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THE INDIAN REVIEW

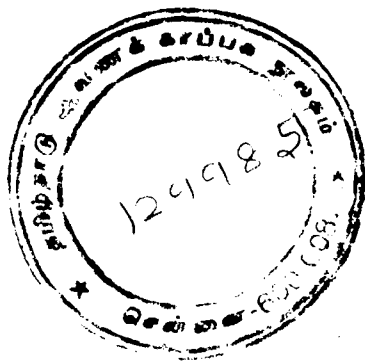
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THE INDIAN REVIEW
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The Proposed Royal Indian Navy

BY

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I.

THE announcement by Lord Reading of the intention of the Government of India to convert the Royal Indian Marine into a Royal Indian Navy has not attracted sufficient public attention in this country. Since the inauguration of the constitutional reforms, the necessity for preparing India to undertake her own defence, both military and naval, has been realised by thoughtful persons and the problems of defence have begun to engage their attention. The status of a Self-Governing Dominion, which is the aspiration of all sane Indian patriots involves the duty of India to defend herself against attacks by land or sea. India has always maintained an army at her own cost to defend herself against attacks by land. The complaint of Indians in regard to the army has been that they have not been trained to take their legitimate place in the army as officers. As regards the defence of India against attacks from the sea, the complaint

I. would be is no Indian Navy at all and satisfactory opportunity for the training committee even as ratings. The naval that after is undertaken by the Imperial the com and an annual contribution of provis paid from the Indian Exchequer com the naval expenditure.

One sometimes hears a demand in the Legislature that Indians should be eligible for admission to the Navy but those who make this demand seldom realise that there is no Indian Navy now in existence to which Indians may be admitted. India was not, however, always destitute of a fleet of her own for the purpose of defence. During the days of the East India Company a fleet was maintained by the Company which lasted well into the 19th century. Even before the problem of an Indian Navy began to attract the attention of Indian politicians, the British Government was considering the subject from the imperial point of view. This was due to the large and rapid growth of the burden of naval expenditure. It was felt by the British politician that the self-governing dominions were not making any adequate contribution towards the cost of naval defence. The question was discussed in some of the Colonial Conferences. Some of the self-governing Colonies were willing to pay a subsidy or contribution to the Imperial Government while others desired to have fleets of their own manned and officered by colonials. In the case of Australia in particular, public opinion in that Dominion favoured the policy

naval development in Australia itself so that the people of the Commonwealth might become a people efficient at sea and thereby better able to assist the United Kingdom with men as well as ships and to act in concert with the other sea-forces of the Empire. The Government of Australia therefore decided to establish a naval force of their own. A few years ago Lord Jellicoe was deputed by the Imperial Government to visit all the Dominions and possessions and submit proposals for the organization of the naval defence of the Empire on a comprehensive basis. The report of Lord Jellicoe has never been published and his recommendations with regard to the naval defence of India have been treated as confidential. Attempts were made without success in the Indian Legislative Assembly to elicit information from the Government as to the nature of the recommendations. Some apprehension was entertained that he might have possibly put forward proposals for levying an increased contribution from India to the naval defence of the Empire. While Indian public men were willing that India should make a beginning in undertaking her own naval defence, they felt that as in the case of Australia the contribution should take the shape of an Indian Naval fleet manned and officered by Indians and not a pecuniary contribution to the maintenance of the Imperial Navy from which Indians have been rigidly excluded. No participation in the pecuniary burden of naval defence could ever enable India to defend herself if, at any time, England became engaged in a great war and was not able to spare any portion of the Navy for service in Indian waters. The policy which was therefore advocated by public

men in this country was the creation of an Indian Navy, however small it may be in the initial stages. The decision of the Government of India seeks to give effect to this policy by sanctioning the creation of a Royal Indian Navy.

The report of the Departmental Committee expressly states that the policy, to carry out which they drafted their scheme, was the reconstruction of the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force *to enable India to enter upon the first stage of her own naval development and ultimately to undertake her own naval defence.* This formula is quite satisfactory so far as it goes but the scheme as drawn up proceeds on somewhat over-cautious lines. While the ratings are to be recruited from among the Indians, the officers are apparently to be recruited in a comparatively smaller proportion from India. It may be admitted that in the initial stages of the formation of the Indian Navy, it would be of great advantage to the Indian cadets to be trained with English cadets and to serve with them. Never having had the opportunity of entering the Navy, Indian boys have to acquire the sea-sense and a love of sea-life, and they can best imbibe the spirit of the navy by association with British cadets and officers. It does not, however, follow from this that the majority of the commissions should be given to British cadets. It would have been satisfactory if provision had been made for the recruitment of Indian and British in equal proportions to start with. In the report that one appointment year should be reserved for an Indian either from Dchra Dun or an Eng-

school. If this provision means that, while one appointment should be reserved in any event for an Indian boy, the other places may also be competed for by Indian boys at the competitive examination and that there is no limitation upon the proportion of Indian boys to be taken, the recommendation would not be open to serious objection. But, if it means that only one commission out of three should be given to an Indian boy even if the Indian competitors occupied a higher place in the competition than the British candidates, the recommendation must be held to be unsatisfactory. The language of the report is more consistent with the former construction and let us hope that it will be carried out in that sense.

With regard to the recruitment of engineer officers, the committee contemplate apprenticeship in a recognised engineering firm or a Government dock-yard in England. The financial assistance proposed by the committee in the shape of passage concessions and the payment of premium to engineering firms might probably be not sufficiently attractive and it might be necessary to award some scholarships. Here also the committee make a recommendation for the reservation of one vacancy in three for an Indian, if a suitable candidate is available. This recommendation is also open to the same criticism as the recommendation in the case of deck officers. It would have been, on the whole, more satisfactory if the scheme drawn up by the committee had contained a definite proposal that after the first four or five years all the commissions might be given to Indians provided suitable candidates were forthcoming.

The cautious lines on which the scheme has been drawn up must not blind us to its real significance and importance. It remains with Indians to justify the experiment and make it a success. As fast as the Indian cadets make good and prove themselves to be capable of acquiring the skill, efficiency and discipline of the British Navy, the public can bring pressure to bear upon the Government to increase the proportion of Indian officers. But if, as has been shown above, the intention of the authorities is to place no limitation upon the proportion of suitable Indian candidates, no pressure will be necessary and the extent to which the Indian Navy will be manned by Indian officers will depend upon the response made by the youth of India. It is to be hoped that full and adequate publicity will be given to the details of the scheme and to all requisite information regarding the pay, privileges and prospects of a naval commissioned officer so that the most suitable type of Indian boys may be attracted to the service. The scheme is pregnant with great possibilities for the naval defence of India and it rests with our public men to do everything in their power to make it a success.

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The All-India Ambulance Competitions.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SYMONS,

Director-General of Indian Medical Service.

COMING as it did after the great Scout 'Jamboree' and the magnificent displays of the Naval and Military Tournament, the All-India Ambulance Competitions which were held on the "Island Grounds" Madras from the 15th to 19th February 1926, suffered in consequence just as a small man does who is placed between two bigger ones. One should not however, run away with the idea that the All-India Ambulance Competitions were a small event. To one who beheld the great array of "first-aid" teams which gathered, so to say, from all the four points of this vast Empire, it was apparent that the first aid movement in India and in the Madras Presidency was as vigorous as ever. This is as it should be and is an happy augury for the future of the first-aid movement in this country. 'First-aid' is, as a matter of fact, an old institution in India. The shady avenues formed of umbrageous trees along the old provincial roads, the wells set at intervals and the rest houses which lie dotted along more frequented localities are all expressions of 'first-aid' activities in India. Conditions have, however, changed and present day dangers which are not confined to heat strokes and weariness require corresponding antidotes. The large number of representative teams composed of all classes and creeds of India that entered for these competitions shows that young India is quite alive to the changed conditions and is prepared to move in the front line. Very valuable is the practical training which the first-aid movement essays to give; still more valuable is the

spirit of service and brotherly love, the spirit of the 'Good Samaritan' it engenders.

The spacious tents and sheds in the airy Island Grounds which were so kindly lent to the local Ambulance Committee by the authorities of the Naval and Military Tournament presented indeed a very lively appearance on the five days of the competitions when they were occupied by about 500 men and boys representing about 100 teams. The numbers are, it is understood, a record since the establishment of these very useful competitions. Madras is to be congratulated in attracting a record attendance in teams. There were teams representing Indian Troops, Indian State and Auxiliary forces, Railway and Police men, Educational Institutions and Boy Scouts. For the first time in the history of the competitions, there were teams drawn from Jails and Reformatory Schools in the Presidency. It was gratifying to note that two teams from Reformatory School qualified for prizes. Four prizes were won by teams from the Madras Presidency but the teams from Punjab walked away with the lion's share. Everybody regretted the absence of competitors for the 'Lady Hardinge Ambulance Challenge Bowl' which is an award open to ladies possessing a knowledge of 'first-aid.' The 'first-aid' movement among Indian ladies of Southern India is apparently not yet 'forward.' The St. John Ambulance Association hopes that the next time the competitions come round Madras, there will not be one but several tear qualified in 'first-aid' willing to compete for the magnificent award open to ladies' team

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A SIMPLE SCHEME OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY MR. DAKSHINA R. GHOSH,

Bengal Civil Service.

PRELIMINARY

THE present unrest is primarily an economic one. Very few people in the rural areas care for, or think about, higher politics, problems of food, clothing, medical aid and drinking water are, in a nutshell, the four things which engross their attention and interest. Any movement which does not directly or indirectly connect itself with a solution of these problems has no chance of success with the masses.

The village has been the first starting point of public life in India from time immemorial and it is there that self-government and self-realisation of the nation must be sought and solved.

I managed to interest Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, the first Minister of Bengal, and an experiment of some intensive local work was conducted by me in 1921 under the auspices of Government at Jaugram on the Howrah Burdwan Chord line in the district of Burdwan and a group of ten or fifteen villages around it, a notoriously malarial locality.

I was allowed to work for barely a month or five weeks.

After much hard spade work had been done, up-hill ground traversed, local prejudice and opposition overcome, an atmosphere of popular calm and enthusiasm on the one hand, and confidence in me and my programme on the other, created (the Non-Co-operation spirit was rampant then) and just when beneficent results in various directions were showing promise of fruition, I had to be called away from the field of action owing to the exigencies of the Public Service and the whole scheme collapsed with my withdrawal.

The following account of the experiment is a mere index of the possibilities of actual work in this direction and I present it to the public in the hope that it may inspire and stimulate further effort. It est endeavours on these or similar other lines. I began by trying in the village and living in the midst of people as one of them—a unique contact—to start with; for, the villagers themselves shunned it like poison on account of malaria and fever or vice versa and officials too gave a wide berth to it, for the same reason. I pilgaged lantern lectures by Mr. Nishikanta Bose, cc "popular" lecturer of the Bengal Social

Service League, on the usual topics of malaria, hygiene, sanitation etc., were tried, and following the usual line of propaganda of the Government Public Health Department bioscope shows were also tried for two nights. Both failed to create any real enthusiasm and were, therefore, given up.

Apart from the general indifference of the people to such shows, the feeling of Non-Co-operation with Government was also at work. Even non-payment of taxes was talked of.

I did not attempt any argument for argument; for, that would have surely led to unseemly wrangles and a bitter wordy warfare, which would have done more harm than good, as we find to be the case invariably happening all over the country in every sphere of life whenever vocal propaganda is sought to be met by similar counter propaganda.

I stuck to my faith in what may be called the quiet logic of action and the philosophy of life and the results in the end justified this policy.

ACTUAL WORK AND ATTEMPTS

Jungle clearance, reclamation of tanks, doctor and dispensary, cheap supply of things like salt, matches, dhoti, mosquito-curtains etc. and house to house collection of doles of rice, britti and donations on occasion of Harkhata, festivities, social ceremonies, pujahs etc., it is these things that arouse quite a wave of local enthusiasm among all classes and sections and I felt my humble labours amply rewarded by a touch of heavenly grace, which I felt descending upon those items of service, as they were taken up one by one and enthusiastically responded to by the people.

Thus, in a few days' time, distrust and suspicion changed into confidence and esteem in me and my propaganda.

If I was a believer in the force of personal magnetism and the value of constructive idealism in matters of practical politics in the first flush of early youth, I have become the more confirmed in that faith at this—the 50th year of my age and the 30th of my service as a public servant—spread over about 20 districts in different parts of Bengal, Bihar and Assam.

In the eleven villages which formed the Union as also in the surrounding villages of the neighbouring Unions there soon grew up a happy spirit of active co-operation and a new life all

round and this result was achieved without one single meeting or formal lectures.

It was an object-lesson and a moral gain of no mean value.

DRINKING WATER

As many as eleven tanks were re-claimed in three villages.

One tank was re-dug, as the result of the stimulus and inspiration of the propaganda by the owner, at a cost of Rs. 850/- he paying Rs. 600/- and I giving him Rs. 250/- from the grant placed at my disposal.

One tank was re-dug wholly at the owner's cost.

Thus, 13 tanks were improved, one by one, affording good drinking water to several thousand people, which, but these intensive efforts on the spot, would have remained in a neglected condition as before.

MODEL BUSTEE

A selected area in the midst of the habitations of men around the dispensary was taken up with a view to so improve it in respect of jungle clearance, drainage and comparative freedom from dirt and filth etc., as to serve as a model for others to copy.

There were unsightly heaps of rubbish and mounds of earth over-grown with jungle, and no proper drains.

Any one visiting the locality afterwards could not but be struck with the markedly improved outlook, which the place presented.

CHEAP SUPPLY OF SALT, MATCHES & KEROSENE OIL

Salt was selling at 6 to 6½ pice per seer in the village. We bought a consignment at wholesale rates and placed it for sale in different villages at 5 pice per seer, which went to swell the village fund called the Palli-Sri-Bhandar.

Matches were selling at 2 pice per box and we sold them at one pice per box—here also, with a margin of profit.

I borrowed this idea from the operations of the Y. M. C. A. in some parts of India, where this line of non-credit co-operative work has been very much appreciated.

I am not aware of any similar activity on the part of the Y. M. C. A. or any other body, in Bengal.

After this principle of co-operative purchase and sale inculcated through these small items had once been practically realised by the people of this part of the country to whom the idea came as an altogether novel thing, costlier, while more necessary, articles like dhoties and mosquito-curtains, were to be taken up.

CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATION

Details were also being worked out in consultation with the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, for a comprehensive organisation covering the Union as a whole and embracing more than one branch of beneficent activity.

Two tanks were taken on lease experimentally to stock them with fry with a view to furnish a recurring source of income to the Communal Fund.

DOLE COLLECTIONS

In three villages, two maunds eleven seers of rice were collected at one experimental effort and sold at half a seer per rupee cheaper than the market price—an appreciable benefit to the poorer people.

Value	Rs. 13 8 0
Cash donations received on account of halkhatas, social ceremonies, festivals pujahs, etc.	16 8 0
Other donations received	62 0 0
Total	Rs. 92 0 0

which was quite a hopeful and promising beginning.

DOCTOR AND MEDICINES

These two must form the soul and essence of every rural propaganda which aims at influencing the masses.

Secondly, it was not to be a so-called "Charitable" dispensary of the type prevalent all over the country—a benevolent superstition and an anachronism which has hitherto proved the bane and canker of the well-meant but misdirected "medical" policy of the country.

It was a bold idea on my part to attempt a practical solution of the problem of medical treatment in the rural areas, purely on business lines and not as a so-called charitable arrangement.

This was a crusade, so to say, against the current orthodox policy and convictions, both official and non-official. It was therefore no wonder that it aroused jealousy, suspicion and even antipathy in certain quarters—District and Local Boards not excepted.

But, I had abundant faith in my idea and honesty of purpose. So, I began with "heart within and God overhead."

Going from post to pillar, I failed to get in time the promised initial fund which was necessary for the purpose.

There was no time to lose. Upon a personal hand-note given by me to a shop-keeper at

Chandney (Calcutta) I obtained a stock of fresh medicines—only the essential ones and on my responsibility appointed an M. B. doctor who was just out of the Calcutta Medical College, who was given a free house in the village and a Compounder.

The doctor was to give prescription free, morning and evening at the dispensary.

Medicines and his calls to houses of patients were to be charged, the former at 25 per cent. profit on the actual cost and the latter at Rs. 2 per visit in the village and Rs. 4 outside.

There was also arrangement for microscopic analysis of blood, urine etc., on payment of fees but of course on a much cheaper scale than charged in Calcutta or big towns.

All the income from fees, sale of medicines and analysis was to go to the village fund, and the doctor and the compounder were to be paid out of it.

All kinds of diseases were treated, e. g., influenza, typhoid, pneumonia diarrhoea, gall-stone, Bright's disease, Kala-azar, pleurisy, asthma, piles, etc. Of the cases treated malaria alone accounted for nearly one-half, the other half being accounted for by all the other kinds of diseases enumerated.

A steady improvement both in respect of patients and cash receipts was maintained from week to week. So much so, that the results in the 4th week were quite double those of the first week.

It was a comparatively healthy season of the year (March-April) when the experiment was tried.

People with local experience predicted quite a double or treble income both from fees and medicines in the malaria season during and after the rains.

Anyhow, a fee-income of Rs. 40 per week, which means less than two calls a day, would support an M. B. doctor on Rs. 150 a month—without a pice of direct taxation or of subscription which, by itself, is not a mean prospect.

Considering that in every typical mofussil area for a tract of miles and miles, neither a qualified doctor nor a store of fresh and genuine medicines at a moderate price is available for love or for money, one can be quite sanguine of such an income.

Apart from the self-supporting,—at least, self-helping aspect of the scheme, the fact that good many human lives would be saved and the sufferings of a large number mitigated, at an extra outlay capital or not even a rupee on account of the

doctor's pay—is enough to inspire and stimulate a further continuance and development of the scheme.

As for really poor people, who do not possess the necessary cash in hand to pay for the medicines, a loan is to be given to them out of the village fund (Palli Sri-Bhandar) a quarter part or more of which is to be specially ear-marked for this purpose—it being re-paid by easy instalments either in cash, materials, grain, labour or personal service in some form or other in connection with works of village welfare as may be called upon by the village committee, from time to time.

The area of operation—large enough already—15 or 20 villages—within a range of 10 or 15 sq. miles—is bound to expand with greater and greater appreciation by the people and the scheme is bound to develop on newer and more fruitful, while no less humanising lines, as we gain more and more experience and confidence, with the progress of actual working.

It would then become necessary to organise "travelling" dispensaries, as subordinate or corollary agencies to the central organisation, to serve the outlying parts of the selected area the unit of which may be a gradually extending circle ultimately covering about 100 villages apiece and a compact area of say, 100 sq. miles, in each district, as an experimental measure.

TRAVELLING DISPENSARY

In framing a publicity or propaganda policy to meet the peculiar situation of the day, a cue might profitably be taken from the experiences of the Christian Missions in India.

In the early days, there was an over-abundance of verbal preachings and publication and distribution of literature, coupled with exhibition of charts, pictures, lantern slides, music and so on. Gradually stress came to be laid on the action side of the propaganda. Humanising service in general, such as orphanages, leper asylums, poor-house, famine and flood relief, school for the blind, deaf and dumb etc., and medical missions in particular, have proved to be the most efficacious agencies for the purpose of making converts from one cult to another.

Saving of human life is a primary duty of civilised mankind.

Secondly, if Co-operation and Non Co-operation mean a conflict of cults and there is a competition for securing converts, whichever side will supply medical relief, drinking water, cheap food and clothing at the doors of the mass of the people—as far as humanly possible,—must win the field in the long run.

The Scheme of Travelling Dispensary is a simple one.

There are three things necessary for a dispensary, a house, a doctor, and medicines.

The villagers find the house free, Government or a Public body finds the doctor, rather stands guarantee for subsidising him, to the extent necessary to afford him a monthly income of Rs. 150

As for medicines:—To start with, Government or the Public body concerned makes a grant once for all or a loan of Rs. 2,000 for each centre or stands surety to a wholesale dealer who supplies the stock on credit for the time being.

The Compounder's pay and contingent expenses are included in the cost; and then, a net profit of 25 per cent. is charged which is a moderate figure compared to what a private dispensary usually charges.

Now, if the sales average Rs. 1,000 per month, which certainly is not an over-estimate judging from the flourishing condition of an average private dispensary, yielding a net income of Rs. 200 a month, the original capital would easily be made good from the net profits of the dispensary in about one year's time.

This profit income may, either, be utilised in repaying the Government or other loan, or, if there were no loan, in starting two sub-stores in that local area.

I am against diverting the local assets elsewhere, and to other purposes than medical relief—so that gradually the dispensary may grow and develop on its own resources—independently of extraneous aid.

NET POSITION AND PROGRAMME

The malaria epidemic is staring the country in the face and three Divisions specially, (Burdwan, Presidency and Rajshahi) usually have a miserable time of it in the villages during 5 or 6 months, every year.

To start on a modest scale, we may select three worst localities in each of the three above-named Divisions, each centre embracing about 100 villages in one district—but covering a compact area, in order to have the effect intensively felt, and try the scheme for what it may be worth, for at least the next six months. A shorter term would hardly create any impression.

For these nine centres, we require:—

- (1) M. B. doctors in charge .. 9
- (2) One Sub-Assistant Surgeon in charge of a "travelling" dispensary to move about

the outlying parts of the local area treating patients at different centres by rotation, halting for about a week at each centre, Re. 1 fee within the village of halt and Rs. 2 outside.

(3) Compounders

The cost for each Centre, per month, would be as follows:—

(In case Government or District or other Boards are unable to find the doctors free from out of their existing staff)

1 Doctor-in-charge, M. B. .. Rs. 150

1 Sub-Assistant Surgeon .. Rs. 75

Rs. 225

which on a safe estimate, based on the actual results of the Jaugram experiment, is sure to be recouped from the fees earned by them. A merest quack earns a fee income of not less than Rs. 100 a month, in the villages.

The cost on account of the Compounder and hospital servant and contingencies will be charged to the sale price of medicines.

The receipts from doctor's fees are likely to go on increasing, and gradually it may be possible to allow the doctor either a bonus or a share in the net income.

That would prove a good incentive to him to permanently settle down on this mission and avoid his seeking fresh fields and pastures new.

Those who are acquainted with mofussil conditions know it to be a fact that doctors within-different or no mentionable qualifications, whom it would not be incorrect to describe as quacks, are earning hundreds of rupees per month by private practice rather playing with the life and death of so many needy but helpless countrymen of our own—a state of things which is easily preventable, if either the District Boards or the national leaders or both would either singly or jointly—Co-operatively or "Non-Co-operatively" move in the matter in right earnest.

It is not unlikely that batches of qualified doctors inspired by the results of these experiments may gradually find it profitable to settle down in different mofussil centres to practise on their own account, instead of an unnecessary and unseemly crowding and jostling in Calcutta and big cities and towns.

That, by itself, would be a national gain and good of no mean value, furnishing as it promises to do, a partial solution of the much-vexed problem of unemployment.

TAXATION COMMITTEE REPORT

By PROF. K. T. SHAH

University Professor of Economics, Bombay.

THE Science of Economics, as we now understand it, is the creation of the Art of the financier, though the latter has now come to be considered simply as a branch or department of the main Science. In the days when our own Chanakya thought of the subject of public weal,—in the days when the Greek Aristotle compiled his encyclopaedia of science then known,—they considered Economics either as a part of the general political science, or as a Rule merely for the Household. In course of time, and particularly for the European state emerging out of the meshes of Feudalism, the task of securing adequate revenues for the growing needs of the State began to tax more and more the ingenuity of the Minister. The King could no longer live on his own, as the feudal advisers had always insisted on his doing, not merely because the kirgs were untrained to be economical, but also because they were expected to incur expenditure which their own domain had no concern with. The kings were insolvent; and the costs of winding up the insolvent Kingship were greater than the cost of maintaining that institution, measured in terms of money only. Hence was born the Art of the financier, whose early experiments at getting the necessary funds were as original as they were inimitable; but whose experience now serves merely to test the proposals on a similar line which the present day heirs of their troubles have to put forward. The latter's task has been complicated in the interval by the elaboration of the much wider and more truly social science of Economics, which considers every practical proposal from the standpoint of its effect on national economy as a whole. The dim consciousness of conserving and preserving the national energy haunts the economically minded financier, and makes him view every effort at adding to the public revenues from this stand-

point. Only in so far as taxation proposals help the fostering of the national productive capacity will they be accepted by him; and rejected in so far as they affect prejudicially the same. The famous canons of taxation, elaborated and immortalised by the Father of the Science of Economics as known in England, are nothing but an expression of the economist's concern that the entire finances of the nation shall be so administered as to help the conservation of the national energy or the community's capacity for the production of new wealth; and since his time this viewpoint has been emphasised by the opinion of every subsequent writer on the subject.

The subject of national economy is affected not entirely by considerations of public revenue. Exactly of the same importance is the effect of public expenditure, though from a different direction. Every item of public expenditure must, if the public monies are properly spent, add to the well-being of the community, or to the wealth of the nation. Of course, for historical reasons beyond the control of the present generation, there is hardly a nation in the world, whose financiers can pretend to have met in any considerable degree the requirements of this ideal. The example of Revolutionary States, like Russia under the Sovietique Republic, having repudiated the obligations of the previous governments, and so reduced a most considerable section of their unproductive national expenditure, is exceptional, and so far at any rate has not commended itself to the majority of the nations of the world; while even in Russia, the unproductive expenditure on armaments is far, far from being abolished altogether. While a fourth or a fifth of the total resources of the entire civilised and organised humanity is laid out on destructive equipment, we can hardly allege that the productive energy of mankind is properly ministered to by the

organised effort as evidenced by the collective spending of individual communities. But because the sanity of the civilised humanity has not yet reached a height at which unproductive or destructive expenditure of every description is abolished or avoided altogether, that is no reason why the financial reformer should not pay attention to the layout of public monies in the 'general consideration of a financial system and its reform. Every writer on Public Finance agrees that in that department, the dictating factor is provided by expenditure, and not by revenue, as in the case of private finance. But the justice of that maxim will be largely destroyed if that expenditure is incurred independently or in defiance of the demands of public economy. To achieve this ideal of public economy, it is of the utmost importance that the revenue and expenditure side should be considered simultaneously by any body told off to advise on financial reform in the State, so that the action and reaction of these two mutually connected forces should be properly weighed and allowed for.

Viewed in the light of these considerations, the Report of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee* must be pronounced to be disappointing in the extreme. It is true, of course, that the disappointment to a critical student arising out of such considerations as the above is not due to the shortcomings of the Committee itself; since, from its very inception, and by its very Reference, that body was precluded from considering Revenue and Expenditure simultaneously; and could not, therefore, view in juxtaposition their mutual reactions as it was indispensable for them to do. The Government of India is to blame for this disappointment purchased at a cost of nearly 4½ lakhs of the tax-payer's money, thanks to their irrational and unnatural policy of splitting up, simply out of short-sighted considerations of convenience in handling, and

* Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee Rs. 2-2.
Do. do. Evidence in 4 Vols. Rs. 20.
G.A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

dispatch in reporting, what is essentially indivisible. They had already had the public expenditure of the country investigated into by an independent Committee that reported three years ago; with the result that, because that body was not allowed to consider the revenue aspect of their Reference, it had perforce to reduce itself to the ignominy of unco-ordinated and often illogical, unintelligible, *ad hoc* cuts, that frequently do more harm than good. Take one example only. Hardly was the ink dry on the Incheape Report, when the Government of India was obliged to negative their recommendations about the Stores Purchase Department, because it was considered that that recommendation if adopted, would do more harm to the industrial ambitions of this country than good to the public Exchequer. Without going into the specific merits of this decision, we may take that as an illustration of the inevitably incomplete, illusory, unsatisfactory character of the reports submitted on such lop-sided References. The Taxation Committee has met with the same fate, though, one might say, with less justice than their precursor above named had. For the present Committee could have travelled outside the strict letter of their Reference in view of the debates attending their appointment in and outside the Legislature. If, however, they like to take refuge under the letter of their Reference, they are entitled to do so, subject always to this remark, that by so doing, they will themselves tacitly admit the incompleteness, and, therefore, the unreliability of their findings.

At this stage let us review the Reference made to the Taxation Committee. The Terms set out in the Report are:—

- (1) To examine the manner in which the burden of taxation is distributed at present between the different classes of the population.
- (2) To consider whether the whole scheme of taxation,—Central, Provincial and Local is equitable and in accordance with economic principles, and, if not, in what respects it is defective.
- (3) To report on the suitability of alternative sources of taxation.

On this main Reference, the central problem presented to the Committee was not so much the examination of the merits and demerits of individual items of taxation or of public revenues in general, but rather the estimating of the burden of taxation. The Committee has avoided, or discharged this duty in a most original manner. Their main findings on this head are summed up by saying, on the authority of Professor Seligman, that the incidence of taxation is one of the most complicated subjects in economic science, and that it is rendered more so in India owing to the lack of any reliable statistical material on which conclusions can be based. The uninitiated may be pardoned if they wonder what utility the Committee consider there was in their own appointment, if they were simply to brush aside a complicated problem, bristling with difficulties, merely on the ground that it was complicated and that there were additional difficulties in this country. It is surely no fault of India that there are these difficulties, that the statistical material available to the Committee was considered by that body as inadequate. In any event, the Committee cannot be excused for this palpable neglect of their central task, so long as they refuse even to make an effort to overcome those difficulties, to examine such material as there admittedly is, and then to ascertain its degree of unreliability, trying at the same time, as far as it could be tried by the Committee, to obviate or reduce such unreliability. In their bankruptcy of ideas, in their inaptitude for independent effort, the Committee are once again obliged to resort to *obiter dicta* of inapplicable authorities. They are unable to deny that, if not they themselves whose task it was to ascertain the economic ability of the tax-payer and ascertain the burden of taxation on that ability, others at least had already ventured, despite the inadequacy and unreliability of statistics monopolistically supplied by Government, to make some

estimates, as careful as was possible under the circumstances, of the *Wealth and Taxable Capacity* of the Indian tax-payers. Their own voluminous Questionnaire,—(promising a comprehensiveness of the investigation, which has been sadly belied by the results),—is replete with quotations from or references to such works, which in the end they have jettisoned altogether. Why? May not an unprejudiced critic conclude that the reasoning and conclusions in such previous efforts proving unacceptable to the Committee and their unseen inspirers, there was no alternative but to ignore such attempts altogether. Sir Josiah Stamp may have said that there is always an unavoidable margin of error in all estimates of the wealth of great nations. But he himself has not allowed that consideration to stand in the way of his own estimation of the wealth of Great Britain, notwithstanding the fact that in that country such estimates have been made even before Sir Josiah's own light appeared above the horizon, and once at least, officially by Act of Parliament. What sort of an extenuation is this attempted by Sir Basil Blackett's pet Committee of Taxation experts, that on the mere ground of a possibility of error in estimating, they should not make even an attempt at all? The authors and members of the Committee have a heavy indictment to answer. So long as the economic administration of this country by its present rulers stands charged with the accusation that their administration has resulted in a condition of the people in which the total production of material commodities every year is such as to afford not even full meals three times a day to every man, woman and child in the country, let alone the other wants of decent, civilised human existence, there can be no evading the necessity of examining the incidence of the existing burdens of Government, and much more so, the proposed additions to those burdens, with direct reference to the "taxable surplus", as the Committee fondly,

describes the ability of the people to bear this burden.

There is one excuse for the Committee having bungled their task; and that lies in the original sin of ambiguous, inadequate Reference. The consideration of the Taxable Capacity of the country was specifically excluded by Government from the purview of the Committee, on the ground that that was a task enough for another Committee of equal experts. It is impossible to be moderate in condemning such reckless waste of public monies involved in this heartless multiplication of ineffective committees; but perhaps the sting would have been considerably modified had the Government of Lord Reading really and substantially carried out this promise of a full economic inquiry independently of the Taxation Committee. Personally, I do not think such a Domsday Book was necessary to be compiled by the agency of Government experts; nor do I believe that the task was in any way foreign to the main reference made to the Taxation Committee, or could have been justly separated from its purview. But when the Government professes to meet the urgent and insistent or repeated public demand for an economic inquiry, by appointing a Committee to consider if there was material enough for such an inquiry, it is impossible to avoid a sense of gross betrayal of the material and essential interests of the country. And because they have thus played with the demands of public interest, their creature the Taxation Committee cannot avoid the criticism that the task they have done is incomplete, unsatisfactory, and likely to be injurious, if the conclusions they have put forward are adopted without the indispensable test of a previous consideration of the Taxable Capacity of the people of this country.

The Reference is yet more unfortunate in yet another respect; or the interpretation put by the Committee on the exact terms of the Reference is

so. The clause (a) above quoted speaks of "the different classes of the population." What precisely was intended by the framers of this Reference? The differentiation of classes of a people, from the standpoint of and for the purpose of such an inquiry as we are here reviewing, ought clearly to be on the grounds of economic differences of wealth, whether measured by income or by capital. The classification adopted by the Committee is,—original. There is not a trace of real economic differentiation between several of the classes there considered to be distinct. The remarks relating to the incidence of tax burdens on the classes thus selected arbitrarily by this Committee are, therefore, so much waste. The Committee are aware that the classification put forward by them is not "exhaustive." I put it to the Committee that it is not logical, since several classes will necessarily overlap, being mutually indistinguishable. I put it to them that it is not reliable, as the consideration of the burdens is complicated by a factor, of the very existence of which the Committee appears to be oblivious. Take the cases of the taxes on traders and merchants, and contrast them with the taxes on the labourers, urban or rural. While, on the Committee's showing, the burden on the labouring classes has increased, between 1911-14 and 1922-25 from Rs. 4-10-0 to Rs. 8-7-7, which, corrected by reference to the price index given in the same connection, implies a net increase of 19 per cent. (a most faulty and objectionable method of computation, since the proper comparison is not so much with *prices* as with *wages*, and the Committee have made no reference to wage-movements whatsoever; and, besides, the unweighted averaging adopted in the tabulation on p. 342 is fundamentally objectionable) the burden,—increased or not,—on the trading classes of all ranks is not even attempted to be estimated, in anything like the concrete form in which it was necessary, by parity of reasoning, to

estimate. Even so, and ignoring the inherent defect in the basically vicious method adopted for computation of the burden, the main objection to the Committee's findings is: that whereas in the case of the labouring classes, the taxes paid by them are direct as well as indirect and that in either case the burden is fully borne, without possibility of shifting or evading by these classes, in the case of the trading classes, except in so far as they came within the category of income tax-payers, (Even there there are means of evasion, which the pundits of the Revenue Board have either not yet discovered or are too afraid to discover), the tax-burdens are mostly capable not only of being transferred to other shoulders in ultimate incidence from those which originally bore those burdens, but even to utilise these initial burdens as a means of additional profit for the first-tax-payers at the expense of the eventual bearers of these burdens. The phenomenon of a constant and considerable difference between wholesale and retail prices is too well-known to be unknown, let us hope, even to the experts of the Taxation Inquiry. That difference tends to grow in proportion as the articles in question are taxed indirectly. And the greater the tax, the greater chance for a larger variation between wholesale and retail prices, and the larger the opportunity for exploitation of the final consumers of the taxed articles,—the labouring classes,—for the combined but concealed benefit of the State and the intermediaries. The Committee is blissfully ignorant of the effects of this common phenomenon; and the value of their entire Report may be judged from such specimens as these.

The Report maintains its character of unrelieved disappointment to the critical student in its generic as well as its specific findings and recommendations. We have not exhausted, in the foregoing remarks, the main causes of serious disappointment even on basic grounds of the principles and axioms of public finance. Their

chapter, for example, dealing with the apportionment of the revenue resources between the several governing authorities in the country is sadly defective. The Government of India have decided that the goal of Indian political evolution is a federation of the States and Provinces making up the Indian Empire, quite apart from the historical consideration that, whereas in the other great federations of the world the federating units existed before the federation itself was instituted, in India the Empire has been before its constituent units were created. The needs and conditions of federalising an essentially, originally, unitary system of national finance are bound to be different from those obtaining in the historic precedents we now possess. The acceptance of the ideal of federal finance was, of course, unavoidable for the Committee. But the task cannot be said to be accomplished when they merely platitudinise that there is no ideal system of division of sources of taxation between the Imperial and the State Governments. Nor is their postulate permissible that that system of separation of sources is the best which gives to each government a revenue adequate to its needs, and at the same time effects a fair division between them. The real crux of the problem lies in the last clause; and that the Committee has conveniently evaded. If no ideal system of division exists, the Committee was bound to try at least and evolve some system, with intelligible, acceptable basis, if only to provide a guide and a standard for testing the fitness of each particular item of revenue as central or provincial. The Committee has given no such test. Their reasoning with reference to selected taxes, which they classify as peculiarly Imperial or Provincial, as the case may be, is also far from convincing or correct. Take the case of their list of truly Imperial Taxes: Import Duties (Why not Export Duties as well?) Revenue excises, and revenue derived from the export

of opium. One can understand Opium Revenue being made wholly Central; but we cannot understand the special treatment given to Export Duties. Besides not necessarily is every import duty truly imperial, for reasons of policy or of practice. The Port Dues in the various Indian Port Trust Budgets, particularly when they take the shape of surcharges of an *ad hoc* character, are essentially import and export duties, which are not central but local in the narrowest sense of the term. The Committee are either unaware of such peculiarities, or pursue a reasoning in defence of their classification, which is exclusively opportunist. Or again, take their treatment of Land Revenue. Reasons of standardisation in incidence or assessment, and still more the deeper reasons of fundamental policy governing the question of land proprietorship, ought to make this source, which is essentially a Direct Tax, not a Provincial, but a Central source of revenue. The Committee, in their anxiety to save the *status quo*, have declared this to be an essentially local revenue, while, perfectly illogically, they have declared the counterpart of agrarian

taxation on incomes from land, as typified by the ordinary Income-Tax on industrial and commercial incomes, to be a Central revenue. Restrictive Excises, again, if left, as the Committee opines, to the Provincial Government, would most clearly impale the Report on the horns of a dilemma. For either these Excises represent a source of revenue, which is justly considered to be unworthy and unpermissible, and as such one which ought to be abolished at the earliest date; in which case there must be alternatives to make good the deficit in the provincial purse; or they must be at this time of the day considered to be integral and indispensable sources of provincial revenue, in which case, good-bye to all dreams of real social reform. Their final solution of the difficulties of balancing the central as well as the provincial budgets in India,—a division of the Income-Tax receipts, with modifications in the shape of a corporation tax, leave the solution of the main problem very little advanced from the stage at which the Committee finds it, and the country will have very little to be grateful for to this costly Committee of spurious experts.

When I am Dead

By FELIX

When I am dead,
The friends I love will gather round my bed,
And gazing on my cold, unconscious clay
Will let their sorrow melt in tears away:
And some in all affection true may bow
And gently kiss me on my dead, cold brow:
Then they 'll commend my 'parted soul to God,
And leave me 'lone beneath the "up-turn'd sod"—
When I am dead.

When I am dead,
And laid within my low and narrow bed,
Forgot by all, who loved and cared for me,
Upon my grassy grave may grow a tree
With beauteous flow'rs, and these a maid with care,
Purchase, may pluck to weave a garland fair;
Purchase, someone may pluck them for a wreath
To place on 'nother who has ceased to breathe—
When I am dead.

Mr. SASTRI'S KAMALA LECTURES

[Under the auspices of the University of Madras the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri repeated the Kamala lectures on "The Rights and Duties of Indian Citizens" which he had originally delivered at the Calcutta University. There was a large gathering of the elite of Madras who listened to the discourses with rapt attention. The lectures, as might be expected, were marked by eloquence and learning, and Mr. Sastri's lucidity of exposition and his persuasive manner easily kept the audience spell-bound. Though the printed word can hardly have the charm of the spoken word—as heard directly from the lips of a speaker of such winning eloquence as Mr. Sastri—we have no doubt that readers of the INDIAN REVIEW will be glad to have the substance of these excellent discourses. The subject itself is so important and Mr. Sastri's treatment of it so thorough that we need make no apology for reproducing the more important parts of these lectures.—Editor, THE INDIAN REVIEW]

I

THE STATE AND THE CITIZEN

Mr. Sastri began by defining the words, "Citizen" and "Rights." Who is a citizen, he asked, and what is his relation to the State?

The State and the citizen are not conceived as related to each other in the same manner in all countries. Take Prussia that has almost ceased to be Prussia before the war as the type of one set of



RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

States. The citizen was considered merely the tool and the instrument, the material upon which the State was to work for the national benefit as conceived by itself. The State was everything, the

individual citizen almost nothing except as he could be bent for the purpose conceived of by the State as paramount. Take the anarchist for example. Using that word in its strictly scientific sense and with no sinister application whatsoever, the anarchist would say on the other hand that the individual citizen should be everything and the State should be almost nothing even if it should be permitted to exist at all. Of course, the anarchist would hasten to add that upon the theory whereby the individual citizens were all competent to take care of themselves and did take care of themselves, there would be no need at all of the State governing them and if there was, that State would take care of itself too. But at the same time, the world in general refuses to follow either of these extremes. It would prefer to regard the State and the citizen as bound to each other by a more intimate relation. The State properly considered exists for the benefit of the individual citizen. It is to promote his welfare regarded in the highest sense, by welfare meaning the highest moral welfare of the citizen, his development, as another writer would put it, up to the highest possible pitch of all his powers and faculties, but that this development should be so conceived and executed that he would subserve at the same time the highest moral welfare not of the State. I am now speaking of the whole community distinguishing the community from the State—the State is the political organism. The State is bound to provide such conditions that while the individual citizen is allowed to develop his powers and faculties to the utmost extent, at the same time this development is made subordinate to the highest moral welfare of the whole community. There is something in that that requires a little scrutiny. For the highest moral welfare of an individual it is not possible to attain unless at the same time the community itself is highly developed. It is only in a community of the greatest possible calibre, a community prosperous, contented, enlightened and progressive it is only in a community of that kind that each individual citizen will have scope for his own higher development.

THE THREE ATTRIBUTES OF A CITIZEN

Now it is not all people to whom we could entrust the rights and duties usually accorded to the citizens of a civilised community. There are many qualifications, moral and political. But there are three which deserve the most prominent mention.

In the first place we postulate in the ideal citizen a certain amount of public spirit, meaning by that the desire to sink his own personal ends in the larger ends of his community, the anxiety to subordinate himself whenever necessary for the benefit of the society of which he is a member. In the next place our citizen must have what we regard as practical common sense, a shrewd eye on the affairs of the world. This is not by any means so common a quality as we should desire. The practical man of sense who is able always instinctively to know what is good from what is merely attractive—that quality, I say, is by no means so common as we should wish. But that is a quality which is required positively in every member of the community that aspires to be democratic at all. For, in a democratic community when it is highly developed, each individual citizen plays what we may call an integral part and he cannot play that part in making public opinion which really is the force that drives the democratic community. He cannot play his part in fashioning public opinion and bringing it to a pitch, unless he is possessed of this somewhat rare quality of being able to decide between right and wrong in moments of excitement, in moments when he is subject to a flight of rhetoric or to the sway of a commanding personality—that is a rare quality even in these somewhat tense moments—of preserving his balance of mind—the power of deciding between what is good and what is merely attractive.

ELEMENTS OF POPULAR WELFARE

In the next place, a citizen must be able to understand and appreciate what lies at the bottom of the welfare of a society, i. e., what are the different elements that go to make up that welfare. It is easy to be vague, but Mr. Sastri gave precise expression to them:

They are ten: Security of person, property, and reputation. He (the citizen) must be able to understand what that means and be able to struggle for those things when such struggle becomes necessary not only for himself but also for securing those high ends for his brethren; he must be able intelligently to work for the conditions that will secure those elements; (2) freedom of speech and action; (3) sanitary conditions of life; (4) good and cheap education; (5) religious toleration; (6) light and fair tax (which means equitable tax); (7) good times in industry and commerce; (8) efficient public administration; (9) decency of life in all ranks and classes; and (10) national defence and honour. Roughly classified these would be the ten heads under which we shall have to educate our common citizen in order that he may be able always to have before him the social ends for which he could constantly strive.

THE CORRELATION OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

Then he dwelt on the correlation of rights and duties, how privileges always go with responsibilities and how in highly evolved States as in individuals the former always merge in the latter—or in the words of a great writer, how

rights ripen into duties. In this connection he spoke of the pride of caste as the very negation of the principle of rights and finally postulated the main conditions of rights and their intrinsic nature.

Right is an arrangement sanctioned by the community from the legal point of view which is conducive in the first place to what I postulated sometime ago as the highest development of the powers and faculties of the citizen. In the next place, your right must not be that which you possess to the exclusion of others, but it must be common to all. At any rate, if it is not common in the beginning, it must be extensible in course of time to all. In the third place, it must be of such a character that you could enforce it, that is, it must get out of the moral or spiritual sphere into the legal sphere. That is the sense in which we shall use the word 'right' practically during these four occasions that we meet together. In the first place, the right must be conducive to the development of the society and the individual, and, in the second place, it must be ever open or extensible to all, and, in the third place it must be enforceable by legal remedies.

A DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

Then, quoting Prof. Henry Jones, Mr. Sastri pointed out that the highest ideal should always be the touchstone of all our efforts and not merely the immediately practicable. In this connection he referred to the present German Constitution which has a comprehensive scheme of rights and duties for its citizens. That Constitution, as we know, has in it a great deal of British and Continental Socialism designed to level up the life of the common man. Having read the German Declaration of Rights embodied in the Constitution. He showed that the citizen in England has not suffered from its absence. And yet in a democracy in the making, as in India, such a Declaration of Rights has its use:

A German writer generally says, speaking of a declaration of rights, that it gives a juridical background against which our public life must be lived, in other words the fundamental juridical notion upon which the structure of our constitution is raised. The atmosphere as it were of legal ideas and legal conceptions of what is due, what is merely desirable and what cannot be denied, are not always present to the minds of our public workers whether we are Judges of the High Court, whether we are legislators, whether we are executive officers carrying out laws, whether we are individual citizens. We have a vivid and clear

consciousness of what the State should aim at and what our laws should have as their final aim and goal. If you are a legislator, you must know the wholesome line on which you can legislate: limits for instance for the action of the majority. These things are not learnt in a day. They are learnt by long practice at the turning of the legislative machinery. Where, however the wisdom of our race so far as it is crystallised is set forth in a set of rights, it is there ready made for us to study. The individual legislator will know "Oh! I ought to do nothing to take away these rights from my country." The executive officer who often has unrestrained and irresponsible authority in his hand will know too: "Here is my guide-post. Let me so exercise my privilege and power that the individual citizen may not be robbed of his right, that he may have the fullest opportunity of exercising such freedom as the constitution allows him." And the individual citizens must know which ideas they must sanction and which new laws they must countenance. Always there must be something to tell you "this is my goal; let me not get away from it."

THE BENGAL REGULATION III OF 1818

Mr. Sastri concluded the first lecture with a feeling reference to that deplorable disregard of personal liberty—as evidenced by the Assembly's sanctioning the continuance of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818; and he made a capital point when he asked:

Suppose for instance as in Germany everyone of our public men when he leaves the school in his 18th year is presented with a copy of that declaration of rights and he is told "here are your rights; never let any body rob you of them," do you mean to say that a community composed of such citizens who, in their 18th year, are told that they are entitled to certain freedom and liberty, will allow itself easily to be tyrannised over? Laws that we complain against, which take from us that which we hold most dear, we cannot even bring before the High Court for remedy. A community that is educated in a full knowledge of those rights and duties, is not likely to permit the unwholesome direction which legislation in this country very often takes. What, then, is the great use of a declaration of rights in a growing community—nay, I say in a community like ours which has only set its first foot forward, let us hope at an auspicious moment, in the long march towards the winning of our full political freedom? Declaration of rights, as I said, is a guide-post for legislators, for officers and for people who, in any rank of public life as citizens, have to discharge duties.

II

CITIZEN RIGHTS IN INDIA

Mr. Sastri's second lecture was devoted to a consideration of the rights of citizens in India. These are not many, as the Indian citizen is liable to be hampered by the executive in the

exercise of even the ordinary rights of citizens in England and other western countries:

The executive in this country, we shall find, have too many arbitrary powers; not only have they too many, but they also exercise them, if I may say so, without a due sense of responsibility. They bring them into play upon comparatively light occasions. It is therefore difficult to look into this matter without passing censure not only on the excessive arbitrary powers that our executive enjoy, but upon the somewhat light-hearted way in which they bring these powers into operation against the individual citizen.

THE ENGLISH PARALLEL

But the apologists of the Executive never forget to impress on us the fact that certain of these powers are borrowed bodily from the language of the English code. So they are. Alike in substance and in the language there is similarity:

But you would be wrong to infer from this parallelism that we necessarily enjoy here the same amount of liberty. Not by any means; for, while in England, owing to the constant vigilance of the courts and also the power of resistance of the individual citizen, the executive are kept well in check, here the weakness of public opinion and the comparatively restricted sphere in which even our courts work render the executive practically in vital matters too free of control. Take, for instance the Law of Sedition. I am assured by experts that the language of Sec. 124-a and similar provisions of the Penal Code is a copy, as nearly as may be, of the language of the English Law of Sedition. But we know only too well that while that law in England is brought into operation with the greatest caution and the executive bear a lot of provocation before they will really use it in India, here, there is almost nothing by way of comparatively free criticism which the executive do not resent and if only they care, do not also bring up before the courts. Take again the necessary restrictions on postal communications, the liberty that sometimes the executive take whether here or elsewhere of opening peoples' communications without their knowledge. It has been admitted that certain exigencies of the State may require that even the sanctity of private communications be violated. In England however, the force of public opinion is so strong that no Secretary of State dare order in any particular case, unless he was very strongly fortified by the circumstances, that the man's letter should be opened and scrutinized.

INDIAN REPRESSIVE LAWS

Mr. Sastri, however, expressed gratitude and gratification that during the first days of the reformed constitution, a fairly large measure of ameliorative legislation had been undertaken and many repressive laws repealed. He gave a list of such beneficent legislation,

Many repressive laws were repealed. Some were left no doubt on our statute books. But we cannot forget and I will implore you never to let your vexation or resentment carry you so far as to forget that there were a great many enactments which the executive at that time were willing to repeal and did repeal. I will read a list of these and I think you will be impressed with it. The Bengal Martial Law Regulation X of 1804, a similar Madras Regulation VII of 1808, State Offences Act XI of 1857, the Incitement to Offences Act VII of 1908, the first part of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908, the Press Act I of 1910 and the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act XI of 1919 otherwise known by the name of Rowlatt Act. Besides repealing these enactments the Government undertook with the full consent, I am very happy to say, of the representatives of the European community to remove a great many of the racial distinctions between European and Indian which were permitted for many a long day in this country to disgrace our statute books. I will not refer any more to this aspect but I will say on this point that there are four of these discriminations still remaining but they are comparatively slight and do not merit any notice and certainly do not constitute a deduction from the credit that I have given in this somewhat brief survey. Then we have another important fact to chronicle before we leave this part. In 1923 the Assembly enacted a certain provision regarding the *Habeas Corpus* which has removed the very serious and wide gap that was left in that part of our law. Until that moment the High Courts in our country could not issue writs of *Habeas Corpus* in favour of Indian residents outside the Presidency towns; that gap has now been filled up.

THE JUDICIARY IN ENGLAND AND INDIA

Here the speaker took occasion to pay a well-merited tribute to the independence of the judiciary in England which has for many centuries championed the rights of the citizen against the aggression of the King and his officers. And then the English Law has left no gap at all as to the remedies at the disposal of the aggrieved individual. Incidentally he pointed out that it is not exactly the same in India, where the Judiciary is not altogether independent of the Executive; and he warned public men who would lightly deprive them of their prestige and their emoluments, which, considering their important function in the state, ought not to be lower than those of other functionaries.

Mr. Sastri then passed on to say that no judiciary can function at its topmost level unless there was a strong and independent bar.

THE RESTRICTION ON THE PERSON

Commenting on the restrictions on the person in India, Mr. Sastri drew attention to that abnormal clause known as Section III of the Government of India Act which gives the Governor-General-in-Council a very big prerogative.

A written order from him (the Governor-General) will be a sufficient justification for any act called in question before the High Court in its original jurisdiction. If, for instance, a citizen is arrested and detained without apparent cause, the officer who carries out the Governor-General's orders has only to produce a written order, and the court can say nothing thereafter. So there is Section 126 which gives the Governor-General or the Governor-in-Council of a Province, power to arrest and detain any person suspected of dangerous and illicit correspondence with Maharajas, Chiefs, Zamindars and so forth. I understand that that Section has never been used, but although it has never been used, it will always lie there. (Laughter.) It would not be repealed easily. Then there are a whole host of Regulations of which the prototype is Regulation III of Bengal, 1818, and that Regulation was made for certain purposes; but now, it is frequently used by the Executive for other purposes. The courts here cannot do anything in that matter. They cannot issue a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. If I am suddenly arrested under any one of these enactments, there is no use of my going to a Judge of the High Court. All he can say after turning over the pages and seeing that the thing is properly drawn up and seeing every word in this enactment is complied with, is "God help you." (Loud laughter.) The way in which these Regulations have been used, especially in Bengal, is something to the nature of which we can never be blind. You have to be in Bengal, especially in East Bengal, to gauge the depth of the anguish that prevails in that harried Province. Thousands of people had been dealt with under this provision. The original Regulation contained many safeguards for the proper treatment of these people—allowances to be made to them, the way in which their comforts to be looked to from time to time—but these safeguards are completely neglected as Lieut-Col. Mulvany's Report recently published will show you. Courts cannot interfere in that matter either. It is a matter of the most bitter contention the way in which this enactment is frequently availed of by the Executive. I believe the answer they make is that there is terrorism in the land and it can be put down by similar terrorism on their part (laughter) but that is an admission that they are trying so to work this Regulation, that terrorism should be produced.

GOVERNMENT BY ORDINANCES

Then there is the power conferred upon the Governor-General in his personal capacity under Section 72 of the same Act, to pass an Ordinance

[with life for six months] for the peace and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof in an emergency.

Only the other day the Governor-General issued an Ordinance the provisions of which were bodily taken over from the repeated Rowlatt Act and before six months were over, they took every good care that that Ordinance should be kept alive by means of an enactment put on the Bengal Statute Book which again, being opposed by the people and their representatives, was passed, on the sole authority of the Governor. That is the Bengal Act now in force. It has to be in force for 5 years, and I hope our Bengal Legislative Council will then be strong enough to effectually prevent its re-enactment. They say generally to us in passing these laws "We use them against the enemies of society. Why should honest men object?" That is the ostensible ground of such action. It seems to be considered that the men against whom they have made up their mind are to be considered by the whole community to be guilty persons. The executive are satisfied, and we must be satisfied too! That is the line of argument they take. Otherwise, how could the head of the Province say, for instance, "these men whose liberty we interfere with are outlaws. Why should honest newspapers and honest publicists cry out?" They are in no danger so long as they are honest. There is something which is absolutely defiant of decency in this statement. I want to know who an outlaw is nowadays. This is an extremely difficult proposition to propound before a lawyer. Practically, there is no such thing. It is an obsolete idea that you outlaw any person. A man howsoever guilty is entitled to be tried in the ordinary way before a court of law. The executive cannot go and pronounce outlawry against him and ask the whole society to sit still under it. Nevertheless, the Governor permitted himself the very high indiscretion of saying in public that the men against whom he had allowed action to be taken of this kind were all outlaws. Even guilty persons have rights under our law. They must be accused, they must be allowed to plead, they must be allowed to confront the accusers and their witnesses. The court must sit in judgment upon the whole matter. Another thing usually said is all these powers are seldom used except after the most careful examination and after the most exalted executive official in the land has satisfied himself personally that there is good ground for proceeding against the individual. The Viceroy tells you, the Governor tells you, that he has personally examined the papers regarding every one, and in his mind there is no shadow of doubt as to their guilt. If that be the case courts may well go out. (Laughter.) Why are the courts there at all? If all that is necessary is for the executive to satisfy themselves after their very careful examination, then there need be no such thing as judicial process. I tell you one thing. There is no such thing as establishing the guilt of a man, till he has had a fair and open trial. I will not trust even a Judge if he sits in private and carries on an enquiry according to a specific regulation. Even a Judge may err, judicially minded though he be, if he merely examines the papers and hears only one side. You should never trust that justice has been done till an

accused person has had his trial in the regular way, in a regular court of law, conducted in the open. That is the guarantee that justice will be done.

"HATH NOT A JEW EYES?"

The speaker deplored the mentality of Englishmen who are themselves freedom-loving, yet tolerate such abuse of power and betray such callous disregard for the rights of person in India. Then, quoting from certain important judgments of the Privy Council he showed that it seemed to be inherent in conquering races who have to keep large tracts of territory under subjection. He continued:

Within the last few days in the leading newspapers, as I often read them with care, I came upon a very remarkable passage which I should like to read. The passage runs:—"The Government entrenching itself behind a wall of lies and the force of its bayonets treats the complaint with contempt in the certain belief that the detention and ill-treatment of prisoners are necessary for the safety of the Englishmen it represents." There again is another independent testimony as to the probable origin of these laws. The English people in India are so nervous—it is a state of feeling with which we have to reckon. I can only hope that they have now convinced themselves after about 150 years of contact with us that we are not barbarous and that we are not thirsting for the blood of their wives and children—that it would be a sad day indeed if they confirm us in the belief that so long as they stayed in this country, our liberties must be curtailed in these arbitrary ways. Then there is room for suspecting altogether whether we are ever going to get Home Rule and Representative Government. It behoves them—I appeal to them in all solemnity—to help us to remove these laws from the Statute Book, to bring Indian affairs within the central regime of British law and British jurisprudence and not to keep us any more under these laws. Suitable though it may be to Bechaland or Basuto-land but entirely unsuited to India—which they have solemnly sworn through their King and Parliament and through every channel of authority in England, to take along the path of the evolution of Responsible Government until it is fully established.

THE LIBERTY OF MOVEMENT

He passed on to consider the liberty of free movement—the second important right allied to the liberty of person. He cited conditions obtaining in various countries and referred to Burma's bad example. Then turning to the position of aliens, especially Indians in the British Colonies, Mr. Sastri pointed out that though it was thoroughly reprehensible we must try to make the

best of a bad case. For the fact is there is here no question of legally established rights involved.

EMPIRE CITIZENSHIP

As it is, there are no rights of Empire citizenship common to all who belong to the Empire:

There is a law prevailing in British India, there is a law prevailing in Great Britain and there is a law prevailing in each of the Dominions; but there is no law which binds the whole Empire together. There is no law as understood in the rigid sense of the word. But there is, of course, a great body of understood laws but they are not positive enactments. When those understandings are violated, we cannot seek the protection of the Supreme Court or of the Privy Council. They are all still in the nature of what may be roughly called political rights, which is only the synonym for political aspirations, a thing still to be attained. You believe me there are many eminent lawyers in Great Britain and in the Dominions who are of opinion that this is only popularly described as a right, but it is a mistake, that there is no such thing as British Empire law and as British Empire citizen. There is such a thing as British subjecthood which entitles you to the bare protection of the King so long as you do not commit a crime. But there is nothing more, they say. On the other hand there is a positive enactment. There are judgments of the Privy Council to show that when you move out from one part of the Empire to another, while you preserve the status of your own country of origin, you can only acquire such rights and privileges as the country of settlement chooses to give you. Section 26 of the Act of 1914 called the British Naturalisation of Aliens Act recognises and tolerates the power of each Dominion and each possession (India included) whether there be legislature or not, to treat differentially different classes of His Majesty's subjects. The law, therefore, is against it.

THE COMING CONFLICT OF RACES

Mr. Sastri finally referred to the coming conflict between the Whites and the coloured races—as evidenced by the recent relations between Japan and the U. S. A.

The Whites as you know have grabbed and grabbed and taken possession of a great extent of the earth's surface by all manner of means. (Laughter) By breach of the Ten Commandments they have acquired a great part of the earth's surface and made it their own and kept the vastly greater coloured population of the world confined to very narrow areas. That has attracted the notice not merely of us people in India—that is nothing—but of people of far greater power, independence and sensitiveness in these matters than we are—the Japanese. They are having a bitter quarrel over this with America and with other powers.

Nor does it in the least matter at all that Japan and the U. S. A. are now independent States. It is no better in the Empire under a

common sovereign. Mr. Sastri reported a conversation he had with the Premier of British Columbia which was put to the occasion. To his protest that the case of Japan an outsider ought to be altogether different from that of India—a component part of the British Empire, the Columbian statesman is reported to have said:—

British Empire! Oh, yes! I have heard of it.—(Loud Laughter)—But I tell you we cannot listen to these matters. And he stood up in his chair and said: "We are fed up in this province, let me tell you, with the talk of the British Empire." Well, that is what he said. When a people's dearly cherished privileges are threatened—(hear, hear.)—the mere talk of the British Empire does not appeal to them.

III

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE

The third lecture dealt with the rights of speech and association. Mr. Sastri began by saying that as far as possible there is freedom of religion in India especially after Act XXI of 1850 which removed the disabilities attendant on change of religion. And yet there is what is called the conscience clause in the Education code which calls for some notice.

In every civilised country, wherever State money is given as grant-in-aid, children are permitted by law to receive the benefits of secular education without being obliged at the same time, as we are for instance, in institutions run by Protestant missions in this country, to submit to religious indoctrination. It is rather a pity that this right established so long ago as 1870 in the broad Gladstonian regime in England should be only imperfectly understood in this country even in the educational world.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Then we come to the liberty of expression of opinion, including not merely the freedom of speech and writing but what is commonly called freedom of the Press. After referring to the Press Act which has since been repealed, Mr. Sastri went on to say:—

But when the Press Act was repealed, they put into the Post Office Act and the Indian Sea Customs Act as well as into the Criminal Procedure Code certain provisions intended to safeguard the State against excesses on the part of the Press. To these restrictions there is not much legitimate objection and therefore I will merely mention them. Under section 99 (a) to (g) newly introduced in the Criminal Procedure Code, seditious books and newspapers may

be forfeited by Government Order and the Press may be searched for the same. But it is not so very objectionable although action is taken by the Executive for the reason that the aggrieved party has access to the Court. It is provided that such action on the part of the Executive should be appealable to a special Bench of three Judges of the High Court and I think this is satisfactory from the point of view of the subject. Similar sections are to be found in the Post Office Act and in the Sea Customs Act. Passing, I will only mention the Indian States Prevention and Disaffection Act commonly called the Princes Protection Act which was passed on the single responsibility of the Governor-General.

EQUAL ELIGIBILITY TO PUBLIC OFFICES

Then there is the right of eligibility for all public offices. On this subject Mr. Sastri spoke with some feeling not merely because the pledges of the past have been so often violated, but more because the reforms which should have proved a bulwark of unity and a great opening for public services have even tended to make that equal eligibility even more precarious, particularly in Madras where the communal spirit is hampering the normal growth of national consciousness.

Our Charter Act of 1833, as you know, initiated a provision to this effect. It is since repeated frequently and in the last Government of India Act it is embodied in Section 96. The words are famous but might bear repetition: "No native of British India nor any subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any office under the Crown in India." Still the present distribution of offices between Europeans and Indians must be held to be an infraction of this right. It is, however, sanctified by other parts of our legal system and one finds it hard to condemn it outright, in the hope, as it were, that as soon as we reach Dominion Home Rule, the anomaly of the seeming infraction of this principle would cease to exist. Also one cannot forget that in many parts of the country now, not by action of the Executive, but by action of the communal spirit in our Legislative Councils, a tendency has arisen to cut up services into divisions and into proportions and to set up classes which may be called privileged. The principle that is enunciated, the equal eligibility of citizens to public offices, would mean that the equality is between one citizen and another, the question to what community he belongs not arising at all.

RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING

He passed on to discuss the right of public meeting and pointed out how his efforts to amend the Criminal Procedure Code dealing with suppression of an unlawful assembly failed in the

Council of State. He would bring it in line with the English law.

THE SEDITION MEETINGS ACT

Then there is the Seditious Meetings Act X of 1911.

According to this Act the Governor-General-in-Council first extends it to a Province. Then the local Government of that Province notifies certain areas and proclaims them and then within such areas which can only be proclaimed for six months at a time no meeting shall be held unless three days' notice is given to the District Magistrate or the District Magistrate chooses to dispense with the notice. Then the conductors of the meeting must admit Police reporters and the District Magistrate may without assigning any reasons prohibit the meeting, if in his opinion it is likely to disturb the peace etc. You see therefore it is his opinion that is final. You cannot call his discretion in question before a Court of Law. And that is why the provision is from our point of view objectionable and the Seditious Meetings Act must be held to be a restriction on the right of public meeting, which exceeds the standard of civilised communities.

THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

Now to the Right of Association. Under this head Mr. Sastri discussed the disabilities under the provision contained in part 2 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 which empowers the Governor-General-in-Council to declare an association unlawful, if in his opinion—not to be challenged in Court—that Association interferes with the administration of justice or otherwise disturbs the peace. He recounted all the havoc done in its name in Bengal.

Mr. Sastri then dwelt at some length on the enormous powers of the Indian Executive, the abuse of Section 144 etc. He pointed out the anomaly of creating the new legislatures and at the same time vesting the Executive or the head of the Executive with powers of enacting legislation. If they have extraordinary legislative powers, they have no less administrative powers and Mr. Sastri—who seldom misses an opportunity to deplore his lack of legal training—exposed them with the skill of a trained advocate, passing in review all the Sections that infringe citizen rights in India. It is unnecessary to recount the sections in order,

a respect for law and to make use of it in vindicating citizen rights. It is proper to be litigious in the sense that we are vigilant in maintaining citizen rights against the encroachments of the police and the executive. Mr. Sastri deplored that this sense of the majesty of law as against despotism is not quite evident in most Indian States. And he went on to observe:—

We must learn to use these rights. We must stand up to the State, to the aggressor, we must stand up to him who questions our right and not merely where our individual right is invaded and our neighbour's rights are invaded when the rights even of our enemies may be invaded in improper ways. That is the summary rebuke of the whole teaching of citizenship, the arrangement upon people the right to vote, certainly is, and, avenues for public distinction, if they it hurts my provincial, al to the universal, if they will other refuse have come religion or to their community, introduction of this reform, which they owe every- left to our Legislative Council, conferring on a community it. However, we are not m, fundamental rights and it. Now, we shall catch them, this will stand up like a man shall see, citizenship this session or next, but for combining fight not for their own session or next, but for which actual enjoyment and will not only be allowed the re- will be able to proceed to the courts and establish executive ts there.

EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION?

Conclusion, Mr. Sastri put in a plea for Mr. Sastri's administrative and judicial of India we have reared in this country, against moral, ethical and revolutionary inroads.

Supposing now by some stroke of magic our public polity were destroyed, but there is no foreign invader, nobody to come and interfere with it, supposing we were build up a fresh polity of our own, supposing we were left free to develop our own institutions and build them up again, shall we build up a polity, which means the establishment of this sovereignty of law as I have just now tried to describe to you or shall we by a natural and inevitable tendency fall back upon our rulers, Maharajas, Rajas, Princes, ruling chiefs and be content to send up our prayer continually that our kings may be made wise and merciful. Shall we build up our Courts with all their prestige and shall we give our Courts full jurisdiction over everybody, official and non-official, shall we ask for the power to make and unmake Government, shall we ask for the power to levy our own taxes and to watch over the way, in which these taxes are subsequently spent, shall we ask for these powers and having asked for them shall we insist upon these being exercised?

Mr. Sastri would hesitate to answer. He admitted that the judicial and administrative fabric now in existence is by no means perfect but it is indispensable for ordered growth and it would be

folly, he argued, not to use it to the best advantage particularly in a growing democracy as ours where the rights of citizenship should be taught to be upheld by vigilant exercise.

Do you know sometimes I have thought that our best men have failed in their duty as regards revolutionary and anarchical tendencies in our country. If they fail to take note of this inherited tendency amongst our people, if you destroy the present fabric, which is by no means perfect, which is capable of continual adaptation to better, finer issues, if once you destroy this fabric, if once you destroy this jurisprudence and the understanding of practical elucidation of which our Brahmin and Non-Brahmin intellects seem alike to be so mightily fitted—look at our Courts in the way they function—once we destroy the fabric, shall we out of our own tendencies erect a similar fabric on the ruin? I dare not promise myself that and that is why I have hesitated and hesitated and will hesitate again and again before I join any movement, which has even in a slight degree the tendency to overthrow, the tendency to disestablish, the tendency to bring about a state of anarchy in the country, the tendency which destroys law, the tendency therefore which destroys order and ordered Government. It is a serious thought and, if, at the end of these series of speeches, I leave the more thoughtful amongst you burdened with this thought, I think, I shall only have done my duty to you.

SASTRI'S SPEECHES & WRITINGS

Mr. Sastri is a writer and speaker of rare distinction and an attempt is made in this volume to present, under one cover, a comprehensive collection of his more important pronouncements on subjects of public interest. It includes, among others, his masterly essay on Self-Government, his speeches in the Congress, in the old Imperial Legislative Council and in the Council of State, his presidential address to the Liberal Federation, his speech at the Second Assembly of the League of Nations, a few of his orations in Australia, Fiji and Canada, in his Dominions tour, and his pronouncements on the Kenya question. The collection also includes Mr. Sastri's appreciative studies of Gokhale and Gandhi.

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ENGLISH SATIRE

BY

PROF. K. B. RAMANATHAN, M. A.

TAKE the emotions: *Admiration, Awe, Reverence, Gratitude* and contrast them with emotions like *Scorn, Contempt, Loathing*. The most obvious point of contrast is that the first

corresponding opposite. Margaret's denunciation of Richard III may be regarded as the expression of intensest expression of concentrated hatred:

From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hell-bound that doth hunt us all to death:
That dog, that had his teeth before his eyes,
To worry lambs and lap their gentle blood,
That foul defacer of God's handiwork,
That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls,
Thy womb let loose, to chase us to our graves.

Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer,
Only reserved their factor, to buy souls
And send them thither: but at hand, at hand,
Ensues his piteous and unpitied end:
Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,
To have him suddenly conveyed away.
Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,
That I may live to say, the dog is dead.

The *Sporus* of Pope may be taken as the type of the high water mark of the satire of contempt. Compare these with Burns:

O wert thou in the cauld blast,
On yonder lea, on yonder lea,
My plaidie to the angry air,
I'd shelter thee, I'd shelter thee;
Or did misfortune's bitter storms
Around thee blow, around thee blow,
Thy shield should be my bosom,
To share it a', to share it a'.

Or were I in the wildest waste,
Sae black and bare, Sae black and bare,
The desert were a Paradise,
If thou wert there, if thou wert there;
Or were I Monarch of the globe,
Wi' thee to reign, wi' thee to reign,
The brightest jewel in my crown,
Wad be my Queen, wad be my Queen.

or with Byron's

When we two parted,
In silence and tears,
Half broken hearted,
To sever for years,
Pale grew thy cheek and cold,
Colder thy kiss;
Truly that hour foretold
Sorrow to this.

or with Shelley's

I can give not what men call love;
But wilt thou accept aot
The worship the heart lifts above



PROF. K. B. RAMANATHAN

are passive in character and rank higher in intensity than the second series of emotions which are exciting or active and the bodily manifestations of these contrasting emotions are beautifully brought out in Darwin's *Expression of the Emotions*. The element of anger which enters into the latter being allied to the conative side takes from the character of pure feeling. Hence the literary expression of scorn or contempt, which is Satire, affects us less than the poems that express the

Mac Dougall's Social Psychology: Chapter III.

And the Heavens reject not:
The desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the morrow,
The devotion to something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow.

In these latter love poems the pure quality of feeling is not interfered with and hence the higher note of passion.

If lyric poetry is quintessential poetry, Satire in poetic garb approaches pretty near the temperate region of prose. Mr. Hugh Walker* refers, in more than one place, to the relatively lower character of Satire as literature (p. 119), as second rate type of literature (p. 146). In literature as in higher realms of the spirit there are many mansions, and an exploration of the department of Satire, albeit the expression of a less intense feeling, was a needed addition to the specialised studies known as Channels of English Literature.

In one form, this type of literature, it is either prose or verse and in turn the metrical forms are various. Etymologically Satire meant a medley, food of various ingredients, a dish of various fruits an olla podrida, *lana satura*. The development of the literary kind is reminiscent of its etymology in the variety of forms it exhibits. Horace felt he had not to be succinct and choice and decorous in his verse form when in his satires he was content to teach, and denying himself poetic gaude chose a style that approximated to prose. And in all eminent satirists, the most striking thing is their perfect mastery of the variety of metrical forms approximating them to conversational ease and directness, whether they be couplets of Chaucer or Dryden, the six line verses of Fergusson or Burns, the Ottava Rima of *Anster Fair* or of *The Vision of Judgment* or of *One of Us*.

* *English Satire & Satirists* by Hugh Walker, M.A., J. M. Dent and Sons, (The Channels of English Literature.)

It is one of the merits of Mr. Walker's study of Satire, that this aspect of the form has not been neglected. Man that pendulum between smile and tear has varieties of follies as of passion and the literary portraiture of human weakness and folly will naturally reflect the temper of the satirist. He may feel indignant and lash the delinquent leaving weals on his back. He may feel divine compassion and murmur "Alas! they know not what they do." He may have the comprehensive and sympathetic understanding of the world spirit and beholding the absurdity of men, their vaunts, their fears, indulge in the sardonic smile of Heine. With kindness satiric denunciation may turn into humorous portraiture.

There are three forms of satire in English literature, as Mr. Smeaton pointed out, two—of the Horatian or Juvenalian kind, the satire of the men of the world using weapons of humour and sarcasm like Chaucer, Addison, Swift, Goldsmith, Thackeray, or the satire of prophets denouncing woe on a backsliding generation like Langland, Skelton, Marston, Pope and Johnson. The favourite themes of the satirist are in the fields of religion, politics, literature and society. And the share that satire fills in English literature is great because of the Englishman's tendency to preachment and of his excellence in humour. The literature of English Satire is of sterling quality. Modern English literature from the days of Dryden shows special eminence in this department, and the eighteenth century with such masters as Pope and Swift is pre-eminent here.

And of this important department of English literature Mr. Hugh Walker shows himself a most competent and conscientious guide from the days of Chaucer to the days of Butler (Samuel II), from the times of *Piers Plowman* to those of *Arminius Von Thunder-ten-Tronckh*.

Indian Economic Enquiry Committee Report

BY MR. K. C. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.

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THE Indian Economic Enquiry Committee was appointed in response to the resolutions passed by the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly desiring an enquiry into the economic condition of the various classes of the people of British India. This was, for the moment probably, intended by the Assembly as a counterblast to the previous appointment by the Government of India of the Taxation Enquiry Committee in the teeth of their opposition. The ascertainment of the distribution of income and wealth among the various classes of the people and of the burden of taxation borne by them would, it was suggested, afford the best data for the reform of the existing system of taxation. The Taxation Committee was not dissolved but the Economic Enquiry Committee was appointed to examine the existing material for basing an estimate of the economic condition of the people and recommend the best means by which it might be supplemented so that it was only commissioned to make a preliminary enquiry into the best methods of conducting a comprehensive economic enquiry. This wider purpose is in consonance with the widespread though vague demand on the part of the *intelligentia* for a systematic economic survey which would provide data for the formulation of adequate remedies for the economic ills of the country. There has been a suspicion too that the Government has been fighting shy of a full and open enquiry, lest the too squalid conditions of the masses of the people should be revealed. It is a matter for gratification that an enquiry of some sort is contemplated.

It is unfortunate that there should be no unanimity of opinion in a Committee of enquiry into the best methods of conducting the survey. The professor-statistician Burnett-Hurst could not reconcile his views with those of the prac-

tical administrators Sir M. Visvesvaraiya and Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul. The points of difference, however, though fundamental, are only a few; and it would be a great advance indeed, on the existing condition of affairs if steps were taken at once to carry out even the minimum investigation and improvements of statistics, suggested by Mr. B. Hurst. As yet the Government of India do not seem to have made up their mind though it is more than six months, since the Committee, with a promptness extraordinary in India, submitted the report.

The Committee has classified all the existing statistics into 3 groups: the first of which, on Finance, Population, Trade, Transport etc., is said to be the most satisfactory though some improvements will have to be made with a view to their being utilised for shaping the economic policies of the country.

The second group, dealing with production of all kinds is incomplete even with regard to staple agricultural products and large industrial establishments. Figures of production are in fact totally wanting in some important cases; e. g. of pastoral and dairy products, small produce like poultry and fruits and vegetables, many forest products and products of numerous cottage industries.

The President and Pandit Kaul are desirous that the statistics of production should be completed including the valuation of production of all kinds, and are hopeful that the existing agricultural statistics may be amplified and improved without great difficulty by the subordinate revenue staff, with their unrivalled knowledge of the local economic conditions. But Prof. Hurst strongly objects to the employment of the village official; because, (a) his chief function is to collect information for revenue purposes and he would therefore be suspect, (b) it would be burdening him with too

much work and work of a complex character concerning estimates of values of products, which on that account would be little reliable, and (c) there is no corresponding subordinate agency in most of the permanently settled tracts. Mr. Hurst, on the other hand, recommends for the collection of statistics in the extensive survey, persons working in the departments with which the products are associated: e.g., all agricultural statistics may be entrusted to Agricultural Assistants whose number should be increased not merely for the purpose of collecting the desired statistics but in the interests of the spread of better agricultural practice; statistics of cottage industries to men in the Industrial Departments, of minerals to the staff of the Inspector of Mines; and of forest products to men of the Forest Department and so on. He discounts all rough and ready methods of estimating the value of production for the purpose of arriving at the total income of the country as smacking of statistical charlatanism. On the other hand dealing with the difficult subject of estimating the values of various kinds of pastoral and dairy products and of cottage industries the President and the Pandit have not been oppressed by any sense of deficiency of their methods; they would heartily welcome some kind of estimate rather than make no attempt as suggested by purists like Prof. Hamilton. Prof. Hurst could not avoid lecturing on the dangers of imperfect statistics though he could hardly convince his Indian colleagues who would not refuse the guidance which approximate figures might give "in the adoption of measures for increasing production and wealth."

It is in connection with the third group of statistics i.e., those relating to Income, Wealth, Cost of Living, Indebtedness, Wages and Prices, that there is a still more pronounced difference of opinion between the European and Indian members. Mr. Hurst would not accept the criteria of economic conditions laid down by his

colleagues, and affirms first that the money value of real income of a family is no true index of its economic condition unless it is correlated with the size and composition of the family, the relative cost of living, indebtedness etc. He thinks it inadvisable at the present social and economic stage of India to conduct enquiries into individual wealth, though the President and Mr. Kaul recommend this to be done only wherever possible in the course of intensive surveys. He also questions the utility, not to speak of the practicability of estimating the national income and national wealth of a country as vast, and populous and backward as India, and he thinks that these would not throw any light upon "the economic condition of the various classes of people," and that international comparisons based upon such figures would be vitiated on account of entirely different economic conditions. He also points out that nation-wide estimates have been framed elsewhere by *non-officials*, except in the U. S. A. and Australia where population is relatively sparse and literate and whose resources are great. Such compilations are, largely, intellectual exercises which are best left to professional economists and are not of much practical value. Prof. Hurst is, however, in favour of collecting statistics of production wherever possible and of Prices and Wages and Rents by the extensive method by the various departments in the first instance, all to be transmitted to the Provincial Statistical Bureau. Only, to repeat, he has no faith in putting them together and very roughly estimating by formulae other sources of income and taking the whole as national income; for that would carry with it a large margin of error and bring all statistics of the country into discredit.

The central feature of an economic enquiry of the various classes of people according to Professor Burnett-Hurst should be an intensive investigation of the standard of living which should be measured by collecting and analysing a large

number of selected family budgets of various classes. He wants, besides, a series of intensive and extensive studies to be made of some factors affecting economic well-being such as the influence of disease on efficiency, unemployment of middle classes, effects of restrictive social customs, absenteeism. He would postulate a thorough and detailed examination of the root facts and causes of economic ills for which remedies are wanted. The investigators should be persons who are in touch with the economic life of the people and who have been trained in statistical and economic research and should be decently paid (Rs. 200 to 450). He has no faith in honorary correspondents nor in departmental officers for this purpose. A Provincial Board of Economic Enquiry must be set up in every province on the lines of the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, composed both of officials and non-officials. For the compilation of statistics collected by the extensive survey, a bureau of statistics must be set up in every province with a Director at its head, who should also have a seat in the Board of Enquiry in order to secure co-ordination between the extensive and the intensive surveys.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya and Pundit Kaul, though granting most of Mr. Hurst's demands, would not

insist on the collection of minute information but only desire a more comprehensive survey of all facts of economic life—income and expenditure assets and liabilities, though occasionally special enquiries might be set on foot by the Provincial Governments on questions like unemployment. They make elaborate suggestions for the creation of a Central Statistical Bureau absorbing the departments of Commercial intelligence and Publicity Bureau and the setting up of Provincial Statistical Departments, absorbing Labour Departments in Provinces where they exist, with a corps of general and special investigators—all involving to the state an initial outlay of Rs. 32 lakhs and an annual expenditure of Rs. 58 lakhs roughly. Prof. Hurst does not give an estimate of the cost of his scheme but it ought to be less owing to its restricted scope. If only for this reason, the Government are widely expected to take up his scheme for action, in the first instance. Whatever is accomplished is bound to be of special value to students of Indian Economics who have so far been ploughing their lonely furrows, whose isolated and unaided studies could be of little help in drawing general inferences for the whole country, though there is always a place for such pioneering enquiries.

Law of Nature

BY MR. V. V. CHINTAMANI.

Is there a tree that lives and does not grow?
Is it a law of nature to be born alive,
Stand still in life and struggle but not thrive?
There is a time of bloom and fruit and glow
When trees the best of themselves yearly show.
What law governs the life, which would deprive
Expression of the self and so contrive
The unfulfilment of its aim below?
There is a time of birth, a time of death,
A time of life between, which is for growth.
Are birth and death a fact, a fiction life?
No; there's no life but grows while it has breath.
If nature's law is but a mixture both
Of truths and lies, how vain is all the strife.

Indianization of the Catholic Church

BY MR. A. H. FONSECA.

Malayan Civil Service.

POPE Benedict XV issued an encyclical letter in the year 1919 on the subject of the propagation of the Roman Catholic Faith. The letter was addressed to all Catholic Bishops, but especially to those in charge of Missionary work in India, China, Africa and the East. After deploring the fact that mission work had made so little progress in non-Christian countries in spite of the work and labours of so many zealous missionaries during the last three hundred years he indicated the directions in which improvement was necessary. Among other matters he laid stress chiefly on the duty of raising up in every country an indigenous clergy with the object not only of assisting European Missionaries, but of entirely supplanting them. The ideal to be aimed at was an entirely 'native' clergy educated to the highest standards attainable in secular and sacred knowledge which would minister to the needs of the Catholics in India and take over the government of the Catholic Church. The encyclical was therefore in the nature of a charter of Indianization for the Roman Catholic Church in India. As such the matter is one of general interest for all public men in India.

Now what progress is there to record during the seven years that have elapsed since the encyclical was issued? It is one thing for the Pope to decree, it is another for the ecclesiastics to obey? India is far away from Rome. What takes place here may not reach the ears of the Pope and what takes place in Rome is not communicated to the Catholics of India.

There has recently appeared in the Belgian Missionary Journal *LA REVUE CATHOLIQUE DES IDEES ET DES FACTS* an article under the heading *SWAMI PADRE ET SABEL* contributed by one who seems to be thoroughly conversant with Catholic

Missions in India and with what is going on under the apparently calm and unruffled surface. From a reading of this article one concludes that although the Papacy is in favour of Indianization the European Missionaries are opposed to it with the exception of one small section of them. Several instances are given of bishops who here had to resign their sees because the European clergy would not co-operate with them in the attempt to train up a highly efficient 'native' clergy. The recent recall of Fathers Gelli, S. J., and the suppression of the *CATHOLIC HERALD* of Calcutta an old and well established paper are most recent instances proving the reactionary tendencies of the missionaries in India. Father Gelli was the most outspoken advocate of Indianization and he advocated his views in the *CATHOLIC HERALD* with great ability and energy.

What is Rome going to do? That is a question which every Roman Catholic in India asks to-day. Archbishop Le'picier, the Apostolic Visitor has come and gone. There can be no doubt that his visit was due to the desire of the Pope to have first-hand information about the state of affairs in India, especially with regard to the question of Indianization. By now he must have reported his impressions to the Pope and made his recommendations. That report the public will not be allowed to see, at least for the present, but the Pope will act after reading it.

It is to be hoped that the Pope will deal with the questions raised in a spirit which will inspire the 'native' clergy with hope and put an end to the stagnation in spiritual effort which is noticeable everywhere.

FASCISM AND MUSSOLINI

BY

MR. M. V. SUBRAMANYAM, M. A., L. T.

Lecturer in History, C. M. College, Tinnevely.

It is reported that while Sgr. Mussolini was leaving the International Congress of Surgery, an elderly woman fired a revolver almost point blank at him wounding him slightly in the nose. Sgr. Mussolini was very calm and immediately gave directions with a view to preventing disturbance. The woman (who was afterwards identified as an English woman) was, with the greatest difficulty, rescued from the incensed crowd and taken to prison. Addressing the Fascist Directory soon after the occurrence Sgr. Mussolini reiterated his faith amidst frantic applause and said:—"My Life's motto is 'Live dangerously. If I advance, follow me. If I retreat, kill me. If I die, avenge me.'"

"VIOLENCE is moral provided it is timely and surgical and chivalrous.... Violence must confine itself to creating and maintaining a sympathetic atmosphere toward the use of this governmental violence.... The Italian people understand the use of governmental violence in certain contingencies through the regular armed forces, but not supplemental individual violence." Such is the latest pronouncement of the Fascist leader, Benito Mussolini. Tourists who have returned recently from Florence tell us that Florence is under Fascist Terror, that Fascism has given license to its followers to terrorise Italy with midnight assassinations and robberies. When we hear such tales of terrorism in Fascist Italy, we are constrained to liken the Fascist to the man pictured by Conrad in his novel the 'Rover,' the man who made the French Revolution, who was a drinker of blood and who thought that in killing there is a sort of mystic virtue.

A movement such as this which has attained notoriety of late, requires a fuller treatment. We will therefore attempt to trace the beginnings of Fascism and its main aims.

Immediately after the termination of the Great War Italy became a prey to Leninist propagandists owing to the weakness of the Nittian Government. By his famous Mortara Decree, Nitti pardoned under a pretext of social pacification, those very deserters that the Italian public opinion regarded as the worst

enemies of the nation. Nitti permitted the soldiers who had taken part in the Great War to be insulted, and even killed, and allowed the provinces of Italy such as Emilia, Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria, Lombardy, Venetia, Piedmont and Apulia to be terrorised by Red bands. The Nittian policy of vacillation and cowardice prepared the way for the return to power of Giovanni Giolitti. Under Giolitti occurred the armed occupation of the metallurgical factories by the employees, and Giolitti's Government excused itself on the ground of not possessing sufficient soldiers to interfere. This silence on the part of the Government led to more troubles. Enemies of Communism were murdered in cold blood by the Red bands, for the latter knew that the Government was incompetent and weak to handle the situation. Thus, Mario Sonnini, a Nationalist who opposed the Red Tyranny was murdered at Turin, and Pietro Giordani was assassinated in the Town Hall of Bologna.

Such an orgy of violence due to the incompetence of the Giolitti Government produced a violent reaction and those who revolted against the Red Tyranny formed themselves into a party under the leadership of Benito Mussolini.

Mussolini was born at Predappio in 1883. In the beginning he was a school-master, and after some years of teaching migrated to Switzerland. He had drunk deep at the fount of Marxian socialism, and while in Switzerland, he advocated the Marxian doctrines in a revolutionary paper.

Consequently, he was expelled from Swiss territory. Returning to Italy he became one of the chief members of the Socialist party, but at the beginning of the World War, he severed his connection with the socialist party and became an Interventionist.

It was then that he started the famous journal the *POPOLO D' ITALIA*. He himself for a while, served in the war, but being wounded, he returned to Milan, and continued his journalistic work. In the pages of *POPOLO D' ITALIA* he thundered against the criminal folly of the Nitti-Giolittian policy which allowed Leninist bands to overrun the country.

It was under the leadership of the Editor of *POPOLO D' ITALIA* that the enemies of Red Tyranny formed themselves into a compact party. The organisation which arose in March, 1919 to fight the Red Tyranny in Italy was called *FASCI ITALIANI DI COMBATTIMENTI* (Fascist Fighting Groups). Mussolini and his Black-shirts threw themselves vigorously on the followers of Lenin in almost all the cities of Italy. They opposed violence by violence so much so that for many months Italy was the scene of Bolshevik attacks and Fascist counter attacks. In the end Fascism triumphed. The chief achievement, therefore of the Fascist Party whose soul, heart, and brain is Mussolini, has been to check and delay the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Italy.

The Fascist party which started as a minority group became from 1920 a political party of the first importance in Italy. It gained proselytes from all citizens, students, bands of troops, officials, professors and even groups of labourers in factories and fields. In 1922, so great was the influence of the party over the public mind of Italy that its leader Mussolini was enabled to become the Dictator of Italy and since then he has been in power.

Now what are the main aims of the Fascist

party? Fascism desires to make Italy prosperous and strong. It opposes Communism and advocates sane individualism which it recognises to be the backbone of all progress. Mussolini said, "Communism is grotesque and only worthy of uncivilised tribes. It is absurd to want to divide what has not been produced, to socialise misery, and to advocate communism in a country of individualistic citizens." Mussolini hates 'doctrine politics and red theorism,' but it should be noted that he is not the enemy of the proletariat for he desires to promote the good of all the people and the greatness of the nation by means of strict moral and material discipline.

In Foreign policy Fascism does not believe in the vitality of the League of Nations, nor in the immediate possibility of universal disarmament. Hence Mussolini defied the League of Nations in the Corfu affair. But Fascism wants a European policy of balance, and conciliation amongst the different powers including Germany and Russia. It is this which accounts for Italy's participation in the Locarno Pact, for not only has the Locarno Pact created a Balance of European powers, but also the enemy nation, Germany has been conciliated.

Fascism has certain good aims but the means of carrying them out, are revolting. It is the use of violence that has made Fascism unpopular not only in Italy but in the other parts of the world. Freedom of the press, security against arbitrary arrest and freedom of speech—all these are non-existent in Fascist Italy. The cries of those who have been trampled under Fascist feet sound painfully in our ears and pain our feelings. If, therefore, Fascism is to function effectively in Italy, it must remove violence from its political armoury, and realise that violence is not a salutary medicine in social crises.

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY

BY MR. A. N. SUDARSANAM.

A century after his death Raja Ram Mohun Roy ranks among the most modern of Indian leaders, as the present generation to which the new publication* is given will gather from a perusal of the inspiring literature. The Raja has been an inexhaustible study thus far, but the permanent quality of his thought and utterance will make him an active guide for many more generations to come. He studied and thought more than he wrote and wrote more than he spoke. This manner of his self-expression has a value for us this day which he could not have imagined. Happily he honoured English as the *lingua franca* of India and adopted it for some of his most permanent contributions. Thus did he win the attention of his contemporaries in India and abroad to the truths which he proclaimed and did not leave it to posterity to discover what he strove for.

That Ram Mohun was a master-mind is a commonplace among us. But the currency of that belief is itself fatal, as in the case of acknowledged beliefs, to a devout study of the underlying facts. The book before us should be a corrective. Ram Mohun's activities were perplexingly multitudinous and covered almost every aspect of national life. But in the particular he did not lose the whole; neither should the readers of his biography do so. The emancipation of India and her growth was a single problem for him and for this end he maintained a balance in the variety of his enterprises which is surprising. Lesser minds would have been consumed by a course of action or two. Ram Mohun's energy of mind and will and the fervour of his soul were adequate to all the tasks which were necessary for the foundation of New India. Not merely that, his activities were not for the hour only.

* Raja Ram Mohun Roy : His life, Writings and Speeches, Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the Indian Review Rs. 2-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras.

He saw far into the future, though like all mortals, he could take but one step. His one step however was a stride which shortened the march by more than a generation in time, and by much more than that in shaping Indian nationality. It was the quality of his mind to probe the roots of life rather than their contemporary manifestations and so it was that he could dictate a calling to his followers and mark out paths for future generations, which seemed irreconcilable with the tendencies of the age.

While still within the bosom of his home, in his teens, Ram Mohun felt the ardour of truth burn in him. It arose out of his own study and meditation and contained the purity and freshness of a divine glimpse, which conflicted with the set beliefs of his home and the larger environment outside. He suffered banishment for his convictions, but the fire, no human effort could extinguish. A singular love of truth and freedom of thought led him to examine many religions. He emerged "daunted by no speculative doubts, discouraged by no craven fears." He fought battles with religious leaders single-handed and in the face of persecution, raised a new temple of God in the Brahmo Samaj, in which many sincere souls of his and later days found a home. The controversial literature Ram Mohun has left is a model behind, of dignity and good will which for nearly the whole of a century has been absent, but which happily is emerging again.

Weeds, ancient and modern, under which ignorance and conservatism had taken shelter had overgrown the social systems of the land. Even suttee, which was an abomination to the British administrators and numerous Indian humanitarians, flourished untouched. Whilst a large congregation of reformers fretted and fumed against the cruelty but remained the while, slaves of tact and timidity, Ram Mohun undertook to captain them in a fight against the evil. He

called out the evil from its lair and though nearly overwhelmed in the beginning, smote it from every angle until it was annihilated. The might and manner of his performance in the struggle is instructive and leaves us in wonder that later generations did not repeat similar successes in equally unworthy social evils.

The horde of enemies that rose to oppose him called forth from his fertile mind means of accomplishment to counter every turn of the battle. Idealism, strategy, courage, faith, determination,—with these he replenished his armoury for ten years till he brought the struggle within his control and enabled the Government to take the last step.

Note the steps. In 1818 he wrote a pamphlet in the form of a dialogue, *attacking* the cruel custom. In 1820 he wrote "an *appeal* to reason on behalf of humanity." The theme was the "character of Hindu Women." The noble and passionate defence of Hindu Women, can hardly be excelled. Next he met the *Shastraic* argument and mastered a powerful array of controversialists. Another striking point of view was revealed in a paper called "Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Right of Females according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance." Then followed petitions and counter-petitions to the Governor-General and the British Parliament to arraign or to reply to the champions of the system. A campaign on this scale could not fail of its purpose.

It took ten years for him to light the lamp of Social Reform, but he knew it was the dim light of dawn which foreshadowed the noonday glory of New India.

Ram Mohun's activities in the political field again reveal his prophetic vocation. It was the same searchlight of his mind that discovered the summits on the high road to progress which had to be captured and occupied, if later generations for a century or two were to move safely towards

their appointed goal. He stormed many vantage points with the aid of an equally far seeing but small band of pioneers. If he did not succeed entirely, he at any rate spotted the landmarks and set the record of his achievements there to guide posterity. The Freedom of the Press and the Liberty of the Citizens; the Revenue and Judicial Systems of India; the Association of Indians in the Administration of the Country; the Commonwealth of Races within this subcontinent; the Economic Condition of the Peasantry; Religious Toleration—these constitute difficulties and perplexities both for the people of the country and for the Government. Ram Mohun battled with those problems and has left helpful judgments on them. At the dawn of British administration, when the rulers and the ruled were new to each other and when relations were largely experimental, Ram Mohun's vision was clear enough to foresee the permanence and benefit of those relations and work for appropriate balance in them.

Administrator and reformer, prophet and tribune, leader and teacher, a spark of Divinity and the moulder of other minds and character, he arose a clear personality in an India, chaotic in its past and uncertain in its future, and promised for her a career which has steadily been fulfilled. In none of his forecasts did he miss the mark, in none of his actions did he flinch or fail. "He was no doctrinaire. He had a wholesome historical instinct, a love of concrete embodiments and institutions, such as characterise the born social and religious reformer. The universal guiding principle of the Love of God and man, he sought and found in the scriptures of the nations, and rose from the barren religion of Nature or Theophilanthropy of his eighteenth century predecessors to a liberal interpretation and acceptance of the Historic Revelation and Scriptures not indeed in any supernatural sense, but as embodiments of the collective sense, of races of mankind, and as concentrating and focussing that principle of Authority which, in this mundane state, is an indispensable cement and foundation, an elementary factor of Communal life, whether in the social, the political or the religious sphere."

SIR KRISHNA GOVINDA GUPTA

THE death of Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta removes another great Bengalee from the field of his beneficent labours. Like the late Romesh Chunder Dutt, Sir Krishna Govinda was



SIR KRISHNA GOVINDA GUPTA

respected alike by the Government which he served so long and the people whose welfare was nearest his heart. He lived to a ripe old age and died full of years and honours. He joined the Civil Service more than half a century ago, and was the first Indian Member of the Board of Revenue as he was later one of the first two Indians to be appointed to the India Council.

In fact it was one of the principal achievements of Lord Morley to have admitted Indians to the Council of the Secretary of State. Every one knew that Lord Morley could not have made a better choice.

For Sir Krishna Gupta, fully justified the selection. In 1915, he retired from the India Office. After his retirement from official life, though he did not take an active part in politics he took a keen interest in all progressive movements. In England he worked in company with Sir William Wedderburn and other English friends of India. As one who had done his bit for the Morley-Minto reforms he rejoiced to find the partial fulfilment of his labours in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Of course he did want the scheme to be more liberally conceived but he actively defended it against unreasoning denunciation. Subsequently he joined the National Liberal Federation and wholeheartedly espoused the cause of the Reforms while urging some modifications for liberalising them. Another subject in which he took an active part was the question of the Indian army. He was a member of the Indian Army Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Esher. His Note of Dissent appended to the Report of this Commission is a storehouse of information, and in it he eloquently set forth the case for Indianising the army.

Indeed it was the one subject in which he was completely engrossed in the latter days of his life. He was so convinced of the need for Indianising the army that he seldom missed an opportunity to press this reform on the attention of his countrymen. He was naturally chagrined at the attitude of the Government towards Army Reform in India. Writing in the Silver Jubilee number of the INDIAN REVIEW, Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta pointed out not altogether without some bitterness

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.

"The Mother of East India Company"

BY IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN M.A. (LONDON.)

MUNNI BEGUM—"The Mother of East India Company"—was the famous wife of Mir Jaffer the Nawab Nazim of Bengal (1757-63 and 1765-66.) It seems that she was at first in the service of Mir Jaffer's mother-in-law and later on passed into his own service and ultimately became his favourite wife.

She was originally a slave girl to the mother of Babbo Begum and consequently nothing is known about her early life or birth.* It seems that Babbo Begum, the wife of Mir Jaffar and the mother of Mubarakuddaula, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal (1770-93) who was herself a dancing girl before, had Munni Begum in her service and it was in this way that she attracted the attention of Mir Jaffar and became his wife. After the death of Najamuddaula in 1766, her own son Saifuddaula succeeded to the Nizamat and reigned till 1770 when he died. It was after the death of her son that she came to the front and through the oratory of Burke became a well known figure in English political circles. The next successor was Mubarakuddaula who was a youth of eleven or twelve; When his brother Saijuddaula died, a guardian had to be appointed and Hastings chose Munni Begum for the post.

The majority of the Council wrote as follows when they appointed her in 1772. "We know no person so fit for the trust of guardian to the Nabob as the widow of the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, Munni Begum; her rank may give her a claim to this pre-eminence without hazard to our own policy; nor will it be found incompatible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of her country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the Nabob's palace and the Dewan will act of course in all cases in which she cannot personally appear. Great abilities are not to be expected in a zenana but in these she is very far from being deficient, nor any extraordinary reach of understanding requisite for so limited an employ. She is said to have acquired a great ascendancy over the spirit of the Nabob, being the only person of whom he stands in any kind of awe; a circumstance highly necessary for fulfilling the chief part of her duty, in directing

his education and conduct which appear to have been hitherto much neglected."

This appointment of Munni Begum was one of the chief subjects of accusation against Hastings. But the reasons which he gives to justify his measures are enough to clear his position. Firstly, that Munni Begum was the fittest person available for this post, the only other claimant being Entramuddaula, who was a brother of Mir Jaffar and had a numerous family of his own and "who, by his being brought so high to the Musnud would have acquired a right of inheritance to the Subaship; and if only one of his sons," who were all then "in the prime of life should have raised his hopes to the succession it would have been in his power at any time to remove the single obstacle which the Nabob's life opposed to advancement of the family."

"The guardian at least," wrote Hastings "would have been the Nazim, while the minority lasted; and all the advantages which the Company may hope to derive from it, in the confirmation of their power, would have been lost, or could only be maintained by a contention hurtful to their rights.....The truth is that the affairs of the Company stand at present on a footing, which can neither last as it is, nor be maintained on the rigid principles of private justice: You must establish your own power, or you must hold it dependent on a superior, which I deem to be impossible."

"The Begum, as a woman, is incapable of passing the bounds assigned her. Her ambition cannot aspire to higher dignity. She has no children to provide for, or mislead her fidelity. Her actual authority rests on the Nabob's life and therefore cannot endanger it; it must cease with his minority, when she must depend absolutely on the Company for support against her ward and pupil who will then become her master."

She continued as regent and guardian of the Nawab till 1775 when a charge of misappropriation of the Nawab's allowance was brought against her by Hastings' opponents. It seems that Nundi Ram a Naib Darogha of the Nawab's household treasury was dismissed by Munni Begum's favourite eunuch Almas Ali Khan in October 1774 from his post. Immediately after his dismissal

* See political consultations, 11th July, 1772. (INDIA OFFICE RECORDS.)

he went to James Grant who was the accountant at Murshidabad and entered his service. He gave a set of accounts to Grant relating to the Nizamat for the last eight years, with a view to prove embezzlement by Munni Begum. According to these accounts* there was an unaccounted balance of over nine lakhs of rupees against the Begum.

The hostile majority of Hastings at once took this opportunity and proposed a commission of inquiry and the suspension of the Begum. This proposal in spite of Hastings' opposition was carried and Giring was appointed to inquire and the Begum was suspended. The regular inquiry was held by a Commission consisting of Maxwell, Anderson and Grant. They found out an unaccounted balance of Rs. 9,67,693 but they left it to their superiors to decide whether Munni Begum was really guilty of this misappropriation or not.

Her dismissal did not diminish her influence, "for† she had a great deal of money, a great deal of authority and a great deal of genius; and Mubarakuddaula who was used to her sway, expected one day to become heir to her vast wealth; she would sometimes frighten him into compliance by threatening to squander her riches amongst the poor or to leave them to strangers or Farangis."

When Hastings recovered his influence after the death of Clavering he took the first opportunity of dismissing Reza Khan in 1778 and Munni was again reinstated. But this time she did not hold this influence for long because on the disapproval of the Directors in their letter of 4th February 1778, Munni Begum was again dismissed and Reza Khan was restored and the

additional allowance of Rs. 72,000 * was discontinued.

She retained her influence in the household practically up to her death. In 1805, when † Palmer took up the command at Berhampore, he received civilities from her, "who," says Palmer, "may at this time of day accept of my devoirs without scandal." Lord Valentia visited her in 1804 and gives a vivid description of the Begum.

"She lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half which, out of respect to Meer Jaffier's memory she has not quitted since his death which is now forty years. She conversed from behind a silk scarlet purdah that was stretched across a handsome open room, supported by pillars.....Her voice is loud and coarse but occasionally tremulous. She owns to sixty eight years of age. Mrs. Pattle who has seen her informs me that she is very short and fat, with vulgar, large, harsh features and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld. In this description who would trace the celebrated nautch girl of Mr. Burke?" ‡

She died on 10th January, 1813 at the age of 97.

HER CHARACTER

Lord Valentia's conjecture that her influence was due to her intellectual and moral power is fairly correct. The author of Seir also credits her with certain moral qualities which must have gone a long way in creating her influence. That she was of a generous disposition seems to be right, because in spite of her hatred for Reza Khan she tried her best to help him after his arrest.

Secondly, she had in the words of the author, a "steadiness and uniformity of conduct" which is proved by her constant and unchanging support and friendship to Hastings.

In view of what is known about her extensive influence and in view of the confidence reposed in her by the Company's Government, it is quite just to attribute to her a good many virtues in spite of her being originally a dancing girl.

* Despatches to Bengal, 27 May, 1779, Vol. X. (INDIA OFFICE RECORDS)

† Grier "Hastings' letters to his wife", p. 228-230.

‡ Valentia's Travels, Vol. I., p. 227. (Edition, 1809)

§ Seir, Vol. III., p. 40-42

In another page we give an account of the United Nationalist Conference held at Bombay in the first week of this month. In view of the wide interest that the formation of the Indian National Party has evoked in the country the following expressions of opinion may also be read with interest.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

MOST of the political parties had come to realise the necessity for a proper combination, and had been exasperated by the methods pursued by the Swarajists. They had hoped that the process of Co-operation that had marked the first two and a half years of Swarajist activities would result in the Swarajists' conversion to constitutional methods, but they found that the walk out and the old cry of obstruction was to be the Swarajist electioneering cry. It was therefore considered timely to take concerted action to put the issue before the electorates in a clear and organised manner.

"I do not believe, in merging the various parties until we know how the new group will work. It will be unwise for the constituent elements of this coalition to abolish their separate existence."

"I will wait and see how on general principles we co-operate. It is clear, to my mind, that it would be a breach of faith, on the part of a member of an organisation to oppose a member of another organisation at the elections, if both the organisations belong to the coalition. I should certainly have a committee of the Party to select candidates and eliminate rivalry between members of this Coalition. This should be done by a Representative Committee of various parties forming the new group. Details have of course to be worked out."

The motive for our organising ourselves is really to accelerate progress by eschewing all those elements which, in our opinion, stand in the way of progress.—[From an interview on the Bombay Coalition Movement]

DR. ANNIE BESANT

There are quite a number of so-called parties in the field. On some important points they agree and they all agree that India shall be a Self-Governing country. On other points they do not agree, but are quarrelling on points on which they disagree instead of working together on the point on which they agree, viz., the winning of Freedom for India. All people of different parties have to make up their minds and realise what is really the vital thing. We shall all agree, I think, that we want Self-Government for India. Can we not agree on that point even if we disagree on others? A good many of us think that we can. So there have been practically three Conferences during the last few weeks.

I appeal to you to try your best to lift India out of the misery in which she is to-day. You united like that in 1917 and 1918 and the result is the Reforms Act. Education has been made compulsory, employers are obliged to compensate their employees who suffer, and in many other things there has been an improvement made by your own people having a little power, though not as much as you should have. I should ask you, if you all want the same thing, to unite to fight to get the Bill through, and remember that it gives you power to change any part of the Constitution later. Once the Constitution is an Act of Parliament you are not tied by anything, and you can change any part of it, principles or details. But until it passes you should not keep on quarrelling over trifles and remember your country is dying while you are quarrelling.—[From a Speech at the inaugural Meeting of the National Party in Madras.]

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

I appreciate the spirit of determination and tolerance which, despite all rumours of sharp dissension, eventually made it possible for the most widely divergent and even antagonistic elements of the hitherto scattered Liberal forces to be mobilised for common action.

The door of the Congress stands wide open for the return of those who have come back to its threshold; and it is my earnest endeavour to create an atmosphere and an opportunity for those within and those still without the Congress portals to reach a common understanding and unite in a common effort for the liberation of India from the economic, social and political bondage. The ideals of the National Congress are inviolable; but there is nothing immutable in policies and programmes, and it is at this moment only a question of policy and not of principle that stands between them as the dividing line. [Associated Press].

MR. N. C. KELKAR

Political India has greatly suffered by the formation of quite a number of political parties and the accentuation of the very small differences which distinguish their policies and principles from one another. It is eminently desirable, therefore, that the avenues of public opinion should be explored in order to find out whether it is not possible, even under the present conditions, to minimise these differences, to organise a large party out of the different groups, and to present a sort of a united front to Government.

It is possible that Responsivists and others may combine for a common purpose or it may not be possible; but in any case it would be too much for the Executive body or the Cabinet of an All-India Central Party to regulate for ever the conduct of all groups of elected members,

by edicts containing an enunciation of general principles or even *ad hoc* mandates issued to meet particular requirements. I would content myself with the formation of a party of loose affiliation, with the fullest liberty to Provincial leaders and groups of elected members to exercise their judgment and to do what they think best under their own conditions. If co-operation with or opposition to Government is to be discriminate, then it follows that the necessary discrimination could be properly exercised only by those who occupy vital points of contact with practical problems coming before the Provincial Councils — [From a Memorandum prepared for Dr. Besant's National Federation.]

SIR M. V. JOSHI K.C.I.E.

The creed of the new party does not prevent individuals from belonging to the respective groups to which they originally belonged, but naturally the party as a whole would co-operate with such other political groups as have the same or similar ideals or methods as the new party. For instance, civil disobedience is ruled out by the new party and the latter cannot co-operate with other political parties having civil disobedience as their immediate objective. At the same time, the new Party or its adherents are free to work inside the Legislative Councils for certain definite objects in which they have a common interest with other political groups. Antagonism between other political groups and the new party will be apparent only when an issue is directly connected with civil disobedience or suspension of taxes or anything which favours of either of these. For the rest, the representatives of the Congress, of the Swarajists or of the Non-Co-operators, if they ever choose to come into the councils of the new party, may exercise their influence where a united front against Government is required. — [From an interview with the author.]

MR. N. SUBBA RAO PANTULU

After giving an account of our dissensions especially the growing communal squabbles in the country he writes:—

The first essential, therefore, is to kill this communal spirit and place the interests of the country above those of sect, caste and community. We must all join together under one banner, and organize the country with a constructive programme of work. It is absolutely necessary that we should present a united front and make a united demand. There must be only one party against the bureaucracy, the United Nationalist party, whose creed is to place the interests of the country above party considerations, and whose method of work is neither Non-Co-operation nor Co-operation; neither obstruction nor responsive Co-operation; neither discriminating co-operation nor discriminating opposition. Their method of work ought to be self-help and initiative and support of all measures that build up the Nation; in other words, constitutional agitation which includes refusal of office, obstruction and civil disobedience, according to the decision of the majority, and according to the needs and circumstances of each Province, and the preparedness of the people for each step taken. Unless this is done, there is no hope of further advance and no hope of Swaraj.—[From a Statement presented to the National Federation Conference convened by Dr. Besant].

MR. B. CHAKRAVARTI

If this new Party was not yet within the Congress, the responsibility lay not on the new party but on the Swarajists. The Swarajists to be that neither they nor the new Party,

The most essential to any effective plan really to accelerate their forward elements which, in our opinion, state of progress.—[From an interview on the for Coalition Movement]

thing they could to keep the other parties in the country outside the Congress.

The situation in the country now demanded the consolidation of Nationalist elements, the party in power in the Congress having refused to find a place in its fold for even Responsive Co operators. The National Party had done distinct service to the country by taking on itself this task. [Interview with a Representative of the Associated Press]

MR. B. C. PAL

People should take the actualities into consideration and so act at the present moment that those who were working against them were not strengthened and those few who might be willing to work, for them might be strengthened. Individual members of Government were eager to destroy dyarchy more than they themselves, but with a different motive. While the people wanted to substitute, in its place democracy, the members of Government desired the re-establishment of bureaucratic rule. In the face of that situation, he beseeched them to so guide their policy that the enemies of Swaraj would be divided and confused in their own counsels:—[From a speech at a public meeting in Bombay.]

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

He urged them (the Legislatures) to utilise the present system of Government for the benefit of the country and accelerate the introduction of Self-Government. But, if the Swarajists were successful at the ensuing election, he feared that it would be a success of the Bureaucracy. He warned the people that every vote given to the Swarajists would be a vote given to the Bureaucracy.

It was a happy augury, therefore that persons belonging to different parts of the country, and professing different religions and faiths had signed the requisition for a conference to bring about a United National Party.—[Speech at Bombay.]

The Story of My Experiments with Truth 257

By MAHATMA GANDHI.

[In our last (March) Number we published the first ten chapters of the Autobiography. In this number we give five more chapters in continuation.—Ed. THE INDIAN REVIEW.]

XL. PREPARATION FOR ENGLAND

I passed the Matriculation Examination in 1887. It used to be held at two centres, viz., Ahmedabad and Bombay, and the general poverty of the country naturally led Kathiawad students to prefer the nearer and the cheaper centre. The poverty of my family likewise dictated to me the same choice. This was my first journey from Rajkot to Ahmedabad and that too without a companion.

My elders wanted me to pursue my studies at college after the Matriculation. There was a college in Bhavnagar as well as in Bombay, and as the former was cheaper, I decided to go there and join the Samaldas College. I went, but found myself entirely at sea. Everything was difficult. I could not follow, let alone take an interest in the professors' lectures. It was no fault of theirs. The professors in that College were regarded as first-rate. Only I was so raw. At the end of the first term, I returned home.

We had in Mavji Dave,—a shrewd and learned Brahmin, an old friend and adviser of the family. He had kept up his connection with the family even after my father's death. He happened to visit us during my vacation. In conversation with my mother and elder brother, he enquired about my studies. Learning that I was at Samaldas College, he said: "The times are changed. And none of you can expect to succeed to your father's gadi without having had a proper education. Now as this boy is still pursuing his studies, you should all look to him to keep the gadi. It will take him four or five years to get his A. degree, which will at best qualify him for a 'sarkar' job, not for a Dewanship. Like my son, he went in for law, it would keep him still longer, by which time there would be a host of lawyers aspiring for a Dewan's post. I would far rather that you send him to England. My son Kevalram says it is very easy to be a barrister. In three or four years' time he would return. Also expenses

would not exceed four to five thousand. Think of that barrister who has just come back from England. How stylishly he lives! I would strongly advise you to send Mohandas to England this very year. Kevalram has numerous friends in England. He will give notes of introduction to them and Mohandas will have an easy time of it there."

Joshiji—that is how we used to call old Mavji Dave—turned to me with complete assurance and asked: "Would you not rather go to England than study here?" Nothing could be more welcome to me. I jumped at the proposal and said that the sooner I was sent the better. It was no easy business to pass examinations quickly. Could I not be sent to qualify for the medical profession?

My brother interrupted me: "Father never liked it. He had you in mind when he said that we Vaishnavas should have nothing to do with dissection of dead bodies. Father intended you for the bar."

Joshiji chimed in: "I am not opposed to the medical profession like Gandhiji (my father). Our shastras are not against it. But a medical degree will not make a Dewan of you and I want you to be Dewan, or if possible something better. Only in that way could you take under your protecting wings your large family. The times are fast changing and getting harder every day. It is the wisest thing therefore to become a barrister." Turning to my mother, he said, "Now, I must leave. Pray ponder over what I have said. When I come here next I shall expect to hear of preparations for England. Be sure to let me know if I can assist in any way."

Joshiji went. And I began building castles in the air. My elder brother was greatly exercised in his mind. How to find the wherewithal to send me? And was it proper to trust a young man like me to go abroad alone?

My mother was sorely perplexed. She did not like the idea of parting from me. And this is how she tried to put me off: "Uncle

is now the eldest member of the family. He should first be consulted, if he consents we shall consider the matter."

My brother had another idea. "We have a certain claim on the Porbandar State. Mr. Lely is the Administrator. He thinks highly of our family and Uncle is in his good books. It is just possible that he might recommend you for some State help for your education in England." I liked all this. I got ready to start off for Porbandar. There was no railway in those days. It was a five days' bullock-cart journey. I have already admitted that I was a coward. But at that moment my cowardice vanished before the desire to go to England which completely possessed me. I hired a bullock-cart as far as Dhoraji, and from Dhoraji I took a camel in order to get to Porbandar a day quicker. This was my first camel ride.

I arrived at last. I did obeisance to Uncle, and told him everything. He thought it over and said: "I am not sure whether it is possible for one to stay in England without prejudice to one's religion. From all I have heard, I have my doubts. When I meet these big barristers, I see no difference between their life and that of Europeans. They know no scruples regarding food. Cigars are never out of their mouths.

They dress as shamelessly as Englishmen. All that would not be in keeping with our family tradition. But I do not want to stand in your way. I am shortly going on a pilgrimage. I have not many years to live. At the threshold of death, how dare I give you permission to go to England, to cross the seas? But I will not stand in your way. It is your mother's permission which really matters. If she permits you, then godspeed! Tell her I will not interfere. You will go with my blessings."

"I could expect nothing more from you," said I, "I shall now try to win Mother over. But would you not recommend me to Mr. Lely?"

"How can I do that?" said he. "But the Sahib is a good man. You ask for an appointment telling him how you are connected. He will certainly give you one and may even help you."

I cannot say why my uncle did not give me a note of recommendation. I have a faint idea that he hesitated to co-operate directly in what was in his opinion an irreligious act, viz., my going to England.

I wrote to Mr. Lely, who asked me to see him at his residence. He saw me as he was ascending the staircase; and saying curtly "Pass your B.A. first and then see me. No help can be given you now," he hurried upstairs. I had made elaborate preparations to meet the Sahib, I had carefully learnt up a few sentences, and I had bowed low and saluted him with both the hands. But all to no purpose!

I thought of my wife's ornaments. I thought of my elder brother in whom I had the utmost faith. He was generous to a fault, and he loved me as his own son.

I returned to Rajkot from Porbandar and told them all that had happened. I consulted Joshiji who of course advised even incurring a debt, if necessary. I suggested the disposal of my wife's ornaments, which could fetch about two or three thousand rupees. My brother promised to find the money somehow.

My mother was however yet unwilling. She had begun making minute inquiries. Some one had told her that young men got lost in England. Another had said that they took to meat and yet another that they could not live there without liquor. "How about of this?" she asked me. I said: "Will you not trust me? I shall not lie to you. I swear that I shall not touch any of those things. If there were any such danger, would Joshiji let me go?"

"I can trust you," she said. "But how can I trust you in a distant land? I am dazed and know not what to do. I shall ask Bechar Swami."

Becharji Swami was originally a Modh Bania, but had become a reform monk. He too was a family adviser like Joshiji. He came to my help, and said: "I shall get the boy solemnly to take the three vows, and then he can be allowed to go." He administered the oath and I vowed not to touch wine, woman, and meat. This done, my mother gave her permission.

The High School had a send-off in my honour. It was an uncommon thing for a young man of Rajkot to go to England. I had written out a few words of thanks. But I could scarcely stammer them out. I remember how my head reeled and how my whole frame shook as I stood up to read there.

With the blessings of my elders I started for Bombay. This was my first journey from Rajkot to Bombay. My brother accompanied me. But there is many a slip twixt the cup and the lip. There were difficulties to be faced in Bombay.

XII. OUTCASTE.

With my mother's permission and blessings, I set off exultantly for Bombay, leaving my wife with a baby of a few months. But on arrival there friends told my brother that the Indian Ocean was rough in June and July, and as this was my first voyage, I should not be allowed to sail until November. Some one also reported that a steamer had just been sunk in a gale. This made my brother uneasy and he refused to take the risk of allowing me to sail immediately. Leaving me with a friend in Bombay, he returned to Rajkot to resume his duty. He put the money for my travelling expenses in the keeping of a brother-in-law, and left word with some friends to give me whatever help I might need.

Time hung heavily on my hands in Bombay. I dreamt continually of going to England.

Meanwhile my caste-people were agitated over my going abroad. No Modh Bania had been to England up to now, and if I dared to do so, I ought to be brought to book! A general meeting of the caste was called and I was summoned to appear before it. I went. How I suddenly managed to muster up courage I do not know. Nothing daunted, and without the slightest hesitation, I came before the meeting. The Seth—the headman of the community—who was distantly related to me, and who had been on very good terms with my father, thus accosted me:

"In the opinion of the caste, your proposal to go to England is not proper. Our religion

forbids voyages abroad. We have also heard that it is not possible to live there without compromising our religion. One is obliged to eat and drink with Europeans!"

To which I replied: "I do not think it is at all against our religion to go to England. I intend going there for further studies. And I have already solemnly promised to my mother to abstain from the three things you fear most. I am sure the vow will keep me safe."

"But we tell you," rejoined the Seth, "that it is not possible to keep our religion there. You know my relations with your father and you ought to listen to my advice."

"I know those relations," said I. "And you are as an elder to me. But I am helpless in this matter. I cannot alter my resolve to go to England. My father's friend and adviser, who is a learned Brahmin, sees no objection to my going to England, and my mother and brother have also given me their permission."

"But will you disregard the orders of the Caste?"

"I am really helpless. I think the Caste should not interfere in the matter."

This incensed the Seth. He swore at me. I sat unmoved. So the Seth pronounced his order: "This boy shall be treated as an outcaste from to-day. Whoever helps him or goes to see him off at the dock shall be punishable with a fine of One Rupee four annas."

The order had no effect on me, and I took my leave of the Seth. But I wondered how my brother would take it. Fortunately, he remained firm and wrote to assure me that I had his permission to go, the Seth's order notwithstanding.

The incident however made me more anxious than ever to sail. What would happen if they succeeded in bringing pressure to bear on my brother? Supposing something unforeseen happened? As I was thus worrying over my predicament, I heard that a Junagadh Vakil was going to England, for being called to the bar, by a boat sailing on the 4th of September. I met the friends to whose care my brother had commended me

They also agreed that I should not let go the opportunity of going in such company. There was no time to be lost. I wired to my brother for permission which he granted. I asked my brother-in-law to give me the money. But he referred to the order of the Seth and said that he could not afford to lose caste. I then sought a friend of the family and requested him to accommodate me to the extent of my passage and sundries, and to recover the loan from my brother. The friend was not only good enough to accede to my request, but he cheered me up as well. I was so thankful. With part of the money I at once purchased the passage. Then I had to equip myself for the voyage. There was another friend who had experience in the matter. He got clothes and other things ready. Some of the clothes I liked and some I did not like at all. The necktie which I delighted in wearing later, I then abhorred. The short jacket I looked upon as immodest. But this dislike was nothing before the desire to go to England which was uppermost in me. Of provisions also I had enough and to spare for the voyage. A berth was reserved for me by my friends in the same cabin as that of Mr. Trimbakrai Mazumdar, the Junagadh Vakil. They also commended me to him. He was an experienced man of mature age and knew the world. I was yet a stripling of eighteen without any experience of the world. Mr. Mazumdar told my friends not to worry about me.

I sailed at last from Bombay on the 4th of September.

XIII. IN LONDON AT LAST.

I did not feel at all sea-sick. But as the days passed, I became fidgety. I felt shy even speaking to the steward. I was quite unaccustomed to talking English, and excepting Mr. Mazumdar, all the other passengers in the second saloon were English. I could not speak to them. For I could rarely follow their remarks when they came up to speak to me, and even when I understood, I could not reply. I had to frame every sentence in my mind, before I could bring it out. I was innocent of the use of knives and forks and

had not the gumption to enquire what dishes on the menu were free of meat. I therefore never took my meals at table but always had them in my cabin, and they consisted principally of sweets and fruits which I had brought with me. Mr. Mazumdar had no difficulty, and he mixed with everybody. He would move about freely on deck, while I hid myself in the cabin the whole day, only venturing up on deck when there were but few people. Mr. Mazumdar kept pleading with me to associate with the passengers and to talk with them freely. He told me that lawyers should have a long tongue, and related to me his legal experiences. He advised me to take every possible opportunity of talking English, and not to mind making mistakes which were obviously unavoidable with a foreign tongue. But nothing could make me conquer my shyness.

An English passenger taking kindly to me, drew me into conversation. He was older than I. He asked me what I ate, what I was, where I was going, why I was shy, and so on. He also advised me to come to table. He laughed at my insistence on abjuring meat, and said in a friendly way: "It is all very well so far (*i.e.*, before we had reached Port Said) but you will have to revise your decision in the Bay of Biscay. And it is so cold in England that one cannot possibly live there without meat."

"But I have heard that people can live there without eating meat," I said.

"Rest assured it is a fib," said he. "No one, to my knowledge, lives there, but is a meat-eater. Don't you see that I am not asking you to take liquor, though I do so? But I do think you should eat meat, for you cannot live without it."

"I thank you for your kind advice, but I have solemnly promised to my mother not to touch meat and therefore I cannot think of taking it. If it be found impossible to get on without it, I would far rather go back to India than eat meat in order to remain there."

We entered the Bay of Biscay, but I did not begin to feel the need either of meat or liquor. I had been advised to collect certificates of my having abstained from meat, and

I asked the English friend to give me one. He gladly gave it and I treasured it for some time. But when I saw later that one could not get such a certificate in spite of being a meat-eater, it lost all its charm for me. If my word was not to be trusted, where was the use of possessing a certificate in the matter?

However, we reached Southampton, as far as I remember, on a Saturday. On the boat I had worn a black suit, the white flannel one which my friends had got me, having been kept especially for wearing when I landed. I had thought that white clothes would suit me better when I stepped ashore and therefore I did so in white flannels. Those were the last days of September, and I found I was the only person wearing such clothes. I left in charge of an agent of Grindlay & Co., all my kit, including the keys, seeing that many others also had done the same and I must follow suit.

I had four notes of introduction; to Dr. P. J. Mehta, to Mr. Dalparam Shukla, to Prince Ranjit Singji and to Dadabhai Naoroji. Some one on board had advised us to put up at the Victoria Hotel in London. Mr. Mazumdar and I accordingly went there. The shame of being the only person in white clothes, was already too much for me. And when at the Hotel I was told that I should not get my things from Grindlay's the next day, it being a Sunday, I was exasperated.

Dr. Mehta to whom I had wired from Southampton called at about eight o'clock the same evening. He gave me a hearty greeting. He smiled at my being in flannels. As we were talking, I casually picked up his top-hat, and, trying to see how smooth it was, passed my hand over it the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Dr. Mehta looked somewhat angrily at what I was doing and scolded me. But the mischief was done. The incident was a warning for the future. This was my first lesson in European etiquette, into the details of which Dr. Mehta humourously initiated me. "Do not touch other people's things," he said. "Do not ask questions as we usually do in India on first acquaintance; do not

talk loudly; never address people as 'Sir' whilst speaking to them (as we do in India); only servants and subordinates address their master that way." And so on and so forth. He also told me that it was very expensive to live in a hotel and recommended that I should live with a private family. We deferred consideration of the matter until Monday.

Both Mr. Mazumdar and I found the hotel to be a trying affair. It was also very expensive. There was however, a Sindhi fellow passenger from Malta who had become friends with Mr. Mazumdar and as he was not a stranger to London, he offered to find rooms for us. We agreed, and on Monday as soon as we got our baggage, we paid off our bills and went to the room rented for us by the Sindhi friend. I remember my hotel bill came to £3, an amount which shocked me. And I had practically starved in spite of this heavy bill! For I could relish nothing. When I did not like one thing, I asked for another, but had to pay for both just the same. The fact is that all this while I had depended on the provisions which I had brought with me from Bombay.

I was very uneasy even in the new room. I would continually think of my home and country. My mother's love always haunted me. At night the tears would stream down my cheeks and home memories of all sorts made sleep out of the question. It was impossible to share my misery with any one. And even if I could have done so, where was the use? I knew of nothing that would soothe me. Everything was strange—the people, their ways, and even their dwellings. I was a complete greenhorn in the matter of English etiquette, and continually had to mind my p's and q's. There was the additional inconvenience of the vegetarian vow. Even the dishes that I could eat were tasteless and insipid. I thus found myself between Scylla and Charibdis. England I could not bear, and return to India was not to be thought of. Now that I had come, I must finish the three years, said the inner voice.

XIV. MY CHOICE

Dr. Mehta went on Monday to the Victoria Hotel expecting to find me there. He discovered that we had left, got our new address, and met me at our rooms. Through sheer folly I had managed to get ringworm on the boat. For washing and bathing we used to have sea water, in which soap is not soluble. I however employed soap, taking its use to be a sign of civilisation with the result that instead of cleaning it made the skin greasy. This gave me ringworm. I showed it to Dr. Mehta who told me to apply acetic acid. I remember how the burning acid made me cry. Dr. Mehta inspected my room and its appointments and shook his head in disapproval. "This place won't do," he said. "We come to England not so much for the purpose of studies as for gaining experience of English life and customs. And for this you need to live with a family. But before you do so, I think you had better serve a period of apprenticeship. I shall take you there."

I gratefully accepted the suggestion and removed to the friend's rooms. He was all kindness and attention. He treated me as his own brother, initiated me into English ways and manners, and accustomed me to talking the language. My food however became a serious question. I could not relish boiled vegetable without salt or condiments mixed at the time of preparation. The landlady was at a loss to know what to cook for me. We had oatmeal porridge for breakfast which was fairly filling, but I always starved at lunch and dinner. The friend continually reasoned with me to eat meat, but I always pleaded my vow and then remained silent. Both for luncheon and dinner we had bread and jam and spinach. I was a good eater and had a capacious stomach; but I was ashamed to ask for more than two or three slices of bread, as it did not seem correct to do so. Added to this there was no milk either for lunch or dinner. The friend once got disgusted with this state of things, and said: "Had you been my own brother, I would have sent you packing. What is the value of a vow made before an

illiterate mother, and in ignorance of conditions here? It is no vow at all. It would not be regarded as a vow in law. It is a pure superstition to stick to such a promise. And I tell you this persistence will not help you to gain anything here. You confess to having eaten and relished meat. You took it where it was absolutely unnecessary, and will not where it is quite essential. What a pity!"

But I was adamant.

Day in and day out the friend would argue, but I had an eternal negative to face him with. The more he argued, the more uncompromising I became. Daily I would pray for God's protection and get it. Not that I had any idea of God. It was faith that was at work—faith of which the seed was sown by the good nurse Rambha.

One day the friend began to read to me Bentham's "Theory of Utility." I was at my wit's end. The language was too difficult for me to understand. He began to expound it. I said: "Pray forgive me. These abstruse things are beyond me. I admit it is necessary to eat meat. But I cannot break my vow. I cannot argue about it. I am sure I cannot meet you in argument. But please give me up as foolish or obstinate. I appreciate your love for me and I know you to be my well-wisher. I also know that you are telling me again and again about this because you feel for me. But I am helpless. A vow is a vow. It cannot be broken."

The friend looked at me in surprise. He closed the book and said: "All right. I shall not argue any more." I was glad. He never discussed the subject again. But you did not cease to worry about me. He smoked and drank, but he never asked me to do it. In fact he asked me to remain away from both. His one anxiety was that I might become very weak without meat, and thereby be unable to feel at home in England.

That is how I served my apprenticeship for a month. The friend's house was in Richmond, and it was not possible to go to London more than once or twice a week. Dr. Mehta and Mr. Dalpatram Shukla there-

fore decided that I should be put with some family. Mr. Shukla hit upon an Anglo-Indian's house in West Kensington and placed me there. The landlady was a widow. I told her about my vow. The old lady promised to look after me properly, and I took up my residence in her house. Here too I practically had to starve. I had sent for sweets and other eatables from home, but nothing had yet come. Everything was insipid. Everyday the old lady asked me whether I liked the food, but what could she do? I was still as shy as ever and dared not ask for more than was put before me. She had two daughters. They insisted on serving me with an extra slice or two. But little did they know that nothing less than a loaf would have filled me.

But I had found my wings now. I had not yet started upon my regular studies. I just begun reading newspapers, thanks to Mr. Shukla. In India I had never read a newspaper. But here I succeeded in cultivating a liking for them by regular reading. I always glanced over the DAILY NEWS, DAILY TELEGRAPH & PALL MALL GAZETTE. This took me hardly an hour. I therefore began to wander about. I would launch out in search of a vegetarian restaurant. The landlady had told me that there were such places in the City. I would trot ten to twelve miles each day, go into a cheap restaurant and eat my fill of bread, but would never be satisfied. During these wanderings I once hit on a vegetarian restaurant in Farringdon Street. The sight of it filled me with the same joy that a child feels on getting a thing after its own heart. Before I entered I noticed books for sale exhibited under a glass window near the door. I saw among them Salt's "Plea for Vegetarianism." I purchased for a shilling and went straight to my lining room. This was my first hearty meal since my arrival in England. God had come to my aid.

I read Salt's book from cover to cover and was very much impressed by it. From the date of reading this book, I may claim to have become a vegetarian by choice. I blessed the day on which I had taken the

vow before my mother. I had all along abstained from meat in the interests of truth and of the vow I had taken, but had wished at the same time that every Indian should be a meat-eater, and had looked forward to being one myself freely and openly some day, and to enlisting others in the cause. The choice was now made in favour of vegetarianism, the spread of which henceforward became my mission.

XV. PLAYING THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN

My faith in vegetarianism grew on me from day to day. Salt's book whetted my appetite for dietetic studies. I went in for all books available on vegetarianism and read them. One of these, Howard Williams' "The Ethics of Diet" was a "biographical history of the literature of humane dietetics from the earliest period to the present day," and tried to make out that all philosophers and prophets from Pythagoras and Jesus down to those of the present age were vegetarians. Dr. Mrs. Anna Kingsford's "The Perfect Way in Diet" was also an attractive book. Dr. Allinson's writings on health and hygiene were likewise very helpful. He advocated a curative system based on regulation of the dietary of patients. Himself a vegetarian, he prescribed to his patients also a strictly vegetarian diet. The result of reading all this literature was that dietetic experiments came to take an important place in my life. Health was the principal consideration of these experiments, to begin with. But later on, religion became the supreme motive.

Meanwhile, my friend had not ceased to worry about me. His love for me led him to think that if I persisted in my objections to meat-eating, I should not only develop a weak constitution, but should remain a duffer; because I should never feel at home in English society. When he came to know that I had begun to interest myself in books on vegetarianism, he was afraid, lest these studies should muddle my head: that I should fritter my life away in experiments, forgetting my own work, and become a

crank. He therefore made one last effort to reform me. He one day invited me to go to the theatre. Before the play we were to dine together at the Holborn Restaurant, to me a palatial place and the first big Restaurant I had been to since leaving the Victoria Hotel. The stay at that Hotel had scarcely been a helpful experience for I had not lived there with my wits about me. The friend had planned to take me to this Restaurant evidently imagining that modesty would forbid any questions. And it was a very big company of diners in the midst of which my friend and I sat sharing a table between us. The first course was soup. I wondered what it might be made of, but durst not ask the friend about it. I therefore summoned the waiter. My friend saw the movement and sternly asked across the table what the matter was. With considerable hesitation I told him that I wanted to inquire if the soup was a vegetable soup. "You are too clumsy for decent society," he passionately exclaimed. "If you cannot behave yourself, you had better go. Feed in some other restaurant and await me outside." This delighted me. Out I went. There was a vegetarian restaurant close by, but it was closed. So I went without food that night. I accompanied the friend to the theatre, but he never said a word about the scene I had created. On my part, of course there was nothing to say.

That was the last friendly brush we had. It did not affect our relations in the least. I could see and appreciate the love with which all my friend's efforts were actuated, and my respect for him was all the more for our differences in thought and action.

But I decided that I should put him at ease; that I should assure him that I would be clumsy no more, but try to become polished and make up for my vegetarianism by cultivating other accomplishments which fitted one for polite society.

And for this purpose I undertook the all too impossible task of becoming an English gentleman.

RIGGING OUT

The clothes after the Bombay cut that I was wearing, were, I thought, unsuitable for

English society and I got new ones at the Army and Navy Stores. I also went in for a chimney-pot hat costing nineteen shillings—an excessive price in those days. Not content with this, I wasted ten pounds on an evening suit made in Bond Street, the focus of fashionable life in London; and got my good and noble-hearted brother to send me a double watch chain of gold. It was not correct to wear a ready-made tie and I learnt the art of tying one for myself. When in India the mirror had been a luxury permitted on the days when the family barber gave me a shave. Here I wasted ten minutes every day before a huge mirror watching myself, arranging my tie and parting my hair in the correct fashion. My hair was by no means soft and every day it meant a regular struggle with the brush to keep the hair in position. Each time the hat was put on and off, the hand would automatically move towards the head to adjust the hair, not to mention the other civilized habit of the hand every now and then operating for the purpose when sitting in polished society.

As if all this were not enough to make me look the thing, I directed my attention to other details that were supposed to go towards the making of an English gentleman. I was told it was necessary for me to take lessons in dancing, French and elocution. French was not only the language of neighbouring France, but it was the *lingua franca* of the Continent over which I had a desire to travel. I decided to take dancing lessons at a class and paid down £3 as fees for a term. I must have taken about six lessons in three weeks. But it was beyond me to achieve anything like rhythmic motion. I could not follow the piano and hence found it impossible to keep time. What then was I to do? The recluse in the fable kept a cat to get off the rats, and then a cow. I kept the cat with milk, and a man to keep the cow and so on. My ambition also grew like the family of the recluse. I thought I should learn to play the violin in order to cultivate an ear for Western music. So I invested £3 in a violin and something more in fees. I sought a third teacher to give me lessons in elocution and

paid him a preliminary fee of a guinea. He recommended Bell's Standard Elocutionist as the text-book, which I purchased. And I began with a speech of Pitt's.

But Mr. Bell rang the bell of alarm in my ear and I awoke.

I had not to spend a life-time in England, I said to myself. What then was the use of learning elocution? And how could dancing make a gentleman of me? The violin I could learn even in India. I was a student and ought to go on with my studies. I should qualify myself to join the Inns of Court. If my character made a gentleman of me, so much the better. Otherwise, I should forego the ambition.

The United Nationalist Conference

THE outstanding event of the month is the formation of the United Nationalist party. Ever since the Responsive Co-operationists seceded from the Swaraj party and particularly since the dramatic walk out of the Swarajists from the Central and Provincial Legislatures, the need for a strong political organization uniting all the different parties in the country and pledged to carry on constructive political work on strictly constitutional lines had been keenly felt. Many, even among the erstwhile adherents of the Congress realised the futility of obstruction pure and simple in the present stage of the country. A manifesto was issued under the signature of the leading members of the various parties setting out the object of the proposed organisation and inviting a select number of leading men of different groups to attend a Conference at Bombay in the first week of this month to help establish the principles of the new party.

The Conference, of which it might be said that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani was the prime mover, met at Bombay on the 3rd and 4th April under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. It was attended by representatives of seven groups of constitutionalists in the country—Liberals, Responsive Co-operators, Independents, Nationalists,

These and similar thoughts possessed me and I expressed them in a letter which I addressed to the elocution teacher requesting him to excuse me from further lessons. I had taken only two or three. I wrote a similar letter to the dancing-teacher and went personally to the violin teacher with a request to dispose of the violin for any price it might fetch. She was rather friendly to me, so I told her how I had discovered that I was pursuing a false ideal. She encouraged me in the determination to make a complete change.

This infatuation must have lasted about three months. The punctiliousness in dress persisted for years. But henceforward I became a student. (TO BE CONTINUED.)

National Home Rule Leaguers, the Justice party and the Non-Brahmins of Maharashtra. In fact it was a thoroughly representative gathering attended by leading politicians from different parts of the country.

On the first day there was a prolonged discussion on the resolution drawn up by the Conveners. The Conference subsequently appointed a Committee of 21 members representing different parties to consider the various amendments and to reach a settlement by consent. As has been pointed out by THE SERVANT OF INDIA, "the fact that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has joined the National Party and Mr. Jayakar is prepared to join it if his party does not stand in the way is eloquent testimony to the spirit of genuine nationalism that inspired the Conference." The text of the resolutions passed by the Conference shows that it was largely influenced by the representatives of the Congress.

1. (a) This Conference resolves that a party to be known as the Indian National Party be and is hereby formed.

(b) The object of the Indian National Party is to prepare for and accelerate the establishment of swaraj or full self-Government in India, such as obtains in self-governing dominions of the British Empire with due provision for the protection of the rights and interest of minorities and the backward and depressed classes.

(c) (1) The Indian National Party will employ all peaceful and legitimate means not including mass Civil disobedience or general non-payment of taxes.

RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATION IN COUNCILS

(2) Amongst the other parliamentary methods open to it the National Party will inside the legislatures resort to responsive co-operation or opposition or co-operation as and when necessary and it will carry on intensive propaganda work in the country in the furtherance of its objects.

(3) The National Party may permit as occasions may demand a movement of individual or group resistance to authority for definite objects on particular occasions in particular localities.

(d) In the pursuit of its object the Indian National Party will work in co-operation with any other party or political group which has the same object in view and whose methods are consistent with the policy of this party.

SUPPORT TO REFORMS

(e) While the Indian National Party is of opinion that the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919 is inadequate and unsatisfactory it will utilise it to the fullest extent it can (including in it the acceptance of offices) both to accelerate the revision of the constitution as well as to ameliorate the conditions of the people and to advance their interests in every possible way.

(f) The party will to the best of its opportunities strive for the social, political and economic uplift of all classes, caste and communities alike in rural and urban areas, and will in particular work for the removal of untouchability and the amelioration of the condition of the backward and depressed classes.

(g) The party will seek by every means in its power to promote unity among the different communities.

(h) Every person who has attained the age of 21 and signifies in writing, approval of the policy of the party will be eligible to be a member of the Indian National Party.

THE NEW ORGANISATION

It was further resolved that the members of the Committee belonging to several provinces should form themselves into the provincial committees with power to add to their number and to appoint their office-bearers.

The Central Committee is to take all necessary steps to further the objects of the new Party including the constitution of the provincial and district branches, propaganda among the people, all work relating to election to Legislative bodies, the promulgation of the rules not inconsistent with the policy of a party, the collection of funds and the holding of an All-India Conference of the Party at such time and place as the Committee may decide.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDIA BILL

Dr. Besant, with the permission of the

President, moved the following resolution of which she had given notice :

"This Conference of the Indian National Party urges the House of Commons to pass the second reading of the Commonwealth of India Bill thus showing sympathy with the righteous aspirations of India for self-government as declared in the resolution of the National Congress in 1914."

It was however, ruled out of order on technical grounds as no previous notice of it had been given by the conveners and as it was not included in the draft agenda subsequently circulated.

The members present then signified in writing their consent to be members of the Indian National Party after which the Conference passed a resolution appointing a Committee with Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Mr. M. C. Chagla, as Provincial Secretaries.

In this connection we may add that Dr. Besant's Conference to form a united party of Indian Constitutionalists to support the Commonwealth of India Bill also passed similar resolutions with a view to organise political work in the future.

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The Next Imperial Conference

The *March* issue of the *ROUND TABLE* opens with a long discussion of the task before the next Imperial Conference, which is to meet in London in the autumn of this year.

"Whether the Imperial Conference will do good or not will depend mainly upon the actual work which it will be called upon to do, and the way in which that work is prepared. To speak frankly, the Imperial Conference of 1923 was not far short of a failure. It was summoned, somewhat impulsively, by the party which likes to regard itself—quite wrongly as history shows—as the peculiar guardian of the Empire. It assembled in a cheerful "let's have a talk" spirit, but without being clear that there was any important subject which was ripe for practical decision. It passed a resolution about the conduct of Imperial diplomacy, which gave great satisfaction to that small section of people within the Empire which is preoccupied with questions of formal status, but which did not alter in any substantial way the accepted practice. It spent a great deal of time in evolving a set of minor preferences for the Dominions in the British tariffs on certain relatively unimportant articles, such as dried fruits and tinned salmon, some of which were never later carried into effect. But it never considered the real economic problem of the Empire at all."

If the next Imperial Conference is to be like the last, says the *ROUND TABLE*, the only organ of political unity which exists in the Empire will perish for want of practical usefulness. If the Conference is really to survive, still more if it is to become a really useful piece of constitutional machinery for solving the complicated problem, of the British Empire, it must be able to handle them with promptitude and decision.

It is therefore essential that it should not as it did in 1923 pay its attention to trivial matters, "but should really face and either solve

or give a new turn to the two main practical problems which confront the Empire to-day—the method of dealing with its primary common interest, defence and foreign policy, and the economic policy which will best enable its peoples to surmount the difficulties of the post-war world. It will probably also have to discuss the difficult problems of the relations between India and the Dominions which seem once more to be coming to the fore."

Answering the question raised by an authoritative Canadian writer whether a Dominion can find its place as a nation inside the British Commonwealth, the writer says that the difficulty does not rest fundamentally upon the question of status at all.

"It springs partly from the inherent difficulty of reconciling the natural aversion of the Dominions to "entanglement" in the affairs of the outside world with membership in a world-wide Commonwealth which is inevitably affected by every international storm that blows."

The writer pleads for a cheerful and practical spirit of common sense to handle all the matters that touch vitally the British Commonwealth. He concludes :

"Each nation within the Empire will be a greater and a wiser nation if it can learn how to handle the immensely diverse problems of our joint Commonwealth collectively than if it breaks it up into its constituent fragments. It is the same with international affairs. There will be no real progress at all unless all the English-speaking nations take a steadily increasing measure of responsibility, inside the League and outside it, for world government. The time for isolation and non-entanglement has gone by. The world under the influence of electricity and the aeroplane has become one. It must be made a world of law and justice or it will inevitably be engulfed in another world war."

British Far East Dominion

Dr. Tarakanath Das contributes an article on "British Far East Dominion Policies and Peace" to the *March* number of the CALCUTTA REVIEW. The policy adopted by the British during the World War and long before it, has not been abandoned by the British Government, says Mr. Das, because the United States has become mightier than before. The growing Anglo-Japanese rivalry is another menace to the supremacy of Britain in the East. So, the need for a stronghold is felt in the East. In the words of Admiral Beatty:

"Singapore was selected (as a great Naval Base) because it covers the approaches to India; the trade and the ocean communications of the Indian Ocean, because it covers the sources of oil supply of Burmah and Persia; because it flanks the line of approach to Australia and New Zealand; because labour and material are available, and periodical docking is essential to maintain the speed and endurance of the fleet."

American publicists and retired naval officers are in favour of a strong naval base at Singapore. During the last ten years the Anglo-American relations have gone through tremendous changes. Mr. Tarakanath Das refers to the Anglo-American co-operation in world affairs thus:

"We hear, from British Cabinet Ministers to common journalists, that Britain refused to adopt the Geneva Protocol because the idea contained in the Japanese Amendment was not acceptable to the United States of America. We also hear that Britain is fortifying Singapore with a naval and air base, not for the protection of the British Empire alone, but for extending support to America in case Japan attacks the Philippines."

It is generally regarded that Japan is the only Power that resents the establishment of naval and air bases at Singapore. But the fact is that

"France with her possessions in Indo-China,

China with her aspirations to recover full sovereign rights in all Chinese territories including Hongkong, and Russia with her possessions in the Pacific will feel menaced by the increased offensive power of Britain through the establishment of the proposed bases at Singapore. It is evident that Britain with a powerful navy at Singapore may become the dictator of politics and trade in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. America may not resent such a situation, at least for the time being; but other nations will not welcome such possibilities to their disadvantage."

Whatever may be the motive of Britain in establishing the naval and air bases in Singapore, it will not inspire confidence in the minds of the people of China, Japan, Russia and even France. Great Britain has the support of America only. It is naturally expected that with the Locarno Conference and the signing of the Treaty of London, the League of Nations will take practical steps to solve the world's Armament Problem:

"If the nations participating in these Conferences be called upon to decrease their naval strength (abolition of submarines and reduction of cruisers), will it not be natural for France, China, Japan, and Russia to ask that Great Britain be first induced to stop fortifying Singapore before other nations be called upon to give up their weapons?"

The Singapore naval and air bases, advocated by the British Dominions and the British Conservative Government, have become sources of suspicion, fear and rivalry among nations. It may disturb the cause of world peace; and there is every indication that it will. Is there no way out of this situation?"

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Lord Meston on India

"India unquestionably is no longer the same peaceful, deferential, uncritical country that it was a generation ago," writes Lord Meston in the pages of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. He says that the Government of India Act has given birth to the vexatious institution of Dyarchy which has been the butt of a good deal of cheap sarcasm. Commenting upon its working Lord Meston says:—

"It was never designed as an ideal or final form of Government. Its purpose was transitional, to train Indian ministers in the actual practice of the business of administration, while restricting, until such time as they should prove their capacity for further responsibilities the field in which they can exercise their new and untried powers. This purpose Dyarchy is serving in all the more important provinces of India except Bengal. It has brought a succession of prominent and thinking Indians up against the difficulties and complexities of the administrative trade. It has caused Englishmen and Indians to meet for common work in entirely new relations; and it has paved the way for a new orientation of our policy. These are not negligible achievements. The conditions of the problem had no precedent in the history of political evolution; they are wholly novel. It is surely no reproach that wholly novel machinery had to be devised to meet them; it is a matter for some pride that the machinery has worked so well after all."

Lord Meston gives a catalogue of the problems which are confronting the new Viceroy—such as the problem of the future of the Indian States, the relation between the Hindu and the Moslem, the complexities of finance, currency and exchange etc. To add to this there is the growing impatience of the Indian Nationalist towards

reaching the goal of Self-Government. He continues:—

"Nor has anything been said on the thorny question of the treatment of Indians abroad, especially in South Africa and some of our Crown Colonies. The subject is too delicate for summary discussion; and fortunately Lord Irwin already has a special knowledge of it, though he will now see the other side of the shield which he carried in the Colonial Office. It is by contemplating these and the many other omissions that one forms some estimate of the magnitude of our task in India to-day, greater than it has ever been at any period in the history of our association with the country."

* * * * *

The Government can give a powerful lead; it now knows how much was real, and how much was illusory and baseless in the clamour of the last six years, and it can afford to stabilise its policy accordingly. The broad road of advance to which we are pledged is open; and our help and partnership will be available to all men of good will who are travelling on it."



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Exp. Nov. 1926.

The Liberator

Swami Shraddhananda has brought out a new Weekly, called THE LIBERATOR. The main object of this journal is described by the Editor in the first issue. It is "to liberate, firstly, the so-called Untouchables, then to liberate the people from the grips of the cliques and bosses who assist the Britishers in governing India, and finally to liberate the villages from the inroads of modern temptations called amenities," which, he says, prove the undoing of the villages.

In expounding the aim of THE LIBERATOR, the Swamiji says :

"It is impossible to make India a free nation so long as a fifth of the nation is doomed to hereditary bondage or even something worse than bondage. This one fifth is enchained and its chains enslave Hindu India, which is three fourths of the whole of India. The weakness of Hindu India is the weakness of the whole of India. If India is to be free the Hindus must be freed of their weaknesses."

Under the heading "The Confession of Faith" Swami Shraddhananda writes :—

"I believe that the variety of religious denominations and sects cannot stand in the way of social and political unity in India, and the 31 crores of India can form a nation in the truest sense of the word if they can find a centre to which all might gravitate as one unit. That centre of gravity, in my humble opinion, can be the Motherland. I believe that, in order to make Hindu-Muslim Unity a real accomplished fact, both the communities must purge themselves of the accretions which have gathered round their primal faith through centuries of darkness. Let Sangathan among the Hindus and Tanzeem among the Mussalmans set to themselves the task of removing their inner defects and battling with the evils which are cutting into the vitals of their several sects and Sampradayas."

What is a Conservative?

A young woman Conservative has answered the challenge thrown down by Captain Victor Cayalet, M. P. in an article headed "What is a Conservative?" in a recent issue of the ENGLISH REVIEW. To the Captain, the Conservative's policy is so weak that it violates party principles and honour and it is time for the party to withdraw from office leaving the Government of the country in abler hands.

Captain Cayalet tells us that, political principles change almost as quickly as party programmes and that no party can continue to exist, if it confines its principles within the narrow boundaries of 'Party Politics.'

According to Captain Cayalet no election is won on any one cry and in citing the last election as an example he says :—

"It was won against Socialism, especially that form of Socialism professed by the Bolsheviks of Russia." Yet surely it was because the principles of "that form of Socialism" clashed with the principles of Conservatism that the election was fought and won."

Finally in answer to the question "What is a Conservative?" the young woman Conservative refutes the above arguments in the following effective language :—

"I am one because I see in the Conservative party a party of sound and practical policies, strong enough to put mere party politics aside; a party with a vision of the future that does not wholly hide the needs of the present; and a party that, whatever faults and indecisions it may commit, stands fast to the old and ancient loyalties of Church and State, and works solely for one end, the welfare of England and the Empire."

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Brotherhood in Islam & Christianity

This is the subject of an article in the current issue of the ISLAMIC REVIEW, by M. I. M. Haniffa, B. A. who points out that the idea of universal brotherhood is nothing new to the children of Islam. Indeed it is their inheritance as they have practised it wherever the teachings of the Prophet has penetrated.

"The democracy which is so much immortalised in the pages of Plato and Aristotle as having originated amongst the ancient Greeks reveals itself as an insignificant and negligible factor to one who investigates the true underlying principles of the practical democracy of Islam."

The democracy of Europe or America, says the writer, is firmly consolidated on materialism and has none other ulterior motive than the aggrandisement of the weaker classes. It has not the basic element of humanity on which alone can be reared the fabric of the practical Brotherhood of Mankind which the Holy Prophet (meaning Mahomed) taught: "No man has believed perfectly until he wishes his brother that which he wishes for himself."

Now in Christian countries, the writer says, this law is evident only in the breach. It is seldom practised and he cites instances not easy to challenge.

"The American Christian has no affection for the Christian Negro, and the plight of the Indian in South Africa is indeed pitiful and unspeakable. The latter, devoid of all political rights and shorn of all individual freedom, is regarded in the very same light as the early Romans did the slaves. The British Government, though hailed as the Commonwealth of Nations, has still the doors of Australia barred against her own coloured subjects. Even Lord Willingdon's recent speech on the removal of the dangers of racial conflict between East and West, and his endeavour to bring about an understanding between the two on terms of Equality and Fellow-feeling, seem to

have been frustrated by the utterance of Mr. B. C. Allen, an ex-commissioner of the Assam Valley and sometime member of the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Allen laments that British rule after a long period of contact with the East has failed to establish the superiority which is so often claimed for it. The atrocities committed by the Greeks in Asia Minor, on the other hand, still remain unparalleled in the history of humanity, and to this may now be added the recent atrocities of the French in Damascus and the parading of corpses along the streets of that historic city. No wonder these nations have not yet realized the exhortation of the Holy Qur-an (xvi. 90), viz.: "to do justice and to do good to others."

The spirit of Islam, he holds, is different. The element of Islamic brotherhood characterises every act of the faithful. Men of different races and nationalities, of varying culture and civilization, the rich and the poor—all alike find in Islam a new consciousness of human solidarity.

"The brotherhood of Muslims of different races," observes the Rev. W. W. Cash of the C. M. S., while speaking at the last Church Congress, "was more real than the brotherhood of Christians, and for that reason both the Pagans and the Christians of the East were going over to Mohammedanism."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE ETHICAL THEISM OF RAMANUJA. By Prof. R. Ramanujachari. M. A. ["The Calcutta Review," March 1926.]

INDIA: THE BRIGHTER OUTLOOK. ["The Round Table," March 1926.]

LAW OF DEFAMATION IN THE SMRITIS. ["The Bombay Law Journal," March 1926.]

THE CULT OF THE AGA KHAN. By Pundit Chamupati. ["The Vedic Magazine," March 1926.]

THE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, PUSA. By Alfred Wigglesworth. ["United Empire," March 1926.]

The Hindu-Moslem Problem

A writer in the PRABUDHA BHARATA for March explains that Swami Vivekananda was not only a mere Hindu religious reformer but a full-fledged national leader. He always thought and spoke of India in a most comprehensive sense and in his ideal of a future India, Islam had as good a place as Hinduism. "Islamic body and Vedantic heart"—that was his condensed description of that blessed consummation. What was his way of bringing about the unity between Hindus and Moslems?

"He thought that the required unity can and will come mainly through the Hindus, through their eternal method of assimilation. He found no use in haranguing to the Mussalmans, or in writing long articles on the terms of settlement with them. He did what was just necessary: He set the machinery of assimilation working, and the effect will follow automatically. Assimilation,—that is the solution he has given to the Hindu Moslem problem. And when he declared that his one aim of life was to make Hinduism aggressive, he indicated the *modus operandi* of that assimilation. And if he has succeeded in making Hinduism aggressive, as we are sure he has, certainly then he has done much better than merely formulating plans of the Hindu-Moslem Union. He has not talked, he has acted."

Now this process of assimilation has been going on in Hinduism through the ages. Sankara found the religion in a disintegrated condition, he formulated and defined the religion anew by declaring the essentials. At once Hinduism got a new vigour and purpose and became a potent instrument of assimilation.

"That process of assimilation is still going on. And the activities of Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Nanak, Kabir, Ramananda, Dadu and a host of other religious reformers form but links in that continuous chain of assimilation."

What is Beauty?

Professor P. Seshadri of Benares, writing in THE ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE explains the element of mystery or incommunicable charm which is generally a feature of all beautiful objects—which however is largely dependent upon subjective considerations. This subjective conception depends on man's environment and other peculiarities of national and racial outlook and manifests itself in the appreciation of music, architecture, painting etc. It has again always made a difference whether the man concerned is educated or not, whether he has been brought up to an appreciation of such artistic principles as proportion, arrangement of colours and so on. The beauty of an object depends not entirely on its own intrinsic qualities, varying in the nature of their comprehension by different individuals. The discovery of a common formula for Beauty is rendered more complicated by its multiplicity of manifestations; including all the great creations of the mind in literature and thought and all the beautiful aspirations of the heart in love and religion.

The writer then proceeds to examine the many theories of beauty put forward by critics and philosophers. Socrates based Beauty on considerations of utility and goodness. Plato stressed on proportion and harmony; and the ideal of Heavenly Beauty is given expression to by Shelley and Spenser. Aristotle recognised that the beautiful and the good sometimes overlapped and were the same and emphasized order and symmetry as the necessary elements in Beauty. Baumgarten identified the beautiful with the perfect. To Hegel Beauty is the disclosure of the mind, even natural beauty being a reflection of the mind. And so on.

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Questions of Importance

Swarajists and Responsivists

THE AHMEDABAD COMPROMISE

The Conference convened at the instance of Pundit Motilal Nehru was held at Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, on the 20th and 21st. The following were present: Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Lala Lajpatrai, Pundit Motilal Nehru, Messrs. Kelkar, Jayakar, Aney, Moonji, Gokhale and Ogale. Telegrams and letters were received expressing individual opinions on matters likely to come under discussion, including one from Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya which contained suggestions about bringing all Indian political parties on a common platform in a united Congress.

Discussion turned on the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, passed at Delhi in March, the resolution adopted by the Responsive Co-operation Party at Akola in February last, and the resolution adopted at the sessions of the Indian National Party, held in Bombay on the 3rd and 4th instant.

The Conference adopted the following agreement, as embodying its decision on points specifically discussed:

"It is hereby agreed between the undersigned, subject to the confirmation of the All-India Congress Committee that the response made by the Government shall for purposes of Clause (a) and (b) of the resolution 11-B (4) of the All-India Congress Committee, dated March 6 and 7, 1926, be considered satisfactory in the Provinces, if the power, responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to Ministers and the sufficiency of such power, responsibility and initiative, in each Province, shall be decided in the first instance by Congress members of the Legislative Council of that Province, subject to confirmation by a Committee consisting of Pundit Motilal Nehru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar."

"It is further agreed that the said Committee will decide all disputes in the Congress Provinces of the Bombay Maharashtra, Behar and the C. P. Marathi. This agreement has been subscribed to by the undersigned in their individual capacities, and it will be submitted for ratification to the executive of the Swaraj and Responsive Co-operation Parties. It will be placed for ratification before the All-India Congress Committee, at a meeting which is being convened on May 5 and 6 next, at Sabarmati."

The compromise is signed by Sarojini Naidu, Motilal Nehru, Lajpatrai, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, B. S. Moonji, M. S. Aney, D. V. Gokhale, G. A. Ogale at Sabarmati, April 21, 1926.

A. I. C. C.'S. DELHI RESOLUTION

The clauses of Resolution II—B (4) of the A. I. C. C. meeting at Delhi referred to in the agreement, state that Congressmen shall

(a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response is made by the Government;

(b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government, except when the Working Committee instructs otherwise.

RESPONSIVISTS' AKOLA MANIFESTO

The Responsive Co-operationist Party manifesto, issued at the Akola Conference in February last, declared "regarding their council programme:

We believe that no programme of bringing about constitutional dead-lock by resorting to the policy of uniform continuous and consistent obstruction can be successful unless tried on a large scale, and backed by some sanctions behind the same.

We believe that the best course under the present circumstances is that of Responsive Co-operation, which means working the Reforms unsatisfactory, disappointing and inadequate as they are for all they are worth; and using the same for accelerating the grant of full responsible Government and also for creating in the meanwhile, opportunities for the people for advancing their interests and strengthening their power and resistance to injustice and misrule.

The policy of working the Reforms necessarily includes the capture of all places of power, responsibility and initiative which are open to election by or one otherwise responsible to, the party within the legislature, subject to such conditions with regard to policy, programme and kindred matters as may seem desirable to impose from time to time.

Lord Reading's Farewell Speech

On the eve of his departure from India, His Excellency the Viceroy addressed a joint meeting of both Houses of the Central Legislature and, reviewing India's political progress during his term of office, renewed his profession of faith in the ultimate realization of responsible Self-Government. He said :—

I came to India with a special mandate to guide the working of the Reforms in which I took a keen, personal interest. During the whole period of my office my labours have been largely devoted to carrying out this policy and my energies have been to a great extent concentrated on this question.

Although much attention is constantly devoted in India to political and constitutional change, I am often inclined to think that the great importance attributed to the Reforms in England at the time of their inauguration and subsequently is not sufficiently realized in India. The Reforms initiated in the first place a new departure in the relations between England and India. They put India on the road to the realization of a more complete unity and higher national self-expression.

Looked at merely from the Indian point of view, the great significance of the Reforms is still at times misunderstood or underrated. Yet, they give what India never had before—a guarantee by Parliament for her political progress. They open the door to the attainment of a new national status and dignity. They give an opportunity not offered before to enter into more intimate relations with England and the Empire, and enable India gradually to build up her own responsible institutions within the Commonwealth of nations forming the Empire.

I lay emphasis on all these considerations to-day because, as the result of my five years'

intimate connection with India, I have learned to place a greater value on the new constitution than when I first set out from Home.

I am aware that it is said that the inspiration of the policy finds its origin in democratic institutions which are especially British in character, and cannot be applied to India. But Indians will be the first to assert that these ideals during a long association with British rule have become ingrained in the minds of Indians as among the essentials of national progress. No useful purpose would be served by disguising from ourselves that there are inherent difficulties in adapting British democratic institutions to Indian conditions, but these must be confronted by India and her political leaders. The essential principle underlying English institutions is based on a fundamental unity of sentiment, and on a general desire in issues of cardinal importance to waive the claims of individual or sectional advantage for the benefit of the commonweal.

Lord Oxford on the Free Press

Lord Oxford made the following remarks at the foundation-stone-laying celebrations of the new DAILY NEWS building :

I am more and more convinced that we can have no greater national asset than a pure, clearminded, responsibly conducted, and absolutely independent Press.

I confess to you that I look with suspicion and with mistrust upon all proposals, however well intended, whether by legislative or administrative action, to fetter its freedom, to censor its activities, or, what I consider more important than either, to disparage or in any way impair its sense of responsibility.

We have in the last resort against all possibilities of abuse and licence, in my opinion, two absolutely adequate safeguards—public opinion and trial by jury. Let us be content that they in the long run will secure not only the affection of the public but that invaluable asset, freedom and, correlative with freedom, the responsibility of the Press.

The Nizam & the British Government

The correspondence between Lord Reading and the Nizam of Hyderabad touches vaster and more constitutional issues than the mere question of the retrocession of the Berars. It shows that the claim of the Nizam has been definitely rejected by the Government after submission to the Secretary of State. Lord Reading took occasion to emphasise the paramountcy of the British control over the States. The facts of the case may be briefly put in the words of the *communiqué* issued by the Government of India :—

Towards the end of 1923, H. E. H. the Nizam addressed to H. E. the Viceroy, a letter which he afterwards published, claiming the restoration of the Berars, which had been leased in perpetuity to the British Government by his father in 1902. His claim was very carefully examined and after submission to the Secretary of State definitely rejected. The decision was duly communicated to His Exalted Highness.

In September last the Nizam again wrote to H. E. The Viceroy. In this letter he claimed that, in respect of the internal affairs of Hyderabad the Nizam stands on the same footing as the British Government in respect of the affairs of India. From this he argued that the matter in dispute was not one in respect of which the British Government was competent to give a decision, and that the doctrine of *res judicata* had no application. In conclusion he proposed that a Commission should be appointed to examine the questions relating to the Berars, on which there was difference of opinion between the Government of India and himself.

His Exalted Highness' letter of September 20, 1925 and His Excellency's reply, dated March 27, 1926, are now published. H. E. the Viceroy's reply, *inter alia*, pointed out that the sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and no ruler of an Indian State could justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an

equal footing. The Government of India, not long ago, made a definite provision for the appointment of a court of arbitration, in cases where a State is dissatisfied with the Government of India's ruling, but there is no provision for the appointment of an arbitration court, where the case has been decided by His Majesty's Government and he could not conceive that a case like the present one, where a long controversy has been terminated by an agreement, executed after full consideration, and couched in terms which are free from ambiguity, would be a suitable one for submission to arbitration. H. E. the Viceroy adds that this letter, in reply, carries with it the Secretary of State's authority, as well as that of the Government of India.

The Gaekwar's Feudatories

The Delhi correspondent of the MADRAS MAIL writes to that paper :—

Apropos certain statements regarding the position of the Maharajah of Nawanagar and the Gaekwar of Baroda, it may be stated that a representation on the subject, urging the restoration of his suzerain authority over certain Kathiawar Chiefs, was received some time ago from the Gaekwar. It was referred to the Bombay Government for an expression of their views. The controversy is not in any sense new. It dates back to many decades, when the British Government took over the collection of tributes, etc., from those Kathiawar Chiefs, on behalf of the Gaekwar, a position which was followed also in respect of other States. It may also be recalled that some modification was made restoring the authority of the Maharajah Scindia over certain minor feudatories. It is difficult to anticipate a decision on the larger question now raised, but a review of the present position is a certainty. Certain references were made at the Banquet during the Jubilee celebrations at Baroda when Lord Reading spoke guardedly in reply to the Maharajah's references on the subject.

The Asiatic Bill

The NATAL ADVERTISER, bitterly denounces the Areas Preservation Bill. It says:—

If the Bill goes through, it will do more hurt to the Europeans of Natal than to anyone else, and it will *not* solve the Indian problem. . . . The main provisions of this measure are calculated to increase Indian slumdom, increase Indian fecundity, increase and intensify the competition of cheap Indian labour in a score of directions.

The Reservations Bill may frighten some Indians into going back to India. But those who remain in spite of it, are going to be such a thorn in the life of Natal as will make the white man sigh for the happy days of 1925. Cruel the Bill is—cruel, unjust and impolitic from the larger or Imperial point of view. But chiefly it is stupid with the inevitable stupidity of people who have the Kraal attitude of mind towards race problems, and would govern subject folk much as they herd their flocks, pen their pigs, and put ring fences around the stock they do not want to stray. Nor can it be shown that it will reduce by five per cent. the Indian population of Natal. As a malevolent gesture towards the East it is wonderfully potent. As a proposed solution of a problem it is speculative in the extreme.

How any Natalian can support it we cannot see. It is going to spell grave peril to this Province for it fixes the Indian immovably in our midst under conditions that are likely to be far more perilous to our future than those we know to-day. It is going to sow this Province with ghettos. It is going to make us by legal warrant the sole heirs of all which proceeds from tyrannical and oppressive devices and it is going to forbid us getting the best out of the Indian in our midst (who can be a valuable economic asset) while compelling us to harbour and house him under segregated conditions that are going to be full of peril. Apart from being a bad Bill, an unjust Bill, and an un-English Bill, the Reservation Bill is a supremely stupid one.

Emigration to Guiana

In the Council of State on March 23 Sir Mahomed Habibullah, the Education Member, moved for the approval of the Council to the draft notification specifying the terms and conditions on which emigration for the purpose of unskilled work shall be lawful to British Guiana.

Sir Mahomed traced the history of the resolution, from the time of the deputation, to this country, of Dr. Nunan and Mr. Luckhoo and added that the Government had secured on behalf of future emigrants honourable means of livelihood, unfettered by any social or other considerations. They had also created a link between British Guiana and India, which, it was hoped, would be to their mutual advantage. The condition in British Guiana was more satisfactory than what could be found in some of the slums of our own country.

Concluding, Sir Mahomed said: By this resolution we shall extend India across the seas, in every British possession and colony, and, thereby, convince the world that we are really a part of the Commonwealth of the British Empire.

The resolution was carried without discussion.

Mr. Andrews on Indenture-System

Interviewed at Durban before his departure for India Mr. Andrews said that the indenture system of Indian labour, formed a bad debt of the past, which needed liquidating by both parties coming together in conference with open minds, free from prior commitments and reservations. Such a Conference could discuss, not only the irritating questions of the present, but also the permanent relations of the future. He pointed out that India had settled all her past differences with Australia and friendly relations had now been established between the two countries and their trade was increasing every year. Similarly, an effort should be made to establish friendly relations between India and South Africa.

England's Trade with India

Speaking at the annual dinner of the Oldham Chamber of Commerce, at which Colonel Amery was the principal guest, Lord Enmott said that "Britain last year sent to India less than half cotton exports it did in 1913, while to the rest of the world we sent 76 per cent cotton piecegoods, compared with our exports in 1913. Had India taken in 1925 76 per cent. of what she took in 1913, Lancashire Mills could work six or seven hours more per week. Empire trade, as magic cure of present ills did not seem to him very convincing as regards cotton trade when British possessions which had newly obtained autonomy like India had taken a firm hold of the Protectionist idea and were determined to foster their own industry which was quite good, but in doing which they were cutting us out."

Colonel Amery, in reply, said natural conditions made it evident that the great Dominions and India must for generations produce a far larger volume of primary products than they could absorb in their own industries. It was true that the immediate effect of what India had been doing had been unfavourable to peculiarly favoured position which cotton industry had enjoyed, but if India developed as it ought to develop it ought to have a great import trade from Lancashire. He often wondered whether "if we had complied with the wish of India some years ago, we should have enjoyed favourable preferential position there."

Poverty in India

"The Trade Union Movement is in its infancy in India, but it is interesting to note that the guiding spirit of some of the most successful Unions in Ahmedabad is a woman, Shrimati Anasayaben Sarabhai," said Lady Chatterjee, late Adviser to the Government of India on the Industrial Employment of Women and Children,

in a paper on "Women and Children in Indian Industries," which was read before the Royal Society of Arts on March 19.

"In view of the present low standard of the efficiency of the Indian worker, and the fact that Indian industries have to compete in a world market," she added, "we cannot expect for some time to come that the earnings of the men only will keep a family, even according to the present low standard of comfort. The general exclusion of women from industrial employment, except, of course in circumstances such as underground mining, where special considerations are involved, will inevitably lower the standard of life still further. The poverty of India is such that practically all women, excepting those belonging to the higher classes, are compelled to work."

"Satisfactory industrial conditions can, however, only be obtained if there is a persistent demand for them. It is for the men and women of India to see that the industries are built up on satisfactory foundations."

Indian Banking Development

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce has addressed the Secretary, Government of India, Finance Department, suggesting the early appointment of a Commission to inquire into the question of banking development and organisation of credit facilities with the widest terms of reference. Having regard to the fact that inquiry into banking problems has long been overdue, the Committee adds that the importance of such investigation cannot be overstated. The Committee disapproves the suggestion that the inquiry should be deferred till the Royal Commission on Indian Currency, or that on Agriculture, has completed its labours. Regarding the personnel, the Committee hopes that Government will see to it that there is a majority of Indian members under the Chairmanship of an Indian business man.

The Agricultural Commission

His Majesty has been pleased to approve that the Royal Commission on Agriculture should be composed of the following:—

Chairman: The Marquis of Linlithgow.

The members are:—

(1) Mr. Hubert Calvert, I.C.S., Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Punjab.

(2) Professor Nagendranath Gangulee, Professor of Agriculture and Rural Economy, Calcutta University.

(3) Dr. Lodi Karim Hyder, M.L.A., Professor of Economics, Aligarh University.

(4) Mr. Balkrishna Sitaram Kamat, Member of the Bombay Agricultural Board.

(5) His Excellency Sir Henry Lawrence, Acting Governor of Bombay.

(6) Sir James Mackenna, I.C.S., late Development Commissioner, Burma.

(7) Sir Thomas Middleton, Commissioner under the Development and Road Improvement Funding Act.

(8) Raja Sir Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo Garu, Raja of Parlakimedi, Zamindar, Madras Presidency; and

(9) Rai Bahadur Sir Ganga Ram, late of the W. D.

Lord Irwin on Agriculture

Replying to the address of welcome presented by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce on April 3rd Lord Irwin said:—

By instinct and upbringing, I am a countryman, and, as a former Minister of Agriculture in England, I have been brought into close contact with its administrative problems. I am therefore able to appreciate, at their full worth, the wisdom and statesmanship of Lord Reading at whose instance this Commission was set up; for, in a country where agriculture is the principal industry, there can be no higher object than to increase the prosperity of the cultivators who form the overwhelming majority of the population.

Experience, however, elsewhere, has taught me that there is no royal road or short cut to agricultural improvement. Nature moves at her own pace, and to deal even with a single crop demands years of patient labour; and the necessary processes of research, experiment, demonstration and seed distribution cannot be hurried. But agricultural progress is not only a question of plant or stock improvement. It depends upon the solution of a host of allied problems of which education and co-operative credit are only two of the most important.

His Excellency went on to add:—

While advising measures to secure the greatest co-ordination of effort between the Governments in India, it will be their (the Agricultural Commission's) duty to keep steadily in view the preservation of the newly gained independence of the provinces in this branch of public administration. Their task, therefore, is difficult, but they will be supported by the good-will of all who recognise that if the Commission can point the way to a wider application of modern methods to agriculture, the benefits will not be confined to those who till the soil, but must lead to a general increase of national prosperity. Their recommendations will be made during my time in India, and I shall count myself fortunate if I can assist in the progressive amelioration of the conditions of the rural population.

Bengal Veterinary College

Addressing the students of the Bengal Veterinary College, Calcutta, at the annual presentation of the distribution, on March 16th, Mr. Justice Cuning said that they had many opportunities of teaching the people the principle of kindness to animals. One of the best ways of doing it was to appeal to their self interest. Point out to them, he said, that they will get better and more work from the animal if they feed and look after it properly; in other words teach them that cruelty does not pay, but kindness does.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The World's Classics. Oxford University Press, London.

We welcome the three new additions to the World's Classics: Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, Johnson's *Letters* and *Russian Short Stories*, each a classic in its way. The first is a thrilling story of blood and thunder, dear to the heart of youth, Johnson's *Letters*, unlike some of his more ostentatious works, are spontaneous, abounding in wit and wisdom and what is more, by no means wanting in that lightness of touch which distinguishes epistolary literature from more ambitious designs. The short stories represent some of the most typical pieces of Russian art. It is wholesome literature to have in one cover specimens of such writers as Pushkin, Dostoevski, Chikov, Turgenev, and Maxim Gorki.

Economic Life in a Malabar Village.

By S. Subbarama Aiyar, M. A. Dip., Econ. Bangalore Printing and Publishing Company.

This excellent study of economic life in a Malabar village follows the regular lines laid down by Dr. Harold Mann, and has a Foreword by Dr. Gilbert Slater. It is a serious attempt to get at the facts of Indian rural economic organisation. The study aims at describing the essential features of economic life in rural Malabar, and the author has succeeded admirably in drawing a picture which is both interesting and highly informing.

The Taj and Its Environments. By Manbi Moin-ud-din Ahmad, Agra.

The Taj is a theme of perennial interest alike to the student of history and of the arts. To a foreigner no Indian tour could be said to be complete without a visit to the Great Mausoleum. Mr. Moin-ud-din Ahmad has contributed yet another informing treatise to the literature on the Taj. It is packed with minute historical knowledge not easily accessible to those unacquainted with the literature of the spacious days of Shah Jehan.

Torch Bearer. by T. L. Vaswani Re. 1-8-0 (Dayanand Centenary Committee).

This work is the centenary offering, as the author himself acknowledges in his preface, to the sacred memory of one of the purest and noblest sons of Modern India, namely Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj movement. The author in addition to giving a short biography of the great exponent of Vedic Unity, supplements it by reflections of his own on Rishi Dayanand and his Aryan Ideal, namely, return to the Vedic unity, Vedic purity, and Vedic simplicity.

The Chief Constitutions of Europe and the British Commonwealth. By N. R.

Subba Ayyar, M.A., L.T. Government College, Kumbakonam.

Here within the compass of 140 pages we have the outlines of the principal constitutions of the world with an ample description of the working of the English Constitution. In the Kamala lectures summarised in another page Mr. Sastri speaks of the special merits of the new German Constitution. The reader of this book will find it sufficiently described in these pages. Indeed students of Political Science will find in this book ample material for constitution-building; and what is more they will find the material altogether judicial, dispassionate and thoroughly up-to-date.

BOOKS RECEIVED

TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA. By B. B. Dutt. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

THE CHARM OF INDIAN ART. By W. E. Gladstone, Solomon, T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN INDIA. By Prof. Dvijadas Datta, M.A. A.R.A.C., Comilla, Bengal.

PESSIMISM & LIFE'S IDEAL. By Kamkhya Nath Mitra, M.A. Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Madras.

BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM. By J. E. Ellam, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

IS ARTHASASTRA SECULAR? By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A. Law Printing House, Madras.

Diary of the Month

- March 19. It is announced that the Government of India have recognised Hamidulla Khan as the heir-apparent to the throne of Bhopal.
- Lord and Lady Irwin left London for India.
- March 20. The Chinese Cabinet has resigned.
- March 21. The Peking Government (China) has issued a mandate for investigating the shooting of March 18th.
- March 22. The Council of State passed the Finance Bill to day.
- March 23. Mr. Lloyd George's motion for reduction in the Foreign office estimate was defeated in the Commons by 325 votes to 136.
- March 24. Baba Gurdit Singh of *Komagatamaru* fame arrived in Calcutta to-day.
- Mr. Joseph Baptista, President of the Bombay Corporation, was defeated in the General Municipal elections.
- March 25. H. E. Lord Reading delivered his farewell speech to the Central Legislatures to-day.
- March 26. General Chiang Kaishek, orders imprisonment of the Chinese and Russian Communists.
- March 27. Sir Austen Chamberlain was presented with the Freedom of the City of London.
- March 28. The Anti-Malarial Conference met at Bombay under the presidency of Joseph Baptista.
- March 29. Sir K. G. Gupta died to-day.
- March 30. Maharaja Kashal Prasad Singh is appointed Member of Bihar Executive Council.
- March 31. The personnel of the Royal Commission on Agriculture is published.
- April 1. Lord Irwin, the Viceroy-designate, arrived in Bombay.
- April 2. Lord Reading left Bombay.
- April 3. Mr. W. R. Barker is appointed President of the Public Services Commission.

- April 4. The All-Parties Conference met in Bombay with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the chair.
- April 5. Peking (Chinese Capital) was bombed from the air.
- General Panagalos was elected President of the Grecian Republic.
- April 6. M. Vandervelde opened to-day the World's Maritime Conference at Brussels.
- Mr. Salebhoy Barodwalla is elected sheriff of Bombay.
- Lord Irwin arrived in Delhi to-day.
- April 7. Signor Mussolini was slightly wounded by a shot fired by an English woman.
- April 8. Colonel Gidney entertained the delegates of the Anglo-Indian Conference in Calcutta.
- April 9. It is reported Abdel Krim has declared "Jihad" to all Christians.
- April 10. Mr. C. F. Andrews left S. Africa for India by S. S. *Karagola*.
- April 11. H. E. the Governor of the Punjab opened the working of the Sulemanke Canal Head-works.
- April 12. Peace negotiations between the French and the Riffs begin to-day.
- April 13. Mgr. Edward Moone the Apostolic Delegate in India had an audience with the Pope to-day.
- April 14. The U. P. Hindu Conference met to-day at Lucknow under the presidency of Bhai Parmanand of Lahore.
- April 15. Thirteen Labour members including Messrs. Lansbury and Wheatley were suspended.
- April 16. Tnan-chi-Jui (China) has resumed the functions of the President.
- April 17. Lord Reading arrived in London to-day.
- April 18. The South African Indian Deputation left Cape Town for India.

Literary

New Novelists

Among the innumerable aspirants to literary fame it is fascinating to speculate who will be the Galsworthys and Conrads of to-morrow. Who can tell? Perhaps the following list of (as yet) comparatively unknown authors contains some future 'big guns'—Cecil Roberts, Ethel Mannin, William Garhardt, Paul Selver, Norman Venner, Dale Collins, and Liam O'Flaherty,"—writes Mr. Michael Joseph in the SUNDAY EXPRESS.

"But the new generation is undeniably slow in arriving. Possibly the War caused more of an upheaval in literature than elsewhere. It is surely time for its dislocating effect to have passed away.

However optimistically one surveys the ranks of the newcomers, the evergreen popularity of the veterans is a striking sign of the uncertainty of the future."

"Who are going to take the place of the old-established favourites?" asks Mr. Joseph. "They are an imposing array—Hardy, Galsworthy, W. B. Maxwell, Elen Phillpotts, Wells, Bennett, Locke, and the rest. They have had a long innings and are still going strong. Yet they would probably be the first to encourage the younger generation."

Spelling Reform

The question most agitating the English world of letters to-day is whether Government should or should not appoint a Royal Commission to make an inquiry into the desirability of spelling reform. A petition, signed by many thousands of influential men and women, asking for such an inquiry has been presented to the Government. In it, it is urged that a rational reform of the spelling of English would save children many weary hours of labour in mastering the eccentricities of English spelling.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By G. K. W. Perera, B.A. Bar at-law, Ceylon Daily News, Colombo.
- ELEMENTARY BANKING FOR INDIAN BEGINNERS. By B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T. Calcutta University Press.
- HISTORICAL FACTS ABOUT JAINISM. A Reply to Lala Lajpat Rai. The Jain Association of India, Pythone, Bombay.
- EMILY CLIMBS. By L. M. Montgomery, Cornstalk Publishing Company, Arnold Place, Sydney, Australia.
- ON THE WOOL TRACK. By C. E. W. Bean, Cornstalk Publishing Company, Arnold Place, Sydney, Australia.
- REPORT OF THE MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION, AHMEDABHAD.
- MEMOIRS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA Vol. II. Part I. Govt. of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.
- VILLAGE SCHOOLS IN INDIA. By Mason Olcott, Ph. D., Association Press, Calcutta.
- THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. Ed. by H. Dodwell, M.A. Govt. Press, Madras.
- THE COMMERCIAL POCKET READY-RECKONER. By Agarwala—Ram Dayal Agarwalla, Allahabad.
- ENGLISH POEMS OF INDIAN THOUGHT IN ENGLISH GARB. By P. N. Kachhi, B.A., M.S. High School, Indore.
- ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA Vol. I Govt. of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, Rs. 11.
- THE COAL CRISIS AND THE FUTURE. By P. Abercrombie and others. Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta St., London, W. C. 2.
- THE 25TH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ANNUAL OF JAPAN. Department of Finance, Tokyo.
- THE DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA. By George Grimm—Offizin W. Drugulin, Leipzig.
- THE SHADOW OF THE DEAD: A play in four acts. By J. N. Mitra, M.A., Sitapur, U. P.
- SWAMI VIVEKANANDA on Religion and Philosophy First Part. Compiled by Swami Nivedananda, the Ramakrishna Students Home, Calcutta.
- BIHAR PEASANT LIFE. By Sir George A. Grierson. Supdt, Govt. Printing, Gulzarbag, P. O. Patna.
- TECHNICAL EDUCATION. By J. C. Ghosh, B. Sc., Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

Educational

Educational Policy

In the course of a series of lectures on "Indian Educational Policy" delivered at the Y. M. C. A. Dr. William Meston, Principal, Madras Christian College, said:—

A sum of about Rs. 2 crores was what they spent from public funds on education, both reserved and transferred, yet Rs. 2 crores was a small sum for education. In a country like Scotland, where there were about five million inhabitants, the amount spent from public funds on education was over six million pounds. In this country only about 1½ million pounds was spent. If more money was spent on education, less money might be needed for jails. If they looked over the matter the question that immediately arose was whether this money was being spent to the best advantage.

The foundation of true education was elementary education. There was a great dissatisfaction with the progress of elementary education. More than Rs. 1 crore of public funds was spent on elementary education. What he contended was that before they could be fully satisfied with the way in which things were going, three things must take place; (1) An inspectorate able to attend to this stage of education (2) an adequate system of training, and (3) an equitable distribution of expenditure. There were over 40,000 elementary schools in this Presidency with a subordinate inspectorate of less than 400. There were 60,000 teachers who taught in elementary schools, and nearly half that number were untrained teachers. There should also be an equitable distribution in expenditure, and it seemed to him that there should be a revision of the Educational Act as speedily as possible so as to establish a scheme of subsidy and aid which would remove the present inequalities.

Dr. Alexander Moffat

After about 34 years as Professor of Physics in the Madras Christian College, Dr. Alexander Moffat is retiring from the institution.

An address was presented to Dr. Moffat on behalf of his students and another in the name of the Christian College Brotherhood, of which he has been the President for nearly 10 years. The addresses mentioned Dr. Moffat's sincere desire and unwearied service for the good of his students and of the people outside the College and his sympathy with Indian aspirations.

Educational Needs of Calcutta

The Calcutta Corporation has recently sanctioned the expenditure of Rs. 10,000 for the staff to carry out the education survey of the city. The survey will take the form of ascertaining the educational needs of the different localities, the number of boys and girls of school-going age residing in those localities, the educational equipment required and other connected matters.

The Andhra University

The Andhra University Act comes into force in the last week of this month in the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittoor. Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, M.A., M.L.C., has been appointed Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Reddy was for a long time Inspector-General of Education in the Mysore State.

A Research Scholar

A scholarship of the value of £105, from the funds of the Fellowship of the British Empire Exhibition, has been awarded to Mr. Hansraj (Punjab), M.A. (Edin.) M.Sc. (London), to enable him to continue research work of Indian industries and industrial problems on which he is engaged at the London School of Economics.

Legal

Judicial Committee of the P. C.

A question which concerns in a high degree the whole of the British Empire—the authority of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—was raised in the House of Lords recently by Lord Danesfort. A case under the Land Act, 1923, of the Irish Free State—that fruitful cause of dispute—was carried to the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State on a question of construction. The Supreme Court themselves differed, and gave a majority judgment; leave was then asked of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to appeal, and the Committee advised His Majesty to grant leave.

"The Government of the Free State", observes the London Correspondent to the MADRAS MAIL, "appeared to take umbrage at this decision and introduced the Land Bill, 1926, a piece of retrospective legislation which will confirm the decision of the Supreme Court and render inoperative the finding of the Judicial Committee. The Bill has passed through the Dail and is now before the Senate." It is to be seen what steps His Majesty's Government propose to take to uphold the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee.

Damages Against the "Englishman"

Judgment was delivered on March 30th by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chotzner in the ENGLISHMAN libel suit. His Lordship found for the plaintiff, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose and awarded him Rs. 2,000 as damages with costs.

In this suit, the plaintiff, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, claimed Rs. 50,000 as damages against the ENGLISHMAN newspaper for publishing a libel under the heading PRIME MINISTER AND INDIA. In that article the ENGLISHMAN reproduced a statement from the CATHOLIC HERALD without making an enquiry and which proved to be incorrect.

An Imperial Court of Enquiry

Lord Olivier writing on the South African Anti-Indian Legislation in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, suggests the constitution of an Imperial Court of Enquiry, analogous to the International Court of the League of Nations, to take cognizance of complaints, between Dominions, of infringements of the rights of the subjects of any of them.

Lord Olivier says that this and similar cases would be suitable for enquiry by such a court authorised by Imperial Conferences.

Lord Olivier urges that all proceedings regarding the Areas Regulation Bill ought to be, in decency, suspended until the Conference meets in October, and that the British Government should intimate to the South African Government that, in view of her special responsibility to India, it would advise the King to disallow the Bill if it is enacted without suitable alterations.

The Conversion of the Andamans

The Government of India's plans for the conversion of the Andaman Islands Penal settlement into a free community are set forth in a resolution published recently.

Under a new regulation which will shortly come into effect grants of land will be made to released prisoners, with scope for development, and the Government propose to spend annually a sum of Rs. 4½ lakhs in reclamation work. Opportunity is also to be given to settlers from India to colonize the Islands.

The Electric Touch

A German electrical engineer has invented a device that enables a policeman by merely touching the criminal with the tips of his fingers to render the miscreant unconscious.

Sir John Wallis, the New P. C.

The Ex-Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, Sir John Wallis, has been appointed a Privy Councillor.

Medical

What is Disease ?

"The old word 'disease', says Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane in the *FORTNIGHTLY*, is a very wise word. It is a word full of meaning. A great many illnesses are preceded by years of impaired health, by years during which people do not feel at their ease and complain about slight ailments, such as headaches, indigestion, and other disturbances which are considered of little account. Unfortunately, years of impaired health lead very often to the most serious illnesses followed by protracted sufferings and death.

"We boast of this age as being the health age. Yet there was never a time when disease, in the true meaning of the word, was more prevalent than it is now. Of ten people one meets nine complain of more or less impaired health. At no time in the world's history was the taking of medicaments as much in evidence as it is to-day. To millions of people medicaments have become as necessary as their daily bread."

Tuberculosis Surgery

A surgical method of giving unfortunate tubercular lungs the rest cure is described by Professor John Alexander, of the University of Michigan, in the *JOURNAL OF THE OUTDOOR LIFE*.

The "rib operation," as this method is called, is the most important surgical means of treating tuberculosis. It has passed the experimental stage and has been used by European surgeons with a remarkable degree of success.

It consists in removing from one to eight inches of the eleven upper ribs where these are joined to the spinal cord. The pleural cavity is not opened and the lung is not touched. The gaps left by the removal of portions of the ribs are filled when the remaining ends come together, and the size of the chest is reduced on the operated side, compressing the lung and its activities.

Within a few months the cut ends of the ribs grow together and bony bridges form between them. The lung loses its power to function and has a chance to eliminate in time the diseased portions. After the tuberculosis is healed, the lung cannot be restored. Experience has shown that one healthy lung is enough for the normal respiratory needs of any person.

After the wound is healed the deformity is very slight. Although the lung is greatly diminished in size, the circumference of the chest does not appear much smaller because the collar bone holds the shoulder at its normal distance from the body. The range of motion and the strength of the shoulder and arm on the operated side are very little impaired.

Lady Reading's Gift of Apparatus

An apparatus for deep X-ray therapy presented to the Medical College Hospital through the generosity of the Countess of Reading has been installed in the X-Ray Department for the purpose of treating many conditions, notably certain advanced forms of cancer. The apparatus is capable of working at nearly 3,00,000 volts and been tested at its normal maximum working power, that is, 2,00,000 volts continuously.

Carbolic Acid as a Rejuvenator

Karl Doppler a Vienna doctor has discovered, according to a press report, that by treating blood vessels with a weak solution of carbolic acid, rejuvenation within a few days has been the result with lasting success. Old persons feel no longer depressed, but fresh and fit. It is stated that the operation is very simple, and can be performed by any doctor.

Brain Stimulation by Sunlight

Brain stimulation by sunlight exposure is very marked, according to Sir Henry Gauvain. A group of children receiving sunlight treatment in a London hospital showed great superiority in mental tests over a group not being given sunlight treatment.

Science

New Test for Sex

A really efficient and simple test for discriminating between male and female blood appears at last to have been found and is expected to be of considerable utility to poultry breeders and experts in genetics. It has been devised by Dr. Dewey G. Steele and Dr. Agnes Zaimist, of the University of Wisconsin, says a contemporary.

In an accuracy trial, we are told, twenty pigeons were placed in their proper category out of twenty on whom the test was made. Of seventy-seven fowls, sixty-three were ranked correctly and with seventeen head of cattle there were no errors. The test is said to be particularly accurate with regard to poultry as the feathers have been found to give an additional reaction.

The procedure in the case of cattle consists in adding hydrochloric acid and an oxidising solution to a test tube sample of blood serum, diluted 100 times of the animals to be examined. Four drops of methyl green dye are then introduced whereupon the serum taken from females gives a green colour and that obtained from males a red.

Glass non-breakable & non-inflammable

"Glass you cannot break or splinter, is flexible and can be cut with scissors or shears and is non-inflammable is an invention that should have far-reaching applications," says a writer in *DISCOVERY*. Such a glass is made by treating galvanized wire-netting with a material that is transparent and flexible. Rolls 100 feet long and 3 feet wide are being made. It can be bent and strengthened many times without fracture.

Transmitting Cheque by Wireless

A new wireless record was established on April 19 when a cheque made out at London was transmitted by wireless photography in twenty minutes to New York where the Bankers Trust Company duly honoured it.

Fiddling to Extinguish Fire

An interesting exhibition has been given in New York, where a flame is produced which is intense enough to "whistle," and by whistling the same note a Mr. Kellog is able to extinguish the flame.

He recently made the experiment at a New York fire station using a violin to extinguish a flame.

Professor Low, who has conducted exhaustive research into sound phenomena explained to the *DAILY NEWS* that nearly all flames had a definite "period" of resonance. They vibrated with a certain frequency.

"The method of interfering with flames by means of noise," he said, "is extremely old." "If a flame is shielded from all draught it is easily possible, by finding its frequency and making a noise of the same frequency to put the flame out."

A Wireless Discovery

As a result of the experiments continued over three years, Sir Oliver Lodge, the great British scientist, has made a wireless discovery which will eliminate oscillations and the consequent annoyance caused by the "howling" sounds which result therefrom. The details have not yet been made public, but it is stated that the discovery will ensure perfect reception without aerial tuning, and will thus avoid the use of reaction.

A New Element

It is announced by the University of Illinois that Dr. B. S. Hopkins, Professor of Inorganic Chemistry, claims, with his assistants, to have isolated from rare earths one of the five elements whose places in the scale of atomic members had not, up to the present, been filled. Its place is the 61st in the scale. The discovery is the result of more than five years of elaborate researches with specially constructed X-ray machinery.

Personal

Lord Reading's Viceroyalty

Commenting on the Viceroyalty of Lord Reading, "Ditcher" writes in CAPITAL:—

In his farewell speech to the Central Legislatures at Delhi * * * Lord Reading claimed that during his Viceroyalty the foundation of responsible self government was well and truly laid, but the only reward he got from the people



LORD READING

throbbing with national consciousness was misconception and misrepresentation "because he could not permit them to place the crowning domes on the edifice before the base had been made capable of supporting them." This rhetorical bravura was seemingly intended to hide a dis-

appointment that performance had fallen short of anticipation due no doubt to circumstances it was beyond his power to control. In spite of the best intentions Lord Reading has not advanced India a single furlong along the road to partnership in the British Empire. His service has been devoted and in some direction beneficent but India is not mistress of her own destiny and the shibboleth of Dominion Status is pure eyewash. It is not in the power of England to compel the Dominions to receive her as an equal partner, and we know to our cost that the most independent of them absolutely refuse to allow Indians the ordinary rights of citizenship. British statesmen are afraid to consider the alternative of giving India full political freedom under the paramountcy of England. It remain only to carry on in the old sweet way tiding over crises by repeated doses of soft powder which will serve the purpose so long as the British Government in India retains the command of a well-equipped army in an unarmed population.

By an irony of fate Lord Reading had for five years to work a constitution which was already an anachronism the day he set foot in this country and he had not the influence even if he had the inclination to induce an up-to-date amendment. He had to fall back on promises of reward for good behaviour and co-operation repeated so often as to become platitudinous and exasperating to the Indian so well described by Mr. Montagu. Disraeli once damned a Conservative Government as an organised hypocrisy. It is a hard thing to say, it is nevertheless true, that every Indian Nationalist thinks the same of the Reading Government. The departing Viceroy has been a magnificent success in the eyes of the out-and-out supporters of the British Raj in its "ma-bap" manifestations, he has been an abject failure in the view of others who looked for a new law from the greatest Jew of his time. Neither judge him wisely.

Political

The Creed of the Liberal Party

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer addressed the United Provinces Liberal Association at Allahabad on March 30. The position of the Liberals, he said, was one of extreme depression, but there was no reason for it. He continued:

"Our creed was reason without impulse, while others acted on impulse without reason. Neither could succeed by itself, unless they combined. Moderation did not appeal to the masses. Hence we did not succeed as the other parties had. The position of the Liberals, in this country, was the same as that of the Liberals in England between the Conservatives on the one hand and the Labourites on the other. The question was what course the Liberals should adopt. Should they maintain their individuality or combine with others?"

The speaker did not believe in temporary adhesions to the Congress Party, but advocated combining with the Independent Party. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer did not agree with the principle of obstruction for the mere sake of obstruction. That would serve no useful purpose. He did not see any reason why they should not combine with the Independents and the Nationalists and fight the coming elections on a common platform.

Joint Committee on Indian Affairs

The House of Lords without discussion, agreed to a motion of Lord Birkenhead in favour of the appointment of a Standing Joint Committee of both the Houses on Indian affairs "to examine and report on any Bill or matter referred to them specially by either House of Parliament and consider with a view to reporting if necessary thereon any matter relating to Indian affairs brought to the notice of the Committee by the Secretary of State for India."

A Frontier Enquiry Committee

The Government of India have decided to appoint a Committee consisting of Col. E. H. S. James (Political agent) and Col S. F. Muspratt (Army Officer) and Mr. A. Macleod (Finance Department Officer) to enquire and report upon the strength, composition, organisation, distribution and duties of the civil armed forces in the N. W. F. Province (except Chitral scouts) and to make recommendations for their better co-ordination with a view to a reduction in their strength or with special reference to the possibility of reducing regular garrison of ground troops in Waziristan and to their taking over additional duties from Military. The Committee are not precluded from making suggestions regarding the location of Military detachments should they consider it necessary for the purpose of their report to do so.

Reform of the House of Lords

A group of Conservative Members of the House of Lords' reform committee have rejected the recommendation of its Executive Committee that the hereditary element should be retained in the reformed house. The rest of the scheme submitted by the Executive Committee has been accepted.

The India Services

The India Office announces the appointment of Mr. Wilberforce Ross Barker, C.B. late legal adviser to the Board of Education, as Chairman of the Indian Public Services Commission. The Commission will be permanent, like the similar Commission in Great Britain. Its functions consist of: (1) Recruitment of personnel for the public services and the establishment and maintenance of proper standards of qualification for admission thereto; (2) Quasi-judicial functions, connected with disciplinary control and protection of the Services.

General

Ferment on Liquor Law

A New York correspondent writes to the **MANCHESTER GUARDIAN** :—

As a result of the growing evidence of American popular dissatisfaction with the prohibition enforcement laws many newspapers are now conducting polls among their readers. These polls enable citizens to declare themselves not only for or against the modification of the enforcement Acts, but also on their constitutional amendment itself. While these test ballots are being cast the Government enforcement officials are continually declaring that the law cannot be enforced without far greater expenditure than the Coolidge Administration is willing to sanction.

In the New York Legislature the proposals for a State-wide referendum vote are backed by the United States Attorney in New York city, who openly advises that the Government prohibition enforcement should be confined to the suppression of "hard liquors" only, and permit beer and wine to be manufactured and sold.

American "drys" are greatly aroused over the growing agitation and oppose referenda or modification in any form. They are still confident that the great rural population, who indisputably have a large electoral majority, support prohibition.

Mr. Sastri on Britain and India

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in a communication to the Press quotes a letter from Dr. R. W. Hornabrook of Australia in which the following passage occurs :

Smooth words are good in their place, but they should only come *after* and *not before* straight, hard hitting. Speak out and speak clearly; and after one has done the hard hitting, apologise if you like, but hit first and hit hard. The British Empire politician is the same the whole world over. He will never fulfil his promise if he can possibly see a chance to side-step; and then, when he has been forced by circumstances to be true to his promise, he will turn round and say "See what a good boy I am! I am always true to my word—in the end."

These compelling circumstances, continues Mr. Sastri, it is the business of the Indian politician to bring about. "He must not trust wholly nor distrust wholly. He must be always and fully awake. England no more than India is to be regarded in the abstract as one entity. There as here parties and policies emerge and subside—renunciation sometimes, grab at other times. Since Montagu's fall the worse type of imperialism is in the ascendant. I should have thought there was universal-recognition of this fact in India, but apparently there are some among us who take a lot of awakening"

Mr. Andrews as Lecturer

While the vigour with which Mr. C. F. Andrews has advocated the Indian cause in South Africa has been greatly appreciated in this country, his interpretation of Oriental culture and the message of peace and good-will have been no less enthusiastically welcomed in that colony. He has so to say imported a more reasonable frame of mind even amidst a tearing controversy. His lecture on the Indian poet Tagore was happily conceived. One who was present at the meeting wrote to a South African contemporary :—

When I went the other evening to hear the Rev. Mr. Andrews lecture on the wonderful Indian poet mystic and educationist, I settled myself with a sigh of relief. Here at last was a lecturer who looked his part. Tall, unself-conscious, bearded, he gave to his audience a subtle impression of the poet who was also his friend. One could picture him in the golden sunshine of a Calcutta dawn, or among the eternal snow of the Himalayas without looking as though he had no business to be there, and was in fact rather surprised at himself. And he succeeded in "getting through" to his audience, making real to them the lonely child life of the future poet, his retreat to the quiet life of the village, his tentative efforts later to join in the political life of his country, and his marvellous periods of "realisation."

EMINENT MUSSALMANS

THIS book is a welcome addition to the biographical literature now extant in India touching the lives and achievements of many Mussalman patriots who have in recent years contributed to the intellectual and social advancement of their countrymen. In the building up of our composite nationality Mahomedans no less than Hindus and Parsis have taken a leading part and an attempt is made in this volume to put on record not only the lives and doings of many leaders of Muslim thought in India but also to mark their distinctive contributions to the evolution of Indian polity and culture. Among such leaders have been men of marked eminence in diverse ways—reformers, statesmen, judges, educationists, poets, lawyers and politicians. Commencing from Sir Syed Ahmed, the story of their work is brought down to this day. Among the sketches included in this volume are: Sir Syed Ahmed, Sir Salar Jung, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Badruddin Tyabji, Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani, Syed Mahmood, Syed Amir Ali, The Aga Khan, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Ali Imam, Syed Hasan Imam, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Syed Husain Bilgrami, Justice Shah Din, Sir Mahomed Iqbal, Sir Muhammad Habibullah, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Hydar, The Ali Brothers. With the Portraits of all.

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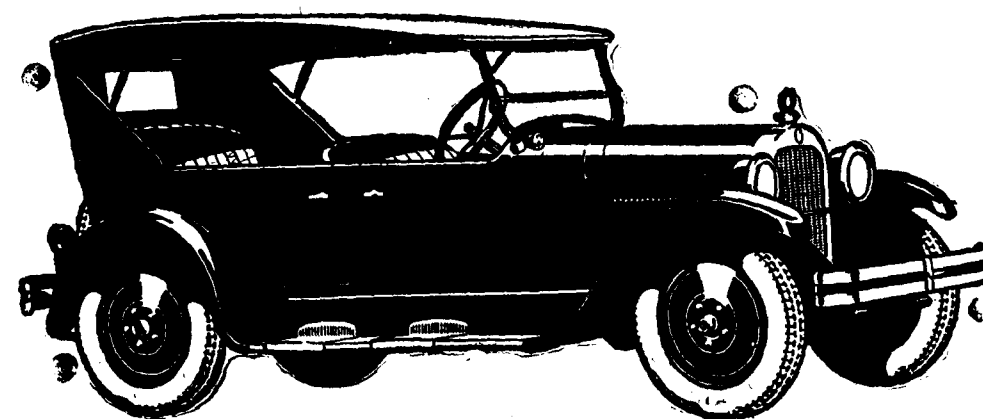
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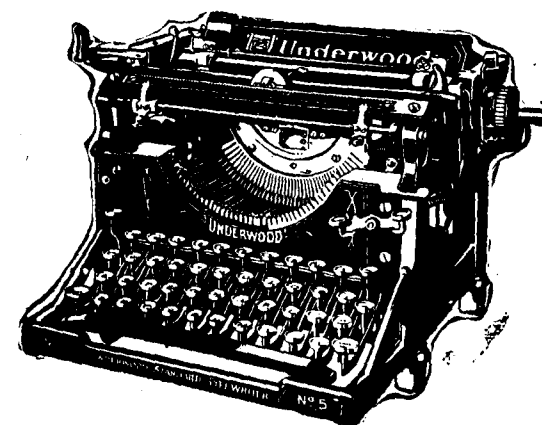
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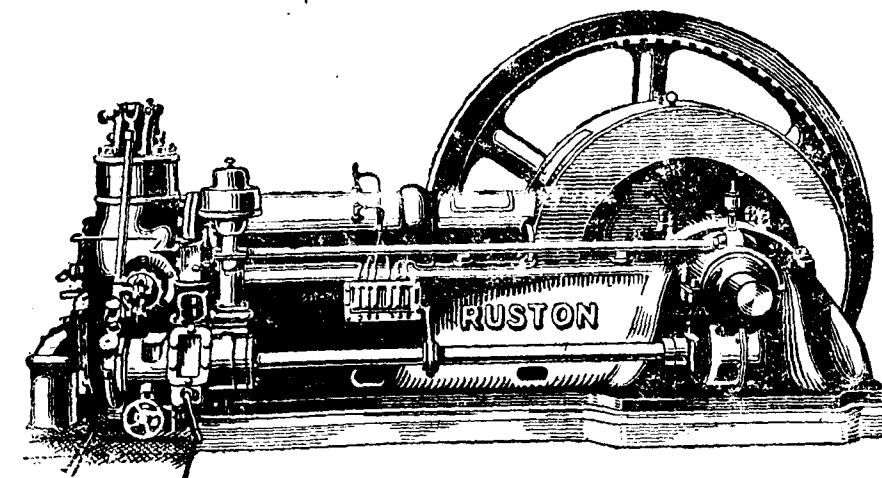
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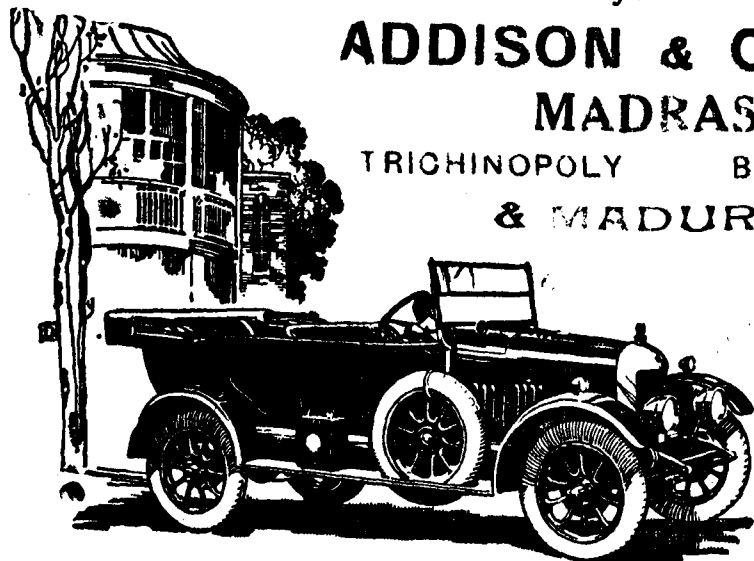
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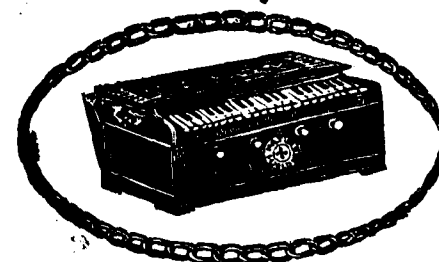
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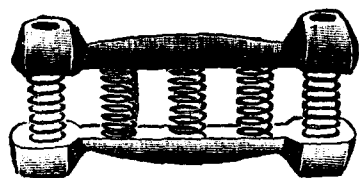
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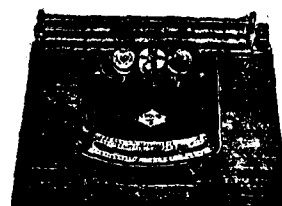
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"	10th to 14th	{ Via Waltair for Simhaachalam (B. N. Ry.)	{ Ohandanayatra at Simhaachellam
"	11th	Lachyan	Mannar feast
"	11th	Trivellore	Chitral New Moon
"	11th and 12th	Ponneri	Andar Kuppam feast
"	12th	Tiruttani	Kirthigal
"	13th to 15th	Gangayalle	Pushpagiri feast
"	14th and 15th	Gudiyattam	Gangamma Jatra
"	16th to 22nd	Kottapalle	Sri Sathyanarayana Swami feast
"	21st to 23rd	Ambattur	Vasantotsavam
"	21st to 25th	{ Via Bezwada for Singareni (N. G. S. Ry.)	{ Sri Ramanavami at Badrachalam
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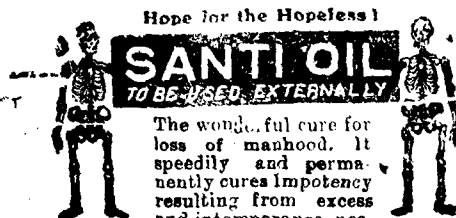


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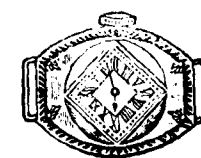
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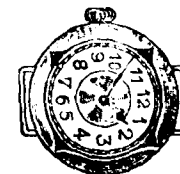


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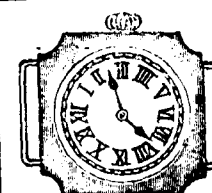
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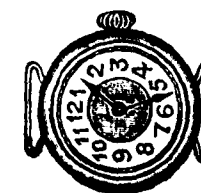
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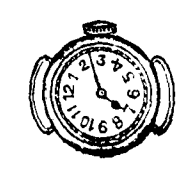
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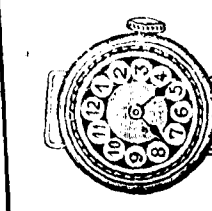
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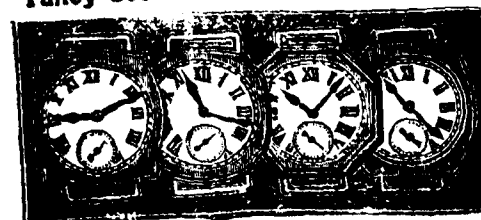
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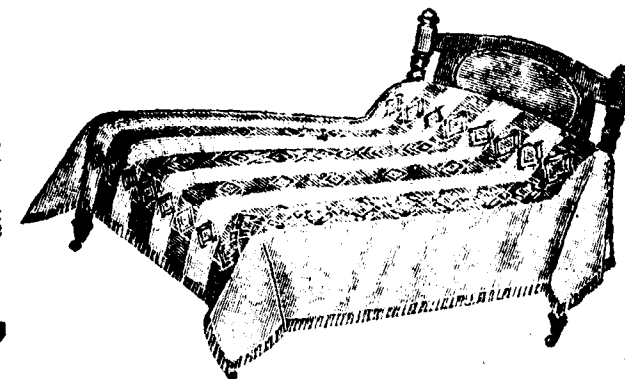
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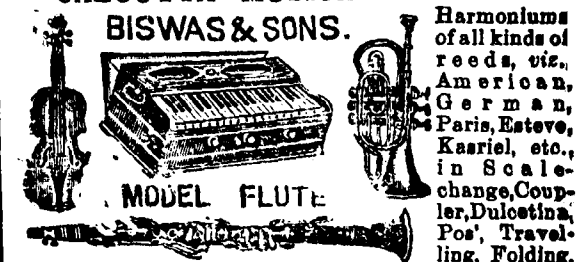
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