

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN

Vol. XXVI.

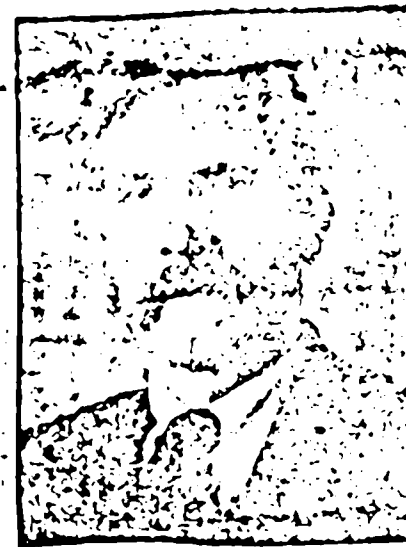
SILVER JUBILEE NUMBER

No 1.

MESSAGES OF CONGRATULATION

THE RT. HON. RAMSAY MACDONALD

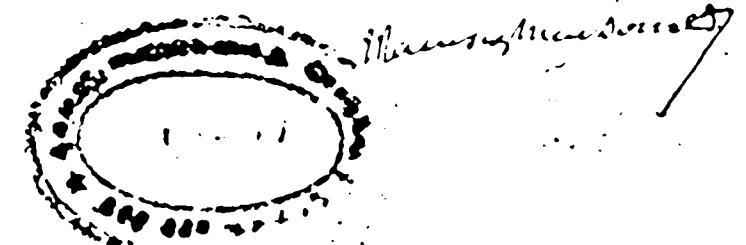
I am glad to hear that your Review has completed its quarter of a century. During its life it has witnessed many strange changes in the mind of your country, and it has been a very active pioneer in what has been a real value to Indian Nationalism. In these days the whole world is suffering from a spirit which means that instead of trying to solve difficulties by reason they are approached by revolutionary minds which, if they do not get all they want, bring affairs to a state of deadlock. That is nothing but a blind appeal to force, which has the most disastrous reaction on the minds of everybody concerned. Those of us who still believe that justice and fairness must rule the world have to take a very firm stand against those subversive tendencies which, whatever the intention of their advocates may be, can bring no hope of anything except strife and war.



RAMSAY MACDONALD

I have never ceased to be interested in Indian affairs since I first came in personal contact with your wonderful country and its wonderful people, and you can always rely upon anything I can do in a very busy life to promote those things which I think the Indian Review and myself have in common.

I hope that a long and useful life is in front of your Review, and that India and its people will continue to flourish.



LORD HARDINGE OF PENSHURST



VISCOUNT HALDANE

Dear Mr. Natesan,

I am glad to hear of the success of the Indian Review in its Silver Jubilee Number. It is a pleasure to know that the Review has been able to maintain its position as a leading journal of Indian affairs, and that it has been able to do so with the assistance of the Indian community in India.

I am sure that the Review will continue to be a valuable source of information for the Indian community in India, and I am sure that it will continue to be a valuable source of information for the Indian community in India.

Yours Very Sincerely,

Haldane

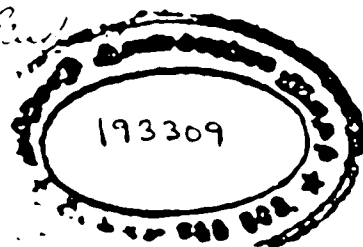
RT. HON LORD OLIVIER

Dear Mr. Natesan,

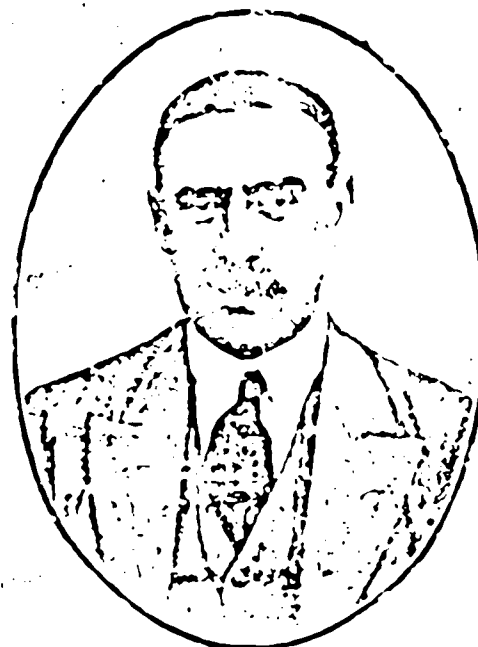
I congratulate the Indian Review on its life of twenty-five years and on the increasing excellence of the qualities of its contents. I thank you for the opportunity you give me of having my name associated with those of other well-wishers of India in your Silver Jubilee Number. My close official association with your country during the past year has been one of the most interesting and stimulating experiences of my life and I hope I may be able to continue to do some work in friendly co-operation with those with whom it has brought me into contact in the joint interests of our two countries.

Yours Very Sincerely,

Olivier



H. E. VISCOUNT GOSCHEN



I send my best congratulations to the Indian Review on attaining its Silver Jubilee. I wish it all success.

Goschen

LORD WILLINGDON

Dear Mr. Natesan,

I am very glad to hear of the success of the Indian Review in its Silver Jubilee Number. It is a pleasure to know that the Review has been able to maintain its position as a leading journal of Indian affairs, and that it has been able to do so with the assistance of the Indian community in India.

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Yours Very Sincerely,

Willingdon

LORD PENTLAND

Warranted by the Indian Review

November 25, 1924

Dear Mr. Natesan,

Many thanks for your letter. I congratulate you and the Indian Review staff heartily on the appearance of its Silver Jubilee Number, in the confident hope that it may go on and prosper in its good work.

Sincerely yours
Pentland.

SIR SIDNEY LEE

Dear Mr. Natesan,

I am very glad to hear of the success of the Indian Review in its Silver Jubilee Number. It is a pleasure to know that the Review has been able to maintain its position as a leading journal of Indian affairs, and that it has been able to do so with the assistance of the Indian community in India.

I am sure that the Review will continue to be a valuable source of information for the Indian community in India, and I am sure that it will continue to be a valuable source of information for the Indian community in India.

Yours Very Sincerely,

Sir Sidney Lee

Dear Mr. Natesan,

I cordially congratulate the Indian Review on its Silver Jubilee, and I have every confidence in its future being as successful and useful as its past.

Yours sincerely,
Harding of Penshurst

J.L.

1125.24-1

H. E. SIR MALCOLM HAILEY



H. E. SIR MALCOLM HAILEY.

H. E. SIR HARCOURT BUTLER



GOVERNORS CAMP
BUNA.

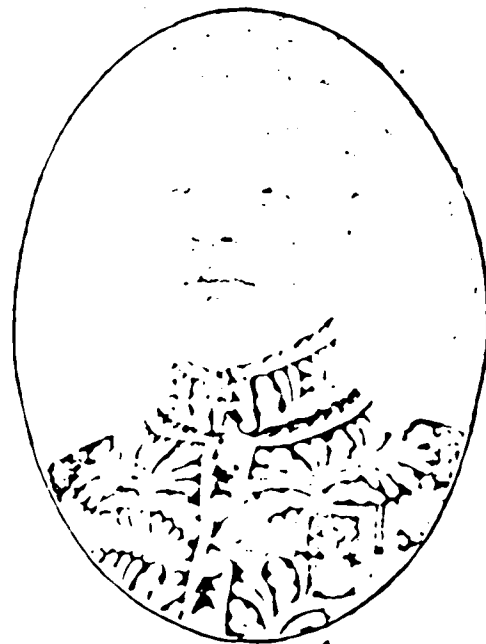
My best congratulations on
the Silver Jubilee of the Indian
Review and with good wishes
for its future. Harcourt Butler.

H. H. THE AGA KHAN

Best wishes for success of the Indian Review
Silver Jubilee Number.

[BY CABLE]

H. E. SIR HARCOURT BUTLER.



THE RT. HON. LORD SINHA

17, ELYSIUM ROW,
CALCUTTA.

23.12.24

Dear Mr. Nathan
Just a few
words to convey to you
my sincere congratulations
on the Indian Review
Completing its 25th year
It has been a model
magazine throughout
this period. I am sure
there were many
more of the same
kind

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely
Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha

HON. SIR MONCRIEFF SMITH

Please accept my hearty congratulations on
the Indian Review twenty-fifth anniversary.
May your interesting and instructive publica-
tion prosper, and may its spheres of useful-
ness ever widen?

H. Moncrieff Smith

HON. SIR ALEX. MUDDIMAN

1 THEATRE ROAD
CALCUTTA

"I wish the Indian Review"
many happy returns to its
25th birthday. I recall of
this clear like a real need
in this country - The best of the
contributions, show the wide aspect
of its editor

Alex. Muddiman

COL. WEDGWOOD M. P.

11 BELMONT HOUSE
BELMONT STREET
BOMBAY

29.11.24

Dear Sir

I am delighted to be able to send my con-
gratulations to the Indian Review and my best
wishes for a long & successful career of usefulness
and the future of the Review will be a great
source of joy to all who are interested in the
progress of the Indian Review and its future
development. I am sure that the Review will
continue to be a valuable and useful publication.

The Indian Review has been a great help to me
in my work and I am sure that it will continue
to be a valuable and useful publication.

Yours faithfully
Col. Wedgwood M. P.

SIR K. G. GUPTA

I am very glad to hear of the success of the
Indian Review and I am sure that it will continue
to be a valuable and useful publication.

K. G. Gupta

RAJAE SIR HARNAM SINGH



If I was asked to cite instances of
my confidence in Indian progress
and vitality, I could point to the
Indian Review, as one signal example.
There is a personal touch, first of all,
a keen, clear, reader friend and
critical way, but sustained and
strengthened by increasing evidence of the
merit. This Indian Review is an occasion for expressing
not only among those who, like
me, have watched with sympathy
the progress of the Indian Press for
over fifty years but - also for its
special features of the "Indian Review"
and, in my mind, its broad-minded
ness, its reasonableness and high
character, character and high standard
of its articles. Shortly and stated
the Editor, G. G. A. Harrison, an
able and patriotic Indian, in
the Indian Review of his brilliant
journalism -

Harman, Sam^l
K₂ with a l₂

SIR R. N. MOOKERJEE

'Colour is' *green* '...'

[illegible]

مستحق

Message from L. D. Webb;

I heartily wish that the
celebration of the Silver Jubilee
of the "Green Standard" which
was originally founded in 1904,
might attend it with the success

The Journal has excellently
justified its existence, and its
isolated yet thick bearing the
Army Library, & gives the
may not only maintain but
enhance its reputation, and
the following are our dear
concept of this, & may be
responsible for its conduct. In
India that paper is found to be
common & the highest respect and
the greatest of publication which
wishes to be no party and no
elementary but as wholly &
solidly devoted to advance the
great moral & material progre-
ss of the people. J. E. B. B. B.

DR. ANNIE BESANT

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
ADYAR
MADRAS 2
3-12-1980

The dear Helen,
 Please let me hear a
 word of congratulation on the British
 success reaching its final jubilee.
 You & I are very old come again
 in the political struggle, & which
 naturally we have witnessed, & which
 we have never let mail disappear
 about our friendly relations. But it
 is a new war. I am now living
 & fighting in India, & that the
 - - - - -

Quinn Bignall

THE ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA

141 ..
 Family, 1911
 - 9 December

I am delighted to learn that the edition has
completed the 23d year on the 25th inst.
I congratulate the manager for his service
in 9 or 10 years for having successfully guided
the sailing of the Journal
The Union River is truly a remarkable ship
has sailed so successfully that it is not
in its progress to have any opportunity of
any place of anyone thing to expand the
fundamentals of the river full the river of the
River now the is a fact the river of the
apparently I was given the opportunity to contribute
an article on the life of the old river to the paper
and I have been to see the great problem of the
popular river and may the paper help to diminish
the conflicting forces now working in the river of
The River of the Union River

The Ruyon's Llan - 110

MAHATMA GANDHI

Dear Mr. Nathan

my wishes
for a bright-
future for your
Reveries are with
you.
Yours sincerely
17.12.24. Milgramski

BISHOP WHITEHEAD

I have very sincere congratulations in the
 early publication of the first
 publication of the Indian Bureau. I have
 been a valuable work in presenting the
 training of public opinion and helping
 towards the formation of a more and
 healthy public opinion. I offer my
 hearty good wishes for the future and
 hope that it will be a success
 and continue for many years as the
 good work that it has been for the
 last quarter of a century.
 Frank Merrill, Acting Director (

LALA LAJPAT RAI

[illegible]

RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

Bengaluru City
4 January 1935.

My dear Nelson

We didn't exactly latch our wagon, in those early days to a star, but we aimed high and, heaven be thanked, never fell. Many things helped, but I am not cynical in suggesting that one of these was the unmovable rule you made at the start of giving a small pocket allowance to every one who contributed to the Review. We had our difficulties, to be sure. Not the least came from one of the editorial board, who, you may remember, had conscientious scruples in complying with the arbitrary exactions of English orthography and English syntax. In one look back on our beginning through all these years, it seems a wonder, but our success was a boldness in doubt. I well remember the care and the labour of that for the annexes and the index. So you will. I do the thrill of joy we felt when an English friend came to your office and congratulated you on the unprecedented and unexpected event of your having reached the first birthday? Then then you have achieved a great deal and, if I may so far offend your modesty, won the distinction

of a international winning circulation, influence, fame, wealth staunch friends, unforgiving foes all the marks of efficient public service have come to you in about a year. May you have more of these and ever more!

Yours ever always
with affectionate regards
V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

RT. HON. SYED AMEER ALI

Dear Mr. Nelson,
I am pleased to hear from you for the first time of the 6th Anniversary of the Review and to wish you and your staff every success and cordial welcome to the Review. I am glad to hear that you have been able to keep the Review going during the last 6 years. I am sure it will continue to grow and prosper.

HON. SIR FREDERICK WHYTE

President, Legislative Assembly

It must be a great pleasure to you to look back upon the career of usefulness which your Review has enjoyed. It is well-known not only in India but outside, and has many admirers in England.

A. J. K. K.

AMONG CONTRIBUTORS TO "THE INDIAN REVIEW"



F. W. KILLETT



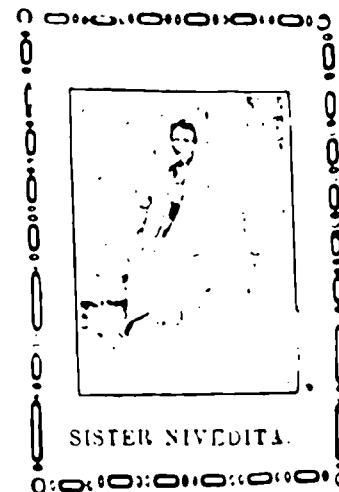
SIR HENRY COTTELL



SIR WILLIAM MEYER



ROMESH DUTT



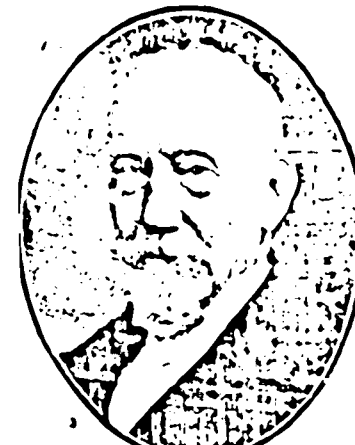
SISTER NIVEDITA



V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER



T. T. BHATNAGAR



SIR WM WEDDERBURN



JOHN ADAM

AMONG CONTRIBUTORS TO "THE INDIAN REVIEW"



SIR P. C. RAY.



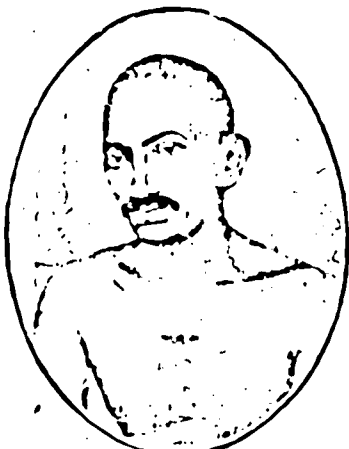
SIR ARNOLD WHITE.



SIR C. V. K. BASTRI.



MR. H. S. L. POLAK.



MAHATMA GANDHI.



BISHOP WHITEHEAD.



SAINT NIHAL SINGH.



DR. SUNDERLAND.



MR. H. A. SAMS, J. C. S.

LORD CLWYD

LORD CLWYD

It gives me much pleasure to avail myself of this opportunity of congratulating the "Indian Review" upon the attainment of its Silver Jubilee, and of expressing my appreciations of its valuable contribution to the intellectual life of India.

Twenty-five years is a long time, but throughout this period the Review has maintained, unbroken its high literary standard, and has continued to place before its readers, month by month, information of the most interesting character and covering a very wide range of subjects.

During the last quarter of a century there have taken place in India many developments which have caused difficulty and some anxiety, but, despite every discouragement, I believe that in India, as everywhere else,

"The increasing purpose runs."

which makes ultimately for greater and better things.

In my view there are few public services of more real value than that which seeks to unite for the common good these alien forces which, lying outside the storm of politics, move in the sphere of intellect and reason.

In the furtherance of this end the "Indian Review," under the direction of its distinguished Editor, has through its high ideals and the aid of many gifted writers, played a notable part in the development of modern thought in India, and I desire again to convey my congratulations upon the Silver Jubilee of the Journal and to wish it still greater success and influence in days to come.

CLWYD

CLWYD

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR



Sasthama
Pondicherry
Madras
19-11-1924

My dear Sir,

I am very pleased to learn that you propose to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Review this month. I am offering you my hearty congratulations and my warmest wishes for the continued success of the paper in the future and for your own prosperity in the years to come. I hope that you will be able to put out a paper of the highest quality and that you will be able to build up a very interesting and popular periodical and to have enough of it for a period of

twenty-five years in the land of opportunity and enterprise as an advertisement for which you are entitled to look. I hope that you will be able to build up a very interesting and popular periodical and to have enough of it for a period of

I remain
Yours sincerely
Sivaswami

SIR P. C. MITTER

The Indian Review in my opinion is one of the best edited and impartial magazines that we have in India. I wish it all success.

MR. G. A. VAIDYARAMA AIYAR

Remember that a Cassius for the young man is a better friend than a Cassius for the old man. I am very pleased to learn that you propose to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Review this month. I am offering you my hearty congratulations and my warmest wishes for the continued success of the paper in the future and for your own prosperity in the years to come. I hope that you will be able to put out a paper of the highest quality and that you will be able to build up a very interesting and popular periodical and to have enough of it for a period of

The Indian Review is a paper of the highest quality and it is a pleasure to see that it is so well written. I am very pleased to learn that you propose to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Review this month. I am offering you my hearty congratulations and my warmest wishes for the continued success of the paper in the future and for your own prosperity in the years to come. I hope that you will be able to put out a paper of the highest quality and that you will be able to build up a very interesting and popular periodical and to have enough of it for a period of

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SAWAB SYED HOSSAIN BILGRAMI

It is a paper that every educated countryman of mine, I think, ought to read. It is so well written, so moderate in its views and so very thoughtful. I always enjoy reading it.

MIAN SIR MAHOMED SHAFI

MR. H. S. L. POLAK

24th Dec
1924

My Dear Sir,

I am very pleased to learn that you propose to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Review this month. I am offering you my hearty congratulations and my warmest wishes for the continued success of the paper in the future and for your own prosperity in the years to come. I hope that you will be able to put out a paper of the highest quality and that you will be able to build up a very interesting and popular periodical and to have enough of it for a period of

I remain
Yours sincerely
Shafi

C. F. ANDREWS.

My own friendship with Mr. G. Nathan has been unbroken during the whole period of my life in India, which has now extended over twenty-one years. I came into contact with him, owing to his devoted work on behalf of South African Indians, and I carried a message of affection from him to Mahatma Gandhi, whom I parted from him in Madras at the end of November, 1913. The cause of Indian freedom has found in him an able and devoted worker, and now, in the Council of State, I have named him, in my own words, "the Member for Indian Causes." I came to know him first, soon after my arrival in India, through the pages of the Indian Review. Soon after that, I began myself to contribute articles to its pages, and I have continued to do so ever since. I have found his heart at all times open to sympathy with the aspirations of the poor. It is a privilege to be allowed to contribute to his knowledge in the Indian Review. Sincerely,
C. F. Andrews.

MR. GLYN BARLOW

Lawrence Hotel,
2nd Jan, 1925

Dear Mr. Nathan,
Having seen the beginning of your magazine, and having watched its progress, and having noted the earnestness of its spirit and the soundness of its reasoning, I can send you no better Indian message than a message of hope that the Indian Review of the future will be as good as the Indian Review of the past.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely
Glyn Barlow

THE HON. MR. C. P. RAMASWAMI

TWENTY-FIVE years is not a small space in the history of an Institution and in the conditions surrounding periodicals in our country. It is indeed a notable period and my congratulations to the *Indian Review* on the attainment of its Silver Jubilee are therefore sincere and much more than formal. In a somewhat severe criticism of journals and newspapers, Lord Morley stated that a newspaper must live and to live, it must please and it can only please by being very cheerful towards prejudices, very chilly towards general theories and very disdainful to the men of principle. It is, therefore, entirely to the credit of a journal if, during its life, it has justly escaped this devastating criticism.

As a constant reader of the *Indian Review* I think it can claim that it has welcomed new ideas and has stood for progress, social and political and that it has not invoked the spirit of conformity as its guardian angel. The ideals of journalism throughout the world have undergone a profound change. There is the temptation to keep up a high note of excitement and as has been recently remarked, the endeavour constantly to secure entertainment as well as instruction is becoming a great and continual strain on every journalist. In that work it is not always easy to steer by the compass of truth and principle. A versatile Indian journalist has summarised the reasons for the success of a certain popular periodical by stating that it has reproduced all that was interesting in the life, the books, and newspapers of Britain and other countries. This is one of the tasks which the *Indian Review* has consistently set before itself and has efficiently achieved. And I may further

utilise as a compliment what was originally levelled as a reproach against Voltaire by Gibbon that he cast a keen and lively glance over the surface of history. It is difficult for an Editor who is himself a politician to be impartial and fair to all schools of thought and activity; but this quality is a characteristic of the *Indian Review* to which pointed attention may well be drawn. A great Frenchman has remarked *Je n'impose rien, je ne propose rien j'expose*. "It is not my function to impose nor to propose, I only expound". That is not an unworthy code of journalistic conduct and as Mr. Natesan has continuously striven in that direction I convey to his *Review* my best Good Wishes and send a message of God-speed.

C. P. Ramaswami

HON. SIR MOHAMAD HABIBULLAH

I wish to congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. G. A. Natesan on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of his valuable Journal. I may claim that I have been a careful reader for the last two decades and more and I must add my own tribute to those of others, which I have no doubt will be forthcoming, to the great usefulness and importance of this Journal from every point of view. It invariably contained readable matter which was at once interesting and instructive and I have never missed reading every one of its valuable contributions. I wish the Journal every success and prosperity, and its Editor a long life.

M. Habibullah

SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW, I. C. S.

It would not perhaps be quite tactful to say how many years have passed since I first met Mr. G. A. Natesan but at any rate it was "somewhere in the last century". He was one of the bright young men of Madras. My experience has been that most "bright young men" cease in a comparatively short time to be either young or bright. Mr. Natesan on the contrary, though he may no longer be young, has never ceased to be bright. He has always maintained that vivacity of spirit which is the mark of the few chosen ones in this world. It used to be said that those whom the Gods love die young, and it is true in this sense: that they never grow old. The untiring energy and the indefatigable pertinacity with which Mr. Natesan pursued his natural quarry, the contributor never cease to be a matter of surprise and admiration to me. It did not matter how often the weight of work or the sloth of selfishness (choose which view you like) led to refusal, Mr. Natesan always returned to the charge as full of hope and as lavish of encouragement as ever. That I take it is the true note of the Editor. He must never despair, not even of the duller or shyest of his writers. Some day he may hit on the one subject they really do know something about and get something worth printing from them. It is the note of youth, of hope, of cheerfulness which has made the "*Indian Review*" what it is—a living force in Indian Journalism and a success of which Madras, not to say all India, may be proud.

HON. SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLAH

Please accept my hearty congratulations on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review*. A monthly like yours has a distinct place in Indian Journalism, in that it affords great scope for thoughtful and sober comments. By opening its pages impartially to writers of all shades of thought on the business topics of the day, the *Indian Review* has acted as a great educative force in the development of Indian politics. I am sure that under your distinguished editorship it will continue its useful work for years to come.

SIR P. C. RAY

The *Indian Review* is a journal of long standing reputation; its articles—often from the pen of men of eminence—cover a wide range of subjects. Readers of diverse taste always find in them a rich intellectual treat. Both the original contributions as also the well chosen extracts from standard periodicals embrace questions of literary, social, economic and even scientific interests. I congratulate the *Indian Review* on its Silver Jubilee and wish it long life and continued success.

P. C. Ray

DR. SIR J. C. BOSE

I send you my best wishes for the continued prosperity of the *Indian Review* which completes its 25th year this month.

J. C. Bose

HON. SIR JUSTICE SHADI LAL

I offer you my hearty congratulations on the success of the magazine, and I have no doubt that it will continue to do its useful work in future.

Shadi Lal

DR. GANGANATH JHA

I heartily congratulate yourself and the *Indian Review* for having maintained its career of usefulness for full 25 years. That with the exceptionally good qualities, the Review should have acquired the position it has, is not to be wondered at. But the fact reflects credit also on the public, who have proved so appreciative of the merits of the Review as to make its continued existence possible. Among the innumerable good points of the Review what strikes one most is the honesty of purpose which is evinced by the impartial and judicious use that it makes of its contributions and selections.

PROF. D. K. KARVE

I congratulate you on the great success you have achieved in conducting your magazine. It has done excellent work in helping to formulate sober public opinion. I wish it good luck.

DR. R. P. PARANJPYE

Accept my felicitations on the continued success of the *Indian Review* which you have so ably conducted for twenty-five years. My sincere wish is that it may go on with increasing prosperity in future. The *Indian Review* has supplied a vacant place in Indian journalism and has been steadily helping the progress of India in all directions.

REV. DR. E. M. MACPHAIL, C.I.E.

You have succeeded in maintaining the *Indian Review* at a high level all through its life and have regularly provided the public with a large number of instructive and interesting articles dealing with subjects of general interest. Two things that have struck me in reading the Review have been the way in which you have succeeded in getting people to write for it who possessed special knowledge, and the way in which you have sought that different points of view should be presented in its pages. I should like to congratulate you on your achievement and wish your Review all success in the future.

SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

The *Indian Review* now occupies a position in the magazine world second to none in India and I have not the least doubt that its usefulness and influence will steadily grow from more to more.

Your well-thought out and elaborate organisation has been responsible for the development and spread of considerable healthy and sound political literature and the library of publications that you have been able to build up is of great value to the country. That you have been emulated in your own city and elsewhere in this direction is a compliment to your own enterprise.

MR. P. J. HARTOG, C.I.E.

I heartily congratulate the *Indian Review* and its Editor on their Silver Jubilee. It is a Review which maintains a high standard of excellence and impartiality, which covers a wide field of interest and has a distinguished list of contributors.

MR. C. W. E. COTTON, C.I.E.

Hearty congratulations to you upon the *Indian Review* celebrating its Silver Jubilee.

It is a reminder to me of the length of my sojourn in India for I contributed, I think, to one of its earliest numbers having been introduced to you by Mr. (now Sir Henry) Stone, when you were first starting it.

The *Indian Review* is now an established success and good wine, they say, needs no bush.

May the *Indian Review* long continue to prosper under the control of its original founder, to whose editorial skill and catholicity of outlook it owes the assured position it has for so long enjoyed among Indian periodicals.

HON. SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH

I offer my hearty congratulations to the *Indian Review* and its devoted Editor. It is more than twenty-years ago when I first met Mr. Natesan and the memory of that meeting never faded till we met again in the Council of State and renewed our friendship. India and England were never in greater need of an understanding. The *Indian Review* is now perhaps the only magazine, holding to the ideal of bringing about a larger understanding between the two countries. May the *Indian Review* continue to serve the two countries and work in the cause of clear comprehension of the minds of the two people whom God has brought together to find unity.

MR. R. LITTLEHAILES, M.A.

I have read the Review intermittently for many years and have always found it interesting and instructive. It is easily one of the best periodicals published in India.

MR. N. SUBBA RAU PANTULU

I cannot persuade myself that 25 years have passed away since the Review was started. During this period several periodicals have come and gone but the dynamic and indefatigable energy of the Editor has sustained the Journal in the midst of many difficulties and made it a success. I offer my hearty felicitations on this unique occasion of its Silver Jubilee and wish the Review a long and successful career.

NAWAB AMEEN JUNG BAHADUR

I have been a reader—though not quite a regular reader—of the *Indian Review*, ever since it made its first appearance. I have always liked its literary excellence, both in matter and form. It has been emphatically a busyman's periodical, as it ever aimed at concise and clear representation of the thoughts of the time. The able contributors it has secured, the variety of subjects it deals with, and the temperate views it takes of men and matters, are much appreciated by subscribers who are not extremists in anything.

52, ELM PARK GARDENS,
SOUTH KENSINGTON

S.W.
I thank you for sending me the Review. I have read it with interest and appreciation.

Yours truly,
J. Subba Rao

6.18.1901

SIR JUSTICE KUMARASWAMI SASTRI

Heartly congratulations on the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review* which has been serving so useful a purpose these 25 years. A high class magazine appealing to a variety of interests, it is always informing and never dull. As a popular educator giving expression to sober views on politics, literature, science and art it holds the first rank and it is a marvel how such riches can be had at so low a cost.

"May your shadow never become less"

K. Kumaraswami Sastri

MAUNG TAW SEIN, C.I.E., M.L.C.

My heartiest congratulations to you on the attainment of your Silver Jubilee. The *Indian Review* corresponds to the *Review of Reviews* of London in its policy and high moral tone.

THE HON. MR. S. SINHA

I send my best wishes for the continued success and prosperity of the *Review* which you have so ably conducted for now twenty-five years, and which has been a source of great good to India by disseminating sound and healthy information both in this country and abroad on all phases of Indian activities and progress.

THE HON. SIR P. RAMANATHAN

Wish you all success in the great work you are doing.

P. Ramanathan

SWAMI ABHEDANANDA

I congratulate you on this occasion of the Silver Jubilee of your valuable magazine. I am pleased to see how successfully you have conducted it from a small beginning to its present excellence. It has done a great service to our Motherland in the past. May it continue under your able management to do greater good in future—is the earnest prayer of your friend and well-wisher.

Swami Abhedananda

PROF. T. L. VASWANI

Cordial greetings on the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review*. Richly has it served India these five and twenty years by bringing many thousands month after month in touch with great minds and great events. May God grant it added strength in the coming days to serve India to vindicate her ancient heritage and to summon her sons and daughters to freedom from all hate, to courage, hope and unity. (By wire)

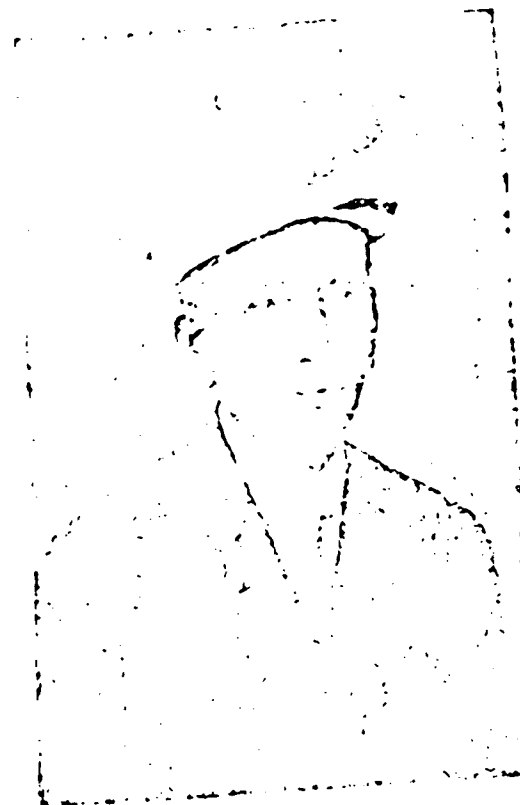
MR. FRANK NOYCE, I. C. S., C. I. E.

As a contributor to the "*Indian Review*" in its early days when officials had more leisure for such *parerga* than they have now, I am specially glad to be able to congratulate Mr. Natesan on its twenty fifth anniversary and to pay my small tribute to the way in which he has consistently maintained the high standard he set before himself at the outset. The views expressed in the pages of the "*Indian Review*" are not in the nature of things, always such as commend themselves to a "sun dried bureaucrat" but the ability and impartiality with which its editorial duties are carried out never fail to do so.

AMONG CONTRIBUTORS TO "THE INDIAN REVIEW"



SIR P. S. SIVA WAMY AIYER.



SIR M. V. VESVARAYYA



SIR PURSHOCAMDAS THAKURDAS



SIR AHMED HUSSAIN



SIR D. P. SARVADIKARY.



SIR D. E. WACHA



MR. G. A. NATESAN.



MR. VAIDYARAMAN & MR. NATESAN.

SIR STANLEY REED

This is the season of the year when we remember the message, Peace on Earth. Good will towards men. Is it peace in India? unfortunately not. The foundations of authority are being attacked. Political tempers are high. Communal feeling is acute. This is a poor foundation for the progress of Responsible Government.

Thoughtful men are not afraid of strife nor of discontent, these are the forces which make for progress. But they are afraid of rancour and intemperance in thought and speech. It is so easy to rouse passion, so difficult to control it.

Cannot the sober men of all communities take counsel together and seek to lay broad and deep, in a more tranquil atmosphere of mutual tolerance, the foundations of political progress? We cannot all agree: it would be a dull world if we did; but we can agree to differ, respecting each other's point of view, not questioning each other's motives.

The *Indian Review* has stood above rancour and passion. It has been a powerful force in India for reasoned progress. My earnest hopes for its future go out to the present conductors and there is no better medium for this plea for peace and good will.

Stanley Reed

THE HON. EDWARD W. PERERA

Wish yourself and the *Indian Review* the same success it had in the past and an ever increasing influence in the future.

MR. K. C. ROY, C. I. E.

By its steadiness and timely review of important contemporary problems in India, it has done its best to justify its title. I wish it increasing success in the task it has been ably performing for the past 25 years.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR, BAR-AT-LAW

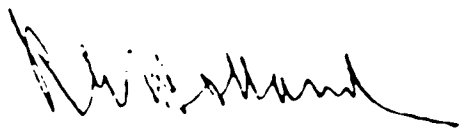
I have to congratulate the *Indian Review*, on its having attained 25 years of a solid record of work in reconstructing thought in India. It has played a very important part in the Renaissance movement in India and has helped materially to shape the thoughts of the younger generation in particular. It must be a gratification to its promoters to note that the many of the views, at one time unpopular, to which they gave shelter in their columns during the last few years, have now been gaining ground in the country.

MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR

I congratulate you on the Silver Jubilee of your sprightly journal, the *Indian Review*. Not long ago I was one of its constituent contributors. My recollection is I began literary life by writing to your journal. The little make up I possess as a writer was gained by your initial kindness. I am therefore particularly happy that your career has been so good. Your journal was one of the earliest of its kind in Madras to cater to public want. It has served that public very well. Its success has tempted many to follow in its wake—a compliment more eloquent than the testimony which your readers can give—I wish my earliest friend every success and pray for its longevity and unremitting service to the country.

SIR ROBERT E. HOLLAND

I am glad to see the success which the *Indian Review* has achieved and I wish you all prosperity.



PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.

One of the earliest recollection of my college life is my introduction to the *Indian Review* with the reading of an article on *Two Books of Song* by Mr. Eardley Norton, reviewing Lawrence Hope's *Garden of Kama* and Mrs. Sarojini's *Golden Threshold*. All these years I have had pleasant associations with the Journal, writing to it, reading it, and what is more, enjoying the Editor's hospitality, from time to time, in the offices on the Esplanade at Madras. The headquarters of the Journal have often been the centre of stimulating intellectual life and I can look back with joy to many friendships formed under its auspices. May all success and prosperity attend upon it in its future career.

PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, M.A.

It is a pleasure to know that you have always stood for the larger Indian point of view and never succumbed to the narrowing spirit of sectarian or provincial feeling. Your endeavour to avoid the extremes of reaction and radicalism has made your magazine popular with the European and the Indian alike. I trust that its usefulness will increase in years to come and it will continue to uphold all progressive ideals which make for the more vigorous life of this country.

THE HON. PHIROZE C. SETHNA

The standard of excellence of a magazine is determined by the articles which appear in it and the interest they awaken in the public mind. In this direction your monthly has played its part so well during the quarter of a century of its existence that you have reasons to be proud of its achievements. Speaking for myself I will say that I look forward to receiving my copy month after month.

The Editor of an American Magazine once wrote to a friend: "I do not expect you to agree with me; if I make you think, I have done you a service". This is exactly what the *Indian Review* is doing.

Your articles do set your readers a thinking and what is more they tend to lead them in the right direction.

MR. J. P. COTILINGAM, M.A.

As one of the subscribers to the *Indian Review* when it was started and for many years after that I congratulate you heartily on its Silver Jubilee. It made its appearance regularly during all these years and brought its readers into an ever-widening circle of authors, Indian and European. May its future career of usefulness be as bright and as successful as its past has been.

MR. E. S. SUNDA, B.A., B.L.

It was nearly fifteen years ago that I first peeped into the *Indian Review*. Ever since it had for me a bewitching charm. It gave me the earliest tuition in politics and personalities. A magazine of all round tastes, satisfying all, disgusting to nobody, neither pedantic nor too technical, the *Indian Review* is a Review for all.

GREETINGS FROM THE PRESS

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

As a reader for many years now of the Indian Review, I am very glad to be able to offer it my best congratulations on its 25th birthday. I wish it many happy returns of the day.

Valentine Chirol

*34 Carlisle Square
Chelsea. 26.11.24*

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

I note with pleasure that you are about to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review*. I am sure that such an honourable career deserves every commendation; indeed I feel certain that the *Indian Review* fulfils a most useful task, conducted throughout by high motives. My warmest congratulations.

W. L. Courtney

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

Pray accept my very cordial congratulations on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the starting of the *Indian Review*, and my best wishes for its future prosperity. Besides providing an open forum to all schools of thought, the *Review* has combined, so far as I know, the best and most reliable chronicle of the principal events in India month by month. Every one who in the years to come attempts to write the stirring story of the last twenty-five years of our national life, will find the volumes of the *Indian Review* indispensable both for reference and for direction as to the main currents of thought among us.

K. Natarajan

MR. H. W. NEVINSON

As a reader for many years now of the Indian Review, I am very glad to be able to offer it my best congratulations on its 25th birthday. I wish it many happy returns of the day.

I shall always think of you and your work both in India and in this country with pleasure and admiration and I wish your Review the greatest success that it can have.

Henry W. Nevins

NEWS OF THE WORLD

Good luck. Hearty congratulations. Long may your magazine flourish. (By Cable.)

Lord Riddell

THE OBSERVER, LONDON.

The *Indian Review* is to be congratulated upon its wonderful list of contributors and upon the favourable opinions which it has attracted from all parts of the world. I heartily congratulate you upon the Silver Jubilee and hope that years of undiminished success and usefulness will lead you to the Golden.

J. L. Garvin

THE HINDU, MADRAS.

May I be allowed to add my congratulations to the enterprising Editor of the *Indian Review* on the attainment by that excellent magazine of its Silver Jubilee. It is no light feat in this land of infant mortality to rear so exotic a plant as a monthly review to full vigorous maturity and I wish the *Review* and its intrepid Editor alike, an ever lengthening career of service in the cause of India.

S. Rangaswami

DAILY HERALD

It is good to know that the *Indian Review* has lived for a whole quarter of a century. • • • I hope the following 25 years will bring you more and more success and that during that period the people of India will have won their freedom,—a freedom which I hope will keep them within not a British Empire, but the British Commonwealth of Nations.

George Lansbury

ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

I send you hearty congratulations on the occasion of the publication of your Silver Jubilee Number. The *Indian Review* has attained a creditable position in the field of journalism in this country. I wish it greater prosperity in the years to come.

U. N. Sen

THE LEADER

I have had the pleasure of knowing very well both the *Indian Review* and its distinguished editor since the day of the foundation of the *Review*. This periodical has filled a large space in Indian journalism, as its Editor has done in Indian public life, during a full quarter of a century. They have served the cause of Indian nationalism, with commendable devotion. My friend the Hon. Mr. Natesan is known throughout India as a man of boundless energy, uncommon enterprise, and remarkable resourcefulness. The name of his firm is a household word wherever the English language is known in India. It is a very special pleasure to me as an old friend and fellow worker heartily to congratulate Mr. Natesan on the Silver Jubilee of his fruitful journalistic enterprise.

C. Y. Chintamani

THE TIMES OF INDIA

I should like to take the opportunity of saying many happy returns of the day to the *Indian Review*. I have known the paper since I came to India in 1907 and find it difficult to realise that it has now reached the mature age of 25. I hope that it will long continue to retain its youth and vigour and that it will proceed under your editorship to gain increased renown and to extend its field of usefulness.

S. T. Sheppard

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Only one thing persuades me to send a message of greeting to the *Indian Review* on its Silver Jubilee—the great debt I owe to it and to the publications undertaken under its aegis, for the development of national feeling in me. As a little boy, the lives of "Eminent Indians", published by the *Indian Review* office were my constant companions. My interest in that series is by no means exhausted even now. As a journalist often I have had to turn to those little books for reference about the life of some eminent man and to most of us it has become a regular Dictionary of National Biography. As for the *Review* itself those who have intimately collaborated from its early days, with Mr. Natesan, its distinguished Editor, like the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, and Prof. K. B. Ramaratnam will have much to say. Speaking as a comparative outsider I can only bear witness to the consistently high tone of its articles, the uniform excellence of its issues and the comprehensiveness of its interests. The *Indian Review* is an asset to national journalism and I hope it will continue to be so for many long years to come.

K. M. Panikkar

THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL

I congratulate the Editor and Publishers of the *Indian Review* on its Silver Jubilee. Twenty-five years of continuous publication of the *Review* is an achievement, which reflects infinite credit on those who have conducted it as, most unfortunately, periodicals are not eagerly sought after by the reading public in India. The *Indian Review* has, indeed, had to create in the public a taste for periodicals, and its success should be a source of pride and satisfaction to every member of the Press. I used to read the *Review* as a school boy in Ceylon, and there is no paper published in India which awakens the same associations in my mind. May the *Review* flourish under the guidance of its able Editor and continue to be a medium for the diffusion of informed and sober opinion in the country.

F. E. Holsinger

THE MUSLIM OUTLOOK

I have only lately begun to appreciate at the correct and high value the broad-minded and sensible policy of the *Indian Review* among the welter of journals and newspapers advocating extreme views on all possible subjects—and, I may add, facts. That is why I congratulate the *Indian Review* on its 25th birthday.

D. G. Upson

THE RANGOON DAILY NEWS

Allow me as one of your humble co-workers in Burma to offer you my heartiest greetings on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review*. Its service in the cause of educating public opinion has been immense and I wish it a continued career of usefulness.

Y. D. Motala

THE STATESMAN

I congratulate you very heartily on the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review*. I read it with unflinching interest and wish we had in India more such *Reviews*, publishing contributions from thoughtful writers on a wide variety of subjects without restricting them to narrow platforms or enforcing prejudices. Your December number shows that you are going stronger than ever. May the *Indian Review* flourish for long?

Arthur Moore

THE ABKARI

I heartily join with numerous other readers throughout the Empire in congratulating the *Indian Review* upon the attainment of its Silver Jubilee. Among the many good causes consistently supported by that influential journal the Temperance movement occupies a prominent place.

Frederick Grubb

THE GUJARATI PUNCH

The completion of twenty-five years by such a high class monthly as the *Indian Review* is not a very frequent occurrence in India. Not only is journalism a new profession in this country, but even the number of those who are in a position to appreciate—much less patronise—a high class journal published in a foreign tongue is extremely limited. And these two factors combined together make the path of English journals in India more than ordinarily difficult. The fact, therefore, that the *Indian Review* has been able to complete twenty-five years of its life is by itself a standing testimonial to its high get up and sound management.

Somlal Mangaldas Shah

CATHOLIC LEADER

I have always read the *Indian Review* with interest. It has a fine collection of valuable articles on topics of general interest, as well as on educational, social, political and economic questions. It ranks among the best monthlies in India in style and contents and no one who wishes to be in touch with modern movements can afford to neglect it. The *Indian Review* has done great good in the past in enlightening people on the questions of the day and I wish it a continued period of prosperity in the future.

P. Thomas

THE SANJ VARTAMAN

DURING the present auspicious occasion—you are bound to be greeted with a full chorus of felicitations and congratulations from your numerous friends and admirers, whose number is legion and who are not confined within a narrow circle by geographical limitations. The key to this unique regard is to be found partly in your own personality, and partly in the commanding position to which the *Indian Review* has reached through your exertions, your tact, your profound knowledge of journalism, and last but not the least, by your penetrating instinct in gathering round your journal an army of devoted and able writers.

For some, journalism's chief duty begins and ends by hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. Most positively you are not one of them. Both in your person and through your journal you supply a pattern which others might profitably follow.

The works issued by Messrs. Natesan & Co. are standard publications in the line that you

have made specially your own. Indian writers of eminence, devoted servants of the public, patriots and pundits find through your firm a most hospitable ground for exposing their intellectual wares before the world in general and the Indian world in particular. For this great and patriotic service rendered by you and your firm, India cannot thank you enough.

Rustom N. Vatchaghandy

MR. EARDLEY NORTON

*Mr. Eardley Norton,
21-2-25.
Gummed*

Dear Sir,

*I am indebted to you for the
congratulations which you have
sent me on the occasion
of my birthday.*

*I have always been
a great admirer of the
work of the Indian Review
and I am very glad to
hear that it is doing
so well.*

ST. NIHAL SINGH

NEW journalists, I am sure, could derive so much satisfaction from the attainment of a Silver Jubilee as my old friend and colleague G. A. Natesan. He started his career at a time when journalism was regarded with disfavour by our people in India, who looked upon it as no profession at all. Relatives and friends, therefore, shook their heads in disapproval. Natesan not only proved their prognostications to be unwarranted, but showed that Journalism could be made the hand-maiden of social upliftment.

Writing from experience stretching almost from the day when the *Indian Review* was ushered into existence I can say that no Indian cause has ever failed to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the Editor-Proprietor of that publication.

During the two decades or more which have elapsed since my association with the *Indian Review* began, I have had the opportunity of writing about our people settled or sojourning in various parts of the world. So also has my friend Henry S. L. Polak, and so have others interested in securing to our people their inalienable rights. The cause of Indians abroad has always found a warm spot in the heart of the Editor of that publication.

In the category of Natesan's contributions to Indian progress I would give a very high place to the lesson of promptitude, punctuality and dependability which his House has set to our people. Every article has brought an acknowledgment from him by return post. Remittance for every article has been sent out within a day or two of its

publication. At least one extra copy of an issue containing an article has gone forward to me. All this has happened with clock-work regularity, obviating the necessity of correspondence and preventing uneasiness.

Almost as high in the list of Natesan's contributions to the progress of our people I would put the lesson of concise writing which he has drilled into our writers—young and old. In a country where people are fatally fascinated by redundant phraseology, and editors, in most cases, lack the moral courage to blue-pencil repetitive and extraneous matter, the Editor of the *Indian Review* has shown not only boldness but rare discrimination in pruning contributions received even from well-known writers. W. T. Stead once told me that the *Indian Review* was the only Indian journal whose Editor had mastered what he called the "Eleventh Commandment"—that is "Be brief."

Among Natesan's far flung circle of friends none sends him warmer felicitations upon the attainment by the *Indian Review* of its Silver Jubilee, nor more sincere wishes that its Diamond Jubilee will find him still rendering useful service to the Motherland, than myself.

THE PRAJAMITRA

I have been reading the *Review* ever since I was a boy at school, and my first impressions of the political movement in India were formed from a study of its pages. Even now I go to the *Indian Review* to find balance of criticism and impartial study of detail. Mr. Natesan deserves the gratitude of many of our younger generations of politicians. I only wish the *Indian Review* had a Gujarati Edition in order to educate the masses of Gujrat.

U. K. Oza

The Editor's Acknowledgment.

ON the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Review, I desire to express my grateful thanks to the contributors, subscribers and advertisers for their valuable help.

I have been deeply touched by the overwhelming kindness which inspires the numerous messages of congratulation and the greetings from the Press. I only wish I was deserving of them all.

No one is more keenly alive to the shortcomings of the Review than its Editor; for it is hardly possible that a periodical should have been conducted for five and twenty years "without the commission of some mistakes, articles admitted which might as well have been left out, opinions expressed which have a crudish look in the mellow light of years, phrases dropped in the heat or hurry of the moment which one would fain obliterate."

The first quarter of this century has been a period of extraordinary activity and interest, sometimes events taking a threatening turn to the great embarrassment of Government and people alike. It is a source of satisfaction to me to have the testimony of so many that during trying times the Review "has always kept its head cool", that political differences have never stood in the way of personal friendships and that even in the midst of a tearing controversy, representatives of rival schools have never hesitated to write to its pages.

For once, the pages of the Review have been opened for kind things to be said of the Editor and his public activities; having regard to the special character of the occasion I feel I can count on the indulgence of the reader.

A. Natesan



DR. ANNIE BESANT.



COL. WEDGWOOD



MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.



MR. EARDLEY NORTON.



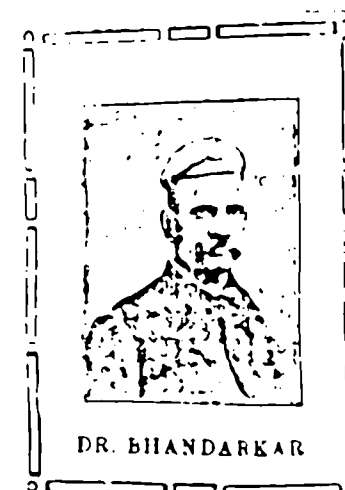
H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA.



RT. HON. SYED AMIR ALI.



MRS. JATHIANATHAN.



DR. BHANDARKAR



MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR.

JUBILAEAN REMINISCENCES

BY MR. GLYN BARLOW, M. A.

Late Editor, The Madras Times.

WILL you preside at a meeting of our Literary Association? This was the request with which the youthful Mr. Natesan

with him throughout his career. At his bidding, such people as High-Court Judges, Members of Council, and Governors of Provinces have made speeches in public and have written articles for his *Review*; and that the happy knack remains with him still is to be seen in the fact that at his bidding an old man like myself is writing these reminiscences. In the day of his collegiate youth, when G. A. Natesan was Honorary Secretary of the Presidency College Literary Association, the happy knack manifested itself in getting



MR. GLYN BARLOW.

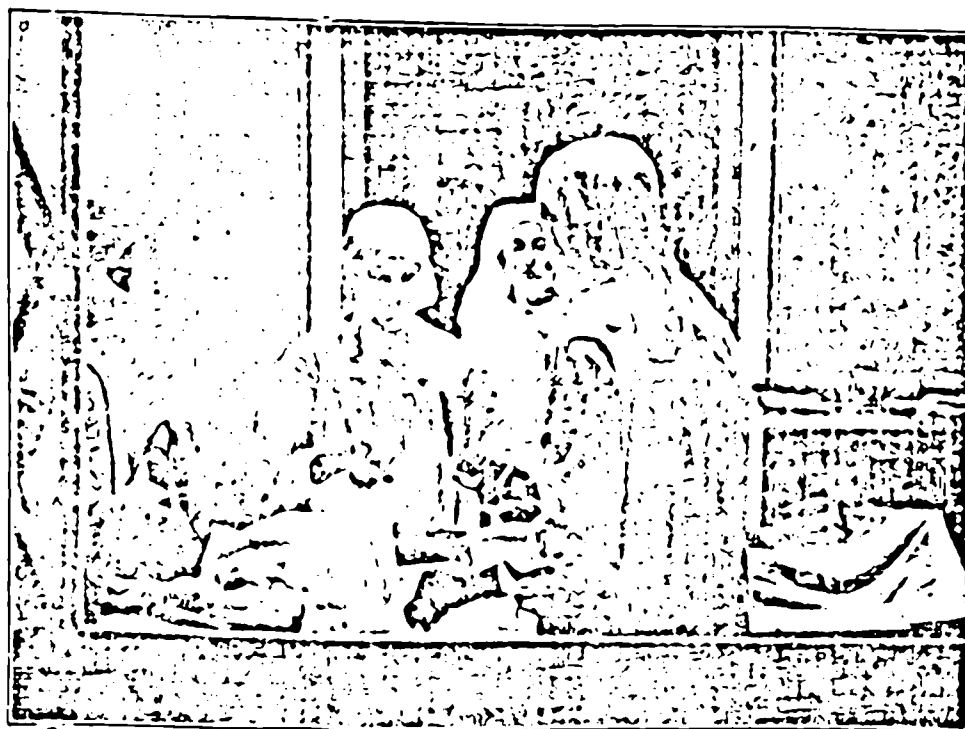
first came into my ken. It was thirty years ago—in 1894, but I still remember well the "coming of Natesan." He was a student in the B. A. class of the Presidency College, and I was an assistant editor in the *Madras Times* office, which was then located in Popham's Broadway; and he had come to me with his request. I had a great deal of work to do, in and out of office hours, and, ordinarily, I should have pleaded "No time;" but Mr. G. A. Natesan even in his youth had a happy knack of getting people to do things that he wanted done, and, accordingly, I agreed to preside. It has been a happy knack



MR. BARLOW AND MR. NATESAN.

people to preside at meetings of the Association, which, during his secretaryship, was quite a distinguished society, whose meetings

COL. MADDOCK ON MAHATMA GANDHI.



A Scene of Mr. Gandhi's operation. (In wax.)

By N. L. P. (the sculptor, London.)

Invited to contribute an article on "Mahatma Gandhi as a Patient", Col. Maddock regrets that professional etiquette will not allow him to do so but he adds—"Personally I have great admiration and regard for the Mahatma. Whilst in Hospital he endeared himself to all those who came into contact with him, on account of his unfailing courtesy and patience, his wonderful cheerfulness, thoughtfulness for others, and complete forgetfulness of himself."

were announced in the "coming events" of newspaper columns. In his search for lecturers and for chairmen, "G. A. Natesan, Student, Presidency College," made himself well-known in Madras; for he had a way with him that gained him a welcome where another student might have met with a rebuff. Earnestness attracts, and young Natesan's earnestness could be seen at a glance, with the result that prospective lecturers and chairmen gave him a friendly hearing and, more likely than not, complied with his request. On one occasion indeed he succeeded in persuading the Governor of Madras in the person of Lord Wenlock to preside at one of the Society's meetings.

In due time G. A. Natesan appeared for the B. A. examination of the Madras University, and the days of his student career were ended. The young man had meanwhile made himself so well-known in Madras that the Madras Government had an eye on him in respect of what he was going to do. He was a young man with a future, and the Madras Government, on its own initiative, as personified by leading officials, offered him Government service.

There is a tide in the affairs of men, etc.;

and if Mr. Natesan had accepted the offer, he would have taken the tide at the flood, and it would undoubtedly have led him on to fortune in officialdom. He would certainly have made his mark, and there would, long ere this, have been some such letters as C. I. E., after his name. But as a Government servant his actions would have been restricted; he would have been unable to attend political meetings or write political articles, or in fact to do anything at all in public that met not

the approval of the powers that would be. To most young men such a restriction would offer no difficulty; but Natesan's was a spirit that would have chafed under restriction, and he felt that Government service was not for him. Young Natesan was no hot-headed anti-Government politician; and the demands of even the Extremists of those times were milder than the demands of the "Moderates" of to-day; but he felt that he wanted to be free to do things "on his own." He wasn't quite sure, moreover, whether the Government was offering him a post because it really required his services or because it wanted to tie up the tongue of a young man who, if left to himself, was likely sooner or later to make himself heard in public—and perhaps on the anti-Government side. Mr. Natesan wasn't at all predisposed to orate against the Government, but he wanted to be free to gang his own gait. True that there's "a tide in the affairs of men"; but there are more rivers than one, and young Natesan preferred to look for a tide in some other river than that of Government service.

So Mr. Natesan came to my office, where I was now in the editorial chair. I remember our interview most clearly. First, he told me about the offer of Government service and his feelings in the matter—just as I have described them above. Then he told me that he would like to be a journalist, and asked to be allowed to give me voluntary assistance. Before this, I had had literally hundreds of applications, in person and by letter, from young Indians who aspired to journalism, some of them with influential backing and with offers of a good premium; but I had rejected them all, without so much as even a

hesitating idea of acceptance. But now it was Mr. G. A. Natesan that was applying—and, as usual, he got what he wanted. It was a strange fact that, although I had rejected so many applicants without a thought, yet, as soon as G. A. Natesan applied, my sub-consciousness immediately discovered the desirability of an Indian assistant. It was like this. I used to write a good deal about Indian matters, and, with an Englishman's ignorance of Indian manners and customs and ways of thought, I was often in need of information. It had been my practice to summon a clerk from the manager's office whenever any necessity for information arose; but clerks are not journalists, and my consultant always took a clerical length of time to see the point, and another clerical length of time to answer the question; and he was moreover unable to realise the necessity of the strictest accuracy in journalistic statements—so much so that on a certain occasion he interpreted an Indian marriage custom in such a way that, as a result of the article that I wrote with his warrant, the enraged wife of a certain Indian gentleman was ready to tear my eyes out. Young Natesan would at any rate be a good and reliable informant, and would know where to get accurate information on any point about which he might feel uncertain. Besides this, I was sure, from what I had seen of him, that he had the "journalistic sense"—that indefinable instinct with which the journalist, like the poet or the artist or the musician, is born, not made. I realised, however, the advantageous prospects that Government service affords to any specially intelligent and resourceful young man, and I demurred

at the idea of being instrumental in keeping a young man out of Government service when the gate had been specially opened for his admission. So I told Natesan what I felt, and I dwelt on the advantages that he was throwing away; but it was to no purpose; for he had made up his mind not to accept the employment that was offered, and he was determined to be a journalist. So it was all settled, and on the following day Mr. G. A. Natesan had a desk in my office side by side with my own.

Mr. Natesan was very helpful indeed as my adviser on Indian matters; but he did much more in the office than merely supply me with information. Besides writing a weekly column of interesting "Indian Notes," and paragraphs on various topics, he took pains to make himself thoroughly efficient in general journalistic work. In a newspaper office, apart from the interesting work of writing articles, there is a good deal of drudgery, such as reading the effusions of correspondents and revising the manuscripts of selected screeds, examining proof-sheets, blue-pencilling abridgements of printed speeches and printed reports, and lots of things more; and Natesan went whole-heartedly through it all. I forget exactly how long he remained in the *Madras Times* office—I think it was nearly a year—but anyhow it was long enough for an earnest young man like Mr. Natesan to have gone through a complete apprenticeship in journalism.

With his apprenticeship fulfilled, it was now time for Mr. Natesan to find a footing in the sphere of remunerative labour. In the *Madras Times* office there was no "tide" that would lead him on to fortune. I should have been happy to have given him a good post, but

the conditions were against it. The paper was owned by a European, a partner in the late firm of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., who were themselves its agents; and its editor, sub-editors, and manager had always been Europeans; and I felt that I had no right to break its traditions; so all that I could do was to offer Mr. Natesan a small post that I would have created specially for him. But he very appropriately found the post unworthy of his acceptance; for it offered no prospects to ambition. I suggested the field of Indian journalism; but in those days Indian newspapers in Madras were not held in high regard, and their very existence was precarious. Their poverty was to be seen in the fact that, instead of subscribing for Reuter's telegrams, they were content to serve up to their readers belated reproductions of telegrams clipped from the *Mail* or the *Times*; and Natesan felt that it was not in any of them that he would find his permanent footing.

The end of it was that Mr. Natesan left the *Madras Times* office to start a printing-establishment, for the foundation of which some family property supplied the finances. I remember that I felt disappointed when he told me what he was going to do, for the passage from journalism to printing seemed a lamentable descent. The members of his family too, with the exception of a brother, scouted the printing-office, so forcefully indeed that, in order to humour them, he went through the form of keeping two or three terms at the Law College at the same time that he was running his press. As a matter of fact, G. A. Natesan thoroughly knew what he was about. In journalism, as in

everything else, he preferred to be his own master—editor straight away—and the printing-business would give him his opportunity, and would make the journalistic venture financially safe. First of all however, he devoted his energies to working up the printing-business to success. I remember him proudly showing me over his establishment. The young man had good reason to be proud. True that he was wise enough to begin in a comparatively small way, but everything was of the best—no dingy den in a back street, but airy premises on the Esplanade (from which he afterwards removed to the larger premises that he now occupies and owns)—no second-hand printing-press, but a high-class machine that glittered in its newness—no second hand type, discarded founts of a larger firm, but type of the clean-cut newness that makes reading an unspoiled pleasure.

When the printing-business was an assured success, the time for the journalistic venture had arrived. The journalistic venture was to be the *Indian Review*, of which the youthful Mr. G. A. Natesan was to be editor, manager, printer, and publisher, all in one. When Sir Walter Scott took to printing his own works, the luckless venture landed the unhappy writer in a debt of £147,000; but Mr. Natesan had a better capacity for business than Sir Walter, and Mr. Natesan's venture was luckier than his.

I remember the day, late in 1899, when Mr. Natesan came and told me of his intention of starting the *Review* in the beginning of the following year. He told me that the *Review* was to be devoted to the welfare of India, but was to be independent in its views, in such a way that both Englishmen and

Indians, without any animosity, might contribute to its columns. It was his idea that the cover of the *Review* should display an armorial device symbolical of the journalistic intention. He had already conceived the design of a European and an Indian standing side by side, and he asked me for a motto. I coined one in Latin, *Abest invidia*, "Away with ill feeling," and he approved of it. So the armorial bearings of the *Indian Review* were the occasion of the first co-operation of an Indian and a European in connection with the magazine; but I must bid the reader not to imagine that the picture of an Indian and a European that for so many years appeared side by side on the wrapper of the *Indian Review* was a portrait of Mr. Natesan and myself!

The *Indian Review* was a success from the very beginning. With so youthful and uproven an editor, it is more than likely that a good many of the first subscribers paid their first-year's subscription in a friendly way "to encourage young Natesan;" but any such subscribers found that they got good value for their money, and the list of subscribers rapidly increased. Mr. Natesan now displayed a happy knack of getting good writers, and in the first number, as in every issue, there were distinguished men among the contributors, the opening article, if I remember right, being from the pen of Sir Arnold White, Chief Justice of Madras. I remember well the appearance of the first number, and how glad I was to see what a really good magazine Natesan had turned out. I remember too reviewing it in the *Madras Times*; I don't remember what I said, but I know that in all sincerity I gave it high praise. Many a magazine has had an excellent first-number, with an anti-climax of

succeeding issues. For the first number the editor is all enthusiasm, and into it he puts his best; but when the novelty has worn off, and the periodic recurrences of labour become irksome, the enthusiasm wears away too. Belated issues, apologetic prefaces, uncorrected printers' errors, hasty screeds, re-dished versions of contemporary articles, and a growing multitude of purposeless extracts are signs of degeneracy; and eventually one of the issues is so very belated that it never appears at all. There's not, of course, so much actual work in a monthly magazine as there is in a daily paper; but in the case of a daily paper the daily work, like the daily bath or the daily shave or the daily breakfast, becomes a natural part of a man's existence; but in the case of a monthly magazine, for which the work can be done either to-day or to-morrow, the work is liable to become a monthly nuisance, which is shirked each month so long that it has to be done in a hurry. Twenty-five years, then, is a long life for a monthly magazine—always up to the mark—under one and the same editor. It means as many as 300 monthly issues, each with its own toil, its own worries, and its own demand for unflagging enthusiasm. I could name not a few magazines that were set going during the past quarter of a century and have come to grief, some of them started under high auspices and with money and influence at their back; and the Hon'ble Mr. Natesan may be proud indeed that the magazine that he started in his youth as a literary venture has arrived at the stage of its silver jubilee, and has gone on from strength to strength, and is now an outstanding figure in Indian journalism.

These notes would be very inadequate if I failed to dwell on the importance of the "printing-business" with which Mr. Natesan began his career and which he has maintained throughout. There are printing-businesses that have no other aim than to print hand-bills and posters and programmes and prospectuses and reports and the like for cash payments; but the great purpose of Mr. Natesan's presses, over and above the outturn of the *Indian Review*, has been the production, on his own initiative, of numerous literary, social, biographical, and political books and booklets, which, although they have probably been financially profitable to Mr. Natesan, have certainly been of very great public importance. All of them have been well printed and neatly turned out, and yet at so low a price that they have commanded a large sale and have made a thorough knowledge of Indian affairs available even to the man in the street. Mr. Natesan has always had a ready instinct for getting "copy", and for getting it just when it was wanted. If a man secured public attention, Mr. Natesan looked up the files of old newspapers and published a collection of his speeches, or got the details of his life and published his biography. In the case of a topic of the hour, Mr. Natesan hunted up articles that bore on the subject, and compiled a volume which told people just what they wanted to know—or perhaps he circularised leading men for their opinions and gave the public a valuable symposium of ideas. Whatever was "on," Mr. Natesan was "on it;" and whatever he produced was always worthy of production. Herewith a reminiscence to the point.

During the Christmas vacation of 1903 an

Industrial Exhibition on quite a large scale was held in Madras, in connection with the annual meeting of the National Congress, which assembled that year in this city. I was living in Palghat at the time, and Sir Sankaran Nair, who was president of the exhibition committee, wrote me a request to come down to Madras and compile the committee's official report of the exhibition. It would be interesting work, and I went down to Madras accordingly. On the following morning Sir Sankaran visited me at my hotel, and told me that there had been an unfortunate mistake. As president of the committee, he had invited me to do the work; but at a meeting of the committee, at which he had been unable to be present, the committee, not knowing his intention, had appointed someone else to the post of official reporter, and Sir Sankaran Nair didn't of course like to overrule the committee's appointment. As a salve to me, he suggested that, instead of merely compiling a report, I should write an original book on Indian industries as reflected in the exhibition; and he said that he would see to its publication, and would get Lord Amphill, Governor of Madras, to write an introduction. I realised, of course, that the suggestion was only made as a way out of a mistake; but I liked the idea of original work better than that of an official report; and, as I had already come all the way to Madras, I fell in with the proposal, and for a couple of long days I was seeking inspiration in the exhibition, examining the exhibits and conversing with industrialists. In the evening of the second day, when I was looking my passage to Palghat, Mr. Natesan was at the station. He had heard of the proposed book, and had come to see me about it. He told me that he

was prepared to publish the book himself, to my financial advantage; and, as for the Governor's introduction, it would surely be better he said to let a book go out on its own merits than to have it boomed with official approval. I felt that this was true; and the matter was arranged before the engine whistled the train away. The book was written in a fortnight, and Messrs. Natesan & Co had printed and published it a long time before the official report appeared. His firm was in its youth at the time, but it did the work well, and I have never regretted the railway-station agreement.

"I've brought someone to see you." This was in 1896, at the *Madras Times* office. The someone whom Mr. Natesan had brought was an insignificant-looking little man, with a very unassuming manner, but there was a gleam in his mild eye and a firmness about his mouth that betokened force. The someone was Mr. Gandhi, on a trip from Natal to India. At that time I didn't remember ever having heard Mr. Gandhi's name, but Mr. Natesan told me how Mr. Gandhi, in his capacity of a barrister, had been contending in Natal for better treatment of Indians in the Colony, and that he had come on a trip to India to stir up public feeling in this country in the South-African Indians' behalf. I remember that Mr. Gandhi spoke at a public meeting in Madras; and I remember too that, in respect of Reuter's reports of what he said in India, a crowd of angry colonists assembled on the port wharf in Natal when the steamer by which he was returning came into port, and the little man was badly mobbed when he stepped ashore. In 1916, when Mr. Gandhi,

after a betterment of the condition of Indians in South Africa, finally returned to India, Mr. Natesan brought him to see me again, and this time Mr. Gandhi was accompanied by his wife, both of them being Mr. Natesan's guests during their stay in Madras. The "insignificant-looking little man was now famous, though his Indian fame had yet to be achieved and his title of 'Mahatma' to be attained. From time to time Mr. Natesan brought various other celebrities to my office, as for example at one time Sir Romesh Chunder Dutt and at another time Mr. Gokhale. There was never, indeed, any knowing who would be Mr. Natesan's companion of the hour, and I remember that on a certain occasion when he invited me to a small tea-party at his house the guests of the evening were such heterogeneous personages as Bishop Whitchhead of Madras and "the Bishoppers?"

I mention this reminiscence of Mr. Natesan's personal association with public men because I realise that his facility of making himself acquainted with people whom he has wished to know has been a very important factor for the success of his own career. To play, like Mr. Natesan, the part of a public teacher of public affairs, it is necessary to study both men and matters. There are people who study matters but not men, and they must needs be something in the way of bookworms. There are others who study men but not matters, and they are likely to be empty-headed chatterboxes. Mr. Natesan has been careful to study men as well as matters. I have said that "whatever was on, Mr. Natesan was on it," and I may add that he was also on to the persons whom the matter chiefly concerned;

and thus, by knowing them personally, and by "hearing them and asking them questions," he knew very much more about the matter than if he had been content to read about it behind the closed doors of what is commonly called the "sanctum" of the editorial office. Just as in the beginning of his career he wouldn't have been content with a second-hand printing-press or with second-hand type, so throughout his career he has never been content with second-hand information. He has therefore been at all times thoroughly posted in any matter to which he has given attention.

To know means to be known, and I think it may assuredly be said that there are few men in India who are more widely-known than Mr. Natesan; and I imagine that it will take him a long time to read his jubilee letters.

Not only in the editorial chair, but also on the platform Mr. Natesan has played his part in public affairs; and, besides speaking on the platform himself, he has done much in the way of organising public meetings and getting other men to speak. I am not writing his biography but am merely writing "reminiscences"; otherwise I should have had much to say about Mr. Natesan's many-sided activities. Anyhow, I may summarise some of them briefly. As a long standing Fellow of the Madras University, he has made his mark in the conduct of University affairs; and a recognition of his zeal is seen in the fact that he has been elected again and again to the Syndicate. As a long-standing member of the Corporation of Madras, he has made his mark in civic concerns, at which he has worked with such zeal that in August last the residents of his ward did him the unusual

honour of presenting him with a public address in praise of his municipal 'labours.' The secretaryship of the Gosha Hospital evinces his readiness to work in the cause of philanthropy. His recent appointment to the Council of State shows that the Madras Government have recognised his sterling merit.

As one of the factors that must have helped Mr. Natesan along, I may appropriately mention his perennial youthfulness of spirit. I saw him a few days ago—thirty years since I first saw him in 1894. Time and Toil have sprinkled their grey powder upon his hair, and have drawn their lines upon his face but his spirit is as youthful as ever. I found the Hon'ble Mr. Natesan the very same being as "G. A. Natesan, Student, Presidency College," and I could almost have expected to hear him say: "Will you preside at a meeting of our literary association?" Well for Mr. Natesan that this is the case; for the poet has sung truly that things are right when the heart is young.

I could give various other reminiscences of my friend's career, but I have written enough. Very likely he would himself have preferred that I should have left out some of the things that I have said; but he asked for my reminiscences, and an old man must be allowed to give his reminiscences in his own way. Writing on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review*, I can't do better than conclude with the hope—a hackneyed sentiment on the occasion of silver jubilees, but generally appropriate—that the golden jubilee will be celebrated in the fulness of time; and I sincerely hope also that Mr. Natesan himself will still be in the land of the living and still youthful-spirited enough to take a spirited part in the celebration.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

25

BY RAO BAHADUR K. B. RAMANATHA AIYAR, M. A.

THE occasion is one of self-gratulation and it will not be amiss if one comes out with reminiscences. Every one that has been keeping a diary knows how it helps memory to recall old days and occurrences.



PROF. K. B. RAMANATHA AIYAR

A few extracts from my Diary for the year 1899 will explain, how naturally those came together, who had their parts to play in the starting of the *Review* twenty-five years ago.

This is from the entry for the 1st of January 1899:

"After an early breakfast, S. A. and myself went to V. S. S. and took him and his brother with us to the Congress Pavilion. On the way ascertained that the printed copies of the Resolutions had not yet come. Soon after reaching the Pandit, Mr. Narayana Rao brought the copies. Messrs. S. A. and V. S. S.

assisted. The speakers were arranged for as well as possible. After the meeting, went to the Railway station and saw Mr. Ranade off. This is one man out of a million. To have got to know him and see him work was a rare privilege." The Diarist's official enthusiasm may be pardoned.

'S. A.' of the Diary is Mr. S. Anantanarayana Aiyar, a retired Government official now settled as a Vakil at Mamalam. I came to know him when I was appointed in 1889 first assistant in the Anglo-Vernacular School of Triplicane, now known as the Hindu High School, Triplicane. He was then Headmaster, having succeeded Mr. T. P. Kodandarama Aiyar, the brilliant Christian College graduate, who had resigned his place for the Vakil's profession. Two years after he followed Mr. Kodandarama Aiyar's example. Finding however the profession of law somewhat uncongenial, he became a Revenue official and was Tahsildar at Madurantakam in 1899.

'V. S. S.' is now world-known as the Right Honourable Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the President of the Servants of India Society. He was then about to leave Pachaiyappa's College and to become Headmaster of the Hindu High School, Triplicane.

Mr. Narayana Rao mentioned in the Diary was Mr. H. Narayana Rao, one of the most cultured of men, who a few years later went to Bombay and helped Mr. Malabari in his journalistic work. In 1899, he was a Vakil practicing in the Madras High Court. He was a member of the Social Reform Association and Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, then a Madras Weekly. He had earlier worked with me in the Anglo-

Vernacular School and succeeded me as Headmaster.

The previous day the Congress, presided over by the late Mr. A. M. Bose, had finished its Sessions. The next day the Social Conference was to meet. The Secretaries who were entrusted with the work of running the Conference were the late Mr. K. R. Subramania Sastri and myself. As Mr. Subramania Sastri was not able to attend, I must have solicited unofficial help and hence the association of my friends, Anantanarayana Aiyar and Srinivasa Sastri, with the work. I notice that with characteristic vigour they shared in all the drudgery of getting notices printed and posting invitations etc.

The next entry is of the 29th January:

"Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri, Vaidyarama Aiyar and Gangadhara Sastri here. Walk-out on the Beach. Proposal for a Dinner." There must have been some talk on the subject of starting a *Review* or a paper. Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar mentioned is Mr. G. A. Vaidyarama Aiyar, elder brother of the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan. A good student of Economics and History, he retired early from Government Service, because he could not stand the worries of an official career and has since been interesting himself in Vernacular Journalism. Mr. C. V. Gangadhara Sastri also with similar tastes is one of the "intellectuals" of Triplicane. He has been associated with many of our activities. Not too closely identifying himself with movements, he would criticise with detachment and help us to avoid pitfalls.

On the 12th of February there is mention of a meeting of Messrs. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, G. A. Vaidyarama Aiyar and myself. Such meetings would ordinarily have no signifi-

cance. It was the most natural thing in the world for us to see one another. There need not have been any ulterior object. But there can be no mistake about the next meeting.

This was outside Madras, at Madurantakam. The dinner we had talked of we were to have and Mr. S. Anantanarayana Aiyar was to be our host. He has been already referred to as a helper with Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in the Social Conference. A dinner at Madurantakam on a holiday and with such a genial host! And the 25th Saturday was a full moon day in unclouded February, with possibilities of a picnic on the open terrace, upstairs, of our host's house. Did we not 'in populous city pent' jump at the invitation and muster together on the summons sent by the Revenue official? And business discussed at such a gathering was bound to be successful.

We enjoyed the walks on the tank bund and the bath and the swim in the tank and the coffee and the breakfast and the good things provided for us by the host and we all had a splendid time. We were younger by twenty-five years and in manhood's prime vigour and the mere living was joy. And to think that the most vigorous among us then should now have to be so carefully nursing himself when public life so clamantly needs him! The feasibility of starting the *Review* was discussed during and after breakfast and later on in the night as we were all in bed in the outer verandah of the house. And not the least helpful in these discussions was our host. With the elder Elia's incorrigible and losing honesty, supplemented by straight speech and forth right ways, no wonder he retired as a comparatively inconspicuous official.

The party broke up the next day, the brothers Vaidyarama Aiyar and Natesan returning to town by an early train and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and myself by a later train.

The *Indian Review* has been before the public for 25 years. It has secured an assured position in the world of journalism and is one of the healthy influences of public life in South India, one might say, in all India. People who have been attending the Congress—all of us did so in those days—know what an indispensable *raison-mûre* it has been to all who greatly daring would address the gathering. And the most cursory examination of the *Review* would show how successful it has been in enlisting among its contributors all the varied talents of the country.

The men that started the journal had just the combination of qualities that would make for success in such an enterprise. The elder partner on the business side had the necessary forethought and caution and the younger the needed enterprise and push and they were knit together by strong, brotherly love. As for the chaperons of the young Editor one of them has been recognised by Vasishtha's as Brahmarishi: those that ought to know have recognised in the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri a master of the music of speech as of the written word. As for the other, the brothers supposed that he who driveth fat oxen must himself be fat: he who has had to teach literature must be literary. What weighed with them mainly was this: I was "warranted against fire" I was eminently "safe": I was expected to bring that touch of "heaviness" which would make the *Review* respectable. From the business point of view, it would not do to

make the *Review* too bright or sparkling and I cheerfully accepted the rôle of one trashing the quick hunting of my partner. The young Editor had 'lead poisoning' very early, had served his apprenticeship under Mr. Barlow of the *Times* and had mastered the hodman work of journalism.

The editing was under the veil of anonymity. But it was anonymity in the keeping of Mr. Natesan. He must have taken a considerable number of the Madras public into his confidence, as I had reason to guess. On one occasion the late Rev. Mr. Kellett happened to mention in appreciative terms the *Review* and dwelt on the able conduct of the paper. We were coming out of the Wesley College after some meeting of the Teachers' Guild, most likely—Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri, Kellett and myself. I must have assumed a tone of unconcern and talked of Mr. Natesan doing it all admirably as if others had nothing to do with the matter. Mr. Kellett said something like "hum" and cut me short saying he knew and there was no need to pretend.

My connection with the *Review* was not longer than the first year. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri kept on the connection of 'editing' for some time longer. The signed articles are in my case generally either literary or educational. When protected by anonymity I venture on discussions about Revenue and Famine and other themes not within the province of a lecturer on English literature and logic. I appear to have taken myself seriously and read much to do the task entrusted to me worthily. With regard to my friend Srinivasa Sastri he did his work like an adept—as to the manner born. He seemed

to be in his right element. He showed the ease and strength of the practised athlete.

As a censor of literary wares, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was most fastidious and what got his 'imprimatur' was sure to be good sense and good English. 'Good English' was a fetish with him. I had comparatively greater tolerance because I suppose of my study of grammar and philology. For my sins I was made to sit in judgment on poetic bantlings and I helped to keep out very bad poetry. I have heard friends complain how some bad poems got accepted. Every literary editor must pray that his last hours be not troubled by the ghosts of literary articles he had helped to smother.

The chief questions of interest that agitated the public mind in 1900 were the changes in the Grant-in-Aid Code, the starting of the Council of Native Education, the Wars in South Africa and China, the discussion of the land-tax and its connection with famines in India, and Gains of Learning Bill. The *Review* had something to say on each of these matters.

I notice that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and I figured in a Deputation that waited on His Excellency the Governor of Madras at Fort St. George on the 16th January 1900 in connection with the changes in the Grant-in-Aid Code. Mr. (now Sir) P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar interested himself in the formation of a Council of Native Education and enlisted my support as his Co-adjutor. On the 14th April, the Council was formed at a meeting in Pachiyappa's Hall. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry read on the occasion a paper showing the need for such an association. The late Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar spoke at the meeting and made a trenchant speech criticising the activities of the missionaries.

With regard to the South African War there was a great deal of searchings of hearts and we were not convinced that the War was one of righteousness that exalteth a nation. To Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was entrusted the ticklish task of writing on the South African War. As the War went on in the casual fashion of muddling through, the British arms were not as uniformly successful as might be wished. There was a great deal of gratulation among the heathen unbelievers of the British imperial mission and I find I was very much exercised in mind as to how all this would react on India.

Mine was the less embarrassing task of writing on the Chinese imbroglio. To me also fell the task of commenting—in the Editorial Notes or otherwise—on the open letters to Lord Curzon which the late Mr. K. C. Dutt wrote on the question of Land-Tax.

The Gains of Learning Bill was exclusively the young Editor's concern.

We did also a great deal of other work—of reviewing books, of making abstracts from contemporary periodicals.

By the end of the year the Editor had succeeded in enlisting in the service of the *Review* a number of leading men to write special articles. A formidable list of contributors would be found published about the end of the year. The Editorial Office had been thoroughly organised. Mr. Natesan had gained the necessary self-confidence. And one Mentor was enough to guide the Editor—if necessary. Occasional contributions in the way of special articles I might make. But the responsibility of editing, shared as it was, I had found irksome. I was glad to be relieved of it at the end of the year.

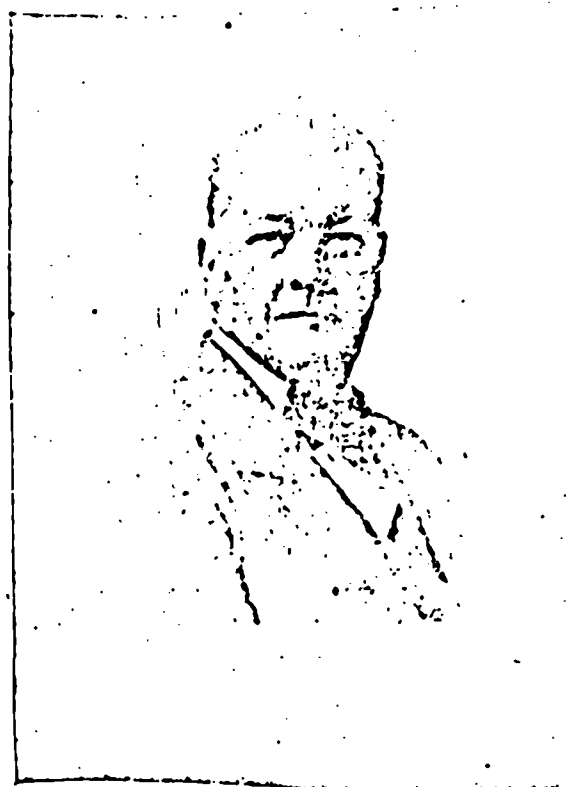
Some natural tears I must have dropped but wiped them soon.

GENESIS OF THE "REVIEW"

BY MR. D. SCOTT BREMNER,

Editor, "The Madras Mail."

MORE years ago now than I care to look back upon, I first made the acquaintance of Mr. G. A. Natesan in circumstances which need not be recounted, but which are still a matter for laughing recollection between



MR. D. SCOTT BREMNER.

us. This encounter, I may say frankly, was not as friendly, on my part at least, as it might have been, but since it has led to one of the most lasting friendships I have made with Indians in the Presidency, I do not regret it. A few days afterwards Mr. Natesan turned up again and was introduced to me formally and with less unconventionality than attended our first meeting. He was then a

slim, nervous youth, with a hesitating manner of speech, but a very evident intellectual alertness. He has always been an enthusiast, and his particular enthusiasm then was journalism, for which he was undergoing a training on a local journal. Afterwards he frequently dropped in for a chat and I discovered, what his modesty had previously hidden, that he was a graduate of the Madras University, who had no wish to enter Government service on the strength of this diploma, but desired very ardently to embark on a career of his own choosing—something with a literary and journalistic bent about it. He disappeared from my ken for a short time and when he again emerged it was as a full-fledged printer and publisher with the *Indian Review* as the *raison d'être* for the venture. The first number was published soon afterwards and proved that the young Editor and Proprietor had not only a sound knowledge of what was worth while, but a distinct *flair* for getting good contributors and keeping them. He did what, I believe, is not usual with Indian journals struggling to establish themselves; he paid for contributions from the very outset. It may not have been a very opulent honorarium, but it showed that he recognised one of the basic principles of English journalism namely, that what is worth publishing is worth paying for. He sometimes does me the honour to say that a casual remark of mine in the days of his journalistic apprenticeship guided his action in this matter.

One has only to glance at the very formidable list of "old and valued contributors" to the *Indian Review* to be convinced of the fact

that Mr. Natesan was not only a good Editor to work for, but he must have had a persuasive tongue and an importunate pen to extract contributions from many contained in that list.

Mr. Natesan is to-day a public servant and a publicist of great versatility, and just as I was in a modest and retiring way in close contact with him when he started his well-known *Review*, I was in attendance at his initiation into public life. It was at an Indian Congress meeting in Madras, the success of which had been wrecked by a cyclonic storm and conditons were far from pleasant or comfortable in the pavilion. Mr. Natesan, I remember, felt impelled to speak on some resolution, so with nervous impetuosity he jumped up on a crazy, ricketty bentwood chair and started to orate. His nervousness and impetuosity were such that I who was near him had to hold him up to prevent him-chair and all, subsiding. The speech, in such

circumstances, was not a startling success, but it served to put his feet on the first rung of the ladder of public life in India and he has since climbed with rapidity and distinction to his present position in the Council of State. He is also a Fellow of the Madras University and Councillor of the Madras Municipal Corporation, where he speaks with fluency and convincing common sense and his speeches are invariably valuable contributions to any debate.

That he still deigns to come and see me shows that success has not spoilt him. In the Municipal Council he will sometimes come and sit near me and soothe my restiveness and impatience at the unstanched flow of talk that threatens to turn that once staid assembly into a talking shop. Perhaps he remembers the time when I, used to the procedure of public meetings, stood by him and held him up on that bentwood chair!

Political Differences and Personal Friendship

By Mr. YAKUB HASAN.

My Dear Natesan,
THE Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review* is in fact the twenty-fifth anniversary of the day your public career began. Our friendship is only a year less old. The way we became fast friends from the very day of our first meeting is akin to what is called in lovers' phraseology love at first sight. We carried this personal feeling into public affairs also. The fact that we happened to profess different religions gave our relationship a peculiar charm. We have been colleagues for several years on the Corporation of Madras,

fellow-Senators of the Madras University, Co-Secretaries of the Indian South African League, and sat together on the executive bodies of several other associations, for example, the Southern India Chamber of Commerce. We were thus constantly together for a quarter of a century and have grown up together in the city of Madras from youths of 25 to the middle age of 50. Such a long and constant companionship could not but have influenced our character. I would quote one short passage from the Autobiography of John Stuart Mill to illustrate the process of

"spontaneous assimilation" that takes place in the mentality of men thrown together for a time. Mill wrote about a friend who need not be named here:—

"He and I started from intellectual points almost as wide apart as the poles, but the distance between us was always diminishing:



Mr. YAKUB HASAN.

if I made steps towards some of his opinions, he, during his short life, was constantly approximating more and more to several of mine: and if he had lived.....there is no knowing how much further this spontaneous assimilation might have proceeded."

If you substitute the word "political" in the place of "intellectual" in the above sentence it will describe our standpoints in

respect of our political views. In this field we were truly as wide apart as the poles. In the beginning you were an ardent member of the Indian National Congress and I looked askance at it, and as an humble follower of my Guru, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, I believed that the regeneration of my community could only be possible through wide diffusion of education in my community and its friendly co-operation with Englishmen. I looked upon the Congress as a body of extremists and arch-agitators who embarrassed Government to the great detriment of the ordered progress of India. My idea, along with that of my co-religionists, underwent a gradual change which found its ultimate expression in the founding of the Muslim League. Still we were far from co-operating with Hindus. I resisted even your invitation to join the Congress when it was held in Madras in 1914. I told you that I would go to it in the company of my co-religionists and not alone. Next year at the special session of the Congress and the Muslim League at Bombay this fusion of the two bodies was brought about and both of us played important parts in our respective spheres in this connection. In the constitution-making that followed we worked together at Allahabad, Calcutta and Lucknow. It must be remembered that all this took place in war time. When the aggressive nations in Europe were fighting a bloody war, each to exterminate the other, and find a place for itself under the sun, we, Indian politicians were engaged in nation-building of a different character. In a calm and peaceful atmosphere we plied the art; and persuasion and arguments were the only weapons we employed to attain our end. Our share in the common calamity had for the

time being softened the hearts of our rulers and the Parliament lost no time to anticipate our next move and hastened to shower its blessings on our undertaking.

Peace, however, changed the whole outlook. War clouds cleared from the West only to darken the atmosphere in the East, particularly in India. The chastening influence of the War on English mentality was replaced by the intoxicating effect of the victory, and there was no alternative left to Indians but to change the means of attaining Swaraj and make it more forceful and dynamic to suit the altered circumstances. The new programme of the Congress was not to your taste and we had to part company again as far as the political platform was concerned.

You have always been moderate by nature, but your moderation was invigorated with firmness and conviction. Even in moments of highest excitement when your passions were roused by glaring acts of wanton injustice on the part of the Britishers you did not allow your tongue and pen to run away with your feelings. You often tried to put yourself in the position of the bureaucracy and made allowances for its shortcomings. Even your hardest hits—and they were confined, if I remember right, to South African agitation only—were delivered with padded hammer.

There is an unfortunate tendency in some people to attribute base motives to their political opponents and I am aware that some of the Moderate leaders are accused of self-aggrandisement at the sacrifice of national interests. My intimacy with you gave me opportunity to study you at close quarters, and I can say, without a tinge of friendly

partiality, that you always subordinated your personal ambition to the national ambition of your Motherland's elevation to the status of self-governing nations. As our friendship was based on the solid foundation of respect and esteem for the personal character of each other, it has withstood the consequences of the bitter controversy we had in political matters. I flatter myself that our friendship is an object lesson to the two communities we represent respectively. When it is possible for two persons differing in religion and even in politics to be united in heart, and entertain for each other warmest feelings of love and respect, unadulterated with any material or social advantage, it is certainly possible for the two peoples, children of the same Motherland, possessing common interests, sharing the same fate and having the same outlook to so co-ordinate their life as to make one comity. Tolerance for one another's views, respect for their feelings and above all love for each other is the key to the solution of the question of the day—Hindu-Muslim Unity.

*Yours affectionately
J. K. Hasan*

If you have never subscribed to "THE INDIAN REVIEW" a year's subscription (Rs. Five) will undoubtedly prove a profitable investment. "THE INDIAN REVIEW" stimulates all. It is that class of publication which appeals equally to all classes of readers. It publishes every month an array of original and striking contributions on affairs and men by competent writers and specialists. Its chief attraction is in the variety and copiousness of its contents.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

i. MR. N. C. KELKAR, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.,

Editor of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*

MY friend Mr. Natesan is bringing out the Jubilee Number of the *Indian Review*; and I gladly take this opportunity to express my sense of appreciation of his work as a publisher and a publicist. We



MR. N. C. KELKAR

have unfortunately been ranged, throughout our public career, on opposite sides; but that fact has happily never interfered with our friendly personal relations which have been cordial throughout.

It was, I think, in 1898 that we, Mr. Natesan and myself, became acquainted with each other, when the Indian National Congress was held at Madras. The Late Mr. Anand Mohan Bose was the President

and he was infusing everything he touched with his peculiar sweetness of temper and superior culture. While the session was progressing and some of us were seeing more of the Congress from the outside, I met two young Madrasce gentlemen nearly of my age. I say Madrasce in a general way, because I had not then learned to make the distinction by sight between a Tamil, an Andhra and a Karnatak. These two young men were Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Mr. Chintamani had then brought out his collection of the speeches and addresses of the late Mr. M. G. Ranade on Social Reform, and had already been noticed by the elderly men of his Province as a very promising young man though he could not complete his University education. He was not then the full-fledged 'Walking Index-Card Cabinet of Politics' as he has been happily described. But I remember that he had already given performances of the storage battery of his retentive memory and ready reference. The other was Mr. G. A. Natesan. He too had brought out his volume on the subject of the Indian National Congress which was an opportune publication and very much appreciated. Mr. Natesan, however, had done something more. He had decided to issue a monthly magazine to be called *The Indian Review* which was rightly regarded as a novelty and an enterprize. As for myself I was then editing both the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* and my work at these two papers had received a somewhat undeserved attention owing to the fact that I had taken the place of such a well-known leader and publicist as the late Lok. B. G.

Tilak, who was convicted for sedition and sentenced to imprisonment for 18 months. Well, birds of the same feather require no formal introduction, and the moment we met, we introduced ourselves to each other; and from that moment to this we have been close personal friends animated by good will and cordiality which have stood the test of sharp political differences.

As a Publisher and Editor Mr. Natesan has achieved great success. His magazine *The Indian Review* held the field for a number of years, and to it may rightly be given the credit of inspiring the genesis of other magazines like the *Hindustan Review*, the *East and West*, and the *Modern Review*. Of the *Indian Review* I may say this, that it has very well maintained, throughout its career, the character with which Mr. Natesan invested it at its commencement. It was obviously meant to be and still is an exponent of Indian Liberalism which, I think, means faith both for the British Rulers and the Indian Patriot in methods which may secure the fullest advantage of India to the British Empire and of the Empire to India. But the special service of Mr. Natesan, even in this matter, consists in the contributions which he succeeded in securing from European writers and thinkers and even from high placed Anglo-Indian officials. I have often wondered how Mr. Natesan could throw his net so wide, for there is hardly any country in the world which takes interest in India that has not been represented by its writer or writers in this magazine. The *Indian Review* has never looked at things from the emotional or sentimental point of view of Nationalism, but has been a hard, level-

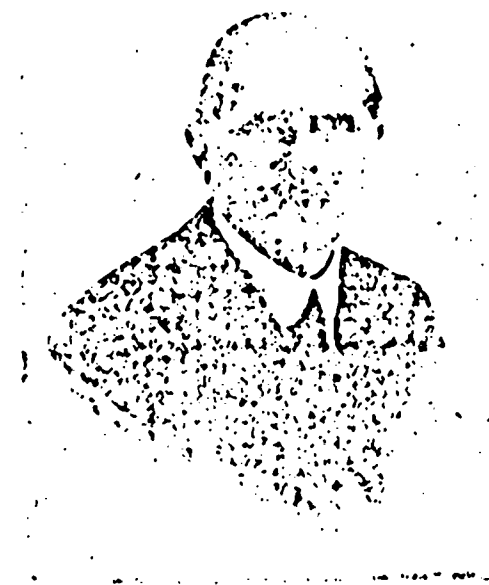
headed exponent of political and economic matters. Its catholicity has been a help to its stability.

Apart from the skill and success with which he has attracted contributions to the *Indian Review*, Mr. Natesan has, on the whole, given a good account of himself even as a writer of editorial articles. They have been marked with an amplitude of topical information and a thorough-going manner of criticism. Looking at Mr. Natesan out of his perspective, a reader of his editorials is often apt to mistake him for a fire-eating Extremist and the impression is only likely to be strengthened, if he heard Mr. Natesan's speeches which are a torrent of fluent eloquence which overtakes the speaker as well as the hearers.

But over and above all this Mr. Natesan is what a publisher should be, that is to say, a very shrewd man of business who can combine public usefulness with professional interest in proper proportions. His booklets containing biographies of illustrious men in India have, I am told, been sold by thousands and his other publications also have been eagerly welcomed and largely appreciated by the Indian reading world.

In conclusion I wish to the *Indian Review* and its Editor many more prosperous years and a continuing record of progressively increasing usefulness. I have penned these few lines not in the spirit of formal patronising praise from a stranger but as a tribute of personal appreciation from one friend to another. Our Hindu custom requires that a Jubilee celebration should be the occasion for friends and relatives to share the joy of the happy event by offering a personal present and I am sure Mr. Natesan will accept my tribute, though I am quite sure that the special Jubilee Number is likely to be crowded with contributions from more exalted personages and more fascinating personalities than myself.

MANY years ago the late Mr. Labouchere, told me an amusing story of a retired Colonel, who came to him with a letter of introduction from the then Prince of Wales and wanted to be employed on the staff of



MR. E. LABOUCHERE THORNTON

Truth. "What have you done since you left the Army?" asked Mr. Labouchere. "Oh," replied the gallant Colonel, "I have tried several things but succeeded at none of them. And so I thought I might try journalism." Needless to say Mr. Labouchere did not give him a post on Truth.

The story is illustrative of the popular belief that anyone can write, and explains why so many mushroom publications barely survive the pains of labour. Mr. G. A. Natesan is a conspicuous instance of the little-believed fact that journalism is a jealous

music, and that he who would woo her successfully must be prepared to give up his whole life to keep the sacred torch burning. I remember the first issue of the *Indian Review*—nicely got up, well printed, and a success from the day of its birth. And now that it is celebrating its twenty-fifth birthday, it is not too much to say that the *Review* occupies as established a position in this country as the *Saturday* or the *Spectator* in England.

To what is this success due? Entirely to the sterling qualities of its Editor. Time was when Mr. Natesan was thought by Government circles to be a rather advanced politician. But times have changed, and the Natesan of to-day who has not changed, is a leader of Moderate opinion. That is the first quality a journalist must possess. To be a little ahead of public opinion. To guide it and to lead it. And, may I venture to add, to restrain it when it seems inclined to go too fast. Perhaps as important for an Editor is the faculty of collecting around him a band of able writers. One's mind goes back to the flowery days of the *Pall Mall Gazette* under John Morley and William Stead. They had greater choice of material than an Indian Editor can have among English contributors. But Mr. Natesan has done marvels, and has not only collected distinguished names but also interesting contributions—from dry-as-dust Indian Civilians as well as from the facile pens of his own countrymen.

And so it is that the *Indian Review* has won the success it deserves. And in the difficult days to come I, as an Englishman who loves India, rejoice that a journal of such established position should carry into the midst of the fray the splendid motto *Abat Invidia*. Long may its distinguished Editor be spared to guide its destinies. Long may Indians and Englishmen co-operate in the great task the *Review* sets itself of winning for India her place in the Sun *in the Empire*.

Late Chief Reporter, Madras Mail.

THE *Indian Review* of which Mr. G. A. Natesan is the founder, editor, and publisher has had an eventful history during the quarter of a century of its existence. Unlike the founders of the



C. V. M. AIYAR.

ordinary run of Indian periodicals, Mr. Natesan was determined from the commencement of his career as a journalist to be not an amateur in the field, to make his venture not merely a success both from the literary and business point of view, but to make it a power for good and an example if possible to his countrymen as to what a vast field there was for talented young men to work in and carve a career out for themselves. With every opportunity for him to enter the service of the Government, Mr. Natesan unlike the average youth of his community turned his face against it and linked his

fortune to publishing business in which there were no men with University qualifications. Establishing a small press of his own on the Esplanade, young Natesan worked with a determination and an enthusiasm which were the admiration of his friends and well-wishers of whom even then he could reckon many amongst men of influence and position. A man of unbounded energy, foresight, and calculation it did not take long for Mr. Natesan to see that there was room for a first class monthly magazine in the city of Madras if only one brought to its conduct, business capacity, literary talent and powers of organisation to make it an enduring success as he has made of the *Indian Review*. His academic training and his active work in connection with the organisation and running of the Madras Presidency College Literary Society, gave him the necessary opportunities to equip and shape himself for his future career as a publisher and a publicist. Once he launched the *Indian Review*, he was determined to make it a leading Indian magazine. He was inspired from the very commencement by high ideals and would not follow any path other than that which led straight to the front rank. He would have only first rate men for his contributors and try to beard many a literary lion at the time in its own den. He made straight for the Gackwar of Baroda, the Chief Justice, the highest educationalist, the leading legal practitioners, the foremost politicians and what is more, was determined to pay for the literary wares which he sought to purchase however humble and comparatively small the price offered might be.

The story of Mr. Natesan's rise and advance in the public life of this Presidency is

an epitome of the history of the progress of this Presidency in various fields, in politics, in literature, in economics, in industries, and in short in all that has made for all round and enduring progress. A man of noble ambition, great talent and unbounded—almost irrepressible—energy, Mr. Natesan's services were enlisted in all causes that required sincerity of conviction, earnestness of purpose, and unceasing devotion to work, qualities which he brought in an abundant measure to all tasks which were entrusted to his young hands. Was a big movement to be inaugurated at a critical juncture in the political or other affairs of the presidency without much loss of valuable time? The leaders of the community employed Mr. Natesan's resourceful genius for organisation and undaunted resolution to crown the movement with success, if necessary even against powerful odds. I can recall many such movements in the life of this Presidency which but for Mr. Natesan's masterful and dynamic personality and capacity for taking infinite pains and giving honest and unrequited work to the cause will not have succeeded. It was an inspiring sight, to mention only one, to have seen Mr. Natesan giving the best in him, energy, time, money and what not, to espouse the cause of his unfortunate countrymen in South Africa, particularly those who have been against their will virtually deported into this country and left stranded in the streets of Madras. It was, I can say without appearing to exaggerate, wholly and entirely Natesan's high purpose and unquestioned and lofty patriotism that induced the Right Rev. Bishop Whitehead of Madras, to head the movement to secure justice for Indians in South Africa.

It was one of Mr. Natesan's youthful ambitions to do his utmost in the narrow sphere of parochial work like municipal work in the Madras Corporation and to promote the cause of educational reform on national lines through the Madras University. The characteristic feature of all work done by Mr. Natesan for his constituents in the University as well as in the Madras Corporation was that he brought to the discharge of his work in these spheres the same zest and devotion as he did to his own business and in some exceptional circumstances even to the neglect of the needs of his ever expanding business. In both these spheres where the interest of the community required it he was never afraid of risking his popularity, and espoused many causes which though at the moment may have appeared to be provocative of unfriendly criticism in certain quarters proved to be in its real interest.

He identified himself with the most progressive and moderate elements in the Congress almost from the beginning of his career and he played no mean part in the activities of those days for obtaining self-Government for India.

No one can claim to have had more intimate relationship with Mr. Natesan than I have had, for I know him long anterior to the period in which he made a name for himself by his disinterested public work in many departments of national activities. Making all allowances for the biased judgment of a warm friend ever ready to overlook shortcomings, I feel, I can honestly proclaim that the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review* and Mr. Natesan's career as a publicist are events in the recent history of this Presidency which should serve as an inspiring example to impel ambitious youths to go and do likewise.

38 The Chain of Politics, Science and Industry

By SIR RAJENDRANATH MUKERJEE, C.I.E

WHEN the Editor of the *Indian Review* requested me to give him a contribution for the Jubilee Number of his Journal, he did not restrict my choice of the subject. After considerable deliberation I



SIR RAJENDRANATH MUKERJEE.

decided that the above title, euphonious as it is, might do as well as another for a discursive short talk. It has the merit of epitomising in a few words the aims of the able magazine which is celebrating its 25th anniversary.

As politics is the scientific industry of governance, just as science is the industrious pursuit of ideals which hold good both in political and industrial spheres, so industry is the harmonious chain between science and the State—it derives inspiration from the one

and benefits the other. Attempts have frequently been made to differentiate human activities into rigid compartments, but it is futile to subdivide where harmony and co-operation are the obvious links for growth and prosperity. Science, politics and industry are three great inter-dependent factors which govern and regulate human affairs and it behoves all progressive communities to realise the value of co-operation between them. The spirit of combination, which seems to be growing, though slowly, within the community, will, in due course, be firmly established in the whole country. It is now becoming increasingly obvious to every industrialist that in order to keep pace with the growing keenness of competition he must inform himself of the latest improvements in his particular branch of manufacture. These improvements are the product of scientific research and the application of discoveries made in the laboratory to practical problems of manufacture. The application of science to industry will soon become a powerful factor which at present is only a pious wish. In every civilised country the march of scientific discovery has led to an enormous increase in the application of science to productive industry. The industrial revolution in England was the direct outcome of the recognition by the manufacturer of the value of science in his Workshop.

England took the lead in applying science to industry and gained the predominance in trade and commerce which was her monopoly till the close of the nineteenth century. Conservatism and inertia, however, prevented her from renewing her stock of scientific aids and

we witnessed at the beginning of this century other nations striving to capture from England her mastery over the world's trade. Germany was the leader and there is no gainsaying the fact that had the World War not intervened, she would have far outstripped England by now and ousted her from her monopolistic position in the world's market. Germany set to her task by an intensive application of science to industry. One is surprised to read that in the dye industry alone there were engaged over 30,000 chemists—each specialist in a particular line and co-operating with one another in forwarding and bringing to perfection this great industry. What Germany did, other nations are striving to do. The first two decades of the twentieth century have witnessed marvellous discoveries in the domain of physical science and chemistry. Succeeding years will show how far these discoveries can be adopted in the factory.

Manufacturers all over the world now recognise their vital dependence upon the laboratory. There can be no permanent and stable progress unless industry is intimately connected with the results of scientific researches. Industrialists should recognise their obligation to science although scientific scholars and savants do not pursue their researches for commercial ends. But the obligation is there and the sooner it is recognised the better for the future both of industry and science. And yet it is common knowledge that scientists are but a poorly paid lot and scientific institutions are starved for want of funds and public appreciation. A wide awake community of industrialists appraises the scientists at their true value and liberally and munificently endows the institu-

tions that further the cause of science. A notable example is the United States of America where commercial magnates and rich manufacturers take upon themselves the task of maintaining research institutions. In other countries, where industry is in a struggling stage, individual or communal help is not forthcoming and in such cases it behoves the State to come to the aid of science and indirectly therefore of industry. The State ought also to encourage labour to realise the importance of industry and by granting honours, rewards and privileges stimulate the increase of ability and the promotion of productive capacity—in short, we want in India what England has been doing for her people, sparing neither labour nor expense in furthering commerce and industry. The mutual benefit should be recognised and prosperous industrial magnates should take a keen interest in the development of scientific institutions and support them financially.

No powerful State can be built up without the help of industry. A State is a conglomeration of individuals for purposes of government; it is a community of classes for purposes of service. If you wish the State to give you efficient service, you must provide it with the necessary equipment; you must give your Government ample resources to draw upon to enable it to initiate schemes for the greatest common good. These resources form the wealth of different classes amongst which the industrialists occupy the foremost place. I give them pre-eminence, for their work is of a more durable, and therefore communally beneficent, nature than the work of other classes looked at from the point of view of wealth-production alone. If

industrialists are rich, the State is rich and becomes growingly powerful. If industry is lean and resources are few, the State is poor and must take a low place in the hegemony of nations. The relation, therefore, between industry and the State is a vital one. A rich and powerful industrial class always benefits the State and makes it rich and powerful. Prosperity and success beget self confidence in individuals and in nations. A strong Government may not take notice of industrial interests but it will do so eventually at its own cost. If Government is farsighted, it will not place impediments in the path of economic progress; rather industry expects State help and the most useful manner in which the State can render help is the encouragement of scientific pursuits amongst the people. It is indeed deplorable that in India we find a callous indifference in the matter of industrial problems. The Government of India cannot claim any credit for having taken any deep interest in the industrial development of the country. It has been forced at times by political and commercial bodies to interest itself in fostering trade and industries, but no genuine effort seems to have been as yet made. Public opinion should express itself strongly on this point.

State help to industry is sometimes confused with State control and management: the two are quite different things and the choice between the two rests upon controversial arguments. This is not the place to enter into an analysis of this aspect of the relations between the State and industry. But it may be added that State embodies the idea of governance, it is a political symbol which

requires for useful action, a particular kind of organisation. Detailed industrial control is an entirely different kind of activity and requires a different kind of organisation for efficient conduct. The State cannot run industry efficiently, just as it cannot work in a laboratory and dictate scientific discoveries to order. The steam road-roller cannot race with a motor car nor can it climb up a hillside. The links of the chain of prosperity are three—the State, Industry, and Science. Each to its own particular channel of action and all for the service of the community—is the co-operative motto of growth and power. May India learn the lesson in time and adopt her institutions of governance, of scientific knowledge, and of industrial organisation on the basis of harmony and co-operation to yield to her in future the rich fruits of abundance and plenty.

101 West Street,
Pune.
20th July '03

Hyderabad

Alwar

to Engraving the name in the Indian
which is a very fine work
achieved & the position of the work
for which is to show a time

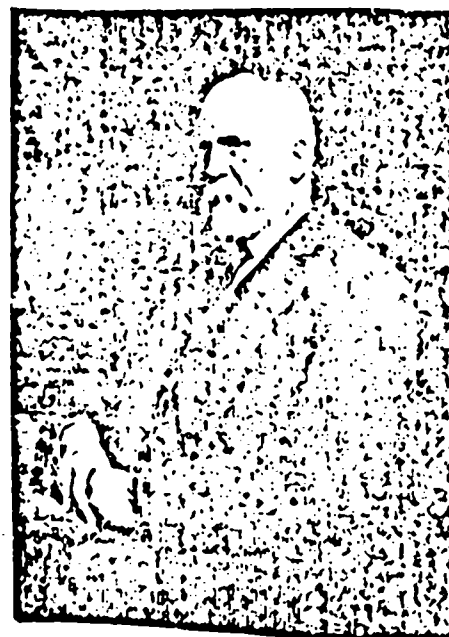
James Duncan
St. John's

LEST WE FORGET

1900—1925.

BY SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.

THE Indian Review was born with this century, and this 20th century of ours will in a few weeks have run a quarter of its course towards a goal which none can yet foresee, whether through a yet worse cycle of social tempests and devastating wars to



SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

some overwhelming cataclysm, or whether, taking warning by the past, to a new era of peace and goodwill amongst men. A quarter of a century is but a relatively short time to look back upon when one has passed beyond the appointed span of three-score years and ten; but it is a long time for those of far less

* The article was written in December.

mature years whose experience hardly reaches to or beyond the conditions which existed in 1900. Terrifically old as is India's own civilisation, modern India—in so far as she can be called modern—largely moulded into her present shape by the alien civilisation of the West, is still extremely young. Hence I think the difficulty for many Indians of realising the immense changes which have taken place in their own country, greater perhaps than in most other countries, during this first quarter of the 20th century, and their tendency to impatience because things do not yet move as quickly as they would desire.

In 1900 the venerable old Queen Victoria still reigned, a curiously pathetic figure in her old age, deeply revered by all her peoples and not least by her Indian peoples for whom she had always entertained a peculiar affection since she issued her famous proclamation after the Mutiny, assuring them that "in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment, our security and in their gratitude, our best reward." In 1900 Lord Curzon was Viceroy. He was undeniably a great administrator but incarnated for last time as Viceroy the supreme belief in the all sufficiency of a highly competent but adamant bureaucracy. The few Indians appointed to his Executive Council had in those days a merely consultative voice, and so little account was taken of Indian opinion that even on the question of education, which, if any was a matter of intimate concern to India,

Lord Curzon appointed only one Indian, and him an official, on the Committee over which he presided at Simla. The total number of Indians employed in the Superior Public Services was small and almost all were relegated to an inferior branch which was called the Provincial Civil Service as opposed to the Imperial Service practically reserved for Europeans. The sense of civic duty in its broader aspects had not yet been quickened by such admirable institutions as Mr. Gokhale's "Servants of India", and very few Englishmen had begun to realise or to take seriously the new sense of Indian nationhood to which the Indian National Congress was somewhat crudely beginning to give organised expression. In 1900 India was barely on the threshold of the great economic developments which are already transforming an almost wholly agricultural into a partially industrial country.

To-day India is governed under a new Constitutional Charter inaugurated with a message from King George, a grandson of Queen Victoria, which was delivered at Delhi in 1921 by the Duke of Connaught, one of Queen Victoria's sons.

"For years", the message ran, "it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy."

For the last four years therefore India has possessed Legislatures with a majority of elected representatives from All-India and from the provinces, and in the Provincial Legislatures there are Indian ministers responsible to them for the large fields of administration

already transferred to them and destined to be still further expanded as time goes on. For the Charter embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919 is not intended to do more than to cover India's first period of transition in her progress towards the final goal of self-dominion within the Empire. Already she has taken rank with other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations as one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles and an original member of the League of Nations. Her representatives have sat side by side with the British Prime Minister and the Dominion Prime Ministers in the Inner Council of the Empire during the war and in the Imperial Conferences which have been held since then in London. In India itself Indians occupy some of the highest positions of influence and trust. There are three Indian members of the Government of India, and there are Indians on every Provincial Governor's Executive Council, there are Indians on the Secretary of State's Council in Whitehall, and one Indian has already been Governor of a province. Many of the highest posts in the Public Services are held by Indians, and the Indianisation of all services is to be still further accelerated under the recommendations of the recent Royal Commission. The Indian army has fought, and fought very gallantly, side by side with British troops even on the battlefields of Europe, and a beginning at least has been made with the creation of units to be ultimately commanded by none but Indian officers and with the granting to them of commissions from the King-Emperor himself. The recognition of Indian fiscal autonomy to India has followed on her unprecedented

industrial and commercial development during the war when her natural resources were for the first time thoroughly explored and the great contribution made by the Tata Steel and Iron Works to the construction of strategic railways in Palestine and Mesopotamia gave some idea of India's potential strength as an economic factor in the Empire in times of peace as well as of war. All through India there is a social and intellectual as well as political ferment which, if it presents

some grave dangers, testifies to a new and abundant vitality. All this may have failed to satisfy many Indians and some of them display an angry impatience for more. But surely if they would only look back with *some* of the pride of nationhood they love to display in other ways to what India was twenty-five years ago and compare it with what she is at present, the contrast might teach them one of the greatest virtues of statesmanship, which is patience.

AS THE LAYMAN SEES IT THE ORDINANCE IN BENGAL

BY

THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C.

MR. Gandhi was reported to have said to the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay that he had not seen any statement on the government side that the Viceroy's ordinance was not aimed at the Swarajist party of Bengal. If so, he must have missed a passage in His Excellency's introductory remarks containing a clear disclaimer of such intention. If that was not enough, there have since been emphatic pronouncements by Lord Lytton which put the question of intention absolutely beyond doubt. That, however, cannot reconcile one to the measure. To admit the existence of anarchical crime and the evident anxiety of Government to put an end to it is not the same thing as to approve of every step taken with that object. The Anglo-Indian press has been writing as though there was no alternative. The crudeness of this reasoning is not less than that of the

reasoning by which young Non-Co-operators used to jump to the conclusion that every one who believed in the wrongs of the Jallianwala Bagh and the Khilafat was bound to join their ranks. The remedy of Government against the Bengal situation is no more justifiable on its inherent merits than was the remedy promulgated by Mr. Gandhi in 1920. The protestations of Lord Reading and Lord Lytton amount only to this—that they wish the ordinance to be put into effect only against those whom the authorities believe from the papers submitted to them to be guilty of revolutionary crime. Perhaps, too, we shall be told hereafter by apologists that they felt considerable hesitation in sanctioning the obnoxious measure, that they actually delayed it by a few weeks, and that there were several persons in whose cases they refused permission for proceedings to be taken under the ordi-

nance. But these facts afford no consolation to those who complain that their liberties are placed at the mercy of the executive. It is well-known that even experienced judges, if com-



THE RT. HON. BRINIVASA BASTRI.

pelled to decide cases on the evidence of the prosecution only, might occasionally convict innocent persons, that no evidence can be really trusted which was not submitted to cross-examination and that no condemnation of a prisoner can be safely accepted till he has had an opportunity of confronting his accusers and producing evidence in defence of himself. Where punitive action is taken against individuals merely on the papers produced by the police against them, there are no means of ascertaining in how many cases out of a hundred injustice has been done. The judgment

of another set of people who read the same papers is all that is available. A test of this dubious type was made a few years ago, and the percentage of error that it disclosed was about five. If an open trial had been possible in all the cases, the percentage would certainly have been much higher. Let us assume that among every hundred proceeded against under the ordinance ten are innocent. In the ordinary judicial process every chance would be given to these ten of escaping through an open trial or in appeal. The ninety, whom we assume to be guilty, have their own rights in the matter as subjects of a constitutionally governed state. They are not outlaws, as a high authority recently described them in a moment of vexation. Government and its critics are alike in the habit of confining their attention to the innocent, as if it did not matter one whit what happened to those who were supposed to be guilty. Even they must be tried and judged according to the forms of law. An ordinance which suspends the law and substitutes the will of the executive is for this purpose not a law. Besides the innocent and the guilty who come within the scope of executive action, there are the outside public, who in a country like India have to be eternally vigilant against the inroads of an administration which they cannot control in law. Not only are the governments in India irresponsible, they do not care to conform to a high standard of propriety. If they respect public opinion, it is the opinion of the Anglo-Indian community, which stands to lose nothing by repressive legislation and always eggs the executive on to it. A public enquiry is granted as a matter of course in western countries when a riot has had to be put down

by recourse to firing. In India, even after a protracted exercise of martial law, during which official terrorism was carried to incredible lengths, it required strenuous agitation to secure the appointment of a public commission; and it is highly doubtful whether it would have been secured but for the happy accident of Mr. Montagu being the Secretary of State at the time.

We are bidden on occasions like this to put our trust in Viceroys and Governors. We respect and honour them duly; but where do they come in here? They proclaim, they authorise and they disappear. The daily exercise of arbitrary power is not theirs and cannot be. Political workers in this country have to deal with the members of a bureaucracy, largely foreign in personnel, without active sympathy with popular movements, and always concerned about their special prerogatives and privileges. It is notorious that they are in a state of perpetual irritation against the educated classes, against lawyers and particularly against political agitators. They have their own notions of what suits the genius of the east and lament nothing so much as the modern tendency in India to replace personal rule by the operation of law and to spread among the people a taste for enlightened citizenship, a love of individual freedom and a zeal for representative institutions. Barring honourable exceptions, and allowing for the broadening effects of time, this characterisation is still true of the main body of public servants who initiate policy and execute it. Is it any wonder that they welcome arbitrary power at all times and regard it as an administrative convenience in times of trouble? It is an essentially demoralising practice to

read the reports of the C.I.D. You may be never so full of the milk of human kindness, but if there is a system under which reports pour in upon you from all sides, apparently emanating from different quarters, and conveying something or other against the best men in the land, you cannot help living in an atmosphere of suspicion and believing that human nature in India is cursed with a double dose of every sin. We have reason to flatter ourselves that our C. I. D. is among the best of its kind in the world, and we all know that a government cannot get on without spies and informers of sorts. But a jealous bureaucracy necessarily exalts secret reports to unduly high rank among the aids to administration, and the evil assumes a most irritating aspect when those reported on belong mostly to one race and those reported to mostly to another. Supposing the future ministers of autonomous governments started a system of espionage and secret reports against the prominent members of the Anglo-Indian community, what strange things they would read from day to day, most of them false but so seemingly true that one might see around one many plotters against the advance of India to dominion status!

Surprise is frequently expressed at the exclusively destructive character of public criticism in this country and the apparent incapacity of the ordinary Indian politician to appreciate the necessity of maintaining law and order and therefore of supporting Government when engaged in the performance of that primary function. The former criticism is beside the mark in this particular instance. Those who withstood Non-Co-operation, even

where it was non-violent, as a barren method of agitation, have not been slow to condemn disorderly outbreaks whenever they occurred. If they now and then criticised Government, it was when its officials exceeded with impunity the necessities of the situation and encroached without discrimination on the liberties of the subject. If in Bengal at the present moment there is need for drastic action on the part of the executive, sober opinion would support the adoption of extraordinary measures, provided they stopped short of the closure of all chance of redress to the aggrieved subject. The gravamen of public displeasure is against the indefinite duration and the apparent permanence of detention, imprisonment or other restrictive order. If it is necessary to put out of action certain suspected persons, let it be done, subject to the condition that after a certain period, say, three or four weeks, the executive is under an obligation to bring the victims to trial before a regular court of law. Some day the executive must disclose the reasons for their drastic action, or the liberty of the subject is gone. The public are invited to believe that every person against whom action has now been taken under the 1818 Regulation or the present ordinance is in some way connected with anarchical crime. But one would not be right to believe it in any particular case merely on the word of the executive, though one may be willing to believe it in some cases. Certainly the people of India have shown no general disposition to believe it in the case of Mr. S. C. Bose. Are they to believe it, for instance, in the case of Mr. C. R. Das, if he should be one of the future victims? At first, when drastic powers are assumed or asked for,

promises are made of the most scrupulous care in their exercise. No doubt at the time they are sincerely made. Once however, a repressive measure finds its way into the statute-book and subordinate officials here and there begin to put it into operation, they interpret the promises in their own way, look into the letter of the law and decline to be bound by statements of intention or interpretation made at the time of enactment. This is precisely what happened in the case of the Press Act of 1910. The member in charge and the Law member undertook that existing presses would not be affected prejudicially, and the statement of objects and reasons had words to that effect. But not many months passed before magistrates brought old presses also under its operation. Mr. Gokhale, who had lent reluctant support to the Act, felt compelled to make public protest against this abuse of its provisions. Other safeguards too were pronounced to be illusory by the highest courts in the land. Still the Act was worked in all its rigour and, though often requested to do so, Government would neither amend nor repeal it. Officials found it an administrative convenience, and Anglo-Indian opinion favoured it. So it continued till the other day. The advent of a popular legislature makes a great difference in the situation. Nevertheless, certain rules of caution must be observed in the case of repressive legislation of the drastic nature of the ordinance. It must never be made permanent. The executive must not be given power to bring it into life by a proclamation of its own without invoking the aid of the legislature. When a citizen is deprived of his liberty to any extent, a limit must be placed on the period of such deprivation, after which the executive must bring him to trial.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

BY MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

BROAD-based on the solid rock of Hindu-Muslim Unity, India's constitutional edifice will be more beautiful than that loveliest of all monuments of love, the Taj of Agra: built on that sure foundation, it will be more permanent than even the

in itself a thing of evil and its product can never be good. The cause of hatred being removed from the hearts of even one of the parties, such artificial unity itself comes to an end. In order to achieve the end in view, this unity must be the spontaneous outcome of a true-hearted patriotism, of the just recognition of each other's equitable rights and interests and of a sincere conviction that both being children of the same mother each is indispensable to the other.

Only five years ago, I saw them embrace each other as if two brothers had met after ages of separation: I saw them even drink *shorbat* out of the same tumbler. The spectacle was indeed pleasing to the eye of the superficial observer, but the student of causes and effects foresaw the transitory character of this artificial union. It was based mainly on common hatred: it could not last. Born of a thing of evil, its results manifested themselves in destruction, yea, even in bloodshed, setting the clock of progress back by many years. The *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* among the Hindus having given rise to *Tabligh* and *Tanzim* among the Muhammedans, religious passions were roused to an extent unknown in recent Indian history. And the results of this rousing of religious passions were heart-breaking—riots, in which scores lost their lives and hundreds were injured; looting in which the householder and the shopkeeper suffered grievous injury; and incendiarism, in which properties of incalculable value were destroyed. Even places of worship did not escape the hands of fury.

The hearts of all true Indian patriots must mourn over this shattering of ardent dreams



MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI.

Pyramids of Egypt. Without Hindu-Muslim unity, Swaraj is bound ever to remain a mere dream, a mirage which, as we seem to approach it, will recede further and further.

But this unity, in order that it may bring about the desired results, must not be founded on common hatred. For, common hatred is

this spectacle of fratricidal warfare. Mother India weeps over this mad folly of her children. Seeing some of her children preach fraternal love from the platforms of unity conferences in passionate language and at the very next moment fly hither and thither hatching schemes of communal aggression, her heart is well-nigh broken.

As if the rivalry for power, the fight for loaves and fishes, the manoeuvring for ascendancy were not enough, to this whirlwind of secular friction is now added the storm of religious animosities. It is this rousing of religious passions on both sides which constitutes the dire feature of the new situation. And unless all sincere patriots, Hindu and Muslim, combine whole-heartedly to put an end to this new phase, destructive of all inter-communal co-operation and good-will, there is no hope for India's future. All organised effort for conversion and physical culture, intended for purposes of supremacy must be abandoned on both sides. So long as religious passions continue to be roused as they have been during the last two years closer union between the two communities by means of a common understanding on things political will be impossible. Let those who believe that without Hindu-Muslim unity India can never attain her dream of Swaraj, concentrate all their efforts and all their energies on this acute phase of the existing situation. Once religious passions, roused by those who are ever ready to resort to anything calculated to realise for them their dreams of leadership, die away and a genuine consciousness of brotherhood and of identity of interests is created in the hearts of the Hindu and of the Muslim alike,

an equitable settlement of all other controversies will become easy.

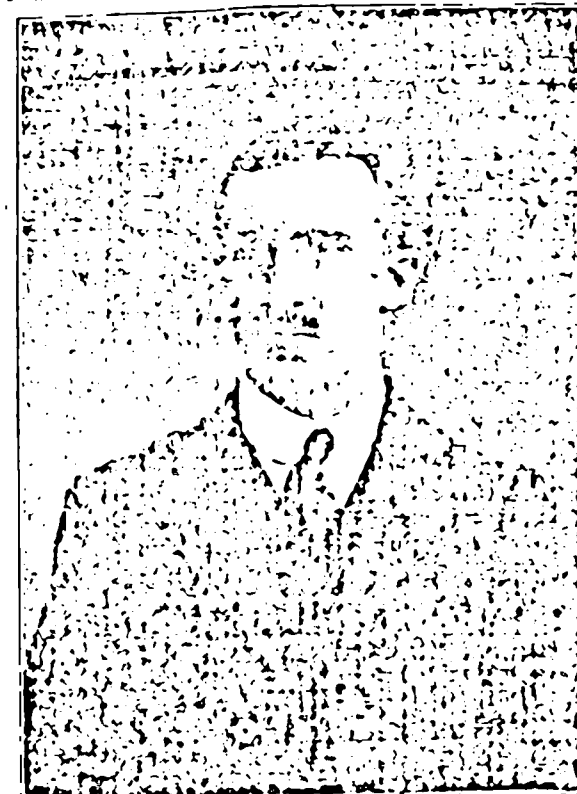
Resolutions on paper, passed by gatherings, however seemingly representative, will not accomplish this desired end. What is needed is the translation of sentiments embodied in such resolutions into earnest action by means of practical steps adopted in the different parts of India. Let a net-work of Arbitration Boards, consisting of Hindus and Mussalmans possessing influence among their peoples and imbued with a sincere desire for Hindu-Muslim unity, be established in all provinces and in all districts where the dragon of religious hatred has shown its head. Let these arbitration boards see to it that scenes such as we have recently witnessed in Kohat, Cawnpore, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad and other places become impossible of occurrence in the near future. Unless we set to work in right earnest and in a spirit of whole-hearted enthusiasm along these lines, all our political activities for the attainment of Swaraj for India will come to nought. Swaraj in these conditions will be like a house built on sands incapable of withstanding the slightest shock. Once this is accomplished, let us settle once, for all, in a spirit of generous recognition of each other's rights and interests, the part which each is to play in the future constitutional development of India. Conceived in this spirit, the Hindu-Muslim Pact, brought into operation in an atmosphere of mutual love and toleration, will constitute the surest foundation upon which, by means of constructive work and scrupulous avoidance of destructive forces, India's constitutional edifice can be built with the surest guarantee of its permanence and stability.

"Q" AS A LITERARY GUIDE

BY J. CHARTRES MOLONY, I.C.S.

A suggestion frequently mooted before the recent Royal Commission was that the public services of the country, especially the educational service, should be

recruited in the country, but stiffened, kept up to the mark, by importation from all quarters of the globe of small quantities of "experts." No definition of an "expert" was attempted; just as the enunciation of a truth requires two persons, one to speak, and one to hear so must choice of an "expert" be conditioned by the audience on whom he is to practise his art. Kipling, in *A Diversity of Creatures*, has described one particular kind of "expert," and his purpose in life: "the fifth form had been dragged several times in its collective life from one end of the school Horace to the other. Those were the years when Army Examiners gave thousands of marks for Latin, and it was Mr. King's hated business to defeat them." The pupils to whom Mr. King addresses himself are allowed to present themselves: "Oblitus, Beetle corrected hastily, 'forgetful—ancilio



J. CHARTRES MOLONY, I.C.S.

rum of the shields or trophies, *et nominis*, and the, his, name, *incolumi Jove*, Jove being safe;" and so on. "May I ask," enquires Mr. King with gentle sarcasm, "if it

conveys any meaning whatever to your so-called mind?" Here is a clever little sketch of a genuine scholar condemned to prostitute his scholarship to the purpose of gaining examination marks for wholly uninterested youths, and, incidentally, a living for himself. Yet Mr. King, in some miraculous way, seems to retain his soul alive.

The lines of "Q" are cast in pleasanter places. From the chair of English Literature at Cam-

bridge, he delivers, untrammelled by thought of examinations, a message to the world as much as to the classes present before his eyes. At what might have been his fate amid mere utilitarian ideals he glances once: he read the papers set by "a renowned

On the Art of Writing. By Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.
Studies in Literature. By the same author.
On the Art of Writing. By the same author.
Adventures in criticism. By the same author.
Cambridge University Press. (Price Rs. 4.1.0. each.)
To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Examining Body" and found *this* (how significant are the capital letters and the italics!),—"in a paper set upon three Acts of *Hamlet*—three Acts of *Hamlet*!—the first question started with 'G. tt. . p. . cha' 'Al-g-tor', and invited the candidate to fill in the missing letters correctly." Being morally certain that the words 'guttapercha' and 'alligator' do not occur in *Hamlet*, 'Q' invited the "Examining Body" to explain itself. The answer he got was that, to understand Shakespeare, a student must first understand the English Language. And this in Modern England! "this year" (to misquote Browning) "the nineteen-hundredth since Christ died for men."

"Q's" first book is an attempt to teach young men how to write their mother-tongue; an art apparently held in small esteem in all countries. Cambridge established a chair of Greek in 1540; Arabic followed a hundred years later; "faint but pursuing" "Q" enumerates the "chairs" round or over which one must pass ere one arrives in 1910 at that of English Literature. It is some excuse for Cambridge's long neglect that, if she waited long to choose, she chose at last supremely well, her first professor.

To write English, "Q" assures his students, one must practice the art; no "feeling" for literature can obviate this need. Especially "Q" advocates the sedulous practice of verse-writing; a practical counsel, but one hitherto not frequently offered, possibly because of a certain shyness of misapprehension. A learned professor conducting a poetic *kindergarten* is a picture that may well provoke a smile; but, the question of actual poetic worth being disregarded, verse-writing,

if the mere mechanical rules of rhyme and rhythm, of English Grammar, be strictly followed, must impart a certain neatness and dexterity in the use of language. Next "Q" would have the would-be writer offer sacrifice "to the Graces and to Clarity," and avoid especially "Jargon," that stock-in-trade of the professional scribe. To "Jargon" one whole lecture is devoted and the examples quoted are happy. "In most instances the players were below their form." What, asks "Q", were they playing at? Instances? "He was conveyed to his place of residence in an intoxicated condition." Why not say plainly "he was carried home drunk?" Nowhere can this advice be given with greater appropriateness than in the East, where the writer, compelled by force of circumstances to write often in a foreign tongue (English), is seduced by the fancied superiority of the involved to the simple, of the resounding periphrasis to the short direct word. Yet his search for what Flaubert called "the Exact Word" can be carried too far: there is much practical wisdom in Francis Thompson's criticism "the habit of excessive care in word selection frequently results in loss of spontaneity; and, still worse, the habit of always taking the best word too easily becomes the habit of always taking the most ornate word, the word most removed from ordinary speech." I remember well an Indian friend showing to me a book of verses, sent to him as to a fellow-scholar by the author. This, my friend assured me, was literature of the highest class; but when asked to translate a portion he explained, unsmiling, that the work was so extremely literary that there were not more than three or four words in the whole book which he understood.

The Art of Writing is advice to the would-be workman; *Studies in Literature* is a masterly survey of finished work. Here what is left for the humble reviewer save to pay tribute of admiration to the width of "Q's" reading, and to the sanity which informs his judgments? How excellent, for example, is this advice not to befog ourselves with abstractions, absurd personifications, in considering the actual written page. "The German bemuses himself with a theory that Wordsworth (we will say) wrote naturalism, or that naturalism wrote Wordsworth. We know that what Wordsworth wrote was *Tintern Abbey*, while what naturalism wrote was nothing at all: for it never existed but as a concept in somebody's mind, an abstract notion. God made man in His image. Germans make generalisations in theirs. That is all, and that is just the difference."

From the days of the early English ballads down to the work of masters who trod the earth in our own time "Q" considers English literature. Nor does he fence himself in English pastures; he is a firm believer in Bagshot's saying that he who would pretend to an appreciation of modern literature must at least be aware of the existence of such languages as Latin and Greek. A quotation from Andrew Marvel's *Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland*

Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed

leads naturally enough to Horace himself, "Q's" first parallel

*Scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis melior triumpho*

leads me still further back to a line of the *Odyssey* which Mr. Gladstone considered to have some claim to be considered the finest single line in the literature of poetry. It is that which tells how Penelope "scorned to gladden the heart of any lesser man than Odysseus." But a second excerpt from Horace ranges me, on a question of taste, in opposition to "Q": luckily I can find shelter beneath the shield of a great name.

*Tendens Vena frangos in agros
Aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum*

"Q" claims the support of general opinion for his belief that "the falling close is one of the noblest on which ever poem concluded." I cannot agree. Kipling's imaginary "Mr. King" spoke truly when he said that the great *Regulus Ode* was written in blood; in such work there is no place for mere collocation of sonorous sounds. The late Dr. Tyrrell bluntly derided this dragging in of many-syllabled proper names as sheer bathos.

"Q," I feel sure, will not take it amiss if his scholars, taught by him to reflect, at times dissent from, or criticise with respect, their master's judgments. "Q's" general admiration for George Meredith's work I share; it is when we descend to details that I perceive some differences between us. Take for example the poem *Phaëbus with Admetus*:

When by Zeus relenting the mandate was revoked
Sentencing to exile the bright sun-god,

"Mark," says "Q," "the triple hammer beat, closing the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th lines throughout. It is one of Meredith's master strokes." I hint a fault and hesitate dislike." Internal complications of metre do not at any time appeal to me greatly; I see, for example, little point in the curious "internal rhyme."

of every second line in Browning's *My aliter visum*

Is that all true? I say the day,
And silyly smiled, A mass of brass:

it seems to me a needless shackling of the poet's feet. In *Phubus*, I think, the device leads to disaster in such a word picture as this:

Headlike rushed the vintage; we strung the bellied
Plump, and at the sealing the Youth's voice rose.

Such lines can never suggest to me the joyous singing at the wine-harvest; "and he said boic-row." I murmur profanely as I read the passage. And Meredith, I think, might have sacrificed in verse to the God of Clearness, and in prose to the God of Probability, more frequently than he has done. It is almost a sacrilege to criticise *Lore in the Valley*, but what attitude, save an impossibility, do the first four lines suggest?

Under yonder beech-tree single on the green sward,
Couched with her arms behind her golden head
Knees and tresses folded to slip and ripple idly
Lies my young love sleeping in the shade.

From *Lord Ormont and his Aminta* "Q" quotes a noble passage—Meredith was as much a seer, a teacher, as a novelist—and mention of the novel suggests to me that to

it may be applied with some justice "Q's" criticism of Charles Reade's *Griiffith Maunt*. Reade, says "Q," wrecked a fine novel by making his hero for purely stage purposes suddenly renounce his nature, and behave like a quite incredible cad; *Lord Ormont* is figured to us in the glass of Weyburn's early admiration as the very model and pattern of the chivalrous English soldier; and yet throughout the novel his behaviour towards *Aminta Farrell* is that of a bounder deeply dyed and damned. And why die *Lucy Farrell* die? Simply, I fear, that her creator might write a magnificent chapter descriptive of her death.

But space has its limits: so has the patience of editors. To those who wish for "expert" guidance in the study of English Literature, I can but recommend purchase and perusal of "Q's," published lectures. It is unlikely that they will guide any student to the passing (or, is it, the obtaining?) of the S. S. L. C.; but they will guide to what is better, to the perception of that which is beautiful and which will abide long after examinations and examinations have trod their way to dusty death.

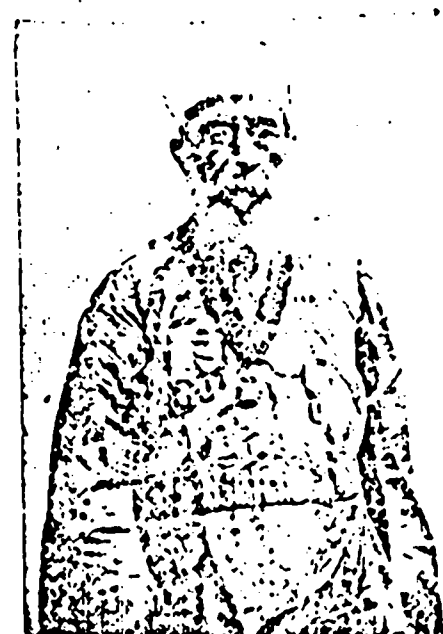
THE OLD VIEW OF THE ECLIPSE

BY DR. SHAMS-UL-ULEMA JIVANJI J. MODI.

IT seems that the ancient Aryans held a belief that an eclipse was the result, as it were, of a fight between a hostile power and the Sun or Moon as the case may be. To begin with the Iranian branch of the Aryans, we find nothing in the extant Avesta, not even a word, about the eclipse. But the Pahlavi books refer to it. The *Dinkard* (Bk. I, Chapter 51) merely says, that the Moon shines with

the light of the Sun, but the *Dadistan* attempts to explain the cause of the eclipse. According to this book, the Iranians believed that the eclipses were caused by the interference of a dark or opaque (avin) body between us and the luminary that was eclipsed. The dark opaque body below the luminary cut off its light. This cutting off of light was temporary. So far, we see no element or idea

of hostility between the luminary and the opaque body. It is the later Shikand Gumanik Vijar, written some time after the religious conferences and disputations in the court of the Khalif Al. Mamoun (A. C. 813-833)



J. J. MODI.

that speaks of the intervening dark opaque body, as a fiend (daruj) and as hostile (ham-estar), or as the Sanskrit translator says, as an opponent (prati-loma). According to the Zads-param, there were some heavenly bodies belonging to the evil creation (Angra-mainyu, Ahriman) who were opposed to other heavenly bodies belonging to the good creation (Spenta-mainyu). The intervening opaque body was for the time being an opponent of that kind.

Coming to the Indian branch of the Aryans, according to Sir Monier Williams, Arya-bhatta (5th. century A. C.) knew the true scientific theory about the eclipse, but the Mahabharata

points to the above Aryan belief. According to this belief, it was Rahu, a Daitya, who, as it were, seized and swallowed the Sun or the Moon and obscuring the rays caused eclipses. This Rahu is spoken of as a Daitya, an evil power, like the Druja of the Pahlavi books.

As described by Dowson, this Rahu had four arms, and his lower part ended in a tail. He was a great mischief-maker and when the Gods had produced the Amrita by churning the ocean, he assumed a disguise and insinuating himself amongst them, drank some of it. The Sun and Moon detected him and informed Vishnu, who cut off his head and two of his arms, but, as he had secured immortality, his body was placed in the stellar sphere, the upper parts, represented by a dragon's head, being the ascending node, and the lower parts, represented by a dragon's tail, being Ketu, the descending node. Rahu wreaks his vengeance on the Sun and Moon by occasionally swallowing them. According to Pictet (*Les Origine Indo-Europeennes* Bk. IV Ch. 3), it is from this story of Rahu that an eclipse is spoken of as "Rahugraha." Among the Mongols, the place of Rahu is taken by one Archo. Among the Scandinavians and the Burgundians, it is wolves that play the part of Rahu as an enemy of the luminaries. Coming to the other branches of the Aryan stock, we find that the Greeks and the Romans believed that the eclipse of the Moon was due to that luminary's descent to this world, the cause of the descent in the belief of the Greeks being her occasional visits to her lover, a beautiful shepherd, and in that of the Romans, to help the sorcerers and magicians of Thes-saly. The Chinese, who claim some superiority in the matter of the knowledge of astronomy,

have taken "a prodigious great dragon" as a professed enemy to the Sun and Moon, ready at all times to eat them up (Lewis Le Comte's History of the Empire of China).

Even the etymology of some of the words for an eclipse point to a kind of hostility of some evil powers with the great luminaries. For example, the Persians speak of the eclipse as *giraf*; i.e., the capture of the Sun or the Moon. The corresponding Pahlavi word in connection with an eclipse is *vahuluntan*

which also means "capture". The Sanskrit *grahan*, which has given our Gujarati word for eclipse, *grahn*, also comes from a similar root *grah*, Pers, *girift*, German *ergreifen* which root has given us our English words "graft" and "gripe". Again the proverbs of some people also point to the supposed ancient belief in a kind of hostility. The Parsis even now speak of two persons when they fight as *grahan lagun* i.e., the eclipse has begun. The Mahrattas also speak similarly of a quarrel.

Concerning Educational Shibboleths

BY DR. JAMES H. COUSINS, D. LITT.

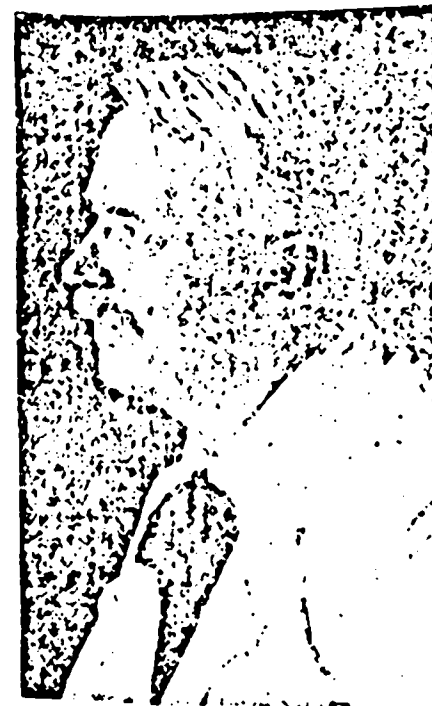
THE power of phrases to produce mental and emotional attitudes, and hence to influence action, is not a discovery of politicians or physicians to-day. It was known to the ancient makers of tribal cries such as the "shibboleths" of Western Asia mentioned in the Biblical story of the Children of Israel. It has been used from the earliest phases of Aryan civilisation in the mantric systems which recognised the potency of reiterated formulae not only to evoke the latent powers of the individual but also to invoke reinforcement from the invisible regions of the cosmos.

But whether such formulae "raised a mortal to the skies" or "drew an angel down," their essential power and secret lay in the attitude that they established in the individual or the community. That is their value to us to-day; not their words and accents, though these have their importance, but their direction. The foolish may quarrel over the rival merits of certain finger-posts on the road of evolution, their picturesque

location, the material of which they are made, the style of their lettering; but the wise follow the indication of the finger, and pay the poet the highest compliment of fulfilment in turning their backs to it.

In the grammar of life, out of which its shibboleths are formed, far too much stress is laid on things that are accumulated, and on actions that increase accumulation (the nouns and verbs of daily duty), and far too little importance is attached to the interrelationships of things and actions, and particularly to our relationship with them—to the prepositions of life that are, in fact, the true makers of things and the true shapers of that action, since they determine attitude, and attitude is the one reality in human nature. Take care of the prepositions of your life (the *ins* and *outs*, the *froms* and *to*s, the *overs* and *unders*), and the nouns and verbs will take care of themselves. This is the essence of all philosophy. Relate your attitude, said Laotze, the Chinese sage, to the Divine Mind, which is the source of all things (in other words, conform

to the best of your ability to what you perceive to be the highest law of nature), and the materials and doings of your life will settle themselves. The burden of the "Bhagavad Gita" is the acquirement of an attitude of poise in the midst of the illusory activities of illusory things. "Pray without ceasing."



J. H. COUSINS.

says the Bible; but the value is not in the form or objective of the prayer, but in the attitude of recognition of the Divinefulness.

As a matter of fact every moment of life, whether we know it or not, is both offspring and parent of an attitude which determines our action towards the objects that fill the space of our personal universe; and since our attitude is subject to alteration not only by direct experience but by the indirect influence of the shibboleths of our environment (the

catch-cries of ephemeral propaganda, or the atmosphere of an era such as that of nineteenth century materialism), it is especially incumbent on all concerned with the sacred work of education to examine tendencies of current mantrams, and wisely to guide the young through them to a wise attitude towards life.

An example will give point to these reflections, the example, indeed, that provoked them. In the Convocation Address to the new graduates of an Indian University the speaker referred to certain "proposals to increase the number of our universities and to extend the range of their curricula so as to make those who undergo them more effective combatants in the battle of life." In these words one has an educational shibboleth of a most disastrous kind, the shibboleth which, translated into action as all shibboleths tend to be, was one of the initiating factors of the European War and its existing and terrible consequences; the shibboleth of education as a preparation for battle. "A mere figure of speech," one may say. Yes, but a figure of speech which is a survival of the "ape and tiger" stage of human evolution, and tends to create and perpetuate an attitude of antagonism which is false to the true character of human relationship. Such a shibboleth, dangerous as it is when uttered from any platform in the ears of youth, is peculiarly out of place on the platform of an Indian University which is (or ought to be) reared on the fundamental Aryan concept of all varieties of human activity as co-operative, not antagonistic, phases of one unifying Cosmic Life. Its prepositional attitude, "against," is wrong. It assumes an enemy and will ultimately find subterfuges to create him. That is the psychology of the

European catastrophe. All attempts to assign blame to this person, that event, or the other nation, are the futilities of a universal bad conscience. The War began in the schools of Europe. Its first shot was fired in the battle shibboleths that distorted and polluted the mind of youth in Europe. He who writes these words knows whereof he writes, for he went through it thirty years ago, and many a time foretold the ultimate outcome of the lamentable tampering of a false view of life with the naturally generous and helpful mind and imagination of youth. The psychology of India's practical immunity from the War, save in so far as she was linked with one of the combatant nations, is the same; for beneath the surface differences of Indian social life, there is the great shaping vision of all life as One Life; her prepositional attitude, "for," is right. It assumes a friendly though differential relationship between all the constituents of life visible and invisible; and its general tendency, save where it has been temporarily deflected by extraneous influences, is towards the realisation of this relationship.

And how easy it is to find a quite effective shibboleth for the expression of the inevitable struggle that is the condition of all life from Deity to dust: easy, but for the terrible thought-form of antagonistic individualism that obsesses the imagination of Europe, and for the facile and uncritical manner of so-called "educated" Indians of falling into the automatic use of the verbally crystallised fallacies of an external civilisation that is in many respects a barbarism partially saved from itself by fragments of wisdom filched from the Wise Men of the East.

The condition of human life is struggle, but the struggle is co-operative, not mutually destructive. Superficially it has to face the antagonisms of nature that take the forms of disaster and disease. But even that superficial antagonism is, from the point of view of Indian conceptions of life, a beneficent constituent in the working out of universal and human destiny. Not a hair of our head can be touched without the consent of our karma or destiny, which, in its deepest connotation, means our spiritual needs. The winds may ultimately overturn us, but it was the wind that filled the sails of our life's adventure; the waves may in the end engulf us, but it was they that bore us up to the joy of Sun and Moon and the passage from port to port of life's experience. These figures of speech lead us on to a shibboleth of education that comes nearer the truth of life than the battle shibboleth. Life is struggle; yes, but struggle is not necessarily battle in the crude interpretation of that word. There might be some justification for the use of the battle shibboleth of life if life were the aim of battle; but the aim of battle is death, not life; and death not as the fulfilment and translation of life at its end, but a cutting across life at its beginning that troubles the world with lamentation and disorganisation, and troubles the inner worlds with incursions of premature and bewildered souls. It is true that these things are as inevitable and necessary in the spiritual unfoldment of humanity as the winds and waves that, figuratively, are the external agents in the fulfilment of our destiny; but their necessity is temporary, and is only necessary because it is the outcome of the battle attitude in human education and

predilection. Get rid of the battle attitude and you will get rid of battle. For the educational shibboleth of making students "more effective combatants in the battle of life" substitute "more effective mariners on the voyage of life." There you have a "slogan" that is not less stimulating to the sense of activity and adventure and danger and struggle than the battle shibboleth, but that comes closer to the true condition of life's essential struggle against external things; and the necessity of human co-operation in carrying forward the various Ships of State that form the Fleet of Humanity; not individual or group antagonisms among the crews, for that is not navigation but mutiny. And this voyage shibboleth is as true as the battle shibboleth to the condition of strict organisation and discipline on which both successful warfare and navigation depend. From the commander to the cabin-boy, all are a unity in inter-related activities and aims. Superiorities of rank do not arise from the particular office, since all are essential to one another; they depend on the extension of experience and character involved in the rising from restricted duties in regard to details, to the large synthetic duties that involve a previous knowledge of details to be applied in moments of crisis with quick and accurate judgment.

Education, then, is a training for life-navigation. The question for the student is, what is going to be your position in the ship of state—a stowaway, a passenger, or a mariner? In other words, what is to be your prepositional attitude to the voyage and your fellow voyagers? Your ship is called "India," an ancient and glorious name that loses none of its inspiration whatever tongue you speak it

in. Are you going to live on India like a stowaway devouring what he can lay hands on and accomplishing (if not found out) the voyage without return or responsibility? Or are you going merely to live in India like a passenger who pays his fare and from the point of view of the life of the ship might as well be classified as "cargo"? You may reply that the paying of your fare entitles you to the passage. That may be in the ships of commerce, but not in the Ship of Life. Your ship was not built in America, where mariners and passengers and cargo are mere constituents of the great illusion of the almighty Dollar; nor was she built in Europe where the fleets sail out to mutual destruction in the false atmosphere of an illusory individuality which is merely mutiny. Yours is the ancient but ever new Ship of the Spirit whose sails, diverse in shape and function, are filled by the one Wind of Eternal Truth, whose cargo is composed of the necessities for human happiness. She does not demand of you a fare; she demands you. You have not entered her from outside as an independent entity. You were born aboardship. You owe her all you are and have. You cannot fulfil your obligation to her by allowing her simply to carry you along. She is your Ship of Life, and she is herself alive.

"Not where I breathe, but where I love, I live;
Not where I love, but where I am I die"

Thus sang Robert Southwell, a sixteenth century English Poet. The condition of life is struggle—but struggle to give; to rid yourself of the sinking weights of personal accumulation in order that you may be free to devote all that is best in you to the work of navigation towards the distant port of human attainment; in order also that you may serve those aboard the Ship who are as

yet at the stage of being passengers, the young, the really poor, the sick and infirm, the socially suppressed, the ignorant. In other words you must live *for* India. That is your true prepositional attitude, the true direction of all your deliberate effort. Therein

lies personal and national felicity; for, as says the "Vishnupurana" (VI, 7, 28, a saying, alas! held from your ken by the system of irreligious and unphilosophical battle-education now imposed on you): "The will trained to a right attitude attains heaven."

MY PRAYER (by IQBAL)

TRANSLATED BY DR. BRAINERD SPOONER,

Dig. Director-General of Archaeology in India.

Sated, Lord! am I, and wearied
With this worldly throng and press!
When the heart its fire hath quenched,
What of joy can crowds possess?

How I yearn to flee the turmoil,
'Tis for silence that I crave,
Silence such that its enchantment
Speech itself would swift enslave.

'Tis for stillness I am pining,
And my prayer is thus alone,
On the skirt of some far mountain
Just a hut of leaves to own.

Let me have the joys of singing
In the songs the birdlets sing;
Let me have, for all my music,
But the babbling of a spring.

In the lap of Earth recluse
Let the verdant grasses lie;
Let the winding, winding waters
'Neath the bushes sparkle by!

Let the floweret's opening chalice
Give me tidings of my Friend,
Like a tiny cup of Jamshid
Showing forth Earth's farthest end.

Let the green and verdant bushes
Range in ranks on either side
While their likenesses are taken
By the river's crystal tide.

Let the mountains' glorious landscape
Be so full of charm and grace,
That the streams, in waves uprising,
Shall aspire to view its face.

When the westering Sun with beams
Shall adorn the bride of Night,
Let the floweret's ruddy tunic
Gleam again with golden light.

When the traveller, brought to,
Finds his weary feet refuse,
Let my battered earthen lamplet
Him once more with hope infuse.

My Muezzin be the cuckoo
When the night's last watch is gone;
She will call and I shall answer,
Chanting thus in antiphon.

Spare my ears the temple's jangling
And the mosque's loud morning cry;
Let my Loveli's chink and clavier
Softly tell when dawn is nigh.

For the flowers when dawns are gathering,
Shall the morning bath prepare,
Let my tears be my ablution,
My lament my morning prayer.

Let me weep for this my country,
Let my heart its flood gates open,
Till my tears with their abundance
Stir to life the plant of Hope!

Let my cry of lamentation
In the stillness upward swell
Till the stars mist it its ringing
For their caravan's own bell.

Let the hearts that now are heavy
Learn from my tears how to weep,
That perchance some heedless sleepers
May be wakened from their sleep.

Circulation and Assimilation in Plants

By SIR J. C. BOSE, C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.S., M.A., D.Sc., L.L.D.

AT first sight nothing appears to be so widely different as the life activities of the animal and of the plant. The animal is in constant movement, while the plant is apparently passive and irresponsive. The animal has a nervous system by which shocks from without are perceived within; the tremor of excitation started at the end organ is thus transmit-

ted with a definite speed along certain conducting tissue, the nerve, causing a movement at a distance. The plant was supposed to have no such conducting tissue corresponding to the nerve of the animal. The animal has a pulsating organ, the heart, by which its circulation is

maintained. No similar pulsating organ has been suspected in the plant.

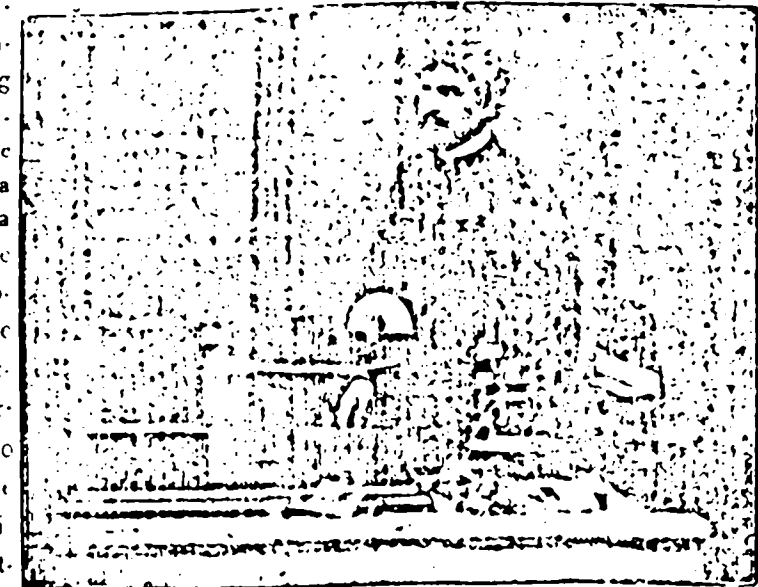
I have however been able to show that there is no fundamental difference in the physiological reactions in the animal and the plant. Three principal characteristics of contractility, conductivity and rhythmicity are found in both types of life. These facts I have been able to prove by the invention of various automatic recorders of extreme sensitiveness by which the plant is able to record

its own responsive movements. It has thus been possible to show that even an ordinary plant is sensitive, that it exhibits a twitching movement when it is irritated by a pinch or a mechanical blow, or by an electric shock. The imperceptible movement of growth has been recorded by my Magnetic Crescograph which produces a magnification of a hundred

million times. By its means it is possible to record the rate of growth in a time as short as a second, and observe the effects of chemical and electrical stimulants.

Far more important than external manifestations are the activities in the interior of the organism which is beyond our

scrutiny. New instruments of great sensitiveness have therefore to be invented to bring the invisible within the range of the visible. I shall describe a new method and appliance I devised, which enabled me to probe into the interior of the organism. The internal activities, hitherto unsuspected, thus became fully revealed. I shall describe other experiments which solved the great mystery of the ascent of sap in trees, which baffled inquiry for more than two hundred years.



Prof. J. C. Bose lecturing on his discoveries at the Royal Institution rendered famous by the works of Davy and Faraday.

I will also describe my new apparatus by which the rate of carbon assimilation in plants becomes automatically recorded, and by which investigation on this subject has been greatly extended. The shortness of space will allow only brief accounts being given of two very extensive lines of investigation. The subject will be found fully dealt with in my "Physiology of the Ascent of Sap," and the "Physiology of Photosynthesis," recently published by Messrs. Longmans.

THE ASCENT OF SAP

The movement of sap inside the tree is invisible, and no accurate means had hitherto been available for the measurement of the normal rate of ascent of sap, and how that rate is affected by changes of the environment. I have overcome the difficulty by devising three different types of apparatus by which the normal rate and its modifications are determined with the highest accuracy.

Strasburger, from his experiments, imagined that poisoning did not affect the ascent of sap; hence he inferred that the movement of sap cannot be due to the physiological action of living cells. This view, which found general acceptance, had the most disastrous effect on investigation of this intricate problem. My results completely disprove Strasburger's conclusion. The records obtained by my apparatus show that a complete arrest of ascent takes place under the action of poison. A simple, yet most conclusive, experiment is to take two similar drooping stems; of these the cut end of one is placed in water, that of the other in a poisonous solution of formaldehyde. In the first case the drooping stem soon becomes turgid and fully re-erected by the ascent of sap; but there is no recovery

in the poisoned stem, which droops still more and soon becomes a huddled mass of dying tissue. This offers a conclusive proof that the movement of sap is essentially due to cellular activity in living plants. Further experiments prove that an active tissue extends throughout the length of the tree, the cellular pulsations of which in regular sequence cause the propulsion of sap by a pumping action. In the animal, the circulation is maintained by the pumping action of the throbbing heart. Since the mechanism for the movement of sap is essentially similar, the tree may be regarded as possessing an elongated "heart".

The effects of various agents on the 'heart' of the tree and that of the animal exhibit most astonishing similarities. Very striking results are produced by the action of anaesthetics, which in small doses act as stimulant. A small dose of ether is thus found to enhance the cellular pulsation and cause a great increase in the rate of ascent. Chloroform causes a preliminary enhancement, followed by arrest due to the toxic effect of a large dose.

DIURNAL PERIODICITY IN PRESSURE

The cellular activity undergoes a periodic variation, in response to changes in the environmental condition during twenty-four hours. This causes a very interesting diurnal periodicity of the pressure exerted by the sap as indicated by self recording manometer attached to the tree. It would no doubt be interesting to find out whether there is a diurnal periodicity of blood pressure in the animal.

THE "MILKING" OF THE PALM TREE

The water pumped up by the root causes intra-vascular pressure, and profuse exuda-

tion may thus take place when a hole is drilled into the tree. But the Indian Date Palm grows in a dry or even arid soil, and necessity compels the tree to exploit the scanty or precarious supply of water. The sap is held very tenaciously in the trunk, and a hole drilled into it causes no exudation of sap. Yet, after certain special treatment, the tree yields quantities of sap containing sugar as large as 20 litres per day. No explanation has hitherto been offered for this copious exudation in the absence of internal pressure to urge it. My experiments show that a dormant and inactive tissue is roused to intense activity under repeated irritation. When a

slanting cut is made in the Date Palm it does not cause any yield of sap. But when the wound is made for several days in succession, the cumulative irritation is followed by copious exudation of sap. This drastic and harsh treatment cannot but cause injury; it is within bounds of possibility to devise other modes of irritation which are less injurious to the tree. In certain other varieties of Palm, the sugar-containing juice is yielded by the inflorescence, and the coercion employed here is as curious as it is interesting. The Malays inflict

repeated blows for several days with a wooden hammer to the base of the flower stalk; after this an incision made at the tip of the spadix is followed by copious exudation. In Bengal the practice is perhaps a little more humane; the long spadix is held tightly between the fingers and kneaded downwards. This potential milking process is continued for about a week, after which the yield of sap becomes abundant. The two processes just described

may be aptly described as "butting" and "milking," from the analogy of the action of the calf to make the cow yield her milk.

THE ELECTRIC PROBE

The experiments already described prove that the movement of sap is

maintained by the pulsating activity of certain cells. The next problem was the localisation of the pulsating layer, and to obtain an actual record of the individual pulsation and watch its responsive variations under drugs and other agents. For this we have to get access to the smallest unit of life, the individual cell or the "life atom," a congregation of which constitutes the living organism. But the pulsatory movement of a cell is ultra-microscopic and its detection may well appear to be beyond the range of possibility. This has, however,



THE ROSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, CALCUTTA.

THE ARYAN PATH TO NIBBANA

BY THE ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA,

Director-General of Buddhist Missions in India.

THE teachings of the Tathagata Sakya Muni are embodied in the Three Pitakas. The disciplinary Code of spiritual and social ethics are in the Vinaya Pitaka. The community of Bhikkhus is known as the Sangha. Their progress depends on the observance of the discipline of the Vinaya Pitaka. The proper designation used by the Lord Buddha to indicate this religion is Dhamma and Vinaya. The word *Sarana* is also used as we find it in the famous gatha:

Sabba papasa akaradam,
Kusalata upasampada,
Sacitta pariyo dapanam,
Etam Buddhana sasanam,

which in English means

Abstain from all sinful tendencies,
Generate meritorious tendencies,
Purify the heart,
This the Buddha proclaim.

The evils that are to be destroyed are given in the *Vinaya Pitaka*; the categories of meritorious activities are given in the *Sutta Pitaka*; the processes of psychic purification to realize Nirvana are enumerated in the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*.

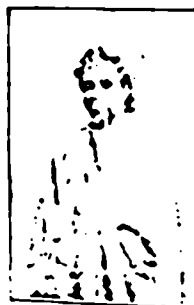
The teachings of the Lord in the oldest form are to be found in books written in the Pali language: later Buddhist books were written in a Sanskritized dialect. The Pali Dhamma is to be found in Ceylon, Chittagong, Arakan, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. Translations of Sanskrit are to be found in Tibet, China, Manchuria, Siberia, Japan and Korea. India lost all trace of the Buddha

sarana in the first decade of the 13th century of the European era.

The Lord Buddha proclaimed the Eternal Dhamma. He showed the Aryan Path to unchanging happiness, which is called the Middle Path as it avoids both sensual and ascetic practices.

The Buddha Gotama is called the Tathagata as he had rediscovered the forgotten Dhamma of the previous Buddhas. The Tathagatas show the way to absolute happiness by means of the thirty seven principles of Anuttara Sammasam Bodhi. They are the four Satipatthanas, four Sammapadhanas, four Iddipadas, five Indriyas, five Balas, seven Bojjhangas, and the eight Maggongas. The culmination is the realization of perfect knowledge wherein every vestige of ignorance is annihilated. In ignorance (avidya) the human being allows his mind to go through the different stages of Shankharas; psychic thought (vignana); name and form; sixfold sense development (ayatanas); contact resultants, (phasso); sense feelings, (vedana); creative desires (tanha); reproductive causes (upadana); individualized fields of rebirth (bhava); rebirth (Jate); decay, death and other aggregates of sorrow. By means of enlightened knowledge the foundations of ignorance and its corollaries are destroyed for ever and the human mind attains absolute liberation—Nibbana.

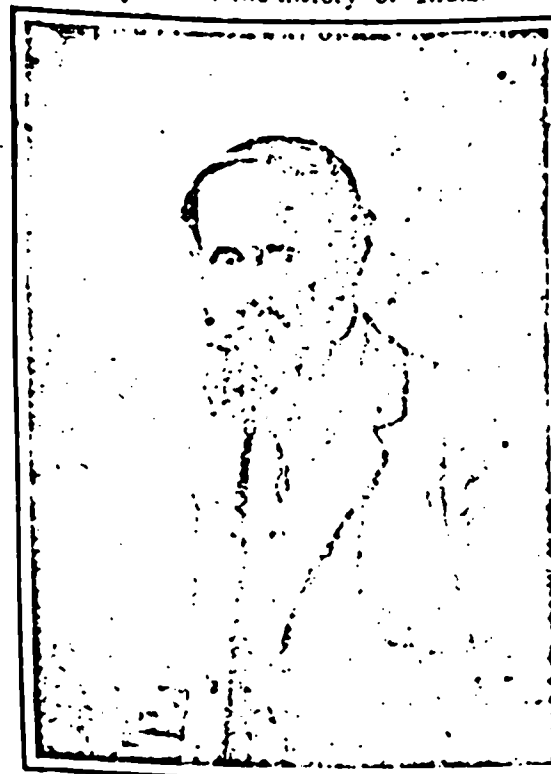
THE LIFE & TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA BY the Anagarika Dharmapala. This is a clear and concise account of the life and Teachings of Lord Buddha written by a well known Buddhist authority and in a style specially intended for non-Buddhists. Price As 12. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review" As 8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.



Rabindranath Tagore and His Age

By C. F. ANDREWS.

IN order to understand the poet Rabindranath Tagore, we have to go back one hundred years in the history of India. We



C. F. ANDREWS.

shall then find one of the greatest men of the world of that day, named Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, whose rightful place in history is only gradually being established.

Rajah Ram Mohan Roy was a Brahmin by birth. From his early childhood his mind was so free and his intellect so bright that he seemed to be able to break through all sectarian and racial distinctions. He was, in the end, destined to stand out as one of the very greatest men of the century. But he had to struggle against every obstacle in thus win-

ning his own spiritual emancipation. On account of his marvellous moral courage and intellectual genius he stood far ahead of all the people of his time. In India itself, he understood from the very first the meaning of the meeting of East and West. Even one hundred years ago, he seemed to have been able to predict, in his writings, the very course which civilisation would take after his own death. He was the first great unifier of East and West. He was also the true originator of the practical study of Comparative Religion. On the one hand, he held fast to the learning and wisdom of ancient India and was full of the spirit of love for his own country and its glorious past. On the other hand, side by side with that, he welcomed freely with his commanding intellect all that came from the West. Little by little, he worked his way forward into world history so as to become, as I have said, the actual founder of the science of Comparative Religion in our modern times. He studied, not only his own ancient Hindu scriptures, but he was deeply learned also in the teachings of Islam, and in the ideals set forward by Christ. This amazing man not only was a profound student of Arabic and Persian, so that he became a scholar in all the learning of Islamic literature; he also learned Greek and Hebrew, and in that way became a true scholar of the Christian Scriptures as well.

I have read through, many times, all that he has written in English, and though it was set down a hundred years ago, it is still fresh and living to-day in its main interests, and many of his theories, which were then regarded

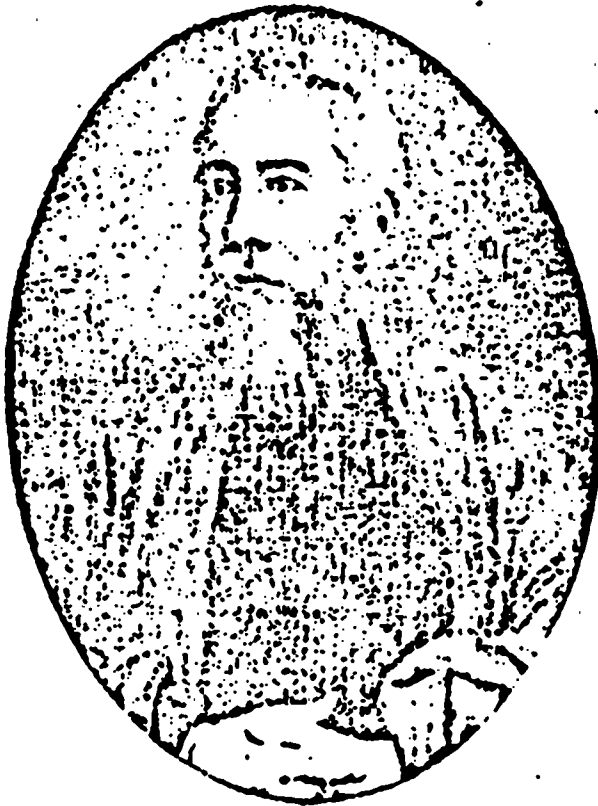
as highly original and even startling, have since proved true.

As he grew older, he became the pioneer of liberal reforming Hinduism. The Brahmo Samaj movement was his own origination. One of his earliest pupils and disciples was the grandfather of Rabindranath Tagore; whose name is still remembered in Bengal, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore.

Dwarkanath was a man of very brilliant intellect, who followed closely in the footsteps of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. He was, in wealth and station, one of the leaders of Hindu society, and he was famed not only in India, but in England. For he was one of the very first to cross the seas, and to come to Europe to study the mind of the West. Prince Dwarkanath Tagore had, as his

eldest son, the child who was in his turn to become the father of the Poet. His name was Debendranath Tagore.* As Debendranath grew in years and saintly wisdom he became well-known throughout the whole of India as Maharshi,—Maha Rishi,—the great Rishi,—

* DEBENDRANATH TAGORE. A sketch of his life and career, with a portrait. (Biographies of eminent Indians series.) Price 4 annas, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.



MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.
(THE POET'S FATHER.)

because, in the whole of India, there was no one so saintly, no one who could bring back to memory so clearly the Rishis of Ancient India.

When Debendranath was quite a young lad, he was taken to Benares, to the banks of the river Ganges, where his grandmother

was lying on her death-bed, waiting for her death, so that her ashes might be placed in the sacred waters after she had died.

By the bedside of his grandmother, as she lay facing death, this young child of eleven or twelve years old began to meditate upon God, and thereat Benares his thoughts were turned away from worldly wealth to divine wisdom. From that moment, he became, as it were, a Bairagi, a religious wanderer, one whose life was

ever wandering away into the infinite far apart from the limitations of earth. He became a pilgrim of eternity. He tells us that, from that day of his grandmother's death, riches were just like the dust of the ground beneath his feet to him. Nothing that was of this world was satisfying; for all his thoughts were concentrated upon God.

When he grew older, at last his father, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore died. It was expected that Debendranath, his eldest son, would come into enormous wealth. People were saying "What will happen when he gets his great fortune? Will he still be unworldly then? Will he be truly a Bairagi?"

But when his father's death took place, it was suddenly discovered that most of the wealth of his father had vanished. For great and heavy losses had been encountered, and his vast estate had been very heavily mortgaged. The creditors were waiting for it. Nevertheless there was one very large sum, set apart by legal deeds, which could not be touched by any of the creditors; and this sum was placed to the credit of the eldest son, Debendranath Tagore. The amount was so large that it still constituted a fortune; but on the other hand his father's debts were remaining unpaid. So this young lad, at the very threshold of his life-experience, when he saw the situation, called together the creditors of his father, and said to them: "All the money earmarked for me in my father's will, which you cannot touch by the law, I give to you by right. I hand over everything I have, and I will work as your servant until I have paid off every penny of my father's debts."

The creditors were so deeply touched by the wonderful magnanimity and generosity of this young man, that they were almost moved to tears. One of them said: "Such a young man, so faithful and so honest, should surely be our steward. We need not take away the estate from him. But instead, we will make him the steward, and give him charge of all the property."

So they left the father's estate still in his

hands; and he dealt with it so wisely and so well,—without spending one farthing on himself or taking one farthing in any doubtful manner,—that in the end he paid off all his father's debts to the last pie and built up an income of his own. "Maharshi" he was very truly called after this; because everyone saw that though he was in the world, like a householder, though he was building up a family, having many sons and daughters; though in a true sense, he was like 'Janaka', living in the midst of material things and sharing in the world's wealth, yet he was always living at the same time the life of detachment. As they watched him they said: "He is truly a Rishi"; and they called him 'Maharshi'.

When he grew older, his family increased, and he had very many sons and daughters. In his middle age, when he had already a large family of children, at last the youngest of all his children was born. That youngest child he called Rabindranath Tagore. 'Rabi', in Bengali, means the sun. 'Indra' means the storm. Rabindranath means the Lord of the sunshine and the storm. That was the name he gave to his little child, who was to be the sunshine of his old age. From the day of this child's birth, Maharshi loved this youngest child better than all his other children, because he seemed to be able to attain specially through this one of his children the vision of God. He was able to witness in his own little child the Divine Image. So Maharshi loved with the deepest affection the youngest of all his sons.

When Rabindranath was quite young

* RABINDRANATH TAGORE: A sketch of his life and career with ample extracts from his works and a portrait. Price 4 annas, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

he was found to possess the most beautiful voice for singing the hymns about God. His voice was like a bird; and as he sang, Maharshi used to go into the ecstasy of *Bhavadhi*, enraptured by divine thoughts. Again and again, a little Rabindranath sat at his father's feet and sang the divine hymns to God, the aged saint would feel the sweet compulsion of prayer and he would lose all consciousness of space and time in the perfect rapture of the divine vision. So the young boy was rarely separated from his father.

Such was the beginning of the future Poet's life as a little child. Rabindranath at this period of his life was constantly taken by his father on his pilgrimages. The father, by this time, had already passed the age of fifty. According to the ancient *Sbastras* he had determined now gradually to leave the *Grihastha Asram* and become a *Vanaprastha*,—a *Bairagi*,—one who left his home in search of God.

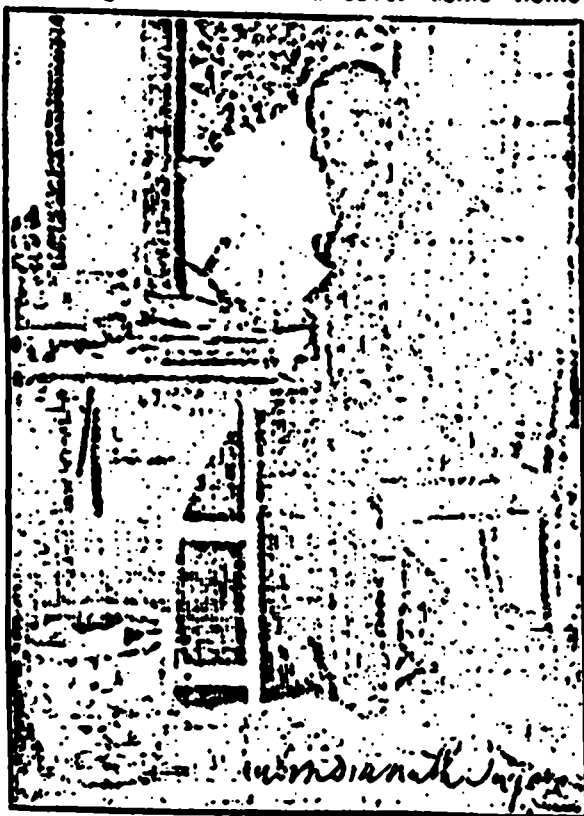
First of all, he went up into the great Himalayan mountains, taking his little child with him. He went right on through these mountains nearly to the borders of Tibet

behind the Himalayas. In every place where he stopped, he would sit and meditate; and the little child would sing his songs. The father's heart would become glad.

But the Maharshi was all the while longing to find a place of rest. He wished to discover some home in the Himalayas,

where he might stay and retire from the world till this wandering life was over. Yet in the mountains of the North, he could not find it; and he went back again to Bengal seeking a solitary place where he might find God in peace and solitude of heart. One day at length he came to a spot near to a little village called *Holpur*, about a hundred miles north of Calcutta. There, from the village, he started

off in his wanderings right into the open country. The country was all barren, like one vast plain, with scarcely any trees, except here and there some scattered palm trees. The soil was sandy, and there was nothing except one long open heath in front of him, gradually rising towards the horizon. At last, as he walked on, with his little son beside him, he saw two trees in the distance, right on the horizon, standing by



RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN HIS STUDY

themselves, dark and thickly covered with leaves. They were *challim* trees, and he went there and sat under those two trees.

Just as he had seated himself for silent prayer, the sun on the horizon was getting low and the glory of the sunset was before him, in all its beauty.

He sat there absorbed in meditation.

Then, in a moment, the Rishi's eyes were closed in rapture and the great peace of God came upon his soul. That bliss, which only the saints are able to experience, filled his soul.

He gazed at the evening sky, and all through that night he never slept at all; his heart was so filled with gladness. When the morning came and the sun rose once more, he got up from his seat with his heart uplifted to God in praise and joy, and said:

"This is my *Shantiniketan*,—my abode

of peace. Here will I live, here will I die; here will I find my rest for ever."

That is how *Shantiniketan* became founded. The father of the Poet, Maharshi, for nearly forty years after that, still went on with his prayers and meditations, until the place

became a holy place. He was almost ninety years old when he died, and all that while he poured forth his prayers to God, and therefore the spot is still a shrine. It has become a *Tirtha*, a place of pilgrimage, where many come to see those two *challim* trees, under which Maharshi found the Divine Presence so wonderfully near.

It is near this very spot that to-day in our *asram* we sit and meditate, morning and evening. If anyone comes to *Shantiniketan*, he will see little children sitting just as Rabindranath sat sixty years ago as a young child with his father,—sitting there in peace, and finding the presence of God. There is the very centre of our *Asram*. From that spot now can be heard, day and night, children's voices praising God in the hymns which Maharshi composed

and in those also which the Poet himself had composed at a later time.

So this little child grew up side by side with his father at this beautiful spot, called *Shantiniketan*. But when he had come to be twenty years old, his father decided that the



RABINDRANATH TAGORE, THE POET.

Drawn by Mr. S. Raja.

time had come for him to be married. He gave him a noble and unselfish lady who became his wife. Rabindranath had five children born to him, two sons and three daughters. His father said to him: 'Go and manage the estate, which I used to manage in my youth.' He sent him to a place called Shileida on the banks of Ganges to the east of Calcutta, and there for nearly twenty years, from the age of twenty-two to the age forty, the Poet lived among the village poor.

There, in the villages of his father's estate the Poet learned to love the poor. Just as Mahatma Gandhi who was born in the West of India learned to love the poor when he was in South Africa while he went among the coolies in the coolie lines and bore their sorrows, so our own Poet, who was born



THE HOUSE OF THE POET.

in the East of India, Rabindranath Tagore, learned to love the poor of the villages by the banks of the Ganges near to Shileida, where they lived and toiled day and night at their fields. He has, in one of the most beautiful of his poems, sung the joy of the poor, the true blessing that God is with them. He says, "Here is thy footstool and here rest thy

feet, where are the poorest and the lowliest and the lost." He means that God is to be found most closely of all among the poorest and the lost. It reminds me often of the words which Guru Nanak sang, when he spoke to the disciple called Farid and told him that the divine Temple was to be found among the poor and the humble, and that the one who was to find God must stoop to the very ground and touch the feet of the poor so that by stooping to the lowliest he might find the Temple of the Lord.

This domestic life near the Ganges formed the second chapter of the Poet's development. One further thing I would mention, that strikes one with amazement when we hear about it. He would every now and then be so eager to get close to God and away from mankind, that he would go out into the solitude, far away from every one, and for six months he would live on the sand banks in the middle of the Ganges and there he would never speak one single word to any human being, but only commune with nature. He has told me that more than once, when he has come back from his solitary wanderings, his lips and his tongue had become so unused to human speech, that for a day or two he was hardly able to utter a normal word.

Thus, then, he learned the second lesson of his life experience. The first lesson was understood at the side of his father, Maharshi, at Shantiniketan where his father lived in prayer. His second lesson was learned in the villages of India among the poor, and in solitary communion with Nature.

Then, when he had reached the age of forty there came to him, as to his father

before him, an inner call. He longed to go somewhere; but he did not know where to go. He thought at first that he was being directed to take part in the national movement. So he went away to Calcutta and threw himself into the Swadeshi movement of Bengal. But very soon he found that he was no politician, and that merely to lead a political life was not at all his gift. At last he thought of that home of peace at Shantiniketan, and he determined to go back there once more to his father, in his extreme old age, and seek to build there a school. He said to his father: 'Let me found a school here; let me build up an Asram for children on this spot.' When his aged father heard this, he had great joy at heart: and he blessed him and gave him permission and handed over to him the trust deeds of all that part of the country.

So then, at the age of forty, the Poet began to build up this religious Asram for little children, and the school has become known as Shantiniketan Asram. The school is still going on. Still the little children come to us and we give them the very best education we can, especially on the spiritual side, and the little ones learn all about Maharshi. They also learn to sing the songs of the Poet and to worship God in peace.

But very gradually the Poet's mind wandered away farther still, even from the children in the school, to the whole wide world. He said to himself: "My message is not merely, for one place, but for the world." It was at this time, that he came to England, and sud-

* VISVABHARATI (The World University). By Rabindranath Tagore and G. F. Andrews, with 6 Portraits and Illustrations. As. 8. To Subj. of the "I.R." As. 6. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

denly became famous by the translation of the book of poems, called Gitanjali. I cannot stop to explain all this in detail, but when the Poet came to Europe and found that the West was eager to receive his message, and that his poems were loved in the West and not only in the East, then there came to him the supreme conviction with living spiritual power that East and West must truly meet, unite and realise their fellowship in one common humanity.

But at this very time, suddenly came the European War. During the war, the Poet was filled with long-drawn agony of suffering,



THE POET IN FRANCE.

because he saw the whole world as it were, dashing itself to pieces. The brotherhood of men was torn asunder by the poison gas, the bomb, the submarine and other hateful abominations which modern science had discovered. So his heart was filled with torture throughout the time of war, and he determined there and then, even in war time, that when it was over, he would go forth to all the world and speak of peace, of brotherhood, of

love. He would strive with all his heart and soul to bring mankind together. Shantiniketan should be a place of peace, not only for little children, but for men of every nation. Those who came from the ends of the world should find peace there, in the place where his father had found it before, and where he himself also had found it in his turn.

So, from the year 1919 onwards, the Poet has never ceased his journeys. He has been wandering up and down the world, to every country, speaking peace. He now calls this great new work of his, at Shantiniketan, by a Sanskrit name, Visva Bharati.



SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

peace together. The Poet goes out, now to Europe, now to America, now to China, now to Japan. He has started recently for South America. He will go, one by one, to all the countries of the world, and everywhere he will speak the same message, —the message of universal goodwill and peace. He tells them in every place that mankind was not composed of one country, or of one people, but of all the world. The same universal spirit is everywhere, in every heart and soul of man and beast. Thus he has gone abroad and told to all the world that this universal message must be learned.

this universal brotherhood must be brought together. He has united this ideal with Shantiniketan itself, and it is gradually becoming a place of pilgrimage and rest for all peoples and races and religions that fulfilling the great wish that was in Maharshi's heart when he founded it nearly fifty years ago.

"THE INDIAN PROBLEM" BY C. F. ANDREWS

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Montagu: A Personal Tribute

By THE HON. MR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER, C. I. E.

HUMAN memories are proverbially short and political memories specially brief. It has been, moreover, not untruly said that the history of this age will never be well-written by us as we know too much about it;



MR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER.

and it is not by the direct method of scrupulous narration that a personality or an epoch can best be described. And so, I shall be forgiven if, in estimating the achievements and in appraising the character of Mr. Montagu, I do not give a summary of his brief but brilliant career. We, in India, were hardly aware of his entrance into public life as Secretary to Mr. Asquith or his early years of political apprenticeship. It was only when at the

age of 30 the young man became Under Secretary of State for India and when he revealed an amazing industry and aptitude for figures and ability to transport himself mentally into foreign surroundings that the attention of India was directed though, at first, only languidly towards the statesman in the making. The Mesopotamia speech so corroding, and so incisive and so marvellously well-informed gave promise of vigour though not as yet of constructive foresight. His work during the war was notable but it was only on his assumption of office as Secretary of State for India that Montagu came to his own. The period of five years during which he imposed his personality on Indian affairs and wrought the most significant peaceful revolution of modern times can and ought never to be forgotten by any of India's children.

Let us look back to 1909. Let us realise that then there presided over the destinies of this country a statesman who was known to be singularly free from all prejudice, who never bowed his knee to any idol and one to whom the philosophy of history was an open book. Morley contemplating the then so called revolutionary step of appointing an Indian as a Member of the Viceroy's Council battling with his colleagues, being subjected to the gentle remonstrances of His Majesty the King Emperor, being solemnly adjured that the projected reform was of evil savour and that all that England should do was to lie still and let agitation take its course, ironically describing himself as a double-faced Janus for having in one House of Parliament to show how moderate he was and in the other to pose

himself as the most ultra-reformer, consoling himself for these tactical exigencies by the reflection that all will come right in the end and that "we shall be soon out of the wood and that the Viceroy will have to take up the burden of shaping the rules and regulations," and finally relying on the shortness of human recollections and hoping that every word of the tremendous controversy will be as stale as the first Chapter of the Genesis:—this is the picture of a state of affairs not quite 15 years old to-day.

What has happened in the interval? India is now a world-entity and from the international point of view stands on the same footing as any other part of the British Commonwealth. In these 15 years,—there have been nine Indian members in the Viceroy's Executive Council; every Province has been governed through the instrumentality of Indian Members and Ministers; the Legislative Councils have been changed out of recognition; the franchise, though not yet as wide as some would wish, would have been inconceivable to Viscount Morley; and the most paramount functions of the Government have been discharged by men the grant to whom of that responsibility would have seemed an impossibility if not an absurdity.

It is not my purpose, nor is this the place for discussing the merits and demerits of Dyarchy. But let us visualise to ourselves what, in essence, is the meaning of this very expression. That each Province should be governed by two sets of functionaries, both of which comprise Indians and one of which is a body legally responsible to public opinion; that it is possible, nay, inevitable and necessary, that England should devolve and

delegate some if not all the functions of governance now and inevitably and not long after all those functions to the people of this land. This is the significance of the expression and this the necessary import of the idea underlying it. To whom was this revolution due? A just estimate cannot ignore the working of the time-spirit, that urge towards democratic self-expression which, as is not uncommon in history, found a consentaneous expression as a result of the war and was notably reflected in the Speeches and Sayings of President Wilson. Making all allowance for this as well as for the growth of Indian nationalism which was ushered into being as early as the eighties of the last century, who can gainsay that the main instrument of the great change was the young man to whom, as to Disraeli, was vouchsafed a catholic and world-wide political vision. Montagu's failure in English politics was perhaps the cause of his success in Indian reform. His most recent and most capable biographer remarks of Disraeli that the fundamental fact about him was that he was a Jew who seemed throughout his life never quite of the nation which he loved, led and governed, who seemed always to be a little detached when in the act of leading, always to be the spectator as well as a principal performer. How true this description was of Mr. Montagu also can only be adequately judged by those of us who not being of the English race, were privileged to share the intimacy of Mr. Montagu's political thoughts. We felt he was of us; somehow also we perceived that he could, as not many Europeans can, realise the passion for equal status which has not always been ungrudgingly satisfied. We saw how anxious he was

that India should vindicate herself in the war and should, not as a reward but as of right, take her place in the Councils of the Empire. With these objects he pursued his goal with steady aim and not without a profound appreciation of the difficulties.

Mr. Montagu came to India in 1917* and travelled throughout the Continent with Lord Chelmsford whom he soon inspired with his own aims and ideals. He came into a country which was discontented, where divided counsels prevailed and where there was a growing distrust of English intentions. He conciliated the Muhammadans, he strove to harmonise Indian political parties, and whether or not he succeeded entirely in the task of political organisation, he made everyone feel that here was a man who did not think very differently from them and who strove for the realisation of their own aspirations. Many of us confronted him with the Congress League Scheme which was a logical extension of the Minto-Morley Reforms. But Montagu put before us in answer a baffling problem in some such shape as this:—"I shall not be allowed to introduce responsibility in the Centre or complete responsibility in the Provinces. If I attempt the task I shall fail, and the work of reform will be delayed for many a long year. Think, then of a scheme which will originate the principle of responsibility in the seat of Government, realise that this is a psychological moment for reform and see that by demanding the impracticable you do not jettison the possible." In that subtle persuasive way which was peculiarly his own, he converted many of us against our own judgment. He accounted no labour too great in achieving even a small success. I

remember having had three long conversations with him in Madras, and having been sent for to Delhi to discuss the same topic and having departed from my last interview a half-convert of his political theory but a full convert to Mr. Montagu himself, and I can say that the same result was achieved in the case of many others. Sir Surendranath Banerji, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Chintamani, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jinnah, Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, every one of them entered his room anxious to fight, but emerged from it willing to try the experiment of partial responsibility and entirely hopeful of the best results not so much from the experiment as from the goodwill that animated the English statesman who came as a messenger of reconciliation and hope.

Then followed the pilgrimage of the Indian politicians to Westminster where we had to meet the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The evidence that was given is recorded in a Blue Book and was largely moulded by the arguments and the personality of Montagu; but that is the least thing that he did. With a constant solicitude and eagerness to satisfy India, he introduced us to prominent English statesmen. He desired to create an atmosphere of mutual regard between us and the leaders of the various parties. He was anxious to demonstrate that Indians could take a hand in constitution-making, and further that they could be trusted with large responsibilities. He made us enter the social life of the English capital. He was a propagandist and a missionary in the cause of India; and, during those fateful months when Parliament was considering the new constitution, it was not so much the constitution that mattered, inasmuch as

Mr. Montagu's real work was to make India understood and appreciated by those to whom are entrusted the destinies of this country. No labour was too exacting, no exertion was too great for him at that time. I was one of the many delegates who were then in London and he arranged for me not less than a dozen interviews with Parliamentary and other leaders. He entered into correspondence for my sake, arranged for tea on the Terrace so that my point of view could be put forward to men in Parliament. And I know he did the same thing with many others. This was the process by which he was able to convince us that he was a real collaborator with us and a true guide. Who can with all these proofs deny that he gave of his best to this country?

It is needless to do more than refer in passing to the skill and the regimentation of forces with which he piloted the Reform Bill through Parliament. It is indeed true to say of such work that success depends on three things, who does it, what he does and how he does it. Perhaps what he does is the least important. It was a tragedy that, when the Bill was enacted the experiment which he inaugurated did not receive that warm-hearted welcome which he anticipated, that the inherent difficulties of the problem were not surmounted even by him, and that a new spirit came into being in India which, coupled with other things partly at least nullified the utility and value of the scheme. It was a still greater tragedy that the problem of the Holy Places of Islam emerged at the time and in the form it did and proved to be a new and unforeseen stumbling block in Montagu's path. In his letters

during the last year of his life, Montagu confessed himself a disappointed and broken-hearted man. He was deeply affected by the happenings in India and in the Near East and as is well-known he sacrificed a great political career for the sake of placating Indian sentiment.

Sometime after his enforced resignation, he said that he was tired of politics and had deliberately chosen other fields of activity—financial and scientific. Most of us who knew him felt, or rather hoped, that this was a passing phase, and that his splendid talents would again be available to the country of his love. This was not to be; and he was cut off in the prime of his powers. It is for the future to decide whether the work he has done will endure and whether other solutions will replace his. But who can deny that he was one of those of whom it has been said "to find out what you cannot do and then to go and do it, there lies the golden rule". Who will also deny that he must be ranked as one of that band of men who, transcending parochial politics, have ventured greatly and won the affection and goodwill of alien races and people of other faiths. It is not a small glory to claim the fellowship of Morley and Burke.

FOLLOW THE FLUTE.

BY

PROF. T. L. VASWANI.

As leaves in richer beauty fall,

So dying old year falls

Into the rich unending wonder of Life.

New Year is born, and thro' it looks anew

God the Beautiful

God the Radiant One

Singing in the morning sun.

May ye follow His magic Flute!

Indians in the Army

BY SIR KRISHNA GOVINDA GUPTA, K.C.S.I.

I TAKE this opportunity of saying a few words on a subject which has for many years been uppermost in my mind, and which is intimately bound up with our national well-being—I mean the army.



SIR KRISHNA GOVINDA GUPTA

Unfortunately our countrymen with a few notable exceptions have hitherto regarded it with lamentable apathy. Nevertheless it is being slowly realised that there can be no real autonomy or true self-Government without a national army entirely under the control of the Central Government of the country.

The British Government have made a solemn declaration that they will do all in

their power to help India to attain complete Dominion Status; and it may be said that something is being done to introduce popular responsibility in a few civil departments, and to increase the Indian personnel in the public services generally. But there is no corresponding advance in all that relates to the army.

True, after much struggle, a very limited number of King's Commissions are offered to Indians. But the number is totally inadequate, and the mode of recruitment is so faulty, that the best men are not selected, with the result that a good percentage of the chosen candidates fail in the end to secure Commissions. Then the scheme of employing the successful cadets, exclusively in a few units set aside for the purpose, so that in course of time they may be entirely officered by Indians is open to the gravest objections. This clever plan has doubtless been devised to prevent an Indian Officer ever having a British officer under him. But in the Civil Departments no such distinction is made, and British and Indian Officers work together in a spirit of comradeship and mutual subordination.

The army in India, though nominally under the control of the Government of India is in reality ruled and dominated by the War Office. The cardinal proposals of the Esher Committee were designed to tighten that grip. On the other hand, the modest and unanimous recommendations of the Committee in the direction of opening the artillery, the air force, and such ancillary services, as the Sappers and Miners to Indians, have been turned down by the obdurate Army Council.

In the face of these stubborn facts, Indians may be forgiven if they doubt the sincerity of the promise of the British Government to lead on India towards Dominion status. It is time that this all-important question was taken up by our public men in all seriousness.

French Imperialism and the East

BY MR. MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

THE British Empire has been called the greatest Muslim Empire, merely because it happens to contain the greatest number of Muslims. In the same way it may be called the greatest Hindu Empire.

But the Empire of the French Republic (O anomaly!) is a Muslim Empire in another sense. There is nothing in that empire to confront French culture but Islam. Whereas,



M. PICKTHALL.

in the British Empire, the Islamic question is one question among many others and has been treated as of relatively small importance—with unfortunate results—in the Empire of the French Republic, it is, and is now seen to be, the chief imperial problem. For the peoples of North Africa are now the asset on which all the future hope of France is staked.

The attitude of Frenchmen towards their subject peoples has always differed very much from that of Englishmen. They have no racial pride; the difference of colour is to them a source of scientific and artistic interest. They fraternize with other types of human beings more easily than do the English; and are, at least upon the surface, more agreeable. On the other hand their national pride exceeds that of the English. French nationality and French culture seem to them the garland of humanity. The glory of France is something they believe to be intrinsic and

eternal. They idolise the language and the name of France. They are perfectly capable of looking forward, even with enthusiasm, to a day when the President of the Republic will be an Arab and a majority of the population of France will be African by descent, provided that the name of France be still supreme, and that the language and the love of France be still maintained. A man's religion is of no account to them; only the cult of France must come before religion. It was at this point that they differed from their Muslim subjects, and before the war were often irritated at the failure of the latter to recognise the beauty of the French ideal.

Many years ago in Egypt I met an Algerian resident in that country, who described himself as a refugee. When some-one expressed surprise that he should have fled from a country under French dominion to one under British occupation, he declared. "The French are more amiable than the English, that is true. They are prepared to drink with us, but we must drink what they drink. They will eat with us, but we must eat what they eat. Their object is to make us bastard French. The British, on the contrary, keep distant and, by their very coldness, rouse in us a manly spirit. They do, at least, allow us to remain ourselves." I give his statement as an interesting point of view which will be new to many of my readers.

Before the War, the Muslims under French dominion, were, as Muslims, much worse off than those in British hands; because the French did not admit that they had rights as Muslims. The Protectorate of Tunis still preserved the structure of a Muslim

State, so did the "Empire" of Morocco, though all real power was in the hands of Frenchmen; but Algeria was treated as a French department, with the difference that nine-tenths of the inhabitants had no political rights. This was not because they were Arabs, not (ostensibly at least) because they happened to be Muslims, but because they were unable to declare on oath that they accepted monogamic marriage as a principle. Most of the Algerian Muslims practised strict monogamy, but they were unable to accept it as a principle. Most of the Frenchmen in Algeria did not practise strict monogamy, but they were able to accept it as a principle. A subtle difference!—The test, of course, was really acceptance of the French view of woman, which was indeed the outward and visible crux of the social problem between France and the Muslims whom she wished to Frenchify. Thus Algeria had representative institutions but they represented only the French colonists (500,000 out of a population of six millions); she sent deputies to the French Parliament, but they were French, not Arab, deputies. So far as I know, the concessions which have since been made are in the nature of concessions only, not of that emancipation of the Arabs which has been so often talked about and even promised.

The structure of French hopes to-day is built on the collaboration of North Africa. It may, or may not, be in consequence of the divergent views of woman above-mentioned that the French birth-rate is decreasing while the birth-rate of French Africa shows no inclination to decrease. But the fact remains, and causes grave anxiety to the rulers, who see that France alone cannot henceforth

maintain her lofty stand among the Powers. That is why France claimed and got exclusion from that clause of the League of Nations covenant which forbids conscription of the subject population in mandated and colonial territories for purposes of European War. She has a large and highly efficient Army of Africans, and she intends to go on strengthening that army and to use it for all it is worth. As a natural corollary to that intention comes a "change of heart" towards Muslims in French policy.

The Mosque and Muslim Institute in Paris—for which the site was given by the City of Paris in gratitude to Muslim troops who saved the City, and to which the French Government contributed a comparatively trifling sum, thus leaving all the credit of the work to Muslims—is a notable instance of French tact in diplomacy, and also evidence that Islam, as a religion, is now to be an inner factor of French policy. The study of Islam is now encouraged, not only for North African administrators but among all categories of political aspirants. The friendly acts of France towards Islam, throughout her history, are now remembered sentimentally; the unfriendly acts are buried in oblivion. There is every symptom of a yearning for an *entente cordiale*, not only with the Muslims of North Africa but with the whole world of Islam. The French have felt the solidarity which still exists among the Muslims everywhere and, with their usual acumen, have seen in it a rock to build on.

Of course, an "understanding" in the grand political arena involves some little misunderstanding or reserve on either side. France seeks her own advantage and aggrandise-

ment, while Muslims seek the restoration of certain broad conditions which they deem their rights. France can alter her demands and change her attitude; the Muslims cannot; and in spite of the behaviour of some men of wealth in Paris, the Muslims are even less likely to become French than are the French to become

Muslims. The hand of power is not relaxed, but rather stiffened, upon Syria and North-West Africa. The Muslims are not blind to that. But so much tact, dexterity and charm have seldom been displayed in furtherance of any diplomatic move as are being shown by France to Muslims at this juncture.

Communal Representation

By LALA LAJPAT RAI

THE problem of the day is the Hindu-Muslim problem. You in the South are not affected by it and cannot therefore realise



LALA LAJPAT RAI.

either its significance or its importance for upper India. For us it overshadows every other question. In my humble judgment our advance towards Swaraj is being hamper-

ed by it, but a Swaraj is no Swaraj if it only leads to a civil war between the two great communities of our country. I am afraid communal representation with separate electorates is bound to lead to it. I will not be afraid even of that and may prefer it to existing dependence if I could be sure that the British Government will not use this for the purpose of perpetuating our dependence. The only means open to us to get Swaraj is by peaceful pressure. Can we bring to bear any effective pressure so long as we leave the Government free to use the weapon of communal representation to keep us divided. That is the experience of the last three years and if we ignore that lesson woe to us!

New Year

By MR. P. NARAYANA KURUP, M.A.

There must indeed have been a "time" when He The mover of the Universe unrolled Immanent Space and set the empyrean gold Of systems rolling all eternally. Which we that tread this earth of mystery Have been in dark superbly left untold. Then Time perhaps was New, but now 'tis Old. Though Days and Nights in Seasons' Harmony. Link us with things in Time's Before and After. And cause relations dual, Old and New. Which may to Him be faulty reckoning! Yet we that are shaped by the charms of spring. And spell of Song, live in our happy view In Faith that the year's anew to-day for Laughter!

Congress and Conferences.

As usual we have attempted to give the readers of the *Indian Review* a bird's eye view of the various December gatherings. At the invitation of the President of the National Congress various other Conferences held their last session at Belgium. The Liberal Federation however met at Lucknow, the Moslem League and the Indian Christian Conference at Bombay, while there were two Social Conferences one as an adjunct to the Belgium Congress and the other along with the Lucknow Federation. [Ed. I. R.]

The Indian National Congress

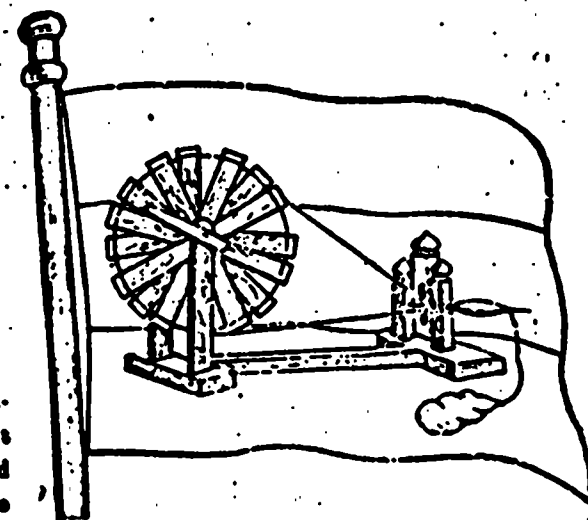
FOR the first time the Congress was held in Karnataka and naturally the whole province had been for months past making arrangements for the 39th Session of the Indian National Congress at Belgium. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi was

Leaders of different wings of the Congress began to arrive at Belgium from the 18th December, while Mr. Gandhi himself was there on the 20th. In accordance with previous arrangements Mr. Gandhi met both the No-Changers and Swarajists in a number of informal Conferences when he tried to persuade them to use each others' points of view. Throughout the conversation he placed the Charka in the forefront as an answer to critics and sceptics. When they wanted a fighting programme Mr. Gandhi would say "The fighting programme is there in the boycott of foreign cloth which if



MAHATMA GANDHI

to preside over the deliberations added special importance to the session. And then certain recent events like the Unity Conference at Delhi and the A. U. Conference at Bombay paved the fuller understanding of differences various sections of Congressmen. The long questions of the hour—Hindu and the Gandhi-Des Pact were settled and ratified in the Congress. Sessions imparted special interest to service.



THE CHARKA

properly carried out will bring about an atmosphere for something like civil disobedience." He then referred to Hindu-Muslim Unity and removal of untouchability as two indispensable items in his constructive programme. But the

discussion centred round the spinning franchise in lieu of the present four-anna franchise. Indeed, as the *Nahru*s put it, this was the point which Mr. Gandhi claimed as a set off against his readiness to suspend the Non-Co-operation movement and the recognition of the Swarajists as Congressmen who could work in the Councils on behalf of the Congress. Several delegates questioned Mr. Gandhi in the language of the terms of the agreement with Das and Nehru over the contribution of 2000 yards of yarn which each Congressman is to send every month as subscription. Mr. Gandhi explained that the words "unwillingness and inability" in the case of exemptions would not be taken advantage of by unbelieving Swarajists to secure membership of the Congress. Thus when voting was taken there were only about a dozen dissentients among 200 No-Changers. In respect of the other parts of the agreement Mr. Gandhi justified the necessity both for suspending Non-Co-operation and allowing Swarajists to be an integral part of the Congress.

On the question of Swarajists in the Councils Mr. Gandhi explained that they might be in the Councils speaking on behalf of the Congress but they could not claim the consent of the No-Changers in their action. He finally appealed to the house not to divide the Congress on this question and he "obtained the signatures of practically all those present pledging that they would themselves spin."

The All-India Congress Committee which formed itself into the Subjects Committee met on the 23rd afternoon. At the outset he said he would not divide the house on any question in regard to the Pact which was already passed by the late Committee. He frankly expressed that 90 per cent of the people are against the franchise, both among No-Changers and Swarajists. He therefore let the Committee unfettered liberty either to accept the Pact or reject it. If they accepted it, let them do so with the inten-

tion of carrying into effect the Pact with all its implications. He told them repeatedly to put him out of consideration in coming to a decision in regard to this vital matter.

Mr. Das then made a statement. In the course of his speech he was frequently heckled with questions, the opposition suspecting the real intentions of the Swarajists in accepting the spinning franchise which was generally understood to be adverse to them. Asked by Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya whether every member of the Swarajya Party was also a member of the Congress, Mr. Das said, those who were members of the Swarajya Party but were not members of the Congress were called the Council Section of the Swarajya Party. They were a section of the Swarajya Party who were with them as regards Councils, but were not in agreement as regards other work.

The Pact was subsequently put to vote and carried by a large majority, Mr. Patel and Lala Lajpat Rai voting with the minority. At the suggestion of the President a Committee of 16 Swarajists and No-changers was formed to consider the resolution on the Pact to be placed before the Congress. Mr. Patel declined to serve on the Committee. Mr. Gandhi submitted a draft resolution which was recommended by the Working Committee.

The resolution as it emerged from the Sub-Committee points to several alterations in the original draft prepared by Mr. Gandhi. Though the basis of Mr. Gandhi's suggestion has been retained the clause in which every Congressman was warned against regarding the re-
spect of hand-spinning and the maximum expected of him was deleted. A recommendation that every Congress person should spin at least half an hour removed. Another deletion is the clause to friendly Europeans to help the nation to boycott of foreign cloth, and so on.

of the resolution as finally adopted by the Sub-Committee is printed elsewhere.

This resolution was proposed in the reassembled meeting of the Subjects Committee on the 24th by Mr. A. K. Gangawami Iyengar and seconded by Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya. Mr. Jambadas Mehta wanted to put a time limit to the operation of the franchise but his amendment failed. Then Mr. Patel led a strenuous opposition. Suspensions were also raised as to the real attitude of the Swarajists. Pandit Motilal Nehru explaining the constitution of the Swarajya Party said that it is a disciplined packed body and no member of the Party could defy the rules. In the course of his speech he referred to Mr. Gandhi as his General, which caused a smile: "we soldiers are bound to follow him," he said though his own faith in spinning was not so robust.

But I must confess that most of us have a suspicion that this franchise will not work properly. That may be, but taking every thing into consideration as regards the working of the Pact, is it not proper for us to give Mahatmaji a chance to work independently and help him in carrying out his wishes as far as we can.

It is interesting to note that this was the occasion for a good deal of plain speaking in which Mr. Patel, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Yakub Hasan and others took part. Mr. Patel said they had no right to exclude from membership of the Congress any man or woman who did not believe in Khaddar and so he opposed the change in the Congress Constitution though he had no objection to Khaddar or hand-spinning. Lala Lajpat Rai was equally firm in his opposition for a different reason.

The Pact in his view was a bundle of inconsistencies. In regard to Khadi and spinning, if they believed that Khaddar would lead to their salvation, they should make it compulsory on the part of all Congressmen to spin personally and to wear Khaddar at all times. Making the use of Khaddar compulsory only for ceremonial occasions was to make themselves appear ridiculous in the eyes of the world.

He also protested against the Pandit's theory of discipline and his characterizing the Mahatma as his General: "If that position was correct," he said "the Swarajya Party had no right to exist at

all." Mr. Yakub Hasan also took Pandit Nehru to task and said:

Panditji said they agreed to it for the sake of Unity. Very clever politicians the Swarajists were. They knew that if Mahatmaji was won to their side their party would get great importance and be able to capture the Congress.

Mr. Das made a fighting speech in which he denied the charges of hypocrisy and insincerity. After speeches from Mr. Mahomed Ali and others the resolution was adopted, Lala Lajpat Rai and a few others voting against.

The Subjects Committee reassembled on the evening of the 24th and the resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were considered. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari moved the first resolution on Indians Overseas, the text of which is printed in another page.

Then the position of Indians in Burma and a resolution expressing regret at the deaths of distinguished persons during the year were adopted.

On the 25th the Subjects Committee considered further resolutions regarding untouchability and national education. The first was moved by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and the second by Mr. Gandhi. Dr. Moonji declared that to maintain these national institutions was a waste of time but his proposal was rejected.

A good deal of interest also centred round the resolutions on Egyptian situation and Kobat. With regards to the latter the Congress advised the refugees not to return to Kobat except upon honourable invitation from Kobat Mahomedans.

Mr. Gandhi explained on what lines his resolutions on Drinks and Drugs would run. Then there was discussion regarding the venue of the next Congress on the basis of superior results in Khaddar production. Finally Mr. Hadrat Mohani's motion for independence was discussed. It was put to vote and lost.

The President in conclusion made a moving appeal to Swarajists and No-Changers to sink their differences and work side by side in the Congress.

15 OPEN CONGRESS

On the afternoon of the 26th the Congress met amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Mr. Gaekwar Rao Deshpande welcomed the delegates in a Kannara speech. He said that Mahatma Gandhi was the fittest person to preside. He was even giving up his Non-Co-operation movement for the sake of unity and Mr. Gaekwar Rao felt sure that under the Mahatma's wise guidance and able leadership India would reach her goal. In conclusion he said:—

I have ever held that it is not the scientific precision of a programme but the will behind it that really counts. I want our masses to rise to the consciousness of the potentiality and thus develop a will to Swaraj. Whatever programme secures this has my support. I have worked in that spirit under the flag of the Lokmanya and am now trying to do the same under Mahatmaji who has been building aloft that flag since. I can only say that without unity among ourselves and a leader commanding the confidence and affection of all masses as well as classes, our further progress is impossible. Fortunately for us, we have amongst us to-day Mahatmaji who visibly embodies in himself such unity and such leadership, and with him at the helm of our national affairs, I am confident, we shall not only be able to recover our lost ground but soon again be in sight of our cherished goal.

Mr. Gandhi's presidential address having been circulated was taken as read, but in opening the proceedings he made a few general remarks first in Hindi and then in English. He said that the work they undertook in 1920 was still undone and if they wanted Swaraj for the masses the only way was through the clerk. If they disbelieved they should not hesitate to reject it.

Mr. Gandhi's views on the leading topics of the day being so well-known there could not in the nature of the case be anything new or sensational in the address. For one thing it was remarkable for its brevity: in fact it is the briefest in Congress record as Mr. Mahomed Ali's was possibly the longest. Mr. Gandhi re-affirmed his faith in the spinning wheel, Hindu-Muslim Unity, the removal of untouchability and such other subjects with characteristic lucidity. He traced the course of the Non-Co-operation movement and pointed out why it was necessary

to cry halt at this hour of disunion and weakness. But his own faith in Civil Disobedience still stood.

I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycott of foreign cloth.

Then he defined our immediate goal:—

Our goal must be the removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be likewise impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

With regard to the schemes of Swaraj of which there are many in the field, Mr. Gandhi suggested certain points for incorporation in any scheme that might be adopted by the country. His suggestions are recorded elsewhere.

As regards India's political goal Mr. Gandhi was for interdependence on the basis of perfect equality. He is for "a federation of friendly interdependent States rather than for independence."

In my opinion if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for swarajya within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people.

He concluded with an affirmation of his faith:—

As a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of Non-Co-operation for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot, will not, do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely a policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my Kalpadrum—my Jam-i-Jam—the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth. Ahimsa or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Khairatpur, or Champaran and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unwholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not

to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-Co-operation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent Non-Co-operation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in everyone of us. Like Swaraj it is our birthright. Let us know it.

All the resolutions having been discussed at length in the Subjects Committee it only remained for the Congress to ratify them. This was done with the greatest expedition as will be seen from the fact that the proceedings were brought to a close on the evening of the second day of the Congress.

When the Congress assembled on the 27th Mr. Gandhi moved from the chair the resolution expressing condolence on the deaths of Bi-Amma, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, Bupendranath Banerjee and others. Mr. Das moved the resolution on the Calcutta Pact, Mr. Mahomed Ali supporting it. Mr. Hasrat Mohani opposed the resolution "even at the risk of being turned out of the Congress." Mr. N. O. Kelkar, and Mr. Abhyankar supported the resolution and Pandit Motilal Nehru wound up the debate with a lucid speech.

Mr. Gandhi before putting the resolution to vote said he had allowed more Swarajists to speak because some No-Changers had expressed doubts about Swarajists' intentions. What better promise had they wanted than had been given by Mr. Das and Pandit Nehru? He appealed for unity between the two wings and asked them to vote with God as their witness and with sincere faith. He would be most pained if any one voted without faith. Both parties must act in the spirit of responsive co-operation.

The resolution was adopted. Resolutions on other subjects including untouchability having been spoken to, Mrs. Sarojini moved the one on

Indians Overseas. After recounting her experiences in South Africa and Kenya she said that the Indian and Imperial Governments have failed to protect the interests of settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. Mr. R. K. Shanmugam Chettiar, M.L.A., seconded the resolution after which it was carried.

Dr. Bhabani who attended the Congress on the second day was received with respect and she made a statement defining her position in regard to the spinning franchise. She said that by that resolution the Congress had not opened its doors wide enough to allow all parties working for Swaraj in the Congress.

The resolution on Atalis was moved by Mr. T. Prakasam and seconded by Surjit Mangal Singh, other resolutions moved from the chair included the one on national education, payment for national service and the reduction of delegate's fee from Rs. 10 to Rs. 1. Resolutions on opium revenue and for the appointment of Mr. Jawarhalal Nehru, Mr. Qureshi and Mr. Baruchua as General Secretaries for next year were then passed. The Treasurers were also appointed and the Congress Committee was authorized to settle the venue of the next Congress.

It may be added in this connection that a few resolutions discussed in the Subjects Committee did not come up before the Congress as for instance Mr. Jehangir Patel's motion on the death of Lenin, Mr. B. Yamurti's resolution urging the need for propaganda work abroad, and the one on Congressmen and Local Bodies which though passed in the Subjects Committee by 72 against 50 was left to the A. I. C. C. to deal with.

Mr. Gandhi in his concluding speech thanked the delegates for all the affection and respect shown to him during the proceedings of the session.

Mr. Motilal Nehru in proposing a vote of thanks which was lustily responded to hoped that every one, be he a Swarajist or a No-Changer, would perform the undertaking entered into by the Pact.

The National Liberal Federation

THOUGH the Congress President invited the Liberals among other bodies to hold their Conference at Bolgaum the Council of the Liberal Federation chose Lucknow for its Seventh Session. Accordingly the Federation assembled at



DR. R. P. PARANJPYE.

the Rish-i-Am Hall on the 26th under the presidency of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. About 300 delegates and a large gathering of visitors were present. Mr. A. P. Sen, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address, referred to the various topics now agitating the public mind of India and laid stress on the unity of Parties. He pointed out how liberalism stands vindicated in spite of the fact that Liberals are by no means numerically strong.

I am happy that our party has successfully survived storms of ridicule and popular prejudices. True, our party has made little or no advance in numbers, but I venture to think that our aim and our policy stand vindicated. The new party of the Congress known as the Swaraj party has virtually come back to the method of political work for which we had been condemned. I mean the constitutional method. We had been severely taken to task for our opposition to non-co-operation, for our advocacy of entry into Councils.

Can it be denied that experience has proved that we were right? Though our party is even to-day a party of minority, it is no small gain that our aim and our programme have received assent from unexpected quarters and I trust we will soon recover lost grounds.

He recognised however the difficulties in the way of the union of Swarajists and Liberals. What is feasible at present, he said, is unity of demands from different organisations and it is essential that mutual recriminations should cease before we think of union. What then is possible at present?

If different parties and different organisations must exist for the present, let them exist as members of a common fraternity. Let them not waste their energy in the unseemly game of mutual fault finding. We have enough common difficulties and common dangers to absorb every particle of our energy and every moment of our attention. If identity is not possible let there be unity.

Mr. Sen then turned to the consideration of the Reforms and the Reforms Enquiry Committee and dealt among other things with the Bengal Ordinance and Hindu Muslim relations.

Dr. Paranjpye then formally elected to the chair, delivered the presidential address.

Dr. Paranjpye's address, dealing with controversial topics was combative in tone while it was marked by characteristic lucidity and vigour of expression. The preliminary sentences give the key to the whole address. Referring to the transfer of the Congress organisation from the old guards to Non-Co-operators, Dr. Paranjpye said:—

The party that came in the mood of supplicants soon got possession of the whole organisation and all the sanity, balance and reasonableness of the old Congress disappeared. The ship of the Congress tossed about rudderless hither and thither now going in for a programme of Non-Co-operation, now for a so-called constructive programme and then again for a combination of both. The old leaders, including almost all its ex-Presidents, found themselves unable to follow these repeated twists and turns and the Congress was left to pursue its stormy career under the guidance of Mahatmas and Moulanas rather than of statesmen, politicians, and experienced administrators.

After referring to Mr. Montagu's death he pointed out how by the action of Swarajists even the little that Labour could have done for India was not done.

From the beginning an attitude of impatience and carping criticism was adopted towards it which alienated the sympathies of some of its members; and which

sagacious statesmanship would have tried to make its path easy in its endeavour to help India on her political progress, the dominant political party in our Councils, heedless of such considerations, went from one extreme to another and gave our political opponents a plausible ground for opposing all our further progress and frightened the Labour Government from taking any effective step towards satisfying India's aspirations.

Of the work of the Swarajists both in the Provincial Councils and in the Assembly Dr. Paranjpye spoke in scathing terms. He pointed out that the organised Swaraj majorities in the Councils have caused a corresponding reaction in the Government; and he deplored that the Swaraj Party has actually "put back the cause of good Government both by what it does and by what it fails to do." As for the Assembly, it "threw out the whole budget and thus lost an opportunity of constructive criticism and serving as the watch dog of the public purse." In some other respects the Swarajists in the Assembly more or less approximated to the Liberals. "But as to the actual effect on the daily routine of Government, the Swaraj party may be said to have been ineffectual as it followed on the whole a wrong policy."

Dr. Paranjpye then disclaimed on the baneful effects of Non Co-operation in the country:

The only effect of the non-co-operation movement has been the creation of a spirit of unrest among large sections of the people, the intensification of disunion among the various classes and a lamentable exhibition of the helplessness of the Indian people. A campaign of non-co-operation can only be justified, if at all, taken in politics.

And Non-Co-operation has failed.

He then contended that no unity was possible until the Congress had completely abandoned Non Co-operation—not merely suspended it—until the will of the wisp of civil disobedience was given up, until the shibboleth of the spinning franchise was done away with.

Of the three parties, No-Changers, Swarajists and Liberals, Dr. Paranjpye said that the "Liberal party is the lineal successor of the old Congress party and is continuing its traditions though the name has been usurped by others." Speaking on the Reforms he said they were

worked under unfavourable conditions and he urged that in view of the Reforms Enquiry Committee's deliberations, the Royal Commission promised in the Act should be appointed at once. In this connection he thought the Assembly made a great mistake in asking for a Round Table Conference.

A motion for the appointment of a Royal Commission was made in the beginning of this year in the Legislative Assembly and it is just possible that if this proposal, already recognised in the Act, had received the unanimous support of all non-officials, the Labour Government might have yielded to this demand. But the majority of the Assembly thought it right to ask for a Round Table Conference in India to determine the kind of constitution wanted by Indians for India and to formulate their other demands. With due deference to the majority of the Assembly it may be permissible to hold the view that the amendment, while more theatrical would have been less effective and slower in operation than a Royal Commission.

He then formulated a scheme of reforms which was subsequently embodied in the resolution on Self-Government which the Federation passed unanimously.

The address finally dealt with the Indianisation of the Services, both in the army and the navy, discussed the communal troubles of last year, referred to the Hindu-Muslim fracas, condemned anarchical movements and concluded with a review of the position of Indians overseas and in the Indian states. Regarding the Bengal Ordinance, while recognising the need for special measures he urged that the Legislature should have been consulted or at any rate some of the leaders should have been taken into the confidence of Government before resorting to such measures of coercion. But the permanent remedy is not in ordinances and acts of repression.

No Government, not even the Government of India, can be carried on satisfactorily without the silent support of the masses; and while it takes these special powers which may or may not be justified it is its bounden duty to see what further permanent measures should be taken to produce the requisite contentment of the people. Otherwise the anarchical crimes will not disappear but will grow into a menace much bigger than it is at present. One part of these permanent measures consists of a rapid political advance. It will be fatal for Government to delay taking effective action in this direction.

The Subjects Committee met in the evening and discussed the resolutions on the agenda. Resolutions on the deaths of Mr. Montagu and the Indian patriots were agreed to. The third resolution urged early publication of the Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee. Considerable discussion centred round Mr. Chintamani's resolution on Self-Government stating what exactly must be the further reforms leading up to full Self-Government which the Federation wished to be introduced at an early date. The fifth resolution dealt with the financial position of Provincial Government and urged the Government of India to abolish Provincial contributions and to make a more equitable distribution of the sources of revenue between the Central and Provincial Governments.

The sixth resolution protested against the acceptance by His Majesty's Government of the Lee Commission's recommendations and the seventh related to economic developments, including Swadeshi, to the elevation of the depressed classes and to the removal of untouchability.

The Federation reassembled at noon next day. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru moved in a feeling speech the first resolution recording the sense of profound sorrow at the premature death of Mr. Montagu. Another resolution deploring the deaths of Dr. Subramania Iyer, Bipendranath Basu, Sir A. Chowdhri, Sir A. Mukerji, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, B. Amma, Dr. S. K. Mullick and Mr. H. K. Patwardhan was carried.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani then moved the main resolution of the day relating to Self-Government in a vigorous speech in which he pointed out the necessity of reviving the Government of India Act before the statutory period. The text of the resolution is given elsewhere in this issue.

The resolution was seconded by Rao Bahadur R. B. Kale, Kazi Kabiruddin and Thakur Mangal Singh and carried.

Sir P. O. Mitter then moved the resolution on

Provincial Finance and said that the increase in military expenditure starved the other nation-building departments in the charge of the Ministers. The resolution having been seconded by Mr. R. R. Jayawant, was passed.

At the meeting of the Federation on the 28th Mr. N. M. Joshi moved the resolution recording its protest against the acceptance of the Lee Commission recommendations by His Majesty's Government in utter disregard of Indian opinion. It was carried after being spoken to by Babu Bishevarnath Srivastava and Pandit P. Saprū, Principal Kanikar of the Fergusson College moved a lengthy resolution expressing disapproval with the present military policy of the Government. It was seconded by Hon. Lt. Hasabeh Kandekar and passed. Other resolutions related to the elevation of the depressed classes, promotion of Swadeshi, separation of judicial from executive functions and medical aid to people in rural areas. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru then moved the important resolution on Indians Overseas. The text of the Resolution with Dr. Sapru's arguments appear in another page.

Pandit Hirdayanath Karsu moved the resolution on the Bengal Ordinance which is given in another page.

Mr. Jitendranath Basu, M. L. C. seconded the resolution which was then carried. Resolutions touching universal education and communal riots were put from the chair and passed.

Dr. Parasjpye in bringing the session to a close alluded to criticisms about his references to unity in his presidential address. He said he was not against unity, but he wanted a heart to hear unity which could be achieved only by a plain straightforward understanding. He did not want a camouflaged unity.

Muslim Educational Conference

The thirty-seventh session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference met in Bombay on the 27th December under the presidency of



SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLAH

the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah. There were delegates from different parts of India.

Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a short speech in Urdu. He referred to the labours of the late Sir Syed Ahmed, and deplored the backwardness of the Muslims. He said:—

"We stand to-day at the parting of the ways. The Reform Act has been passed and the Legislative Councils under it have now been in existence for four years. Swarajya is in sight and it may come sooner than some expect. There can be no political advancement in a community without education. Political advancement and education are closely intertwined. The question is, will the Moslems realise their responsibility and take their proper place in the Councils of the country or will they lag behind and become hewers of wood and drawers of water? Notwithstanding the united efforts of the Conference of the various Anjuman in India, and some of the greatest and noblest Moslems of this country, it is painful to reflect that the Moslem community as a whole is still backward in education and is classed among the backward communities even by some of the Moslem leaders of the day."

It is a great pity that we have no Society among us such as the Servants of India Society of Poona. Look at the great good work this Society has done and the amount of self-sacrifice, devotion to duty and patriotism which the members of this Society have displayed. We need earnest workers.

He concluded with a plea for a more liberal education for Moslem women.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah took the chair amidst cheers and delivered a long address in English. He said that compulsory primary education was being gradually introduced and that the Muslim community should take the utmost advantage and make up for the past lethargy. He continued that "the one stumbling block which has existed all this time, and which exists with equal if not greater force to-day in view of the increasing numbers of aspirants for higher education, is the economic backwardness of the community and want of funds in consequence. In brief, this need is represented by the one word "scholarship." If adequate funds can be made available to give the necessary help to needy students, our progress in higher education would substantially increase, and we would be able, within a reasonable period to wipe off the stigma of backwardness which has attached to our community so long."

He then referred to the beneficial acts of H. E. H. the Nizam and the H. H. the Begum of Bhopal in establishing the Osmania University and the Sultanias College respectively.

The Conference met the next two days and passed various resolutions requesting the Government and the Universities to make early and adequate provision for technical, industrial and commercial education for Indians, and to start special schools for Muslim girls exempting them at the same time from attending lecture courses in colleges, so that they can prepare privately and sit for University examinations. Among other resolutions passed were one relating upon Muslim merchants and printers to spread higher education among the mercantile classes and another requesting the Government to admit more Muslim students in professional colleges, such as Medical and Engineering.

The Khilafat Conference

The eleventh session of the Khilafat Conference was held at the Congress Pandal, Belgaum, on the 24th December, with Dr. Kitchlew in the chair. Several leading Congressmen including Mr. Gandhi and Mr. C. R. Das were present.

After prayers and the singing of national songs Maulvi Kutbuddin Sahab, the Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates in a short speech in which he referred to the death of Bi-Anwar and others. He then said that he felt the want of one plan by which they could have permanent Hindu-Muslim unity. Referring to the failure of Non-Co-operation, he called upon leaders to come to a definite conclusion and give the country a common programme and thus infuse new life and activity.

Dr. Kitchlew, the President, then read his address, in which he reviewed the history of the



DR. KITCHLEW.

Khilafat and explained how they came to adopt Non-Co-operation. He then traced the failure of Non-Co-operation. Referring to Hindu-Muslim

fracas he declared that the Hindu agitation in the Punjab was selfish and unjust. Pandit Malaviya started the Sangathan movement and Muslims therefore organised a counter movement.

What then is the remedy? He suggested that all elections should be arranged on a population basis. The electorate should be mixed. There should be no special representation. The majority community should never be reduced to a minority and recruitment in services be gradually made on a population basis subject to the requirements of efficiency. The Lucknow Pact, he said, should be burnt. Special protection to minorities should take the form of a provision that, when a question affected a minority, a two-thirds vote should decide the question.

Dr. Kitchlew then strongly pleaded for the Sikhs and urged the Khilafatists to make the Sikh cause their own. He then passed on to consider the Islamic interests in Morocco, Hadjaz and Egypt and wound up with an appeal to Muslims to join the Congress and take the same interest in it as they showed in recent years.

The Conference passed resolutions touching the position of Egyptians and the Rifas. Resolutions urging Indian representation on the World Muslim Congress and expressing concern at the plight of Mecca and anxiety at British interference in Muslim affairs were then passed.

These extra territorial considerations over, there ensued a lively debate on Mr. Mohamed Ali's resolution on the boycott of foreign cloth.

Mr. Hazrat Mohani opposed the obligatory provision of the resolution viz, to universalize Khaddar. After some further discussion the resolution was eventually modified to the effect that, while retaining the provision for the compulsory use of Khaddar, it permitted the use of Indian mill cloth if Khaddar was not available.

Other resolutions passed endorsed the resolution of the Unity Conference, condemned the Bengal Ordinance and supported the Swaraj Party.

The Ceylon National Congress

The proceedings of the Ceylon National Congress which met at Colombo on the 19th December, show that the situation in the Island is not dissimilar to that with which we are familiar in India. There too the introduction of a too cautious and inadequate scheme of reforms has divided the Congress into groups of varying views. There are the Non-Co-operators, and others opposed to Non-Co-operation; there are those who insist on communal representation and those who are against it. The existence of vital differences in the methods of political work led to cleavage in the Congress as in this country. Some of the old guards of the Congress left it in disgust as in India and there was weakness and disunion among political workers. Consequently the authority of the Congress as a national organization became less pronounced

and little constructive work was possible. Under these circumstances one can understand the need for unity among political workers for which the President Mr. O. E. Corea so eloquently pleaded. By a curious coincidence Mr. Corea, like Mr. Gandhi of the Indian Congress, is a Non-Co-operator appealing to the people for simple living and high thinking. The Hon. Mr. Forester Obeyesekere, Chairman of the Reception Committee, began his welcome address with touching reference to Mr. Montagu who at the University was a college acquaintance of his. He then dilated on the achievements of the Congress but confessed:



MR. O. E. COREA.

Congress made a big mistake when it took her nearly three years to admit through an ex-President that, for a time, the Kandyan representation would have to be on a communal and territorial basis.

Congress, he said, has done what it could to pour

healing balm on wounds unknowingly inflicted. And he recognized the need for communal unity in these words:—

This year, when Congress unanimously selected its President, the pre-eminent reason for the choice was in order to give tangible proof of Congress's desire to secure unity and co-operation with our Tamil and Kandyan brethren without whom Congress can but see with one eye, hear with one ear, walk with halting steps and speak with faltering accents.

The Presidential address of Mr. C. E. Corea was an eloquent plea for union among all parties.

I wish to disavow in the name of the Ceylon National Congress, all responsibility of Congress for the so-called Sinhalese-Tamil split; I disavow all racial partiality; all discrimination in the national brotherhood. In the name of the Congress, I assure the Tamils, I assure the Kandyans, the Mahomedans, the Burghers, and all nationals of whatever caste, creed or race, equal rights in Congress, equal votes, equal consideration: and if circumstances will make it possible for me to remain as President, I shall see to it that, so long as I am President, that assurance holds good.

He condemned the recent Reforms of the Government as nothing better than "the crystallization of tribalism" and he exhorted the islanders to "cease from whining prayers and supplications: gird their loins for action, arm themselves with the righteousness of their cause: and march onwards to freedom and victory."

He cited several leading Congressmen—both dead and alive—on the side of Non-Co-operation and self-help and reminded them of the resolution decreeing

a widespread movement throughout the country by all the Associations connected with the Congress and all those who are in sympathy to introduce in every home suitable cottage industries, principally the art of spinning and weaving: to impress on the people the absolute necessity of national economy: to use all taxed articles as sparingly as possible.

He showed how it had become a dead letter and how "soul-weary drudges who sweat from sunrise to sunset for less than a pittance are asked to employ their spare time for cottage industries, while, sublime-souled Nationalists in Congress, filled with divine compassion, continue to dissipate their leisure rolling along in motor cars *de luxe* to fountains for the Gods, at tables groaning under the weight of taxed articles. Shame, thrice shame, to you who would add to

the bitterness of an afflicted people the cruel mockery of your hypocritical condolences."

And he concluded with a striking peroration "Delegates of the Congress" he asked.

Is Swaraj of which you once talked so glibly, the aim of this Congress or is it not? If it is, make no mistake, deceive not yourselves. Swaraj comes not at mouth-calls at Shibboleths, and phrases. Swaraj can be attained only through sacrifice and suffering and toil. I am prepared to share with you that toil, and suffering and sacrifice. I am prepared to stand with you to face any abnegation and hardship and peril. I am prepared to stand by you. I am not prepared to grovel with you. If, since you yourselves find comfort and enjoyment in the sunshine of official favour, you care not to move so much as a little finger to lift the heavy burdens laid on your less fortunate countrymen who are being ground down under the iron heel of blind and blundering officialdom Government by blind men's bluff shuffling along to a general overturn you are content to lie in ease and comfort—for an indefinite period—under the soul-destroying serfdom of Crown Colony Administration, you have no further use of me. Let me depart in peace.

The next morning was spent in an abortive discussion on Non-Co-operation. Mr. F. K. Senanayake took occasion to criticise the Presidential address and there ensued a heated debate after which it was shut out as no notice had been given of it. In the afternoon the following other resolutions were passed:—

(1) This Congress is of opinion that the suggestion made by the Retrenchment Committee in regard to the payment of salaries of higher officials on a Ceylon basis with Overseas Allowances for officers recruited from abroad, should be adopted (2) In view of the fact that a great majority of the people depend upon the Ayurvedic (Indigenous) System of Medicine, this Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of encouraging the regular study of this system by the establishment of a properly organized institution for the purpose, and assisting in the establishment of dispensaries and hospitals and that a Committee be appointed to submit to the Government a Memorandum on the subject together with the above resolution.

Resolutions were also passed

(a) urging the grant of the right of election of headmen to the people and (b) urging the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the conditions of Labour in the Island.

INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION. By Amvika Charan Marmdar. Second Edition. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Rs. 2-2.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

Ceylon Buddhist Congress

At Panadura in Ceylon, the sixth session of the All-Ceylon Congress of Buddhist Associations was held on the 26th December and the two succeeding days which was attended by delegates and representatives of affiliated institutions in far larger numbers than in the previous years. The proceedings were mostly in Sinhalese. The Chairman of the Reception Com-

ground which it lost during the dark days of Portuguese and Dutch rule.

The first matter which was urged upon the attention of the Congress was the prosperity of the Sangha that kept undimmed the torch of learning through the stress of foreign invasions and the storm of internal strife. The Sangha first required to be reformed and enabled to



The Stupa or the Relic Chamber of the proposed Vihara at Sarnath, Benares.

mittee, Mr. M. H. Jayatilake, prided himself upon the fact that Panadura was the centre of the great controversy held fifty years ago when the powerful voice of Migettuwata Gunananda, the great Buddhist orator, was heard by the learned men of the West thus heralding the present revival of Buddhism in Ceylon, and being the first attempt to regain for Buddhism all the

occupy the position of eminence which it held in ancient times, if necessary, after acquiring the new knowledge from the West. Intimately connected with the reform of the Sangha is the question of Buddhist temporalities; while the spread of schools was another great and pressing problem.

The Hon. Mr. C. W. W. Kannegara who was elected President of the session, stressed on the

necessity of amending the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1889 which has turned out to be worse than the previous disease and which reflects no credit on the lay trustees who were put in charge. He urged that distribution of public holidays which does not meet with the approval of the Buddhists should also be amended; that Buddhist control over the Buddha-Gaya temple should be restored; and that the municipal rates on the residential quarters of the priests should be removed. Grants to Pirivanas, which serve as centres for Oriental studies, the restoration and preservation of ancient viharas especially in the Kandy District and the revitalising of social consciousness are other departments of work that ought to be undertaken; while sufficient interest ought to be aroused in the clergy and the laity to keep the *dayakayas* of the temples to their regular worship.

The first resolution of importance urged the Government and people of India to do justice to Buddhists by handing over the administration of the sacred site of Buddha-Gaya to a representative body of Buddhists.

A Sinhalese oratorical contest was held next in which W. P. Dalumatte who spoke on Buddhist

Associations was declared to be the winner.

The Pirivanas were to be given higher grants and they were to be freed from the restriction of Government codes and regulations. The assessment of residential quarters in temples within municipal areas was condemned by another resolution; while the ancient viharas were to be restored with due regard to their value as monuments of Sinhalese Buddhist architecture. Buddhist educational institutions ought to be offered larger proportional grants. After these resolutions were gone through, there was a variety of entertainment, as well as a garden party.

Mr. Kasmogara, before closing the business meeting, said that people expected the Congress to do a great deal of work for the country. He hoped they would, when they went to their respective stations, bear those resolutions in mind and further the cause of their religion. Another thing that he wished to mention was the question of beef-eating and taking of life, and the drink question. He hoped that they would abstain from beef-eating and taking of life. As regards drink he thought that it was unnecessary for him to tell anything to them as they were Buddhists.

The All-India Oriental Conference

The third session of the All-India Oriental Conference which was started in 1919 by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, under the auspices of the aged and venerable Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (happily yet spared to us) was held at Madras on the 22nd December and the two following days at the invitation and under the auspices of the University of Madras. An influential Reception Committee was formed with the Vice-Chancellor Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, as its Chairman; and Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, was fully chosen to preside over the session and occupy the place that was left vacant by the untimely demise of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee

who was first invited to accept the place. Over one hundred and seventy-five papers ranging over such a large variety of subjects—like Sanskrit language and literature, Avesta in relation to Sanskrit, Pali, Jain and other Prakrits, Hindi, Sanskrit and Dravidian Philology, Dravidian language and literature, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Music and Indian Art, History, Geography and Chronology, Oriental Philosophy and Science, Sociology, Ethnology and Folklore, Persian, Arabic and Urdu—were contributed by scholars from various parts of India and from different Universities.

Dr. E. M. Macphail, in welcoming the delegates stressed on the value of the opportunity of personal

intercourse between students and researchers that a Conference like this affords, and pointed out how the Conference, besides dealing with the past was also interested in the development of



DR. MACPHAIL, C.I.E.

modern Indian culture. He also suggested that it should be made possible for the Conference to institute a linguistic society for India with a view to work out the details of the various languages and dialects.

His Excellency Viscount Cosgrave who was invited to declare the session open, made a long and interesting speech in which he traced the antiquity and origins of the Indian connection with foreign countries and pointed out the strength of the growing theory that the invading Aryan hosts were profoundly modified by their impact with the aborigines wherever these latter might have been.

He traced in various stages the connection between India and the Mediterranean world from

the days of the Achaemenian Empire as well as the frank manner in which mutual cultural obligations were openly acknowledged on both sides. He urged the greater necessity of advancing our studies by excavations and other non-literary forms of investigation; he pointed out to the vast vista open before the student, how the scope and extent of Indian culture is now seen to be practically co-terminous with the Southern Asian continent and how the research work undertaken with reference to the Hittite monuments and the Byghaz Kot Inscriptions, the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and at Harappa have "unearthed epoch making material."

Dr. Jha, who succeeded Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Sylvain Levi the previous occupants of the Presidential chair pleaded for organisation and co-ordination of research now going on isolated in the various provinces and universities; he rebutted the usually levelled charge that Indians

are wanting in what has been called the critical faculty; and he declared that our literature from the time of Patañjali down-wards bears "evidence of a very high degree of critical acumen." Even the modern *Naiyayika* is hyper-critical in the



Dr. JHA. examination of definitions and inferences. Our Universities should awaken to the duty of promoting research which can be supplied even by such impecunious bodies that we have now as Universities. Research in Oriental subjects does not need any large outlay.

We do not want any expensive apparatus. We only want brains, a quiet place to work in and a few books and manuscripts within our reach. All this means very little cost but it does mean some organi-

sation. This country is subject to such ravages of fire and water that each year we are losing in the shape of manuscripts burnt or washed or crumbled away an amount of treasure which could never be replaced in the future even at the expenditure of millions of rupees; and the callousness that the public displays towards this would be appalling anywhere else except in this unfortunate country. But for purposes of research we have still got in various places quite decent collections of manuscripts; for instance, at Calcutta and Benares in Northern India; in Baroda, Poona, Mysore and Madras and Travancore in the West and in the South. So that what we need is only the organising of research and the providing of facilities for students who are eager to carry on research, in the way of proximity to one or the other of these collections. Perhaps we shall need a few decent scholarships; but even these scholarships need not be half so extravagant as those that are given annually as scholarships for study abroad.

Search for manuscripts was another large field, important and pressing; equally urgent is the task of transcribing old manuscripts which are in danger of being destroyed. The question of their publication comes next; co-ordination between the various publishing bodies and advertisement are all that is now needed in this branch of work. Dr. Jha says that the Moulvi and the Pandit are indispensable; there is the danger of their best qualities disappearing under the reforms through which they are being forced. "The depth of scholarship for which the older Pandits were famous, has all but disappeared during the last 20 or 25 years under the stress of the examination system." The President also pleaded for a revision of our canons of research. There has been very little unbiased study of our older texts. Every interpreter has distorted or twisted the ancient texts into which he wanted to read a new meaning—a procedure justified in the case of great propagandists like Shankaracharya, but not at all in the case of the present generation of writers. The Brahmasutras and others he said have still got to be studied in this spirit.

After Dr. Jha delivered the address, the Conference dispersed for the day. In the afternoon the delegates were entertained at a *parishad* in the Mysore Sanskrit College where recitations from the Vedas, Vakyartha dialectics in Nyaya,

Vyakarna, Mimamsa and Advaita were exhibited by famous scholars; and lectures were delivered on the *Apaurnashyas* of the Vedas and on the *Age of Kalidasa*. Throughout the second day and the morning of the third day the Conference split itself into three sections; each under a chairman, the central section being presided over by Dr. Jha himself. Papers were read and discussions succeeded at these sections. The business meeting of the Conference was held on the afternoon of the third day when the report of the Calcutta session was adopted, an All-India Committee of 21 persons was appointed to draft a permanent constitution for the Conference and the University of Allahabad invited the Conference for its next session to be held in the course of 1926.

A *Fidant Parishad* was held in the evening of the second day when the various Mahamahopadhyayas of the Presidency, Pandits, Principals and lecturers of Sanskrit Colleges, and representatives of vernacular learning were honoured by Dr. Jha with the presentation of shawls.

Mr. A. Krishnaaswami Aiyer was at home to the delegates on the evening of the first day; the Andhra Sahitya Parishad entertained them at tea the next evening. The Presidency College Sanskrit Association gave a performance of *Mritanchalekika* for the delectation of the delegates; and there was a concert of South Indian music in all its variety arranged on the last evening and in which the foremost musicians of South India took part.

EMINENT ORIENTALISTS.

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G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras.

All-India Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League opened its sixteenth annual session at Bombay on December 30 with a large and distinguished gathering of delegates and visitors. Proceedings commenced with recitations from the Koran after which Mr. Deoji Kanji, Sheriff of Bombay and Chairman of the Reception Committee read his welcome address.

Mr. Kanji began by considering the position of India in the Empire "The tragic truth is that she is a pariah in Kenya; the comic camouflage is that she is an equal member in the League of nations." Then referring to the position of Islam in India he said:—

India is the Homeland of Muslims as of Hindus, by the same Sanad. By becoming Muslims we have not ceased to be Indians. The blood of the Pandavas and Kouravas flows in the veins of the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. They are the blood-brothers of the Hindus. But outside our Homeland and a refuge we have our Holy Places and Khalif and 300 millions who share our faith. They are our brothers-in-faith. By blood and religion the Muslims of India are the waiting links of brothers-in-blood and brothers-in-faith. Who can say that blood is thicker than Faith or Faith is thicker than blood?

Dealing with the question of Hindu-Muslim unity he said that the subject of electorates is the vicious apple of discord.

Our Hindu friends contend that separate electorates are undemocratic, and mixed electorates produce concord. This sounds like the repudiation of the principle of the Lucknow Pact and introduces a disturbing factor. Apart from this I am convinced that separate electorates is a real necessity. I am also satisfied that separation is the harbinger of federation in good time.

In conclusion he suggested the advisability of a Conference of all schools of thought among Mussalmans. His second suggestion was to promote education among Muslims and his third was "that the community should tackle social customs in accordance with enlightened modern notions."

The Hon. Mr. Syed Raza Ali in the course of his presidential address dealt with the leading topics of the day. He welcomed Lord Birkenhead as Secretary of State for India and remarked:

To indulge in political prophecies is futile, but I venture to say, if instead of trying to wrest from him by threats of civil disobedience we settle down to constructive work, the future may not be barren of results as it looks to-day.

He then surveyed the events of the past eighteen months in India and said:—

The collapse of the Non-co-operation movement has been followed by consequences, which its promoters did not and could not foresee. Not only have communal disturbances brought to the surface the inner working of the minds of considerable sections of the population, but the leaders of public opinion, divided



HON. MR. SYED RAZA ALI.

into a number of parties have been unable to secure unanimity for a common programme to be put before the country. . . . All this reminds me of what a writer said about the Spanish character some years ago. He said that if seven Spaniards were to form a political association, it would soon split into three with one independent.

He then passed on to consider the need for further advance in constitutional reform and he appealed to Lord Reading and Lord Birkenhead to act courageously in this psychological hour. Referring to the Bengal Ordinance he said:

While, I am unable to say that there was no justification for Lord Reading to exercise his extraordinary powers, I am convinced that the Ordinance goes too far. It gives the Local Government excessive powers and does not sufficiently safeguard the rights of the individuals affected. This is no place for entering upon an exhaustive discussion; but the qualifications

of the Commissioners and the Judges, the authority by which they are to be appointed, the committing to custody in jail of a suspect against whom preventive action may be taken and the option to the Local Government to accept or reject the report made by the Judges on a careful scrutiny of a suspect's case, are, among others, some of its obviously objectionable features.

The position of Indians in the services was then considered, then the Lee Report and other topics.

His warning to his community against the extra-territorial patriotism of some of its members deserves to be quoted:—

Now that the Turkish problem has been solved to our satisfaction and the Khilafat question has been recognised as a domestic affair to be settled by the Muslim world, I strongly feel that we would be less than just to ourselves if, instead of devoting our time and energy to internal problems of our Mother-land, we still allowed ourselves to be distracted by what was going on in distant lands. Extra-territorial patriotism is a most noble and inspiring sentiment, if kept within reasonable bounds. But the moment it interferes with the discharge of our duties or the exercise of our rights as Indian Mussalmans, it becomes a fruitless pursuit, a profitless devotion to a chimera.

He then considered at length the Hindu-Muslim frictions of the year and mildly criticised Mr. Gandhi's decision on the Kohat tragedy.

Referring to the future relations between the League and the Congress the President emphatically repudiated the charge made in certain circles that in holding the League at Bombay they were separating Mussalmans from Hindus, and observed that they were ready to give the Congress that measure of co-operation and support reasonably possible.

Proceeding he suggested the election every year of 10 to 12 of the League members to formally represent the Muslim community in the Congress and he believed that, if the Congress rules were so changed as to recognise their character as Muslims' accredited representatives, a great many of the difficulties would disappear.

He also proposed a revision of the Lucknow Pact of 1916 in regard to Muslim representation in the Councils.

The second day opened with Mr. Jinnah's resolution on the death of Mr. Montagu.

Sir Aftab Ahmad Khan then moved

That the All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate and paramount necessity of introducing the reforms in North-Western Frontier Provinces of India.

He was seconded by Mr. Mahomed Ali.

Mr. Humain Bhoj Lalji moved and Mrs. Sarojini seconded a resolution on the position of Indians in South Africa and Kenya and urging the Government of India to take necessary steps to right the grievous wrongs. Mr. Gandhi who was present pressed to speak on the resolution, spoke a few words in Hindi in which he said that the only way to deal with the grievances abroad as well as at home was the attainment of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

The resolution on Egypt having been passed, one on Bengal Ordinance identical with that passed at the All-Parties Conference was moved and carried.

Mr. Shoukat Ali moved for a Round Table Conference among Muslim organisations in the country.

Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah then moved his resolution appointing a Committee to formulate the Muslim demand regarding representation of the Muslim community in the legislatures of the country and in other elective bodies and their due and proper share in public service, with power to them to confer with other political organisations and report to the Muslim League. The Committee consists of 33 names including Sir Mahomed Shafi, Fazli Humain, Maulana Mahomed Ali and others with power to add to its number.

The Kohat resolution recommends to the Mussalmans of Kohat

to invite the Hindu residents of Kohat to return to Kohat and to settle their differences with Mussalmans of the place honorably and amicably and the League trusts that, while the Hindus in future will avoid provoking Mussalmans, the latter will refrain from resorting to violence and would refer all disputes to the arbitration of trusted leaders of the two communities.

Indian Christian Conference

Indian Christians, mostly Protestants, met in Conference at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Bombay. Delegates representing the Punjab, Bengal, United Provinces, Behar, Central Provinces and Madras were present.

Mr. T. Buell, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates made a short speech in which he reviewed the position of Indian Christians in the public life of India. He said that the chief obstacle to the progress of the community was their apathy: they were neither earnest communalists, nor zealous nationalists. He warned them that they remained in the back-water at their peril. He admitted however that India's tradition of religious tolerance was so strong that they could be safe against persecution.

But there are subsidiary aspects of communal justice to be secured for us as a minority community. Our religion is safe; in fact, Christianity has more cause to be afraid of Christians than of non-Christians. But while other communities are trying not only to safeguard their faiths but to establish denominational rights in the legislatures, the local bodies and even educational institutions, we have to defend ourselves against being swamped by aggressors.

Responsibility, he continued, grew by its exercise, and Christians were in a position to furnish a good example of comradeship and co-operation. He therefore asked for a Committee whose chief aim would be to attend to Christian interests when programmes and constitutions were framed. Continuing the Chairman drew attention to the recent All-Party Conference and said that if things progressed, Indian Christians should so act as to be absolved from the reproach that they never voiced their claims.

He then paid a tribute to the President elect Dr. J. R. Chitambar, M.A.

Dr. Chitambar in his address deplored the recent Hindu-Muslim riots and referred with satisfaction to the part Indian Christians took in the work of restoring peace.

He referred at some length to the Unity Conference and the All-Parties Conference and said that though the resolutions passed at these

Conferences were far reaching in character it remained to be seen how far they could be practically given effect to. The Bombay Conference did no more than condemn the Bengal Ordinance and ratify the Gandhi-Das agreement. He



DR. J. R. CHITAMBER.

contended that it was not sufficient merely for leaders to meet, but they should be imbued with a real spirit of righteousness and broadmindedness. Dr. Chitambar, continuing, pleaded for the giving up of intoxicant liquors by the members of the community, and for better educational facilities for their boys and girls.

Then he defined the position of Indian Christians in the political life of India. First and foremost they were not for non-co-operation but for co-operation.

While perhaps in certain, though very few, matters non-co-operation has been helpful, the entire movement or propaganda has failed as was expected, and may I say, desired by some of the most patriotic sons of India. Nothing can be gained by a destructive policy, or by adopting a hostile attitude towards the British Government.

Then in the second place "We are for evolution

and not for revolution," for anarchism and revolution have always been suicidal. He instanced the case of Egypt and quoting the *Indian Social Reformer* he declared:—

The social, economic and political autonomy of India must be a process of evolution and not of revolution. "Swaraj could come in the wake of a bloody revolution, but that would be morally wrong."

Mr. Chitambar then discussed the question of communal representation and had no hesitation in throwing in his communal lot with other communities.

Our future lies with our non-Christian compatriots. Let us join hands with them in bringing about the desired reforms in our country, seeing to it, of course, that our participation is in consonance with the Spirit and the Ideals of our Divine Lord and Master. Let us work our way into the centre of activities.

The Conference re-assembled the next morning when a motion for introducing religious instruction in educational institutions was postponed after discussion. The Conference agreed to the proposal.

That the All-India Catholic Association should be asked to appoint representatives to meet the members of the conference at a Round Table Conference to investigate the means of bringing about the Catholic participation in the All-India Christian Conference so as to make it representative of the entire body of Indian Christians.

The Conference also appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. John Matthai to report on the economic condition of Indian Christians. It further passed a resolution on the Natal Boroughs Ordinance disapproving and protesting against the enactment and urging the Indian Government to take immediate steps to secure a reversal of the Anti-Indian policy in Natal and to move the Imperial Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance under Section 65 of the South African Act of 1909. Another resolution welcomed the Unity Conference at Delhi as an expression of the establishment of peace and goodwill and assured the Conference's support thereto.

Then followed a temperance resolution; after which consideration was given to a letter from Pandit Motilal Nehru on the question of partici-

pation in the All-Parties Conference. The Conference appointed deputies to act on its behalf in the All-Parties or other similar Conferences.

On the last day the most important resolution was the one on Bengal Ordinance moved by Prof. S. K. Roy. The motion condemned violence, terrorism and assassination of Government officials but disapproved the introduction of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance and the application of Regulation III.

It suggested that if evidence was forthcoming of the existence of revolutionary activities, the Government should consult a few non-officials and men like High Court Judges and only then introduce on their recommendation special legislation for speedy and if necessary, secret trial of suspects.

It also urged the final repeal of Regulation III.

The addendum moved by Mr. Sebastian was also carried. It read thus:

With a view to secure conditions which disorganise anarchical violence the Conference urges upon the British Parliament through the Government of India the desirability of immediate advance in Self-Government for India and to that end asks for a Round Table Conference on the lines supported by the representatives of the Indian Christian Community.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

The Lucknow Social Conference

The 36th Session of the National Social Conference was held at Lucknow under the presidency of Mr. G. K. Devadhar on December 29th. Pandit Gokaran Nath Mishra, the Chairman of the



PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA

Reception Committee related in his address, the progress of the social reform movement in the last few years, dealing exhaustively with the questions of untouchability and the depressed classes and with the need for toleration among the various classes of the community.

Mr. Devadhar pointed out how the aim of all social reform activity was true social happiness and efficiency which would contribute to an all-round progress of humanity.

He touched upon the question of social reform and social service and said with reference to the depressed classes that the movement at Vaikom which was started to improve their condition and help them to assert their rights was one which

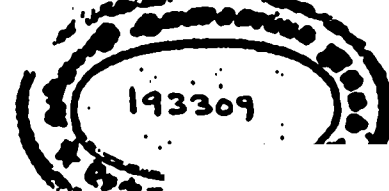
deserved their sympathy provided it was carried on simply for the removal of the social injustice with the help of the people of the Province and after securing their general sympathy and support which, it must be recognised, would be very slow to come. Only care must be taken that the depressed classes are not used as pawns for any political game. He made a strong plea on behalf of the reformation and elevation of the aborigines and labouring classes.

Resolutions were passed on the removal of untouchability, on the need for discarding the caste-system, for the removal of purdah, for the steady progress of women's education, for raising the marriageable age of women, for removing the prevailing wrong notions about widow remarriage and for



MR. G. K. DEVADHAR

convincing the public about the higher ideal of married life. The Conference also showed itself in favour of the re-admission of converts to



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other religions and made an appeal to the Hindu community not to impose any disabilities on such persons on their re-admission. A Standing Committee was appointed to organise the Conference on a broader and firmer basis and to prepare a suitable constitution for the purpose of sustained and vigorous propaganda.

A lively debate took place on a resolution which expressed the opinion that an earnest endeavour should be made by social reformers to educate public

opinion on the desirability of getting divorce recognised by the Hindu society and law. The resolution was moved by Mr. Krimba Prasad Kaul and supported by Dr. Paranjpye and Pandit H. N. Kuzru. Some of the opponents of the resolution were, however, very vehement in their speeches.

The resolution was in the end negatived. The Conference closed with an inter-communal dinner which included Mohammedans, Christians and Parsis from various provinces.

The Belgaum Social Conference

The All-India National Social Conference was held at Belgaum on the 26th December under the



pressing social problems, the removal of untouchability and the establishment of unity and harmony among the creeds and communities of the country.

Sir Sankaran Nair, in his Presidential Address pleaded for a complete emancipation of women and the depressed classes and for securing to them the right to vote for election to Councils. In Egypt, Turkey and China, women were on the road to emancipation; Indian women were better placed than the British in the matter of their economic condition. The President put in a plan that the state should undertake the subsistence of women, pay them and charge it to relatives. Early marriage, compulsory marriage, compulsory widowhood and denial of freedom to grown up women to choose their own husbands must all disappear while the age of consent must also be raised.

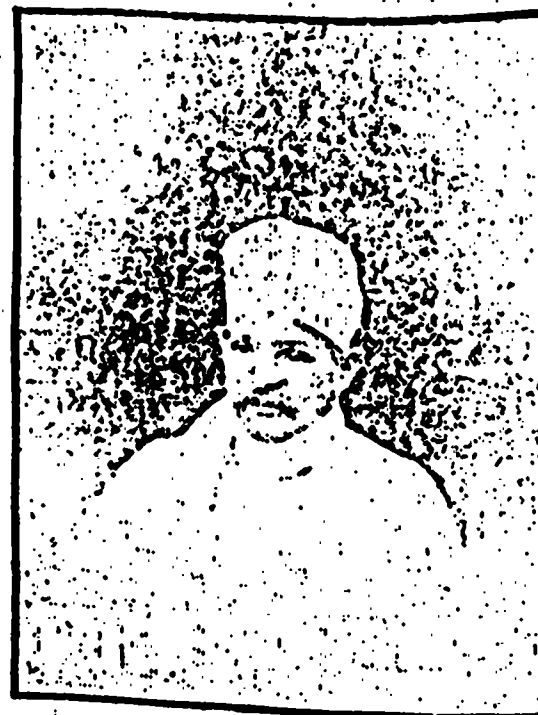
With regard to the caste system and the depressed classes the President was equally vigorous and pleaded for legislation. Lastly he urged that the most effective weapon of emancipation was the right to vote.

In this connection the President referred to the most pressing questions of the Social Reform Movement viz the condition of women, the caste question and the condition of the depressed classes. On all these subjects important resolutions were passed by the Conference.

SIR C. SANKARAN NAIR
presidency of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Rao Bahadur A. B. Latta, the Chairman of the Reception Committee congratulated the Congress on having admitted into its programme, two of our most

The Hindu Maha Sabha

Before the Maha Sabha met at Belgaum in the Congress week, an important informal Conference took place on December 25, 1924 at the temporary residence of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, of the leading Hindu representatives



PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

to discuss what steps should be taken to organise Hindu opinion and take effective measures to deal with the new demands made by the Mohammedan community and to protect the legitimate rights and interests of the Hindu community. Swami Shradhananda, Lala Lajpat Rai and others urged the necessity for strengthening the Hindu Sabha and for forming a distinctly political organisation of the Hindus to safeguard their claims in respect of their representation in the Councils, services etc., to settle differences that may arise between the two communities in religious and communal affairs. Mr. C. R. Das strongly deprecated any

attempt to create a new organisation, while Mr. Gandhi endorsed almost the same view:

The special session of the Maha Sabha opened on December 27 under the presidency of Pandit Malaviya. The Pandit referred to the necessity of organising a Hindu proselytising mission and of focussing Hindu opinion on the question of representation in the Councils and in the services. He also dealt with the question of untouchability and the Non-Brahmin movement. The Pandit was convinced that but for the weakness and cowardice of the Hindus, some of the Hindu Muslim riots could have been averted. The Maha Sabha had voted in favour of the admission of the untouchables to school, and permission for them to draw water from the public wells and to have darsan at temples. The Pandit was entirely opposed to communal representation in national interests, but the Hindus could not give it up till the Mohammedans voluntarily agreed to its abandonment.

A representative Committee with Lala Lajpat Rai as chairman, was appointed to ascertain and formulate Hindu opinion on the subject of Hindu Muslim problems in their relation to the question of further constitutional reforms. A resolution expressed deep satisfaction with the recognition of the independence of Nepal by the British Government and with the complete abolition of slavery in Nepal. There was passed a long resolution about Kohat, about the necessity of a full public inquiry, about the release of men of position arrested by the Frontier Province Government and about subscriptions for the Kohat Refugees' Fund. Resolutions were also passed urging the Maharani of Travancore to permit the untouchables the use of the public roads, condemning the Gulbarga riots and asking Hindus to start Hindu Sabhas all over the country with a view to improve themselves socially and religiously.

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA'S SPEECHES. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the "I.R." Rs. 2.8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

At the invitation of the President of the Indian National Congress what was essentially the first All-India Non-Brahmin Conference was held at Belgaum on the 27th and 28th December. There were protests in Madras by a section of the Non-Brahmins against the election of the President and there were protests at Belgaum from a number of prominent non-Brahmins who held that the Conference was not sufficiently representative.

The President Mr. A. Ramaswami Muliari, M.L.C., reiterated in his address the principles on which the movement was based. He repudiated the taint of jobocracy levelled against the movement and said that the charge was mainly inspired by malice. He held:

I fully and frankly state that one of the objects we have in view is the securing of jobs to the men of our communities and I am not ashamed of calling myself a job-hunter. Yes—I am proud to be a job-hunter, only I hunt for jobs not for myself or for my relations, nor for the no'er-do-wells in my family circles, but I ask openly and demand that jobs should be available to the hundreds of young men, fully trained and equipped, who are now forced to remain idle, because they have not the fortuitous and adventitious aids of other communities. Our movement has for the first time tried to crystallise the principles of public service appointments in that we have laid down that the cardinal principles to be observed should be the selection of persons of communities not adequately represented in the public services, provided that they possess the necessary qualification. A more harmless suggestion it would be difficult to conceive and yet a proposition so elementary has been bitterly attacked and the charge of jobocracy unceasingly levelled. If we are to be criticised as job-hunters, I ask what is all this cry for Indianisation of the services but a job-hunting cry. Nay, is not the Indian National Congress itself a great job-hunting and job-securing machinery set up in the interests of Indians?

He then passed on to other topics like the need for education, and the stopping of emigration. He said that dyarchy was a complete failure and he outlined the next steps in responsible government which would satisfy Indian political aspiration.

On the question of unity of all parties in their political work Mr. Mudaliar welcomed the Unity Committee formed at the All Parties Conference.

A determined effort must be made to bring about if not absolute union or merger of parties at any rate the possibilities of co-operation and conjoint action.

But in this effort we cannot afford to lose sight of first principles, to sacrifice the essential creed of our party. There can be no compromise so far as our goal is concerned, the attainment of Swaraj or Home Rule within the British Empire. Neither can we be equivocal as regards the methods by which such goal can be reached. Ours are constitutional methods. We cannot practise the method of direct action, of non-co-operation which does violence to the constitution itself. Nor can we take to what are termed obstructive methods, of wrecking the Councils, of refusing the responsibilities of office. Apart from the fact that these are essentially unprofitable deviations from the path which leads to our goal, they have proved disastrous to the real interests of the country.

The main work of the Conference as will be seen from the resolutions passed at the session, was directed towards making the Conference an All-India organisation, with Provincial and District and Taluk branches united together in one central organisation. Among the important resolutions passed at the session was one defining the object of the Non Brahmin Congress (the new name assumed by the Non Brahmin Conference)

which is the attainment of Swaraj or Home Rule for India as a component part of the British Empire, at as early a date as possible by all peaceful, legitimate and constitutional means, by promoting goodwill and amity among different communities of India through safeguarding their interests by means of communal representation and by social amelioration and re-organisation.

Every person who is not a Brahmin and who is over 21 years is eligible to become a member of the Non-Brahmin Congress.

Among other resolutions was one expressing the opinion of the Non-Brahmin Congress that

It could co-operate only with those political bodies which have for their goal Swarajya or Home Rule within the British Empire, whose methods of agitation are strictly of a constitutional character not calculated to bring the Government to a standstill by direct action or other similar methods, and which recognise the principle of communal representation in the services of the country.

Another asked for the revision of the constitution towards greater self-Government and yet another sought adequate representation of Non-Brahmins in all Legislatures and increasing Non-Brahmin element in the services. A resolution on Indians overseas was also passed. The Congress recommended reorganisation of the Provinces on linguistic lines and advocated village propaganda. There was no resolution on the Bengal Ordinance.

The Fallacy of a Golden Age

The idea of a golden age gives the colour of actuality to our ideals and serves to suggest to the uncritical mind a means for their realisation—so writes Prof. O. J. Hamilton in THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS. The State of Nature and the Golden Age, though not always thought of as an actual and historical state by theorists, has come to be very commonly believed as a historical condition from which the world had unhappily passed away; and in times of popular discontent the change was ascribed to the misdeeds of the rulers or of the dominant class. In India this conception has all the greater potency, because of the habitual natural tradition to look backwards.

Mr. Hamilton says that the truth of the matter is that those who compare the wealth and grandeur of the past with the poverty of the present are guilty of a number of fallacies including a comparison of two widely different things like the present low average income of the population, and the magnificence of the courts of previous dynasties. A second fallacy is to take all the achievements in the realms of literature, science and art extending over hundreds of years and exhibit the glory of them in comparison with the poverty of the present age. By an effort of the imagination the work of hundreds of years is telescoped so as to appear concentrated in the Golden Age; and the present naturally seems to shrivel into insignificance. The proof of the Golden Age in the past rests thus upon "paucity of historic authority and confused character of the reasoning." Again contrasts are instituted of the present with the times more or less immediately preceding British rule—as in statements that the peasantry to-day are sunk in indebtedness, prices were low before and famines were less frequent. The belief that India was once richer than now is a prejudice and a superstition; it clogs the mind and distorts the judgment.

Safes

Sufi Raushan Ali read a paper on Sufism before the recent Religious Conference in London which is reproduced in THE REVIEW OF RELIGIONS. He refutes the idea that Sufism is a growth foreign to early Islam, principally of Persian or of Buddhistic origin—"a reaction of the Aryan mind against a conquering Semitic religion." This idea is not in consonance with facts; the whole warp and woof of Sufism is Islamic; to the Sufis Mahomed is the perfect example and exemplar. Thus we have an account of why Sufism has come to be so popular with the Persians.

As we have stated above, the Sufi teachings were taken in hand at the right moment by the Arabs and non-Arabs—the Persians, in particular. It was due to the beauties of Islam that the Persians entered into its fold, and along with other sides of this great faith they look up to the Spiritual side with great avidity. Had they joined with the purpose of breaking up Islam or had their action been due to the natural reaction or set in by a superior yet decadent civilization, how is it that we have men of Persian descent or origin like Imam Muhammed Ismail Bukharae, Muslim Bin Hajjaj of Nishapur, Abu Kasa Tirmadhi, the great Jurist Imam Abu Hanseefa No'man, Imam Abu Yusuf, Ya'Koch, Saeb-vaifi and Abu Ali Farsi—the last three being the greatest grammarians, who have all played an important role in the history of Islam and its propagation? It is difficult to find such a galaxy of its famous names even in the ranks of the Sufis, who were proud to follow them as well as the great Arab Moslems, in all reverence. Moreover, some of the greatest names in Juris-prudence have been equally great in Sufism—for instance, Abu Hanseefa, Shafasee, and Rabia Baeri. Necessity is the mother of invention; it was necessity that drove them in various directions. The various branches of Moslem religion were taken up by the great ones when a need was felt for them. In short, the Persians did not take part only in the Sufi movement but their activities were visible everywhere in all branches in the interests of Islam. If the mere reading of the Holy Quran was needed, they were in the forefront. If the need for Spiritual side was felt, we find them shoulder to shoulder with others.

Why the Sufi propaganda was not given prominence in the early days of Islam, was because it was not needed. When people lead a righteous life and they have a thorough grasp of the subject in its essential and practical side, it is useless to give them a formal instruction. If a person knows a language as his mother tongue, there is very little need for him to have a grammatical instruction.

Indian Foreign Affairs

THE ROUND TABLE concisely and clearly puts the Indian foreign situation in its two most important aspects very clearly. Recently the influence of foreign affairs upon Indian politics has been less marked than usual. On the north-west frontier interest centred in the Khost rebellion which had been giving the Amir considerable trouble. It was obviously a revolt on the part of the Maliks and the conservative elements against the administrative reforms which the Amir Amanullah had so proudly proclaimed. From a political standpoint the press of Kabul made it plain that the Afghan Government had been able to rally feeling in its own favour by representing the Khost rebellion as arising from British intrigues. The Soviet press made the same charge in somewhat heated terms. But the Amir had been offered by the British Government all facilities for the recapture of the escaped rebel Abdul Karim Khan and for the purchase of munitions of war to assist him against the rebels. Muhammadan opinion in India has been generally supporting the Amir but the public execution at Kabul of an Ahmadiya leader has caused a revulsion of feeling among this section.

The Khilafat movement has been for some time at a discount, partly on account of the secularising attitude of the Angora Government and partly on account of the lack of confidence in the manner in which the Khilafat funds have been expended. The Government were unable, "consistently with the ordinary usages of diplomatic courtesy" to afford facilities for the Khilafat Deputation "whose professed intention was to exercise influence upon the internal affairs of another state." The question of issuing passports was hung up until the desires of the Angora Government were ascertained; and the Government were accused of hostility towards Indian Muslim sentiments. But the caution displayed by Government has been justified by the

event. The interest excited by the Mosul question in which Indian opinion backs the claims of Turkey, and the excitement arising from the Wahabi attack upon King Hussein who is regarded as "a mere tool in the hands of the British" have produced some degree of tension of feeling among the Indian Muslims who would welcome the Wahabi occupation of the Hedjaz, provided it is not sullied by the desecration of the sacred places.

Burma and Burman Life

Dr. B. M. Bama, writing in THE CALCUTTA REVIEW contrasts Indian life with that of the Burman, saying that the religion on the Burman side teaches that death is a feast and a festival, while that of Bengal Vaishnavism postulates a life of joy. The Burman represents a people "young in racial development, eager, active, impatient of all restraint;" and his brighter qualities and shortcomings, achievements and failings are all that is due to the full vigour and noble impulse of youth. The real history of Buddhism in Burma began at a time when it ended in India. With the destruction of the various Sanghas the Buddhists permanently lost their ground in India; while the Buddhist teachers of Ceylon were too much given to the study of grammar and controversies about monastic discipline and the ecclesiastical code and at the same time too unimaginative and conservative to think of anything new. But the Buddhist teachers of Burma preserved the pervading Indian element in their law-books while greatly modifying the severity of the criminal law as well as forms of marriage and social institutions. The aspect of Buddhism which appealed most to the Burman people and was found in harmony with their inner spirit is the doctrine of impermanence. The Burmans stand out in history as the main Buddhist people who have consistently sought with their Siamese neighbours, to realise the ideal of impermanence. The Buddhist Abhidhamma literature which is studied most carefully

in Burma has taught the grand ideal of impermanence which pervades every activity of theirs. The youthful vitality of the race, coupled with its deep rooted faith in the truth of impermanence, constitutes the very source of Burman strength and weakness. Indian life tends to be static, and the Burman life dynamic. No other type of Aryanism could take a permanent root in the soil except Buddhism which is socially non-interfering and seeks by change of heart and outlook, to lead a free people like the Burmese on the road to self-determination. Burma like other countries was a scene of tribal migrations, foreign invasions and internecine hostilities; but these did not disturb the peaceful life in the monasteries. On the whole, Burman life is a contribution of all that is best in Hinduism and Buddhism.

Characteristics of Jainism

The Jains lay much stress upon their five vows (vratas) namely: Ahimsa, (non-killing), Astya (truth), Aastya, (non-stealing) Brahmacharya (chastity) and Aparigraha (non-attachment to worldly things) and of these they attach the highest importance to Ahimsa, the latter four being the means to strengthen it. Ahimsa is thus the guiding principle of their life.

Mr. Rikhab Das Jain writing in the November number of the JAINA GAZETTE dwells at length about the characteristics of Jainism. He says:—

The motto of Jain Dharma is PEACE FOR ALL. It does not like to fight with any religion. It does not like to see the various religions in discord with one another. It reconciles them with its enchantic method. It is a religion in which are comprised the principles of all the religions of the world. It is a religion in which the six schools of Hindu Philosophy are seen in their true light. It denounces not the principles of any religion. According to it the theory of every religion is true from a certain point of view, and in a certain respect. When it finds two religions with their inconsistent theories, quarrelling with each other, it pacifies them saying, "Friends quarrel not; both of you are right from a certain point of view, and in a certain respect. Your mistake is that you assert your theories in a one-sided or absolute manner."

The Religion of Tibet

Mahayana Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the 6th century A.D. by the famous King Srong Tan Gampo. This type of Buddhism, says a writer in THE OCCULT REVIEW, had wandered far from the original teaching of the Buddha and through over-speculation had lost itself in a tangle of views against which Buddha had warned his disciples. In Tibet this type came to be mixed with the ancient animistic Bon religion, a form of premature demonolatry. Lamaism was founded by one Padma Sanbhava about whom there is a great deal of mystery and who according to tradition was a Mahayana monk from Nalanda of the 8th century. In the 11th century, Atihsa, an Indian monk went to Tibet where he deprecated all magic and introduced monastic celibacy and a stricter code of life. Thus was created the Reformed School of "Yellow caps" as opposed to the old School of "red caps"; the difference between the two being not so much doctrinal as disciplinary.

At first sight Tibetan Buddhism seems to be a complicated mythological polytheism, to which is added the propitiation of innumerable good and evil spirits; there is also the superstition fostering Lamaism. The following is an account of the Tibetan Pantheon.

The Adi Buddha is the impersonal source of all things, without beginning or end, that which is formless, nameless and inconceivable, in and by which all phenomenal existence manifests. This is symbolized in its innumerable aspects by the various "powers" which are called, somewhat erroneously, the "gods" of Tibetan Buddhism, of which Chakras, incarnated in the Dalai Lama, is the most popular. It would be more correct to say that the Dalai Lama is overshadowed by Chakras, since Chakras is conceived as being everywhere else. The other greater powers, the Dhyana, or heavenly Buddhas, as Akshobhya and Vairocana, are also aspects of the Adi-Buddha. These are spiritual, belonging to the "formless worlds," are emanations of the Adi-Buddha, and helpful to the devotees. The human-Buddhas, as Gotama, are considered as existent in the "worlds of form," though beyond the necessity of incarnation, and able to assist the efforts of struggling humanity. A little lower are the human Bodhisattvas, also belonging to the worlds of form, of which Maitreya, the Buddha to come, is the most notable. They are responsive to direct appeals in the way of prayers and supplications.

Dravidian Origins

The old theory of an Aryan invasion and its super imposition upon the primitive culture of India has been so long resting on book evidence alone, on sacred texts written in the Aryan languages alone. But new facts have been coming into light. Of these the most important is the individuality of the Dravidian group; there was no definite archaeological evidence for a high material civilisation in India before as late as the 3rd century B. C. whereas Egyptian and Babylonian civilisations showed actual remains in the shape of buildings and objects of art that went back to 3000 B. C. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, writing in *THE MODERN REVIEW*, attempts to support the strengthening hypothesis that the Indo-Europeans were a comparatively backward race when they came in touch with the peoples of the Egean, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and when they came into India as Aryans; and that in India apparently the Dravidians had some independent culture of their own as we could see from their language. That there was a profound influence exerted by the non-Aryans in the evolution of Hindu culture and ideas is now gradually admitted.

The non-Aryans fall into three main groups, Dravidians, Kols or Munda and Tibeto-Chinese. The Kols probably came into India from Indo-China through Assam and Bengal, if they were not the first inhabitants of the upper Indian plains. Dr. Levi has sought to indicate how from place names the presence of the Kol element all over Northern India can be demonstrated and how it is extremely likely that a Kol culture did exist and consisted apparently in maritime commerce and adventure in Indo-China and Insulinia. The Dravidians were on a far higher cultural level than the Kols. There are evidences of the presence in the coast-lands of India (in South Baluchistan, in South India and the Andamans) of a Negrito people who were probably the original inhabitants of India and who were killed off or absorbed by the Kols and the Dravidians.

A large mass of materials belonging apparently to pre-Dravidian times have been brought to light like paleo-lithic and neo-lithic implements, crude pottery, beads, cane-paintings, indications of burial customs, some copper implements and ornaments, etc. Possibly the Old Stone Age weapons belong to the Negritos; and the New Stone Age implements were the works of the ancestors of the Kols while the copper implements and ornaments can be ascribed equally to the Dravidians and the Kols. The culture types discovered in the tanks like those at Adichanallur have counterparts in the tanks of Crete, Cyprus, Anatolia etc. The recent discoveries made at Harappa and at Mohenjo Daro show us a civilisation dating from the sub-neo-lithic Age which had some unique features of its own, flourished along the Southern Indus and the Sattlej valleys and extended also to Baluchistan and which bear a remarkable affinity to similar antiquities from Babylon dating from Sumerian or pre-Semitic times. There has been already propounded a theory that the Sumerians could have well been a branch of the primitive Dravidians. Mr. R. K. Banerji is inclined to connect the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa people with the Dravidians. There are other evidences for connecting the original Dravidians with Mesopotamia as well as with the Mediterranean. The whole presents a very striking problem full of great possibilities.

TEN TAMIL SAINTS.

BY MR. M. S. POORNALINGAM PILLAI, D. A.

This book contains life-sketches of ten great saints and seers that have appeared in the Tamil Land.

CONTENTS:—Saint Janna Sambandar: The Impaler of the Jains. Saint Manickavachakar: The Hammer of the Buddhists. Saint Appar: An Ideal Servant of God. Saint Sundarar: God's Bondsman. Saint Kannappa: The Nimrod Bhakta. Saint Karaikal Ammal: The Demon Possessed. Saint Tiruvalluvar: A Great Moralist. Saint Meykanda: The Great Saiva Siddhanti. Saint Thirumanaavar: A popular Poet-Philosopher. Saint Pattinathar: A Poet-Melasse.

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A Home of Greatness

Lord Meston writing in *THE UNITED EMPIRE* welcomes the new idea started by the Maharaja Holkar of a 'Home of Greatness' at his capital which will house the portraits and biographies of all the greatest men and women of all times; and he would plead for the starting of a similar home for the great ones of the British Empire. The Indian exemplar is a home without distinction of race or religion, where non-political and non-sectarian lectures will be delivered about the work of these men. The noble Lord thus expresses his admiration of the Holkar's institute.

The conception is an impressive one, and essentially Hindu in its bold eclecticism. A few years ago, certain of the Hindu magnates of Northern India were busy with a project for a "Hall of all Religions," in which the various faiths of mankind were to be studied, expounded—and reconciled! It is the same instinct of synthesis that has actuated the Maharaja Prince of Indore; and it was natural that his ceremony at the new "Home of Greatness" should be attended and blessed, as we are told it was, by "representatives of all the great religions of the world." Hinduism is a Catholic system of belief; its pantheon has been opened to many strange corners, and its tenets inculcate a spirit of deliberate reverence for whatever is noble and of good report. The orthodox Hindu, untainted by the iconoclastic tendencies of Western education, finds it much easier than the insular Briton to pay his homage to Confucius or Solon, to Marcus Aurelius or Francis of Assisi.

In another sense, however, there is something in the idea that is foreign to Hindu tradition. Among the many phases of its intellectual speculations, wide and daring though they are, Hinduism has no place for the science of history as we understand it. Annals, memoirs, biography were virtually unknown before the Mahomedan conquests; the ancient epics are even, if possible, more unhistorical than *Osian* or the *Norse sagas*. Little care is given to dates or the sequence of past events; for the life of man is only a grain of sand under the ocean of Time, and Time itself is but a drop in the infinitely vaster ocean of eternity. Progress is vanity; and what is the use of trying to improve a world which is only illusion, and which the gods will shatter when they get tired of it? Hardly favourable to individual effort is the frame of mind that such a philosophy begets; and some notion of providing his subjects with an antidote for it may possibly underlie the Maharaja's conception. It may be his hope to hold up to the gaze of young India the classic examples of difficulties overcome, of greatness achieved, and of its power over the lives of others and the advancement of the race.

British Justice and Native Races

Mr. J. H. Harria, writing in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, with all his experience in tropical colonies, says that in the African dependencies there have been grave departures from the accepted canons of British justice, involving the deplorable consequences of an impaired faith in British justice. The most ominous of these consequences is found in the Kenya Colony. In Rhodesia things are very nearly as bad. The Nigerian system denies to native prisoners the right to engage counsel to defend them. Frequently flogging of natives is resorted to beyond the possibility of human endurance; trial by jury is almost unknown in Nigeria. Thus the writer concludes as to the right remedy for these abuses:—

The facts of these cases illustrate grave departures from Britain's high standard of justice; they are being denounced by native communities not only in Africa but in other countries where coloured men congregate. It is passing strange, however, that protests against these unfortunate incidents is being left almost entirely to judicial officers. It is idle to close our eyes to the fact that with increasing economic competition race prejudice is seriously on the increase; every effort therefore, must be made to secure a high standard of judicial procedure. It is an open secret that Lord Milner expressed himself strongly about certain cases of extreme brutality in Kenya Colony. Surely the time has come to intimate that any future case will be met by deporting from British Dependencies as "undesirables" and persons found guilty of such practices. It is due to the Colony itself and due to every decent-minded settler in the Colonies, no less than to the British public, that action of this kind should be taken.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

- ANIMISM AND ITS SURVIVAL IN INDIA.** By Lily Strickland Anderson. [*"The Calcutta Review,"* December 1924]
- RECENT DISCOVERIES IN INDIA.** By L. E. T. [*"The Theosophist,"* December 1924].
- INDIA'S RELIGIOUS PROBLEM.** By Mrs. M. R. Harding. [*"The Vedic Magazine,"* Dec. '24].
- MUSICAL REFORM IN INDIA.** By D. P. Mukherji, [*"The Lucknow University Magazine,"* December 1924.]

Beauty in India

In India, a very ancient civilization has developed a type of beauty that attracts even Westerners and all those who recognise the charms of lovely figure, luxuriant hair and lustrous dark eyes. It is only that beauty which comes from within that is everlasting. Beauty of the soul as well as of the body may be cultivated, and it is only in the combination of the two that we may find perfection on earth. Lily Strickland Anderson writing in the November number of the CALCUTTA REVIEW refers to the beauty of the Indian women and their unyielding tendency to modern fashion. Her observations are worth quoting here:—

Indian women have no need to conform to changing styles. There is no change in modes for them; Custom and Costume have remained fixed for hundreds of years. Fashion does not make the mode here, and the old style of dress so long in vogue in India is perfectly adapted to the types of beauty and body. They are well content to show off the flowing lines of colourful draperies, the graceful arrangements of body and head-covering and the profusion of rich jewellery which gives the correct finishing touch to an oriental toilet.

Should an Indian woman be so unwise as to adopt the styles of Western dress she will only succeed in making a caricature of herself. There can be no compromise between the styles of the East and West, and any attempt in that direction only leads to ludicrous failure. How much more lovely and graceful are the undulating lines of the sari, designed in a multitude of handsome fabrics, embroidered, brocaded, woven and shot with silver and gold threads, and running the gamut of the rainbow in pure and beautiful colours. How charming a foil for the old ivory and dusky complexions of the wearer.

When Mark Twain was in India, he paid a glowing tribute to the beautiful costumes and graceful carriage of Indian women. They have never known the constrictions of the body caused from wearing tight corsets, shoes and garments cut in intricate and sometimes deforming lines. Their walk is free, lithe, dignified and as graceful as a young larch in a spring wind.

A Sari the national costume of the Hindu, consists of about six yards of material, which when wound round the body, creates at once a petticoat, a skirt, a waist and a head-covering. The Sari is draped with a deftness and grace that would fill with envy the most ultra *Modiste* on the *Rue de la Paix* or *Fifth Avenue*.

Government and Power Development

The Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, writing in THE ENGLISH REVIEW discusses policies of Government which are best suited to secure in the public interest the maximum development and the widest distribution of electric power at least cost to the consumer; he says that with particular reference to the United States the characteristic feature of the power development of the future will be groups of efficient generating stations, of large capacity, hydro and fuel, interconnected into single operating systems covering wide areas and serving a great variety of uses; and that "inter-connection is the road along which more economical expansion and use of electrical energy must proceed." The perfection in transmission of electric energy, the higher mechanical efficiency of generators with large capacities in single machines and the opportunity to generate power in larger and more economically located stations, are, according to the writer, the chief lines of future development; in other words there are wider gains to be made through this wider inter-connection and through central station generation. The resultant benefits would be "cheaper production costs, greater reliability of service, better utilisation and consequent conservation of our coal supplies and larger use of our available water powers."

All these developments rear hosts of problems in Governmental relations and should not endanger either the equality of opportunity of the citizens or the capacity of initiative of the people. The economic generation and distribution of power require local territorial monopoly; and they therefore involve the principle of public regulation. Federal regulation is not the road to the solution of the problems of inter-state movements of power. There must be an eventual division of the country into power districts. There must be co-ordinated regulation among groups of states.

National Culture

In an article on "Manners and Culture" in a recent issue of THE IRISH STATESMAN the writer who is presumably A. E. the post-Editor of that journal, says that the purpose of culture

is to create national character, to bring about a harmony in the midst of our diversities, a unity of mood, so that we shall easily unite for national purposes and make sacrifices for them with readiness. The purpose of a culture is to create character just as the purpose of instruction is to bring about skill and efficiency.

In Ireland as in India, the controversy among the advocates of national education is mainly about the language, and far more on the letter than on the spirit. But if "national culture is to be worth anything it must include more than a knowledge of language." A true culture cannot arise "when it is taught not for its own sake, but because of hostility to another culture where there is a partisan, rather than a true cultural purpose in the education given." For the main object of national culture is the creation of nation character.

We have suffered from the characterless culture imposed on us in the past. We have all been appalled by the apparition in the past five or six years, of bullying, dishonesty and thieving which sprang into active life the moment circumstances made it possible. Where these qualities were not manifested in physical acts, they were obvious in moral acts, the dishonesty in statements made without any attempt to discover truth, the bullying in abusive language, the thieving in attempts to take away character. The Free State will fail, as the old regime failed in its time, if the central object of all education is not conceived as character making.

The writer points out that "one of the needs of our national culture is to beget the temper in which men and women will discuss the problems of the country, eager to know what others are thinking and what their ideas are." What he says of Ireland is no less true of India and his observations carry a needed lesson to us as well:

We should always keep in mind the wisdom of the Athenians of whom Pericles said: We listen gladly to the opinions of others and do not turn sour faces on those who disagree with us." A nation is truly cultivated when that can be said truly of it. We may be certain that the more dogmatic people are about their country and the solution of its intricate problems the less value is there in the solutions they suggest. There is such a thing as public good manners, the temper which feels that public life is degraded when its politicians call each other traitors, hypocrites, humbugs, cowards, and the like. Such words, of course, exist because there are facts corresponding to them in human nature, but they should be used with the greatest care. They trip too easily to the tongue. Their use in regard to others fills us up with a misleading sense of our own virtues. The election speeches exhibited too many of our politicians on both sides as having the worst possible public manners. If by going back to our roots in the Gaelic culture we could recover the generosity of mind, magnanimity and love of beauty in which it was so rich it would be worth the effort. To insist on the body and forget the soul is only to exchange one form of stupidity for another, and we can see nothing worth while has been gained by making Gaelic rather than English the vehicle of an uncultivated mind.

A United States of Europe.

In the LABOUR MAGAZINE Mr. H. W. Lee, Editor of the Social Democratic organ JUSTICE argues in favour of a United States of Europe as a step towards the association, in an all-inclusive League of Nations, of the States of the world federated by Continents. He says:—

An all-inclusive League is essential, but it is not enough. The League is only a means to an end, not an end in itself. The end is peace, and it can be achieved only by using the League as a framework for building up a new order of international society. Part of this order must be a united Europe, without which there can be no real society of nations. It is obvious that European countries, which are situated on the same continent, inhabited by the white race and all belonging to Western civilisation, with a fundamentally similar outlook, political institutions, etc., can become united to a much closer extent than, for instance, the United States and Tibet, Germany and China, Great Britain and Abyssinia, or other countries at opposite poles, geographically, racially, and culturally. Everything must be done to get all countries into the League but there must also be formed groups of closely associated or federated States by continents within the League.

The Chaitanya Movement

A writer in *THE YOUNG MAN OF INDIA* details those features of the life and thought of the Chaitanya movement which should be of interest from the view point of Christian missionaries. The able lieutenants of Chaitanya, especially Nityananda, organised a community spread the bhakti cult and created the mendicant order of Vairagis and the order of gurus or gossamis. There was also the rise of biographical, narrative and lyric poetry which were the principal expressions of the literary side of the flowering; and this was soon followed by a mass of theological writing of a high order. The movement also created the temple-centre of Brindaban. And above all its Krishna-centric bhakti is its greatest triumph.

The following would be of interest to the Christian missionary.

In its doctrine of the incarnation of God the Christian missionary finds common ground in Vaishnava doctrine. Even though the term *avatars* does not express all that our use of incarnation does, still the comparison is natural. The Chaitanya bhakti is so intensely centred in Krishna as the manifestation of the Supreme, that a comparison is inevitable.

The religious experience of the Vaishnava is of the same order as the Christian. The note of joy is a true mark of bhakti, whether Christian or Hindu. It is not by accident that both are rich in a great hymnology. The famous five stages of bhakti already mentioned are all found in the varied language of Christian experience. The *santa* is the quietism of Christian mysticism. The *dasya*, or servant, attitude has been the natural expression of devotion from St. Paul to our own day. Indeed, this aspect of devotion is much more richly illustrated in Christian than in Vaishnava devotion, because Christ made it fundamental for us, while in the Vaishnava scale it is subsidiary. The *sakhya* stage, expressing devotion in terms of friendship, is familiar enough with us. Its fountain source is in our Lord's beautiful words, "No longer do I call you servants: . . . but I have called you friends." The *britanya*, or fourth stage, expressing devotion in the terms of parent and child relation, is natural enough to Christian thought, is, of course, absolutely central in Christian worship. To the Vaishnava, however, the idea is of the tenderness felt toward a little child, and is exemplified in the tremendous power the worship of Krishna as a little child has over the minds of Indian women. An almost exact parallel is the adoration of the Wise Men and the worship of the Bambino in the Roman Church. The highest stage, the sweetness and passion of the lover relation or marriage relation, is an imagery that has been sparingly used, and wisely so, in Christian experience. The parallel here is confined almost entirely to medieval monasticism.

The European Discovery of the Vedas

The first definite mention of the Vedas in European literature, is according to Dr. Jarl Ocharpentier writing in *THE JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY*, in a treatise, *De Fribus Imperiis* first published about 1598. Dr. Jarl Ocharpentier says that even as early as the 13th century there were movements of blasphemous dissent among some European writers and theologians like Simon of Tournay who denied the doctrine of the Trinity. Portal and Campanella both of the 16th century, have also been associated with the treatise *De Fribus*. Some passages of this work tend to show that the original was written by a man who was well-conversant with Jewish, Muhammadan, Hindu and Christian matters of creed and who showed a knowledge of passages of the Vedas and some cosmogonic notions of the Hindus. Some passages tend to throw light on the date at which it was composed. "Already in 1559-60, Jesuit Fathers speak of Vyasa, the collector of the Vedas; but as he is referred to as Gita-Veasa and as having bequeathed to posterity more than 18 volumes, there is no doubt that we have to see in him Vyasa, the collector of the Mahabharatha, and above all the Puranas." Father Fenicio, writing at Calicut about 1603-09 was acquainted with the story of the theft of the Vedas connected with the first Avatars; but he has no explicit mention of the name, Veda. There is a stray mention of the Veda in the Latin eulogium preceding the Portuguese translation of Father de Nobili's Tamil Catechism completed about 1661. There are two mentions of the Veda in two French accounts of Hinduism belonging to the 17th century and ascribed to de Nobili. The learned d'Herbelot writing in 1697, has some hazy information concerning the collection of fifty Upanishads translated into Persian by the Pandits of Dara Shikoh later on into Latin by Anquetil Duperron.

Questions of Importance

Further Constitutional Advance

I MR. GANDHI

In the course of his Presidential Address to the Belgium Congress, Mr. Gandhi suggested twelve points for incorporation in any scheme of Swaraj that may be agreed upon in the country. His points were:—

1. The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work such for example as suggested for the Congress franchise. Literary or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish to take part in the Government and the well being of the State.

2. The ruinous military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times.

3. Administration of justice should be cheapened and with that end in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in Delhi. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitration, the decisions of these Panchayats to be final except in cases of corruption or obvious misapplication of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be avoided. Case-law should be abolished and the general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbersome and worn out English procedure. The tendency in the Colonies is to simplify the procedure so as to make it easy for litigants to plead their own cases.

4. Revenues from intoxicating liquors and drugs should be abolished.

5. Salaries of the Civil and Military Services should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country.

6. There should be re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis with as complete autonomy as possible for every province for its internal administration and growth.

7. Appointment of a Commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners and, subject to the findings of the commission, full guarantees to be given for all vested rights justly acquired.

8. Full guarantee of their status to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government subject to the right of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in self-governing India.

9. Repeal of all arbitrary powers.

10. The highest post to be open to all who may be otherwise fit. Examinations for the Civil and Military services to be in India.

11. Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual forbearance.

12. The Official language for provincial governments, legislatures and courts, within a definite period to be the vernacular of the province; of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani, the script to be either Devanagiri or Persian. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of international diplomacy to be English.

II DR. PARANJPE

Dr. Paranjpe's Presidential Address to the Liberal Federation outlined a scheme of Self-Government for India on the basis of which the Federation passed the following resolution:—

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India reaffirms its conviction of the paramount necessity of the early introduction of full responsible Government in British India, alike in Provinces and in the Central Government, only the foreign, political and military departments being retained for the time being under the control of the British Parliament and of the full recognition of India as a dominion in all matters of Imperial concern and inter-imperial relations.

(b) The Liberal Federation holds it to be essential that

(1) the control of the Secretary of State for India over the administration and revenues of British India should be curtailed by statute so that his position may be approximately as nearly as may be to that of the Secretary of State for Colonies in relation to dominions.

(2) That the Council of India should be abolished.

(3) The Governor General-in-Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the entire sphere of internal civil administration.

(4) The Departments of foreign, political and military should be under the control of Parliament, a certain amount of money for expenditure on them being fixed by statute, any further demand being subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly and that the position be reviewed after a definite period.

(5) Provincial Governments should be responsible to their respective legislatures except in the administration of agency or central subjects.

(6) All civil services at present recruited on an all-India basis should in future be recruited in India and their control should be transferred from the Secretary of State to authorities in India subject to such conditions as may be laid down by the statute.

(7) The Franchise should be widened and adequate representation should be accorded to the depressed classes and Urban labouring population.

(8) Women should be given right of vote as well as candidature on the same terms as men.

III MR. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

The President of the Non-Brahmin Congress outlined a scheme more or less on the lines of the Liberals and added that

(c) The term of office of future Members of the Legislative Councils should be five years.

(d) The question of lowering the franchise should be examined, but any extension of franchise should be coupled with an increase of the strength of the Council and a decrease of the size of the electorate.

(e) A measure of responsible Government should be introduced in the Government of India.

(f) All measures passed by the Assembly except Finance Bills should be approved by an Upper Chamber.

(g) The control of the Secretary of State and of Parliament should be relaxed to the extent that responsibility is introduced in the Central Government.

(h) The question of division and reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis should be taken up immediately, and settled at as early a date as possible.

Utterances of the Day

Mr. Gandhi's Exhortation

In concluding the proceedings of the Belgaum Congress Mr. Gandhi, after thanking all concerned, wound up with the following exhortation:—

I want you to transfer all this noble affection, all this generosity that you have shown me, to the thing which you and I hold dear, to the thing which alone binds you and me together and that is Swaraj. If we want Swaraj we must know the conditions of Swaraj. You have endorsed those conditions in the resolution moved by Mr. Das on the Pact. Every one knows the conditions and I want you to fulfil them to the letter, and in spirit and insist upon others that they will fulfil those conditions not by force but by love. Exert all the influence and all the pressure that love can exert upon every one concerned. Go throughout your districts and spread the message of *Khadar*, the message of Hindu-Muslim Unity, the message of untouchability and take up in hand the youngsters of the country and make them real soldiers of Swaraj. But you will not do it if the No-Changers and the Swarajists still bear malice against each other, and if they still have jealousy against one another. It will be possible only if you bury the hatchet, leave all the jealousies, all anger and all that is bad in your heart. Bury it underground, cremate it, do whatever you like, but take away the sacred resolution with you that let heavens fall but the tie that binds to-day or has bound the Swarajists and the No-Changers shall never snap.

Col. Gidney on Anglo-Indians

In the course of an address at the Rotary Club, Calcutta on January 6th Lt. Col. H. A. J. Gidney spoke on the future of the Domiciled Community in India. After tracing the origin and past history of the community, he said that he would not advocate throwing in their lot with Europeans, as the advantage would be nil. As regards co-operation with Indians, he said that it would be to their advantage to co-operate with them, while retaining their communal distinctiveness.

We declare ourselves as citizens and sons of India, prepared to associate entirely and whole-heartedly with all other communities, both European and Indian, and work for the common good of India, our Motherland, whose welfare and development and prosperity should be our first and foremost duty. With this as our avowed policy and occupying this status, we should offer our hand of friendship to the European and the Indian alike. I cannot too strongly condemn the isolated position the Domiciled Community has elected to occupy the "sitting on the fence" policy which has been our creed in the past, nor can I find words strong enough to deprecate the attitude adopted by some members of the Community posing as Europeans and looking down upon not only their own community, but upon Indians as their inferiors.

Muslims in the Services

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

Replying to the Muslim Deputation which waited on him at Calcutta on December, 31. H. E. the Viceroy said:—

As regards the appointment of Muslims to the Services, as you are aware, my Government have accepted the principle that no class or community should preponderate in the Public Services if qualified men were otherwise available, and my Government have been acting upon this unexceptional proposition in the past. The recommendations of the Lee Commission as regards Indianisation and for the Consti-



H. E. LORD READING.

Drawn by S. Raja.

tion of a Public Services Commission and other factors have made it necessary to examine this question of the representation of communities in the Services and in clerical posts under the Government of India more closely, and this question is now under the consideration of my Government. You may be assured that I shall carefully bear in mind the representations you have made upon the subject.

States' Subjects Conference

During the Congress week, a Conference organized by the subjects of Indian States met at Belgaum under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Editor of the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*.

Mr. Kelkar, in the course of his address, said that the British Government neglected the subjects of Indian States on the ground that they ought not to interfere with the liberty of administration granted by treaty or custom to Indian Princes and Chiefs. He added:—

The paramount Government refuses to openly entertain complaints of Indian subjects about mal-administration in Indian States; but in secret it can do any number of unrighteous things towards their rulers in their own interest. Treaties in black and white can be misconstrued and given an unmeaning meaning. Novel doctrines of lapse and escheat can be introduced at will in practice. The Hindu right of succession to the Gadi by adoption can be withdrawn. Disadvantageous conditions can be imposed upon a minor Prince as the price of his investiture with full powers of administration on his attaining the technical age of majority. Land in Indian States can be acquired for foreign railway companies at a nominal price and their rivers can be tanded so as to deluge whole villages in State territory in order that irrigation canals drawn from them may benefit the British ryot and add to British revenue. Licenses may be acquired for foreign capitalists to dig out and export rich mineral resources of Indian States on payment of a nominal sovereignty. The States can be subjected to the loss of coinage in the name of commercial convenience, and easy bargains can be driven with them in respect of purchase of special monopolies.

He opined that political leaders in British India should sympathize and advise the leaders of the people in the Indian States. Referring to the duty of the Congress with regard to the Indian States he said:—

It is the Congress which has put life into the dead bones of the Indian people in British India; and it is the Congress which should follow up that noble work by openly and unstintedly championing the cause of the Indian States people. I know some Congress leaders have exaggerated notions of the status and dignity of our Indian potentates. I think I am as jealous an advocate and defender, as any of these gentlemen, of both these precious possessions. I am also opposed to those who want the abolition of Indian States and the throwing of all the crowns and empires in the melting pot. But I firmly hold that the only tenure on which these great and fortunate potentates, these gifted of the gods, can be allowed to hold their powers and possessions is the grant by them to their subjects of the rights of Swarajya according to the genius of the coming generation.

The Conference later passed resolutions appealing to Indian Princes and Chiefs to establish in their territories popular representative institutions with a view to the inauguration of Responsible Government and calling upon the people of the States to make strenuous efforts to secure the same.

H. H. The Maharajah of Bikaner

In the course of an interview published in *The Times of India*, the Maharaja of Bikaner is reported to have said as follows:—

As you know, our representatives at Geneva have continuously protested against the scale on which India contributes to the expenses of the League, for we consider that we are unfairly assessed. The Government of India feels strongly aroused on this point and sent our Delegation instructions to press the point even to extreme limits. Under the old arrangement, if any State voted against the scale of contributions, the League automatically reverted to the Postal Union Scale, under which we are more lightly assessed; but on the eve of the Assembly, an amendment was ratified which places the power of fixing contributions in the power of the Assembly. Our Delegation put up a stubborn fight, and as the result I am confident that we shall obtain some relief—not as much as we want, and not as much as we think we are entitled to, but still something.

The Nizam and the Berars

Speaking at a farewell Darbar at Amruti, Sir Frank Sly, referred to the recent controversy in regard to the future of the Berars. "I must refer to one matter which has been agitating your minds for some time, that is the possibility of the transfer of your division to the administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. I wish to repeat the assurance, already made, that no steps in the matter will be taken without giving the people of the Berars a full opportunity of expressing their wishes."

Indians Outside India

Indians Overseas

i. THE FEDERATION RESOLUTION

The following resolution on the position of Indians Overseas was passed at the last Session of the Liberal Federation held at Lucknow.

(a) The Liberal Federation strongly protests against the enactment of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance depriving Indians of Municipal franchise and thereby, not only creating a new civic disability but ruinously hampering them on their occupation as traders.

(b) The Liberal Federation urges the Government of India immediately to send an officer of theirs and a non-official to South Africa to enquire into the Indian situation and to make a full report to them.

The Federation urges the Governor-General-in-Council to move His Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance under Section 65 of the South Africa Act of 1909.

(c) The Federation re-affirms its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of His Majesty's Government in Kenya in 1923 and notes with regret that the late Labour Government did nothing to undo the wrong done to Indians by its predecessor.

(d) The Federation further urges Government of India to publish the report of the Colonies Committee and the steps which have been taken to implement it.

(e) The Federation re-affirms its resolution asking the Government of India to take urgent steps to secure a reversal of the anti-Indian policy in Natal and Kenya as well as in other parts of the Empire and not to hesitate to have recourse to retaliatory measures.

In commending this resolution to the Federation Dr. Sapru read a telegram from the Natal Indian Congress which stated:—

Boroughs Ordinance No. 18 Natal, assented to by the Governor-General notwithstanding vehement protest from Indian community. Ordinance deprives Indians long enjoyed municipal franchise and imposes other disabilities reducing Indians to condition of helotry. Future of Indians in Natal is doomed. Earnestly appeal to Government of India to uphold Indians' honour and prestige by seeking King-Emperor's disallowance to Ordinance.

He called attention to the unanimous feeling among all sections of the people of this country on the intolerable position to which our countrymen are subjected abroad.

Had they been a self-governing country he said such treatment as being meted out to their countrymen in the Colonies would not have been allowed. It was humiliation for the people of this country and to the Government of India that the Government of India was unable to protect its nationals in other parts of the Empire. He pointed out that Section 65 of the South Africa Act provides that the King might disallow within one year any Act assented to by the Governor-General and he asked that His Majesty might be advised to disallow the Natal Ordinance.

He concluded with a warning. If a satisfactory solution was not arrived at, then he urged the retaliatory steps should be taken. Sir Tej Bahadur then alluded to the work of the Colonies Committee and asked for publication of its reports. In the end he appealed to the members of the Legislative Assembly to raise a debate on the whole question at an early date.

ii. THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed at the Belgaum Congress:—

(a) The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial Governments have failed to protect the interest of the settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress whilst tendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles regrets its inability to render effective assistance till Swaraj has been attained.

(b) The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa to the Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the municipal franchise which they have long enjoyed.

(c) The Congress regards the deprivation of the franchise as not only manifestly unjust, but also a breach of the agreement of 1914 between the Union Government and the Indian Community and of the past declarations of the Natal Government.

(d) The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of deprivation of the natural and just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya.

Other clauses in the resolution thanked Mrs Sarojini and Mr. Vase and Pandit Banaridas Chaturvedi for their services on behalf of Overseas Indians.

Indian Franchise in Australia

Interviewed by the Associated Press Representative regarding the message despatched from Poona about withdrawal of the test case appeal in Australia the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri stated that the cable mentioned in Poona telegram came from Mr. Bateman, the Lawyer who conducted the Indian case. He also stated that the text was clear and emphatic and was as follows:— "Commonwealth withdraws appeal. This splendid victory ours. Congratulations."

Industrial and Commercial Section

Associated Chambers of Commerce

On December 15, the Viceroy opened at Calcutta, the annual session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce when the Governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Innes, Sir Basil Blackett and a few other distinguished visitors were present. Excepting the Ceylon, the Northern India and the Tellicherry Chambers of Commerce all the other Chambers were represented at the Conference. Mr. Currie, the President of the Bengal Chamber, expressed his gratitude for the grant of representation to the Chambers in the Legislative Assembly in the last year and declared the sympathy of the Conference with the Viceroy in his difficult task of his administration.

The Viceroy in the course of his address said that he was glad of the steady progress that was perceptible towards a return to normal conditions in trade, as indicated by the fact that Governments were able to present a balanced budget.

The jute industry is passing through a period of quite exceptional prosperity; while tea has made a remarkable recovery. Coal is not as flourishing owing to a slackness of demand for the supply.

The situation of exchange and currency was also dealt with; and the Viceroy hoped that the winter and spring of 1924-25 would bring conditions of less acute stringency than what prevailed a year ago.

The Viceroy then dealt with the Steel Industry Protection Act which has proved substantially effective. Talking about protection he said:—

Every industry that demands protection is required to prove its case in public before an impartial Board. So far the results of this policy have been gratifying. The applications for protection have not been unduly numerous and there are signs that the careful and reasoned examination of each case by the Board is having a real educative effect. Protection is no longer loosely regarded in India as an abstract proposition easy of application to every case and as a panacea for all kinds of economic difficulties, and the thinking public in India have begun to look at it in the right light, to treat it as a strictly practical question and to realise that its application in any case can only be justified by the strict merits of the case itself.

He next referred to the Visagapatam Harbour Scheme as of first importance and to the legislation regarding trade unions and trade disputes which are looming so largely on the legislative horizon just now. Governments' proposals he said were only tentative and capable of modification in the light of suggestions received. The Government Conference on the question of ports and shipping had succeeded in removing several misapprehensions and introducing a clearer vision of the main principles involved, as by this means alone could a proper revision of our shipping laws proceed.

Mr. Rushforth of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce moved a resolution urging Government to take steps to provide for such permanent increase of currency as may be necessary. The motion was adopted though Sir Basil Blackett did not think it to be necessary. Another resolution recommended the modification of the Negotiable Instruments Act of 1881 so as to give effect to the ordinary commercial practice of treating bearer-drafts, hundis and cheques as negotiable by delivery in all circumstances irrespective of any endorsement that may be made on them. With regard to trade union legislation, the Conference accepted the principle of the development of trade unionism in India. Mr. Chatterjee assured that Government would be strongly opposed to any revolutionary change in the present law as to Workmen's Compensation; and that if indirectly applied, it would afford invitation to industrial disturbance. The Conference resolved to accept the principle of centralising the administration of Indian ports in so far as regards broad questions of policy; and it wanted a board to exercise this central control. There was another resolution to ask Government to take immediate steps substantially to reduce the railway freight on coal carried over long distances. The Conference deprecated the revision made by railways of packing conditions for the carriage of goods without previously submitting these to commercial opinion.

Diary of the Month

- December 7. The British Delegation to the League of Nations arrived in Rome.
- December 8. The General Election in Berlin resulted in no clear majority for any Party.
- December 9. Parliament opened to-day and the King's speech stated that the naval base at Singapore should be strengthened forthwith.
- December 10. The French Chamber has passed a vote of confidence in the Government by 319 votes to 29 on a motion relating to an anti-Communist measure.
- December 11. The Taxation Enquiry Committee held its first public sitting to-day at Delhi and examined the first witness Mr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee.
- December 12. The Second Annual Conference between the central Administration and the branches of the European Association in India met to-day at Calcutta.
- December 13. The meeting of the Council of the League of Nations terminated to-day.
- December 14. The German ambassadors in London, Paris and Rome have been summoned to Berlin to form the new German Cabinet.
- December 15. President Ebert has accepted Dr. Marx's resignation of the German Cabinet.
- December 16. Sir B. N. Sarma has been appointed Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Viceroy.
- December 17. Sir Charles Bayley has resigned from the India Council.
- December 18. The Indian Muslim Deputation sailed to-day for Redje by S.S. *Jalengir*.
- December 19. Tahir Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Arthur of Connaught arrived in Bombay by S. S. *Caldonia*.
- December 20. Mr. Gandhi arrived in Belgium to day.
- December 21. Sir Beauvoir Brock has succeeded Earl Beatty to the First Sea Lordship.
- December 22. The Duke and Duchess of York arrived at Mombasa by S. S. *Mulbana*.
- December 23. The King of Egypt has decreed the dissolution of Parliament.
- December 24. The Congress Sub-Committee at Belgaum carried by 160 votes to 19, a resolution endorsing the Calcutta Pact.
- December 25. The Council of National Liberal Federation at Lucknow met under the Presidency of Dr. Sir T. Saprú and resolved not to participate in the Congress.
- December 26. The Indian National Congress met at Belgaum under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi.
- December 27. The Ambassadors' Conference at Paris resolved not to evacuate the Cologne Zone.
- December 28. As a result of a big Soviet plot in Bukarest 430 persons have been arrested.
- December 29. Mr. Hasrat Mohani has resigned his Congress membership.
- December 30. The All-India Muslim League opened its 16th Annual Session at Bombay under the presidency of Hon. Syed Raza Ali.
- December 31. A Deputation of Bengal Muslims waited upon his H. E. the Viceroy to day at Calcutta.
- January 1. Viscount Jellicoe is made an Earl.
- January 2. Civil war in China; it is reported that Nanking has been looted.
- January 3. Herr Marx has accepted the invitation to form the German Cabinet.
- January 4. Mr. V. J. Patel was re-elected President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation by 50 against 45.
- January 5. As a result of Signor Mussolini's speech in the Chamber, three ministers have resigned.
- January 6. The Bengal Swarajists met in Conference to-day at Calcutta.
- January 7. The Bengal Legislative Council this afternoon rejected the Ordinance Bill by 66 votes to 57.



M. V. DHURANDHAR, Esq., A. M.

Leading Artist of Western India

(The bust of Mr. Dhurandhar by Shamrao G. Mhatre is a remarkably good effort for so young a student and gives promise that his father's work will be carried on into a succeeding generation.)



The above is a reproduction of a photograph of the statue of the late Hon. Dewan Bahadur Sir Kasturchand Dagga, K. C. S. I., of Nagpur and was unveiled last month by H. E. Sir Frank Sly. The Statue is in marble seven feet in height and is the work of the well-known Bombay sculptor Mr. G. K. Mhatre.

Literary

Newspapers and the Public

Major Astor, M. P., the present owner of the *London Times* has described, in a recent address, the exacting nature of editing a Newspaper. He pointed out that sensation mongering was not the be-all and end-all of newspapers as was erroneously supposed by many.

There was the temptation to keep up the high note of excitement at all times of the year, sometimes when there was no news. To try to keep up the "daily splash" at such times, was to sacrifice the benefit which a newspaper could confer, that of showing the relative importance of the pieces of news it had to give. "Sensationalism" might tickle the palate, but in the long run it killed the appetite and undermined the sense of proportion. The Press could do a great deal to elevate a nation's taste, to sharpen its conscience, and to help it to form sound political judgments. This could only be done by newspapers which steered by the compass of truth and principle, and not by the weathercock of public favour, and which had writers who had not only facile pens but character and expert knowledge.

Nobel Literary Prize

It is announced that the Nobel Literary Prize for last year has been awarded to the Polish novelist Wladislaw Reymont for his novel entitled "The Peasants."

Wladislaw Reymont is the son of a peasant, and he was born in 1868, near Piotrkow. Before settling down to literary work M. Reymont had a most varied career. He was expelled from a Russian school for proclaiming his Polish views too freely, and he was successively a telegraph operator, an actor, a railway worker, and even a novice at a monastery in Czestochowa. M. Reymont's principal works are "Peasants," "The Promised Land," "The Comedian," "The Year 1793," and "Insurrection."

BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE SCIENCE OF PUBLIC FINANCE. By G. Findlay Shirree, (Macmillan) Rs. 15-12 G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.
- DIETETICS and its self-treatment. By J. N. Ganguli. Victoria Park, Benares City.
- OPINION, WOMAN AND CHILD and other Poems. By Namonarajada, 73, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane.
- ROADS TO FREEDOM AND SLAVERY. By R. M. Agarwala, Ganga Book Depot, Meerut.
- ECONOMIC LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Maganlal A. Buch, M.A., Baroda, Rs. 12.
- PERITAPURANAM OF ST. SERKILAR. Translated by J. M. Nallawami Pillai. The Tamil University Publishing House, Mint Street, Madras.
- THE KHILAFAT. By Prof. Mohammed Barakatullah, L.N.S. & Co., London.
- THE HEART OF THE NEW THOUGHT. By Ella Wheeler Wilcox, L. N. Fowler, London.
- THE WOODEN CHILD. By C. Jinanaj-dasa, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.
- SOME JAPANESE ARTISTS. By Yone Noguchi. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO ADWAITA PHILOSOPHY. By K. M. Sastri, M.A., Calcutta University.
- AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN STUART MILL with an appendix of hitherto unpublished speeches and a Preface by H. J. Lahti, Oxford University.
- TALKS FROM THE MAHABHARATA. By Stanley Rice. Selwyn and Blunt, 31, York Buildings, Adelphi.
- THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION. An examination of educational problems in the light of recent scientific research. By George Lane Fox Pitt, Cambridge University Press.
- CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE IN INDIA. By B. G. Bhatnagar, Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad.
- INDIAN RAILWAYS. By K. V. Aiyer, Oxford University Press.
- THE VICAR OF BULLHAMPTON. By Anthony Trollope. Oxford University Press.
- LECTURES ON THE ENGLISH POETS. By William Hazlitt. Oxford University Press.

Educational

Educational Officers' Conference

The sixth session of the Madras N. G. E. Officers' Conference met at the Hindu High School, Triplicane on December 30, with Mr. R. Littlehales, Director of Public Instruction in the chair. The Joint Secretary of the Association welcomed the delegates in a long speech detailing the attempts made by the Association to improve the lot of the subordinate service. In his Presidential address, Mr. Littlehales drew a distinction, which he said, ought to be carefully observed, between the work of a University Professor and a College Lecturer and between the former and that of teachers in schools. The Inspector had duties towards the state and indirectly to the tax-payer; he was first the trustee of public money; and his second function was to keep up the professional efficiency of the teachers. He also dwelt on the importance of the teacher-manager and his demands.

The President then asked the members of the Inspecting body to get the general public interested in education. The educational officers would be doing an immense good to the country as a whole by getting the public interested in education. Again, in giving advice they must consider whether such advice was purely professional or administrative. It could not be said to be the final authority. There were the District Educational Officers who had control over a wider range and they might accept the Inspecting officers' advice or reject it. So also when the Education Department gave any advice to the Government who were the final authority, they might accept or reject their advice. The President, advised them not to get down-hearted but to courageously, honestly and loyally carry out whatever policy was laid down.

The Inspectors should have great tact and restraint and should have tolerance and the power

to visualise. Educational policy could not be embodied in Government orders and departmental proceedings could not cover all possible contingencies.

In cases not covered by rules it is the duty of officers to utilise the general policy allowed in the Government order and apply the principles to the particular case in point.

Papers were read by Miss. Barrie on "The Teacher and Educational Reform," by Mr. R. M. Savar on "Science in Education," and by Mr. V. Nataraja Iyer on "Reformed History Teaching."

Bombay Governor on Indian Education

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay presided at the celebration of the centenary of the Elphinstone High School. In the course of his speech, His Excellency said that "What was needed in Indian Education was not quantity, but quality. I should urge as I have urged before, the vital importance of a Technological college for Bombay and technical teaching throughout the Bombay Presidency. The quality of Indian education will not and cannot reach the standard it should until the urgent need of technical education in India is appreciated at its full value."

Benares Hindu University

At the 8th Annual Court Meeting of the Benares Hindu University held recently at Benares, a resolution recommending the making of adequate provision for military training of all physically fit students by the Government, and the establishment of an Officers' Training Corps and asking the University Council to make military training compulsory was passed.

All-India Art Exhibition

His Excellency Sir William Marris opened the first All-India Art Exhibition on the 8th January at the Kaiser Bagh, Lucknow; the President, the Hon. Rai Rajeswar Bahi, regretted, in the course of his speech, the lack of training of the emotions of Indian boys and girls, which is essential for the harmonious development of their faculties.

Legal

The Religious Endowments Act

H. E. the Viceroy has given his assent to the Madras Religious Endowments Act. A statement published in the first week of this month gives the reasons which moved His Excellency in the exercise of the powers vested in him by Section 81 (3) of the Government of India Act to assent to the Religious Endowments Act. Referring to the numerous memorials on the subject the statement says:—

"On the merits of the Bill, the objections raised by the memorialists and by the deputations have been numerous and varied. It is unnecessary to deal with these in detail. It must be recognized that no measure is free from imperfections or will satisfy all the sections of the community which it concerns. The Act must contain provisions vitally objectionable in principle before the Governor-General could consider himself justified in exercising his veto for the purpose of preventing the measure from becoming law."

His Excellency has given most careful attention to the representations which have been made to him in regard to the provisions of the Act. He cannot shut his eyes to the fact that there is a large amount of dissatisfaction and apprehension in regard to some portions of the Act and he himself has doubts as to the suitability of some of its provisions. In particular he is unable to regard as satisfactory the procedure laid down for the modification of schemes already settled or deemed to have been settled under the Act. The measure, however, is one which was passed by a majority of the local Council of the Presidency which included in fact a majority of the members of the community primarily affected. It was not to be expected that a measure of this importance would be enacted in the first instance in an unimpeachable form and there would be no reflection on the

action either of the Minister who was responsible for the measure or of the Council which passed it if an amending Bill were to be introduced at an early date to remedy the defects which have been made apparent as the result of the exceptionally close examination which the measure has been subjected to. His Excellency, therefore, being satisfied that the measure as a whole is a fair piece of legislation and that there is adequate remedy available to the local legislature, whether on the motion of the local Government or of a non-official member of the Legislative Council for the removal of defects in respect of which there is substantial agreement, has decided to signify his assent to the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act."

Bengal Ordinance

The Liberal Federation at Lucknow passed the following resolution protesting against the Bengal Ordinance:—

The Federation is firmly of opinion that anarchical crime is entirely opposed to the progress of the country and the Federation would support any reasonable measures for its suppression, but it is not satisfied that the recent measures taken in Bengal were called for and strongly protests against the promulgation of the Ordinance I of 1924.

The Federation is further of opinion that all ordinary means for proceeding in the matter should have been exhausted before having recourse to any special measures.

The Federation is further strongly of opinion that Regulation III of 1818 should not have been resorted to as in the opinion of the Federation it is an abuse of that Regulation to apply it to the present case.

The Federation is further of opinion that a measure like the Ordinance or the proposed Bill of such wide extent and giving such arbitrary powers to the executive, especially that of the detention of persons without trial for indefinite periods, is not satisfactory and in the opinion of the Federation any special measures which may be passed to cope with anarchical movement should provide for the speedy trial of persons against whom action is taken under it, by a bench consisting of three permanent judges of the High Court. In the opinion of this Federation the only effective permanent remedy for the recurrence of anarchical activities is the removal of the causes of discontent which encourage and foster such crimes.

Medical

Karnataka Ayurvedic Conference.

The first Karnataka Ayurvedic Conference met at Belgaum on the 25th December last. It was presided over by Captain G. Sriivaramurthy, Principal of the Government School of Medicine, Madras. Many delegates including students of indigenous systems of medicine attended.

Dr. H. V. Savaur, L.M. & S., Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and said that the principles of Ayurveda remain unchallenged and the vast resources of its *Matris Medicis* unfathomed. He also explained that Ayurveda, as a system of treatment had a scientific basis behind it.

The President then delivered a lengthy address. He said that

admirable as this system (Ayurveda) proved to be in ancient times, it has now become unworkable and is fast disappearing from many parts of India; the result is that, taking advantage of the great popularity which the Indian Systems enjoy, due largely to the undeniable successes of real experts (who are unfortunately few and far between) a large number of self-appointed experts have come into existence and blatant quackery has become rampant everywhere.

Referring to the advantages of studying both the Eastern and Western systems he observed:

I venture to hope that in the best interests of both Ayurveda and Modern Medicine, each should learn from the other what the other can teach, so that by their united thoughts and endeavours they may better serve not only the cause of Science but also of what is more important, the cause of humanity as a whole.

Before concluding its session the Conference passed several resolutions. On the motion of Dr. Likhshampathy of Madras, a resolution was passed requesting the Congress to establish Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries and colleges in all provinces. The Conference also adopted a motion brought forward by Mr. Krishna Sastri appreciating the action of the Madras Government in establishing a School of Indian Medicine and hoping that it would be developed into a model Ayurvedic Institution and further trusting the Bombay Government and the Princes and Chiefs would do likewise.

Artificial Respiration for Electrocuted

The importance of trying artificial respiration upon people who are apparently dead after receiving an electric shock says the *Manchester Guardian* was emphasized by Dr. Elwin Smith when recording a verdict of accidental death at a Hackney inquest upon a man who died from heart failure consequent upon an electric shock from the current of a lighting circuit.

Dr. R. M. Bronte, Pathologist, said it had been recently stated that in America there was a recorded case of twenty thousand volts passing through the body without causing death. He agreed with the Coroner as to the utmost importance of artificial respiration with the apparently dead from such a cause, and said the Home Office had sent out a circular upon the subject.

Mission to Lepers

A Conference of Superintendents of Leprosy Asylums and of others interested in the leprosy problem, was recently held at Naini, Allahabad. Representatives attended from asylums holding in all over 3,000 lepers. Mr. Anderson, General Secretary of the Mission to Lepers, presided.

Mr. A. D. Miller, Acting Secretary for India of the Mission to Lepers, reviewed the general position. Dr. Muir gave a review of the latest findings of research, and emphasized the need for early diagnosis and treatment, the need for the removal of predisposing causes and the need for a breaking down of the prejudice felt about the disease which resulted in social ostracism and consequent concealment of the disease just when treatment was most likely to give the most favourable results.

Findings were arrived at by the Conference which should be of considerable value in indicating the wisest direction of effort made for the care and treatment of leprosy, and for the extinction of leprosy in India.

Science

The All-India Spiritualistic Conference

The All-India Spiritualistic Conference met at the Congress Pandal at Belgaum on the 28th December under the presidency of Mr. Piyush Kanti Ghose, Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.



PIYUSH KANTI GHOSE

The President began by explaining what is meant by Spiritualism and said that it is both a doctrine and a science. As a doctrine it finds place in almost all the ancient religious scriptures of the world, while the facts hitherto carefully tested and collated by European and American savants and scientists cannot but secure for it recognised and permanent place among the sciences. As a science it not only inculcates the absolute immortality of the soul or spirit but its consequent survival of bodily death.

Referring to India—the cradle of spiritualism, he said:

Dearth of suitable medium there was never in India nor will it ever be. Born in the land of the Vedas and Upanishads, an Indian is, by birth and culture, by temperament and tradition, the person most suited to acquire mediumistic qualities. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of psychic societies in India to be in constant hunt after mediums and spiritual phenomena

that may lie ignored in some obscure village far away from public gaze. The Indian nature shrinks from an advertisement of its spiritualistic qualities. An Indian spiritualist must, therefore, be prepared for a tough fight with his unbelieving friends; he is expected to carry on his mission of good will—a thankless task indeed—without the public approbation except the approbation of his own conscience. An Indian spiritualist has this advantage over his brother workers across the seas that the atmosphere in India is congenial to the growth of spiritualism. I hope that the members assembled here will make it a point to carry the message of spiritualism far and wide.

Resolutions were then adopted urging the spread of spiritualism.

Mr. V. D. Rishi was elected to represent India at the forthcoming World Conference of spiritualists to be held at Paris in September 1925.

A New Electroplating process

The new electroplating process called "Fecolizing" is stated to give improved results in depositing thin protective coatings, building up worn parts to be finished by machining and saving much material from the machine shop wastage. A special claim is that the coating applied is so interlocked and adherent that the two metals joined can be separated only by the tearing of the weaker. After being cleaned in a bath of caustic alkali, the article to be treated is immersed in a secret bath said by the London developers of the process to protect against oxidization. Electrodeposition follows in apparently about the usual way, but it is affirmed that much depends on the composition and method of preparing and using the bath. Articles may be partially coated by covering with wax the parts to receive no deposit. So far the process has been used with nickel, copper, chromium, cadmium, iron, cobalt, lead and zinc and the articles plated or built up have been of great variety. Holes in castings may be filled up for re-boring, sparking plug holes in motor car cylinders being restored in this way. Pieces broken off have been replaced by built-up material, and worn bearings, ball races, cam shafts and screw threads can be re-made. Giving such coatings as nickel and chromium insures against corrosion.

Personal

The Late Sasipada Banerji

The death of Sasipada Banerji removes one of the most strenuous social workers of our time in India. Early in life Mr. Banerji threw up orthodoxy by crossing the seas and taking his wife to England. For a Kulin Brahmin it was a heinous crime. One of the earliest adherents to the Brahmo Samaj, Mr. Banerji was a devout theist and devoted his life to social service. For the last several years he gave his energy and his resources to the institution with which his name has become inseparably associated—the Devalaya at Calcutta. An account of his work and career will be found in an interesting sketch published in the series of Biographies of Eminent Indians (Price 4 as. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). It will be remembered that his son Mr. A. R. Banerji the present Dewan of Mysore, was born in England.

On the death of his first wife Sasipada married a widow of a different caste and thus carried his social views into practice.

Dr. Charles Gilkey on Gandhi

Glowing tribute to Gandhi's greatness was paid by Dr. Charles Gilkey of America, who has come to India in connection with the Barrows Lectures. While addressing the students of the National School at Bombay, Dr. Gilkey said:—

"At present Mahatma Gandhi has attracted the attention of the whole world, and from my study of his personality through his writings I have come to believe that the Mahatma is not only a great figure in India but he has already established his claim as one of the greatest men of the world."

"I have come to India and am anxious to see three things—the Taj Mahal, the Himalayas and Mahatma Gandhi. If I am asked to choose one among these, certainly I would prefer to see Mahatmajji who has to teach so much to the world!"

D. G. M. Leith.

The death of D. G. M. Leith under tragic circumstances has profoundly moved us. Only a week before this painful accident he was one of a party in our premises given in honour of Mr. H. S. L. Polak on the eve of his departure from Madras. Mr. Leith was loved and respected by Indians of all classes with whom he moved on intimate terms. A great social worker and a warm hearted friend has passed away in his death. Mr. Polak who was naturally shocked to hear the news writes to us in touching terms:—

Leith's death must leave an enormous gap in the public life of South India. His activities were manifold, and everywhere he displayed a sympathy, tact, and imagination, rendering most valuable service thereby to the country. When he came home last year he took every opportunity to correct misconceptions as to India's attitude and aspirations. The news of his passing came as a great shock to me, so soon after I had been his guest in Madras. I remember how, as we parted at the Station less than a month ago, he was full of plans for the service of Indians overseas and particularly those who are being repatriated from Natal. We have all lost a great friend and fellow-worker, and we must simply increase our own output to compensate, at least partially, for the public loss.

A Journalist Spinner

Gandhiji, says the *Voices of India*, has taken Maulana Mahomed Ali to task for frantically working at midnight to finish his quota of yarn. He advises the Maulana to be regular and systematic. It is a hopeless case, because he is by training a mere journalist. Not by any oddity of habit-cultivation, but by some strange writ of fate, the journalist tries to rush in all the work he can at the last moment. He has little time to dawdle.

Political

The Congress Constitution

The Belgium Congress ratified the Gandhi-Das agreement and brought the Swarajists and Non-Changeurs within the fold of the Congress. One of the clauses of the long resolution ran as follows:—

The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in true unity between the two wings of the Congress and will also enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress. The Congress congratulates the Swarajists and others arrested under the new Ordinance of Regulation III of 1918 and is of opinion that such arrests are inevitable so long as the people of India have not the capacity for vindicating their status and liberty, and is further of opinion that such capacity can, in the present circumstances of the country, be developed by achieving the long deferred exclusion of foreign cloth; and therefore as a token of the earnestness and determination of the people to achieve this national purpose welcomes the introduction of hand-spinning as part of the franchise and appeals to every person to avail himself or herself of it and join the Congress.

Other clauses in this resolution refer to the promotion of handspinning and khaddar and appeal to the merchants and others to discard foreign cloths and advance the interest of Khaddar. Certain changes in the Congress Constitution were made necessary by the terms of the Gandhi-Das agreement. Thus article VII of the Constitution is repealed and the following clauses are substituted therefor:—

(i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no one shall be a member of any hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar who does not wear Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business, and does not make a contribution of 24000 yards of evenly spun yarn per year of his or her own spinning, or in the case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause, a quantity of yarn spun by any other person;

provided also that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

(ii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to the 31st December. The said subscription shall be payable in advance and may be paid in instalments of 2000 yards per month payable in advance. Members joining in the middle of the year shall contribute the full quantity due from the beginning of the year.

TRANSITORY PROVISION

During 1925 the subscription shall be 2000 yards only and shall be payable on or before 1st March or in instalments as aforesaid.

(iii) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any Committee or Sub-Committee or any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meetings of the Congress or any Congress organisation or any Committee or Sub-Committee thereof, if he has not contributed the yarn subscription or the instalments due.



MR. GANGADHAR RAO DESHPANDE

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 36th Indian National Congress, Belgium.

Any member who has made default in the payment of the yarn subscription may have his or her rights restored by paying the subscription in respect of which the default has occurred and the instalment for the month then current.

(iv) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, from month to month returns of membership and the yarn received by it in virtue of this Article. The Provincial Congress Committee shall contribute 10% of the yarn subscriptions on their value to the All-India Congress Committee.

General

Bharat Dharma Mahamandal

The annual session of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal was held at Calcutta on the 13th December under the presidency of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. There was a large gathering of Pundits, Princes and Swamis.

The Maharaja of Cochin, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address traced the development of Hindu religion from the Vedic age and exhorted the Hindus to follow the principles of Sanatana. Surveying the present condition of Hindu society he said:

The task now in hand is to cope with the present depressing condition of the Sanatan Dharma and enable the Hindu Society to keep true to the eternal and unchanging Hindu ideals, and to save the Hindu community from the impending catastrophe of a dissolution. To dispel the dense darkness of ignorance of ages, to eradicate the superstitions of centuries, to teach people to hope and dare great things, to relieve the almost endless miseries of this country are objects worthy of the most heroic souls.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga in his Presidential address also referred to the present condition of Hinduism, advocated its revival and emphasised the need for social service. He explained:—

First of all we want to preserve our own existence at any cost. This is an essential and indispensable condition. We are prepared to mix and co-operate with other communities and sections of Hinduism but not at the expense of our personality or religious consciousness. We are by no means prepared to merge, or in other words to lose ourselves in other creeds. Political freedom for us is nothing if we have lost our souls and our spiritual autonomy which is by far the greatest of our possessions. The conquest of the kingdom of soul is surely far more valuable than the conquest of mundane kingdoms. How truly it has been said "For what is a man advantaged if he gain the whole world and lose his own self or be cast away." This saying applies not only to the individual but to the racial soul alike. Preservation of India's civilisation, the maintenance of Hindu ideals and the guarding of all our ancient institutions and cultural wealth will

* HINDUISM. By Baba Govinda Das. Cloth bound 150 pages. Price Rs. 2. To Sub. of the "I.R." Rs. 2-8. ESSENTIALS OF HINDUISM. A symposium by leading Hindus. Price Rs. 12. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 10. AGOREN'S HINDUISM. By Sister Nivedita. 8 As. To be had of D. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

mean the real Swaraj for our people, because it is in this process that our 'Swa' (self) is rightly preserved and we are not lost in alien nationality. If we attain this Swaraj, political Swaraj will come in its train and there will be no earthly power to resist its force.

On the conclusion of the address the General Secretary, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, read the annual report which showed that the Mahamandal had already opened seven hundred branches all



THE MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA

over India with the mission of imparting new life to religion. Arrangements have also been made for female education.

The Conference met again the next day when numerous resolutions were passed. It urged the employment of preachers and bands of voluntary workers with a view to carry on Hindu religious propaganda. It demanded separate representations of the Hindus as a community in various Legislatures and condemned Dr. Goar's Religious Endowment and Age of Consent Bills,

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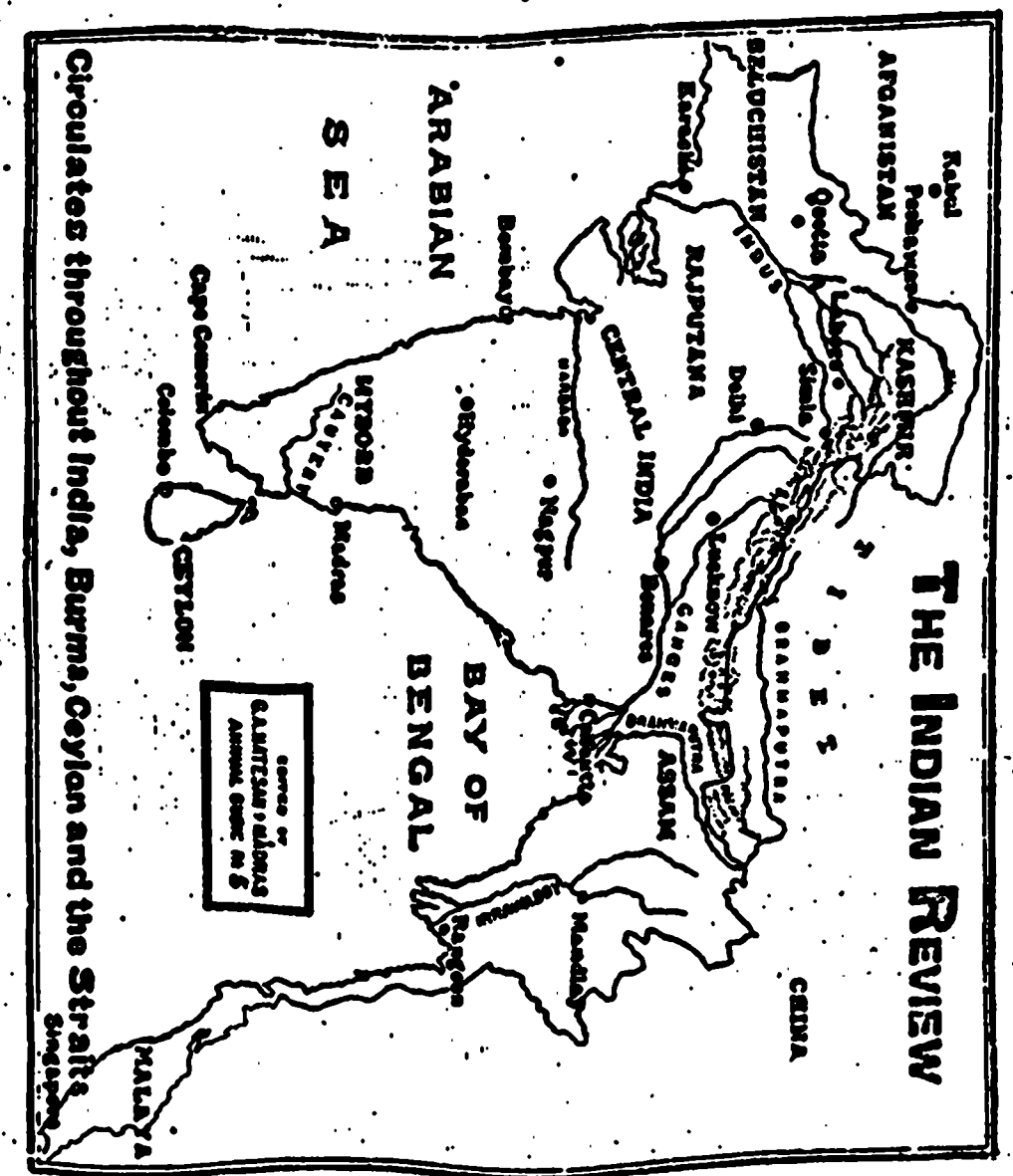
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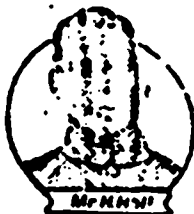
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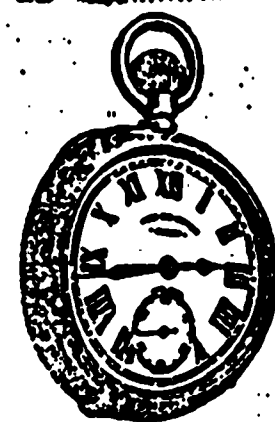
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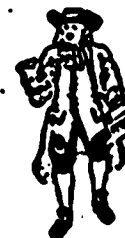
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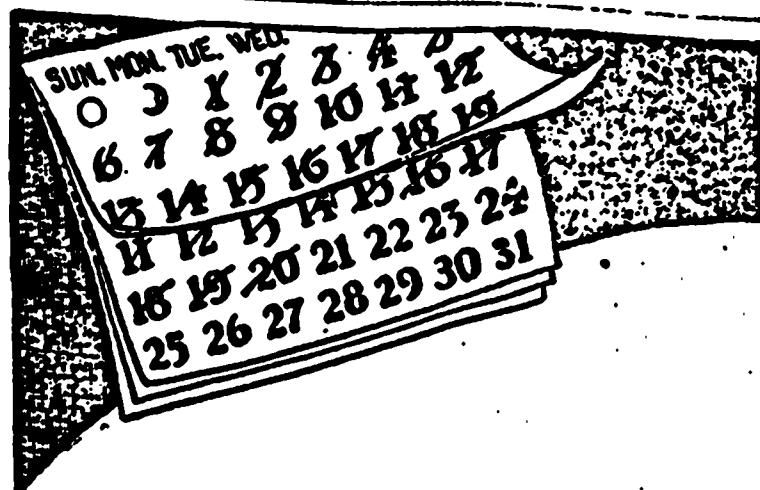
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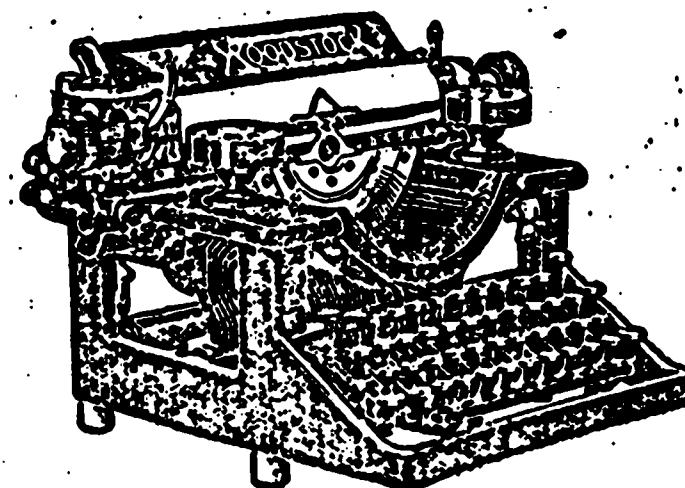
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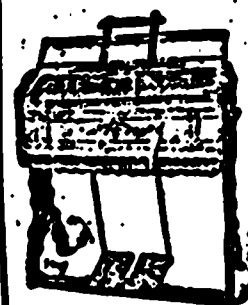


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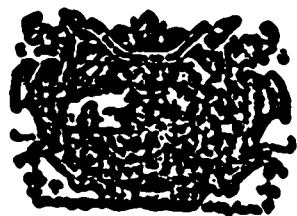
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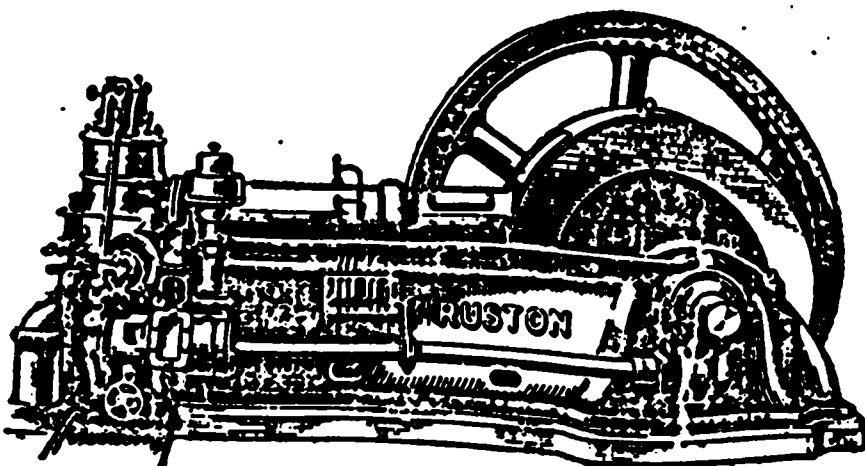
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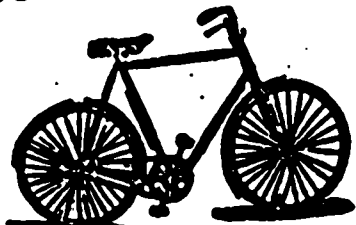
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The Manager Amritdhara Pharmacy, Amritdhara Buildings,

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