutions demanding that "seditious propaganda and unconstitutional agitation" could be stamped out once and for all and that the constitution of India should be put back to the Minto-Morley stage. The Government of India under Lord Irwin and the European Association of Calcutta were roundly condemned for their defeatist attitude towards Indian agitation and for weak-kneed pandering to the agitators. Mr. G. N. Andrews, who presided over the meeting, assured the meeting that if a man like Sir Charles Tegart, the present Police Commissioner of Calcutta, was the Governor of Bengal and a man like Lord Birkenhead was the Secretary of States for India, "this nonsense would stop in three weeks." Only modesty must have stood in the way of his holding up another, and perhaps better, model.

The European Association in Calcutta was evidently influenced by the resolutions of the Calcutta Europeans, for at its meeting on the next day it adopted a resolution calling for the mailed fist in the administration and suggesting the suspension of all talk of constitutional advance until the Indian agitation was brought under, when the Simon recommendations might be accepted but with modifications to ensure strong Government and equality of trading status between British and Indian citizens.

It must be recorded with appreciation, however, that the Anglo-Indian Press has, on the whole, strongly deprecated these super-excited suggestions of the Calcutta Europeans. The British Planters, who recently met in Conference in Bangalore, passed a resolution, under the inspiration of that wise and sagacious leader, Mr. F. E. James, a resolution according full support to the policy of Lord Irwin.

* * *

Still at it.

MISS KATHERINE MAYO is not yet tired of lavishing her boundless love on India. She has not forgiven Mahatma Gandhi. She is still at it. In the current issue of *Current History* she has an interesting article on "Mahatma Gandhi and India's Untouchables." In vivid language and with the help of some quotations from the writings of the Mahatma, she has drawn a moving picture of the lamentable plight of the "Untouchables" in India. She then proceeds to enumerate two influences that have alleviated the lot of the unfortunate people

"the reclamation work of the Christian missionaries" and "British justice." After creating confidence in the reader by stating these facts, she proceeds to mislead the innocent and unwary reader. In the first instance, she recognises only these two influences and gives the impression that no other influences are at work. Secondly, she says that Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to both the influences. "Now, whether personally or politically neither one of these phenomena is acceptable to Gandhi." She goes further, for she has no faith in half-measures, even in misrepresentation, and says, "Therefore, he meets them, when he must, in characteristic fashion; first, by telling himself and the outer world that they have never existed; and secondly, by casting discredit upon specific instances of their existence." This statement would give the impression that neither the reclamation work of the Christian missionaries nor "British justice" was acceptable to the Mahatma and that he had ignored and denied them. After cunningly suggesting that implication, she abandons its proof and goes off at a tangent to prove by a judicious selection of quotations that Indian Untouchables attended the welcome arranged for the Prince of Wales in 1922, and the Simon Commission in 1928, that Mr. Gandhi had denied their representative character and that he had accused the foreign British Government of having exploited their grievances in order to draw them away from Indian nationalism and to buttress foreign rule. For all her documentation, she does not give one single piece of evidence to support her charge against Mr. Gandhi. No Christian missionary in India, as far as we know, has ever complained of the antipathy of the Mahatma to his attempts at the social uplift of the Untouchables. On the other hand, one of the most remarkable things about Mr. Gandhi has been that Christian missionaries, and Indian Christians in particular, the large majority of whom, on the admission of Miss Mayo herself, are Untouchables in origin, are among the most enthusiastic admirers of the Mahatma.

Miss Mayo does not define what she means by "British justice." If she means impartial justice, equality before the law, irrespective of caste, colour and social status, then it is malignant libel, from which even Miss Mayo might have shrunk, to say that it was unacceptable to the Mahatma. It may be a matter of opinion whether such unalloyed justice exists universally in India. It is a matter of opinion too if the Untouchables that welcomed the Prince of Wales and the Simon Commission were representative of the Untouchables, and whether the Government's solicitude for the depressed classes was not a political manoeuvre.

Miss Mayo is right when she says that the Mahatma once said that the removal of Untouchability should precede Swaraj and not follow it, and that now he lays greater stress on Swaraj preceding the reform. But she is mistaken in presuming on the strength of statements made some years ago that the Untouchables today wish to retain the administration of India in British hands. Even the Untouchables now demand Swaraj; only they desire that safeguards against oppression should be inserted in the constitution.

Deportations.

YET another type of persecution which the Government have adopted is the deportation of subjects of the Indian States under the Foreigners Act of 1864. The enterprising District Magistrate of Kaira has successfully invoked the sanction of the Government of Bombay to deport some subjects of the Indian States after they had served their

sentences of imprisonment in British Jails for offences in connection with the civil disobedience movement. It should be noted that, in the first place, they have already been punished for their offences and have suffered imprisonment, and expiated their crimes. Their deportation amounts to a second punishment for the same offence. Secondly, for many purposes the subjects of Indian States are treated as British subjects and to treat them as foreigners under an Act passed so long as 1864 under different set of circumstances is hardly creditable to Government. That Act, in spite of its wide net, was primarily meant for foreigners who were non-Indians. Thirdly, if these civil resisters, after release from prison, repeat their offences, it is open to Government to re-arrest them, and in extreme cases to bind them over for good behavior. Executive action which smacks of vindictiveness and persecution is greatly to be deprecated in the interests of the Government themselves.

Economic Blockade.

The *Hindu* of Madras draws attention to the action of the Revenue officials in Narsapur and Guntur who issued notices that ryots who assisted or took an active part in the civil disobedience movement would be deprived of the supply of water from irrigation channels for the cultivation of their lands! It is hardly necessary to say that this kind of economic blockade and persecution only drive additional nails in the coffin of the Government.

A Muslim on Communal Electorates.

CONSIDERING the general preference of Muslims for communal electorates, it is very refreshing to come upon a Muslim who is nationalist enough to condemn them in unequivocal terms. Mr. A Samad is a Muslim member of the Bengal Legislative Council. In his speech on the resolution regarding the Simon Report he is reported to have said:

He was one of those Mussalmans who thought that the worst feature of the Report was its recommendation to perpetuate the separate representation on communal basis on the basis of the Lucknow Pact. While admitting that communal representation by reservation of seats might be justified on certain political considerations, communal representation by separate electorates could not be justified by any circumstances whatsoever, because this was inconsistent with responsible Government which the Report pretended to give. Further, it was more harmful to the minority community to protect whose interest it was sought to be justified. It divided the two communities into separate water-tight compartments and made one community apathetic to the interests of the other community. In such an electorate a Mahomedan first and an Indian second. A Hindu would have to declare in the same way and the result would be disastrous.

Since the inauguration of the Reforms, feelings between the two communities were gradually embittering and communal riots of the worst type were the order of the day. Leaders were helpless and connived at the attitude of the mob for fear of losing their support at the election. The recommendations of the Commission were subversive of the spirit of nationalism and the report was not worth the paper on which it was written when its effect was to divide the two communities. Divide and rule was the policy of all imperialistic Governments and the British people were following the same policy under the cloak of responsible Government.

Articles.

INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS.

IN an ably written article in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* Dr. Lanka Sundaram discusses the international status of India. It is interesting to be told that international law does not recognise any cleavage between British India and Indian States: India is a juridical unity. Though "India" is represented in the League of Nations and in other international bodies, the "Government of India", like the British Cabinet, has no constitutional recognition. The Government of India Act recognises the Governor General in Council, who is responsible for the administration in India. But he is not the "Government of India" or "India" for international purposes, since he is subordinate to the Secretary of State and the British Parliament. The combination of the two constitutes the Government of India. According to the India Office's Memorandum to the Simon Commission, "the Governor General in Council constitutes the Government in India, while the totality of authority as expressed by his association with the Secretary of State for India denotes the Government of India." In this respect India stands on a different footing from the Dominions of the British Commonwealth.

In another respect too India is unique. She is the only member of the British Commonwealth and of the League of Nations who is a member of the League without being a fully self-governing State. Other Dominions, not to speak of other States, were fully self-governing before they were admitted to the League membership. The other Dominions achieved internal dominion status before external; India, on the other hand, has achieved the external and is looking forward to achieving the internal.

Article 1 of the Covenant of the League of Nations restricts membership of the League only to fully self-governing States. But this restriction did not apply to States "named in the Annex" to the Covenant, and India was named in that Annex. If India had not been admitted at the time she was, she would not now be eligible for admission, not until she achieved full swaraj. Her admission she owes to the adroit statesmanship of the late Mr. E. S. Montagu, perhaps the greatest Secretary of State for India. Notwithstanding her politically inferior status, he pegged out India's claims for international equality and armed her with a powerful lever which, even if she could not make full use of it at once, would still be invaluable to her in later years.

There are those in India who profess to despise India's membership of the League and for the reason that her admittance was but another instance of the maladroit manoeuvres of the British Government to secure another pocket vote in the League. Whatever might have been the motives of some British statesmen, none who knew Mr. Montagu

and his burning zeal for India's progress and India's self-respect, will accuse him of them. The motives of British statesmen are however but of secondary interest: the primary consideration is whether India gained by her membership of the League. Many are sceptical about it. Dr. Sundaram has produced convincing evidence to dispel the doubts.

India has a place not only in the League of Nations and the International Labour Conference but she has automatically secured representation at some of the non-League Conferences, such as the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armaments, the Genoa Economic Conference, the London Reparations Conference, and the recent London Naval Conference—practically in all important international conferences. India has thereby secured a considerable amount of experience of international affairs—not a negligible advantage. Some of her ablest nationals have had opportunities to meet the leading men of the world at these gatherings and by their personality and speeches raised India in the estimation of the world and made her known and respected.

The value to India of the experience depends on the personnel of her delegations. In recent years it has been more and more Indian in composition. Two out of the three delegates to the League have been Indians and last year and this year Indians were appointed to lead them. At least one of the Government delegates to the International Labour Office has always been an Indian, and this year both the members of the Government delegation were Indians. The representatives this year of the employers were all Indians, and those of the workers have always been Indians. It is still a fact that all the delegates of India to all international gatherings, particularly the more technical ones, are not Indians. But the process of Indianization has begun and made good progress and it will not be long before India will be represented solely by Indians.

The value to India of her international status depends not only on the personnel but on the freedom allowed to her delegation. As an original member of the League India has full freedom of debate. The position is correct theoretically but in practice do her representatives, particularly the Indians among them, enjoy unfettered freedom? "As a matter of procedure," says Dr. Sundaram, "the Indian delegates act and vote separately from the British and Dominion delegates, even though an effort is often made to bring about, unofficially, a certain amount of unanimity among the Empire delegations. But whenever the special interests of India are involved, the Indian delegations can and do take an independent line of action and occasionally find themselves in direct opposition to the other parts of the British Commonwealth." He enumerates several instances in which India took separate and independent lines of action, and in some cases was able to bring round to her viewpoint the delegates of Britain and the Dominions. There are instances also in which Indian delegates took a line in

opposition to that of the rest of the Empire delegates. At the Genoa Maritime Conference in 1920 the Empire delegations made an effort to drive Indian *lascars* off British ships, but India's delegates opposed it successfully. Again, the British and Indian delegates were in opposite camps at the International Labour Conferences in 1921 and 1924 over the question of the compulsory disinfection of Indian wool, and India secured the rejection of the British proposals. More recently, Mr. S. C. Joshi, the delegate of the workers in India to the I. L. Conference used the platform of the Conference to ventilate the political grievances of India.

Perhaps the most concrete instance of the advantage that India enjoys in virtue of her place in the League is the status of Indians in Tanganyika. A comparison between the status of Indians in that territory and in the neighbouring British Colony of Kenya will be found illuminating. It is India's membership of the League that protects Indians in Tanganyika from the discriminations and humiliations that are their lot in Kenya. The Tanganyika Indians realise only too well the advantages of India's position in the League and the protection that the League's mandate offers them, and they dread nothing so much as closer union with Kenya.

Notwithstanding these undoubted advantages, India's international position is not wholly satisfactory. The choice of India's delegates is ultimately in the hands of the Secretary of State, who is a member of the British Cabinet, and the delegates are bound by his instructions. The Government of India, foreign as it is in its essential character but certainly more in touch with Indian opinion, is not independent of the Secretary of State. By manipulating the choice of delegates the Secretary of State can control the views of India at international conferences. And there is reason to believe that since the disappearance of Mr. Montagu from the India Office, greater emphasis has been laid on the pliability than on the competence of the Indian delegations.

The exceptional character of the Government of India is responsible for some anomalous procedure. Indian delegates are not referred to as the representatives of the Government of India in their letters of appointment: they are referred to simply as representatives of "India". Invitations to international conferences, other than the International Labour Conference, are addressed to the Secretary of State for India and not to the Government of India. But the International Labour Office deals directly with the Government of India and sends duplicates of its letters to the India Office. The Government of India, however, deals with the I. L. O. through the India Office and not directly! It is only in the selection of the delegates of the employers and workers to the I. L. Conference that the Secretary of State does not come in, for the obvious reason that they are in the first instance elected by the respective organisations of employers and workers.

But the most anomalous feature of India's position is the Indian States. They have no separate international status. They are included under "India" in the Interpretation Act of 1889, but they are not bound

by the international commitments of "India". And yet they are always included in the Indian delegation and a Prince, the Maharaja of Bikaner, is leading the delegation this year. But he does not represent the Princes nor does he commit them to any decisions to which he may be a party in Geneva. Why, he does not commit even himself to decisions he is a party to; he is not bound to enforce in his own State a convention, say, regarding opium, which he commits British India to at Geneva. As a matter of fact, special provision has had to be made in 1926 enabling "India" to exclude the Indian States from the obligations regarding the conventions which she approved. The exclusion, while it is harmful enough with respect to the League conventions, is attended with greater harm in respect of the conventions of the I. L. Conference. It is of fundamental importance that such conventions should be ratified without reservations and exclusions. But it has not been found possible to rope in the Indian States. Instead, a convention has been adopted that when "India" ratifies a convention, it is applicable only to British India. The benefits of the conventions adopted by the I. L. Conference and ratified by India are denied to the workers in the Indian States.

These two major anomalies have to be removed as soon as possible: India must mean the Government of India responsible to the people of India and the Indian States must automatically share the obligations that India accepts at Geneva. The Simon Report does not remove these intolerable anomalies; on the other hand, it seeks to buttress them. The Central Government of India must have power to commit the Indian States to conventions it ratifies, and India must have swaraj to commit herself in the first instance. Mr. Montagu helped India to external Dominion Status. Will it be given to Mr. Wedgwood Benn to help her realise Dominion Status in internal affairs?

FINANCIAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIMON COMMISSION.

THE proposals submitted by Sir Walter Layton, Financial Commissioner to the Simon Commission, on which it based its main financial recommendations contain a good many useful suggestions, which deserve a detailed, careful and critical examination. This may be said to be an impartial presentation of the facts of the Indian financial situation, and, perhaps, it is the only solution to the problem when considered from the point of view of the main proposition with which he started i.e. that India should have a Federal Constitution, a proposition which has gained considerable support from Indian thinkers on constitutional problems. He had laid down, and that with truth, that under a federal system, the Central Government and the constituent Provinces should have, as far as possible, distinct sources of income, so that each administrative branch can be financially independent of the others and free to progress along its own particular and necessary lines of reform. He has also postulated that the

branch of government which has to undertake financial responsibilities of a heavy character owing to the necessity there is for taking in hand developmental work of an important character, should possess sources of revenue capable of yielding it a flexible and expandable income to meet those responsibilities. This also is a proposition which one must agree to in entirety, in view of the starvation to which such developmental activity in the Provinces was subjected owing to the exigencies of their financial position during the first three years of the Montagu-Chelmsford dispensation and its off-shoot, the Meston Settlement.

THE PROVINCIAL FUND.

In spite of Sir Walter Layton's opinion to the contrary, there is something savouring of the de-credited system of doles from the Central Government, which was for some time in vogue in the pre-Reform era, in the proposal put forward by him that a Provincial Fund should be instituted out of the proceeds of certain indirect taxes like excise on matches and cigarettes, to be distributed by the Central Government to the various Provinces on a *per-capita* by him as basis. The arrangement proposed has been described an essentially federal idea, calculated to infuse that spirit of common nationality and common ideals, to make every province contribute for the common good and to provide a basis for strengthening the bond that should bind the Central and the Provincial Governments together. It will tend to keep constantly before the Provincial Governments the vision of a Central Government as an embodiment of the spirit of federalism animating the various Provinces that have integrated themselves into the federation. There is, thus, a good deal to recommend it in the scheme as expounded by Sir Walter Layton, but, perhaps, in the actual working of it, difficulties may crop up and defects may make themselves manifest, which may result in an inequitable distribution of the Fund amongst the different constituent provincial units. An industrially advanced and progressive province like Bombay, with a larger population to boot, will be in a far more favourable position and will receive a far bigger proportion of the Fund than an agricultural province like Madras or a backward province like Behar, whose finances are always varying on the deficit side. Again a province like Bengal with a comparatively denser population and which is also further precluded from contributing its due quota to the common revenues owing to the peculiar and out-of-date system of Revenue settlement existing therein, will be in a position much better off than a province like Madras or the Punjab, with an impoverished agricultural population already taxed to their maximum capacity. A better and more equitable procedure would be to distribute the fund in accordance with the needs and requirements of the various Provinces and in proportion to the quantity and quality of developmental work undertaken by each, of course taking, at the same time, the opportunities or want of opportunities there are for raising the necessary funds internally. It should also be seen that no province shirks the responsibility that ought legiti-

mately to be its, of imposing fresh taxation whenever such taxation becomes absolutely a necessity by the circumstances of the internal situation and of developing its internal tax system on a scientific basis.

TAXABLE CAPACITY TO BE DETERMINED.

It is also necessary to note in this connection the other proposition propounded by Sir Walter Layton that taxation should be so adjusted and designed as not to press too heavily upon the people and beyond the range of their capacity to pay. There has not been any general economic survey of the resources of our country capable of indicating the economic position of the different classes of the population, on the basis of which, a scientific system of taxation could be built up. The result is that taxation is so ill adjusted to taxable capacity as to press heavily upon the peasant and agricultural classes, while those who ought to contribute a greater proportion to the revenues of their country are left comparatively lightly taxed. A good tax system should have as its aim not only the ideal of making every interest pay its due proportion to the revenues of the country but also that of bringing about an equitable distribution of the tax burdens so that capacity and ability to pay become the main criteria for imposing a particular tax to affect a particular set of people.

INCOME-TAX FOR THE PROVINCES.

Two necessary reforms to be undertaken for this purpose are the complete transference of Income Tax to the Provinces as opposed to its partial transference which had been recommended by Sir Walter Layton and the imposition of an Income-Tax on agricultural incomes. The result of these changes will be of a far-reaching and beneficial character, for, while the former will place in the hands of the Provincial Governments a flexible and easily expandable source of revenue, the latter will relieve the agriculturists from the incubus of periodical settlements and frequent enhancements of the taxes on land. The former will also be advantageous in that it enables the local Governments to study conditions with greater scrutiny before fixing rates of taxation; and to compensate for the loss sustained thereby by the Central Government, Excise may be transferred to its control. The introduction of a steeper graduation in the income-tax rates and the lowering of the taxable minimums, both of which changes have been recommended by Sir Walter Layton, will go a long way in effecting the salutary change of a general equalization of tax burdens and of a general toning down of inequalities. The Central Government will have its obligations amply met by the retention in its hands of the customs duties, the potentialities for the expansion and the income-yielding capacities of which have been amply demonstrated in recent years and which will continue to be demonstrated in future, when there is a possibility for a general raising of the Tariffs and for bringing many at present duty-free articles within their purview. The proposal to transfer commercial stamps to the Centre is also a desirable change which will help to make it more self-sufficient, though, at the same time, it is necessary that the Salt Tax should be abolished and received only in

case of grave emergency. The Provinces should also take upon themselves the responsibility for discovering fresh sources of revenue to meet their expanding liabilities and the taxation of luxuries and entertainments together with a local excise on the manufacture of cigarettes and *beedies* and other articles from tobacco will go a long way towards augmenting their exchequers. There are some other taxes like death duties which, Sir Walter Layton has proposed, should be kept in reserve and which can be drawn upon, while as stated above commercial stamps can with advantage be centrally administered almost at once. This system, wherein the authority responsible for spending the proceeds of a tax and deriving all the advantages therefrom should also be responsible for its levy is capable of yielding very salutary results: first, it will lead to a very careful and cautious consideration of the necessity for and the implications of the tax proposed; secondly, it will enable local variations to be taken into account in the determination of the rate and the definition of the incidence of any particular tax. Responsibility induces circumspection and any provincial Government will think twice before venturing on the imposition of a new tax, which fact, when considered in conjunction with the constitutional changes impending, will tantamount to this, that no tax will be levied except with the consent of the legislature and in contravention of its vote. It will also necessitate the introduction of the long-deferred reform by which Land Revenue taxation should be reduced to a statutory basis—a reform which will go a long way towards placing the agriculturists in the sorry position of being subject to executive whims in the matter of having to pay enhanced taxes on land at every periodical settlement. If, as has been stated above, agricultural incomes are brought into the scheme of income-taxation, a further cause of complaint on the part of the agriculturists will have been removed and their position considerably strengthened.

DISTRIBUTION OF CUSTOMS REVENUE.

So far as the question of the revenue from the customs duties is concerned, a complication is bound to arise, in so far as the Native States lay claim to a proportion of their proceeds. There is, however, some just cause for grievance for the Native States, which are deprived of their proper share of the Customs Revenue, which is all appropriated by the Government of India, notwithstanding the fact that the people of the former contribute a substantial quota to it. The system of collecting customs duties at the British Indian ports and the absence of any satisfactory machinery to estimate the proportion of the goods consumed by the people in either the states or British India and to determine therefore the share of the contribution of either, are the fundamental factors of the situation which cannot be ignored in considering the point at issue. There are also other factors no less important which are advanced from the side of the Government of India, as, for example, the plea that the Government of India is defending the Native States from outside encroachment and looking after their foreign affairs, such as they are, and is, therefore, entitled to recompense itself by the

wholesale appropriation of the Customs Revenue and is justified in refusing any participation in it by the Native States to their own favour. A solution to the problem has to be found: and no solution is capable of recommending itself for acceptance except that of instituting a Customs Union which will divide the proceeds of the Customs Revenue on the basis of the figures of consumption of the various articles on which duties have been levied.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

Sir Walter Layton has done well, in fact he did a great service to the cause of Indian finance, in pointing out that the Military expenditure in India is out of all proportion to the economic position of the country and its people and that it is the most difficult and insurmountable obstacle in the way of larger funds being spent upon essential social services like education, etc. It is a severe indictment on the present state of affairs, on the unfair distribution of Government resources to the various departments and on the inadequacy of the financial arrangements of the Government to promote the moral and material progress of the country. It has lent support to the old complaint and contention of the Indian politicians that the Army Department in India is an insupportable white elephant, which cannot be allowed to be fed at its present cost. If the illiteracy prevailing so widely in India, the existence of which has been recognized by the Simon Commission itself, is to be extenuated, if the low standard of sanitation and public health which are such common features of the Indian village life are to be raised to the normal civilized level, if the bad and insufficient communication facilities are to be improved by a scheme of systematic road development, and if the so many other reforms so imperatively necessary for the advancement of the people are to be successfully accomplished, it is necessary that greater money should be devoted to all these purposes and lesser money spent on the Army Department than it is being done to-day. If therefore a satisfactory solution of the problem of Military expenditure has to be discovered, it can be found only in the change so often pressed by Indian opinion that the Army in India should be limited only to the exigencies of the internal military situation of India and to the necessity of maintaining internal peace and quelling disorder and that the cost of the army stationed in India for Imperial purposes must be borne by the British treasury alone. The money so released may, with advantage, be diverted to purposes more conducive to national development, and Sir Walter Layton has shown with the help of statistics how and in what direction economic can be effected. The Commission has, however, given only a half-hearted approval to his recommendations; because, while absolutely discountenancing any extension of the scheme of Indianization, it has reluctantly conceded that the British Exchequer should be charged with the cost of any expedition undertaken for an Imperial purpose, in which is included, as a matter of course, the defence of the Frontier on the north-west of India, in so far as it does not come within the category of operations for warding off dan-

ger to India and of operations for the maintenance of internal security.

CONCLUSION.

Sir Walter Layton's scheme of Finance for a Federal India deserves careful consideration and constitutes a basis for the ordering of the future financial relations between the Central and the Provincial Governments on the one hand and the Central Government and the Native States on the other. But the constitutional structure recommended by the Simon Commission on which he had based all his financial proposals is so gravely defective in some respects and so seriously deficient in certain others, that, when the time comes for modifying it in accordance with Indian aspirations, as it necessarily must come when the Round Table Conference meets in November next some sort of a change will have to be effected in the procedure suggested by Sir Walter Layton for the administration of the Provincial Fund and in other matters where financial matters have a bearing on constitutional matters and vice-versa. With this qualification, Sir Walter Layton's proposals, both in their historical and analytical and in their recommendatory aspects will have to be approved as containing a broad and sympathetic understanding of the Indian Financial position and a clear and firm grasp of the fundamental principles on which it should be based. He is against a clear-cut separation of the Central and Provincial Financial relations, for a clear-cut, though sound in theory is difficult to achieve in practice and bound to prove futile in operation. But, at the same time, he has stressed the necessity for a definiteness in the allocation of the resources of taxation and items of expenditure between the Central and Provincial Governments in all these matters where theoretically and practically such allocation, is feasible. Above all, he has recognized the great need there is for larger and elastic sources of revenue to the Provinces, for the reduction of military expenditure to 48 crores of Rupees in another 10 years which may possibly be further reduced if constitutional changes in the army facilitate it, and for the diversion of all surplus funds accumulating in the hands of the Central exchequer to be utilized for the nation-building departments in the Provinces.

C. V. HANUMANTA RAO.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA.

CIVIL Disobedience has been in action in some form or other for nearly four months. It is possible that the boycott of foreign cloth may have been fairly effective and newspaper reports do indicate something of the real position in regard to British exports of cotton cloth to India. But Bombay also has had difficulties of its own. And for the present at any rate a large body of traders dealing in foreign cloth has had to sacrifice a great deal. Picketing has become the order of the day not only in regard to foreign cloth but also in regard to many other matters including the schools and colleges. That we are heading towards a mass move to do something is clear. But what is not clear is our next constructive

step in constitution-making.

If the Sapru-Jayakar peace move fails it is difficult to estimate the difficulties that the country must be prepared to face in the course of the next few months. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has been doing wonderful work in England to explain the Indian point of view and none could have done it better than he with such a record of loyal and constructive work behind him. When he says that the only thing to do is to recognise Justice and nothing else he puts the Indian problem in a nutshell. But what is Justice?

It is exactly to find out this aspect of the matter that the Round Table Conference is necessary. It does not matter where it is held provided the representatives who attend it are men of sound commonsense and goodwill. Whether the Conference is held or not India will have to decide some very difficult questions.

The essential question which is bound to be raised is the question of European interests in this country—commercial and otherwise. This is the crux of the whole problem of Indian self-government. All other questions will be subordinated to this vital question. The Nehru report recognised this and wanted to know what exactly British interests required in India. In page 11 of the Report we read:—"As regards European Commerce we cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India should at all be nervous. It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India. If however there are any special interests of European commerce which require special treatment in the future, it is only fair that in regard to the protection of those interests Europeans should formulate their proposals and we have no doubt that they will receive proper consideration from those who are anxious for a peaceful solution of the political problem."

So far I am not aware that any specific proposals have been made by the British section of Indian Commerce on the basis of a self-governing India. The whole attitude has been how little power can with advantage be given to Indians in their own country and not what safeguards would be necessary for the British minority in a self-governing India. The angle of vision must change altogether. The question whether India is fit for self-government or not is an absurd question. No one with an iota of commonsense can pretend to answer this with any justice. It is ridiculous to suggest that Parliament must do this and do that. It is a fraud on commonsense to suggest that a body of more than 500 in one House of the Legislature would sit down to think and formulate any reasoned scheme for Indian self-government. In fact it must be done by the few who know the difficulties of the situation. Parliament may vote one way or the other but it is supremely absurd to say that Parliament as Parliament can do anything constructive.

The British commercial community must be realising now how illusory is the protection of the Law in regard to the development of trade and that the best insurance for success is the goodwill of the people who call India their home. If unfortunately

the civil disobedience movement is allowed to go on, there can be no doubt that both Indian and British commerce would suffer terribly. The only reasonable course for European Commerce in India and England is to take courage in both hands and agree on reasonable safeguards which political India may be in a position to give without serious loss to India.

As regards the European services all that India can do is, as the Nehru Committee put it :

"In respect of the emoluments, allowances and pensions they would be entitled to on the establishment of the Commonwealth we have provided a statutory guarantee. But the entire question of the source and method of recruitment of the Services, their salaries and pensions will require re-examination in the light of the new political conditions created under the new constitution."

This is inevitable and it is the inalienable right of any constitution that has real powers and there is no good worrying about these details now. The acid test now is : Will England trust a self-governing India ? Will India be of assistance to England if she be a Dominion ?

An honest exchange of ideas may clear many suspicions and difficulties. Why not begin now ?

S. V. A.

Reviews.

CHRIST AND SATYAGRAHA.

CHRIST AND SATYAGRAHA. By SWAMI SATYANANDA. (VERRIER ELWIN.) (Rev. B. Bhakare, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay.) 49pp.

THIS little book is a reprint of an address delivered in Bombay to the members of the newly formed Christian Nationalist party. Its general attitude may be gathered from its dedication "To all my friends in Jail", though the author carefully absolves the Christa Seva Sangha, of which he is the acting head, from any responsibility for his views.

The book is attractively and vigorously written, though from the literary point of view it is rather heavily laden with quotations; it shows a wide knowledge of the Church Fablure, early, mediæval and Elizabethan, though not perhaps equal acquaintance with modern political theorists. The argument of the book proceeds to establish the view that the right of disobeying the State on the ground of conscience is not denied by Christ and is supported by the dominant Church tradition. This fills pages 1-41; then seven contingencies for disobedience, all of them both vague and wide are laid down together with three additions contributed by the Rev. J. J. Holmes. The conclusion arrived at in pages 1-41, that the state has no unrestricted claim on the obedience of the Christian and may be restricted in certain contingencies, is one to which all schools of political thought except the German Absolutists and believers in the Divine Right would subscribe. The essential point today however, is not "May the State be disobeyed," but "when and to what extent should it be disobeyed." But the discussion of precisely this point has been omitted. What should have been the core of the lecture should have come at the top of p. 41. Instead seven conditions of disobedience are enumerated which are apparently considered so

obvious as not to require any further justification. The seven conditions have no logical connection with the preceding argument; they seem to have been clearly composed with an eye to the present Government and the present situation. Each one of them, it need hardly be said, can be applied to the present Government, but what is more, one or more apply to all governments. If these conditions are valid, world satyagraha is the only possible remedy. For instance, what government does not "impose burdensome laws" (No. 2) in the opinion of some of its subjects or does not resort to "unnecessary violence in maintaining itself"? In what country is "discord" never "encouraged by the arrogance of its officials" (No. 3)? All Governments whose army expenses exceed their educational, or who draw revenue from the liquor traffic (No. 4), stand condemned. No. 6 institutes a sort of Polish "Liberlum veto" by requiring the approval of "the whole people" for all laws and ordinances. The path of a statesman compelled to avoid all these pitfalls on pain of civil disobedience would be a thorny one indeed.

Swami Satyanand confines himself to showing that when the state is wrong the Christian citizens may disobey it. But the case is not really so simple as that. First, passive disobedience, or refusal to obey a definite command on the ground of conscience, must be distinguished from active disobedience or deliberate defiance of the State based on some general ground as the seven points given above. Both elements of course exist in the present situation, but they should be differentiated. Then the *direction* in which the state is moving towards the satisfaction of the needs of its members should be considered. Is any state which does not satisfy *all* the needs of *everyone* to be disobeyed? or does progression give a title to obedience. Finally, expediency as well as right must be considered. The state may have no moral claim on me, but will my disobedience of it make things better or worse? The Russian State, both Tzarist and Bolshevik, had little moral claim on most of its members, but not all Russians thought it worth while to disobey it.

The subject is so important that we will venture some remarks on the earlier part of the lecture. The dismissal of the sayings of Christ which seem to point to passive obedience seems a little perfunctory. Scientific criticism is of course essential but it should be applied with great caution to ethical statements as opposed to historical or textual points. If the theologian can "interpret" at will the words of Christ to suit his thesis, what are we to say to the profane person who does likewise in another sense? Again, in dashing with St. Paul, the writer seems to make him support authority as a measure of expediency because it was profitable to the Christians at the moment rather than because it was right and as part of a policy of conciliation. Yet in the passage referred to (p. 20-21) St. Paul inculcates obedience as a duty. Such an explanation would show St. Paul in a disingenuous light which would not be very creditable to his moral sense. At the end we note that the writer base all satyagraha on love and condemns all forms of social boycott.

But it does not seem to us that the case for passive obedience is made out from the New Testament. The modern conception of the state did not then exist, and government was simply an order-issuing machine. To the non-Romans of the empire all obedience to the state was a matter of expediency only. It seems clear that Christ on the one hand was quite prepared to disobey authority on the ground of conscience (He defied the Jewish Hierarchy whose moral claim to obedience He recognised.) and on the other did not regard it as His immediate work to lead the political rebellion (against a govern-

ment which had no moral claim to obedience). So we have acts like His refusal of political leadership, and sayings like "Resist not him that is evil," and "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight". His primary business was the preaching of a new world-view, but this does not settle the question for His followers. To me it seems that all that is needed for modern conditions is contained in the words "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's." This exactly fits the modern conception of sovereignty over a limited field and leaves the individual free to decide what duties he owes to each.

Though we disagree with much, the book is earnest and stimulating. We admire the courage and sincerity of its spirit, while we regret the looseness of some of its thought.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

ST. AUGUSTINE.

ST. AUGUSTINE. A STUDY IN HIS PERSONAL RELIGION, By ELEANOR MCDougALL. (Student Christian Movement Press, London.) 1929. 19 cm. 125 p. 3/6.

ON Aug. 28th, the Christian Church celebrates the 15th centenary of one who was perhaps her greatest thinker; and it is therefore appropriate that this week we should notice this book which is the first of a series of biographies known as *The Bhaktas of the World*, which we owe to the initiative of Dr. A. J. Appasamy and the Christian Literature Society. The C. L. S., which is rapidly establishing itself as the most progressive and liberal of all Christian publishers in the East, is to be congratulated on its enterprise. It has given us a book, now in a London edition, which has been welcomed by thinkers and students of religion far beyond the frontiers of the Christian Church. Miss McDougall is, of course, happy in her subject. St. Augustine is the most significant figure in Western Christendom. In him theology became a living experience, and was re-issued as a living theology. St. Augustine is one of the universal characters, an ecclesiastical Shakespeare. "He is not so much an imitator, as an instrument, of Nature; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks through him" He has a message for everybody and for every generation. He has a great deal to say on national and racial questions. "He is one of the first explorers of the human soul and the greatest expert among the Christian Fathers in the personal religious life of the individual. As the writer of the first spiritual autobiography and a psychologist of the highest order he has opened up new paths for the student of human nature. As a philosopher of great metaphysical subtlety he is the delight of those who sharpen thought to a vanishing point of acuteness. As a teacher and exponent of Christian theology he is a master builder of doctrine second only to St. Paul himself." Countless thousands have found in him a guide and a brother, in whose "great nature and intense experience they have seen their own spiritual struggles and aspirations transfigured, and from his salvation they gather hope of their own."

Aurelius Augustinus was born in Africa, the once fertile home of theologians, in 354. His father was not a Christian, but his mother was, and hers was ultimately the decisive influence of his life. At the university, Augustine outstripped all competitors. He was appointed to a State Professorship in Rhetoric. The story of his early manhood, the "cauldron of his unholy loves" and the proud ambition that possessed him, is told with great artistic deli-

caency in his *Confessions*. "Only those capable of life are also capable of God; only those capable of romance are capable of holiness." Augustine, at this time, possessed the adventurous and unmanageable temperament of an embryo saint. At Milan, he fell under the influence of Ambrose and learnt that it was not impossible for a man of commanding intellect to be a Christian. He was baptised in 387 at the age of 33, returned to Africa, gave away all his money to the poor, and founded a sort of *ashram*. Twelve years later, he was made Bishop of an obscure African see, from which his influence extended over the whole Roman Empire. When Rome was captured by the Goths, his greatest book, *The City of God*, strengthened the faith of the defeated. His own city was also besieged by the Vandals, and shortly before its capture in 430, he died.

Miss McDougall has presented St. Augustine as a typical bhakta. She does not attempt to illustrate his experiences from those of the Indian saints, nor does she use the analysis of bhakti which was popularised by Chaitanya's followers or by Sridhara. St. Augustine's bhakti is founded on the famous sentence: "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee." God is the seeker after man, "Thou wert with me before I was with Thee," but He has no favourites, for since God is wholly everywhere, there is neither more nor less in a love which is infinite and timeless. Like many bhaktas, St. Augustine was a penitent: narrow was the mansion of his soul, ruinous, unclean. "Too late have I loved Thee, O Beauty ever ancient, ever new, too late have I loved thee. And behold Thou wert within, and I abroad, and there I searched for Thee." Yet St. Augustine's religion is full of a severe joy. "There is a joy which is not given to those who know not God, but to those who love Thee for Thine own sake, whose joy Thou Thyself art. And this is the happy life to rejoice to Thee, of Thee, for Thee." Most striking of all is his devotion to truth, an ideal of which the Prisoner of Yerawda has recently reminded us. "O Truth, Truth," he exclaims, "how inwardly did my soul pant after Thee." "Where I found truth, there found I my God, the Truth itself." "Thou art the God of the mind, the unchangeable and true Eternity of Truth above my changeable mind." "A happy life is loved, which is nothing else but joying in the truth."

Some of the passages from the pen of St. Augustine are among the noblest prose in the literature of the world; many of his phrases and much of his thought are worked into the outlook of thousands who have never heard his name; he is one of the supreme mystics, thinkers, saints of the human race.

H. V. ELWIN.

THE AIR WAY.

THE WORLD, THE AIR AND THE FUTURE. By CHARLES DENNISTOUN BURNEY. (Knopf, London.) 1929. 22cm. 356 p. 21/-

THIS remarkably courageous book is in a considerable degree a confession of error. As is well-known, Commander Burney has played in England the part that Count Zeppelin played in Germany; that is to say, he has been the leading champion of the lighter-than-air craft, the airship depending from a gas-filled envelope, as the principal means of air transport in the future, rather than the heavier-than-air machines, the aeroplane, and the seaplane or flying boat, which depend entirely upon their engine speed to maintain themselves in the air. Seven years' experience on the construction of the R 100 and R 101 has convinced the Commander that airship enthusiasts were

oversanguine. He still clings to the hope that by an entirely new design for an elliptical ship and by entirely new methods of mooring and handling, the airship may yet become a commercial proposition and actually for years carry the bulk of the air traffic of the long distance lines of the northern and southern Atlantic, and the Pacific, and the East. This may be so, but Commander Burney clearly proves that the main thing that the British Government has gained for the two million pounds it has spent since 1924 is experience. He records the opinion that the mooring masts set up at Montreal, Ismailia, and Karachi, and the huge shed at Karachi, may never be used except as emergency stations.

Apart from the illuminating and candid examination in a way which the general reader can understand, of the technical possibilities of lighter and heavier-than-air craft, the book has a wider interest of a political kind. Commander Burney has unbounded faith in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and he believes that in aviation lies the key to its future. Love of the air and power in the air are to do for the coming generations what love of the sea, and sea power, did for the generations that began with the Elizabethans and has continued until today. The air, in his vision, will give a new lease of life to the pioneering spirit, revive the urge for migration, relieve the pressure of population in Great Britain, and bring immense prosperity to the overseas dominions. The centre of gravity will shift from the old country to the dominions, but "there will be no more talk of severance of ties for the farthest corner of Empire will be within a week's journey of the Mother-country and within a fortnight's reply to correspondence."

He groups his arguments under three headings:—Redistribution of population, Commercial and economic expansion, and Imperial sentiment and cultural unity. But it must be said that he never once gets to grips with the central and tremendous problem of India as a Dominion. Aviation, he says, "will help to keep alive in every corner of the Empire the consciousness that the British Commonwealth is a family of nations from one stock and working towards a common ideal."

It is true that Mr. Baldwin in a speech of lofty idealism in the House of Commons last November did emphasize the theory that the people of India and the British people descend originally from one stock, and he traced the mysterious working of a Divine plan in the fact that after tremendous migrations the western branch should meet its brothers in India, there to engage with them upon a common task. But it is straining ordinary language to speak of the tie which would bind India to the British Commonwealth of Nations as a blood tie, and indeed it is clear from other passages that the Commander is really thinking of a white Commonwealth based on Anglo-Saxon culture, and he has disposed of the Indian problem very simply,—by omitting to deal with it. It may be that the gift of faith which he clearly possesses leads him to assume that other Englishmen and Indians who cherish the vision of a Commonwealth of Nations in which India will play a glorious part, will somehow find a way to bring it to pass. If it is to be brought to pass—as the present writer believes that it will—the obstacles of race and language have to be faced and not glossed over, and somehow a union of hearts achieved by a consciousness of mutual sympathy and interdependence and a cultural exchange.

A. M.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION. By G. M. CHIPLUNKAR.

THE late Prof. G. M. Chiplunkar of the Indian Women's University was, as some of our readers must still be remembering, very busy with his favourite work on woman's education during his last serious illness. It is really a great pity that the author of the book could not see his work published in his life-time. That work has now been published by the author's friend, Prof. S. B. Hudlikar of Poona. It has been neatly and handsomely printed and priced very moderately at rupees three only. The present work is the first and the only treatise on the subject, and it is sure to be of great assistance to the Indian educationists busy with the various problems of female education. It is also bound to prove to be highly interesting and thought-provoking to even an ordinary reader who takes some interest in the education of his sisters.

This work has been rightly dedicated to Lady Thackersey, widow of the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, a generous helper of female education in Western India. Lady Thackersey contributes in Gujarati a brief note on the author and his work. It is followed by a Foreword by H. H. the Rani Saheb of Sangli. Dr. Meyrick Booth writes a suitable introduction to the book followed by a short, but appropriate, appreciation by Mrs. Rosalie Acasen. The author has also something to say by way of introduction to his work. "In this book," says he "I have made an attempt to point out the right methods of women's education and the adaptations necessary to secure its rapid national development. This question of Indian Women's Education must be considered from a national point of view which aspect adds to its intricacy. I have made every attempt to make this book a source material for educationists. I have tried to explain before the readers some psychological, biological and sociological facts in order to prove the necessity of starting and maintaining an independent University for Women."

The work is divided into two main parts, the first dealing with the nature of woman and woman's education in general. This part consists of six chapters dealing with the nature of woman, woman's education from the medical standpoint, the social results of the higher education for women in the West, economic independence, the Great Unmarried, and the future of Western Civilization. About fifty pages are devoted to the treatment of this part which may aptly be said to be a general introduction to the main theme of the work treated in extenso in the subsequent part. The second and really the more important part of the work is divided into fourteen chapters extending over two hundred pages. Here the author discusses some fundamental principles and questions about woman's education and touches such points as sex equality, the theory of strain, medical opinion about woman's education, the doctrine of individual freedom in marriage and occupations and co-education. Then follow the ideals of education and the male system of female education. In the male system of female education, the author forcefully points out, physical exercise is totally neglected, the status of domestic science is not recognised, the aesthetic side is entirely undeveloped, and the competitive principle in it leads to overstrain. This system again is too rigid, burdensome and too academic; and the use of foreign medium is not only unnatural but is a great obstacle to the rapid progress of woman's education in India. We now come to very interesting chapters on the education for the home, family adjustments, woman's work outside the home, the dangers of celibate careers, self-determination for

women and ideal educational conditions. Prof. Chiplunkar then turns his attention to domestic science and devotes two long and very informing chapters to the discussion of the various courses in Home Economics. In the last but two chapters the author gives a general outline of women's education and reproduces under the heading "a plea for an Independent University for women" Prof. D. K. Karve's lecture recently delivered in England, Lady Simon presiding. The concluding chapter briefly discusses the present condition of women's education in India.

Various tables are added as appendices which are in themselves very useful, interesting and of great value to the workers in the field of women's education. The book is indexed at the end and a highly useful chart is added which explains the general outline of women's education already dealt with in the preceding chapters of the work. A careful study of this work is bound to be of great practical value to those who are actually busy with the education of women in India and who are connected with and are conducting various educational institutions for Indian women. We strongly recommend this book to all the friends of women's education in India and specially invite the Senators of the Indian Women's University to give their careful attention to the various questions and their solutions dealt with at length in his work by the late lamented and distinguished author. Lastly, we take this opportunity to bring this book to the notice of the Fellows of the various Indian Universities and we fervently hope that they will try to introduce alternative courses for women students in their universities on the lines suggested by Prof. Chiplunkar.

T. R. GADRE.

Miscellaneous.

MR. A. V. THAKKAR'S DEFENCE STATEMENT.

KAIRA, 18th AUGUST 1930

Mr. A. V. THAKKAR of the Servants of India Society put in the following defence statement on the 15th instant before Mr. Yusufil Patel, Sub-District Magistrate, Kaira, regarding the charge of picketing and incitement to picketing at Mehemadabad on 2nd instant.

"As I had received reports that Satyagrahi picketers were beaten, ill-treated, abused and starved by the Police Sub-Inspector and his men at Mehemadabad, I proceeded to that town and stationed myself on the public road under a tree about 80 feet from the liquor shop to observe if the picketers were beaten then on that day as reported. Three Policemen and some Excise men were seated in front of the hedge surrounding the shop. As soon as the picketers came from the town and posted themselves in front of the entrance in the hedge surrounding the liquor shop they were arrested and removed by the Policemen within a minute or so. Eight or nine picketers were thus arrested between 12 noon and 3 P. M. None of them obstructed or even spoke to any people that frequented the liquor shop. On the other hand, some drinkers were freely going in and out of the shop. The story given by the Sub-Inspector of Excise that he was present at the shop during these hours is a falsehood. Similarly the story of the Sub-Inspector of Police that he was on the spot from 12-0 to 12-15 is equally untrue. The story of Policeman Abdulla that the picketers brought the drinkers to me and that they and I persuaded them not to drink is equally false.

Khan Sahab Dadoobhai, retired Inspector of Police, visited me during the interval and I had a talk with him about the Police illegalities and ill-treatment of picketers for days past.

At about 3 P. M. the Sub-Inspector of Police and Excise came to me with a party of Police men to arrest me and a companion and also two Congress workers who came there about five minutes previously to see things for themselves. We all four were arrested and put in the lock-up. After about an hour we were there, the eight or nine picketers who were arrested in the course of the day were confined in the same cell with myself and in the adjoining one and several of them related to me the details of beatings and abuse they had received while they were under detention in the Sub-Inspector's office. This confirmed my suspicion of the beating of the large number of picketers on the three previous days.

The charge of picketing and of inciting others to picket framed against me is false, my only purpose in visiting the place being the investigation into and observation of the ill-treatment of the picketers."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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