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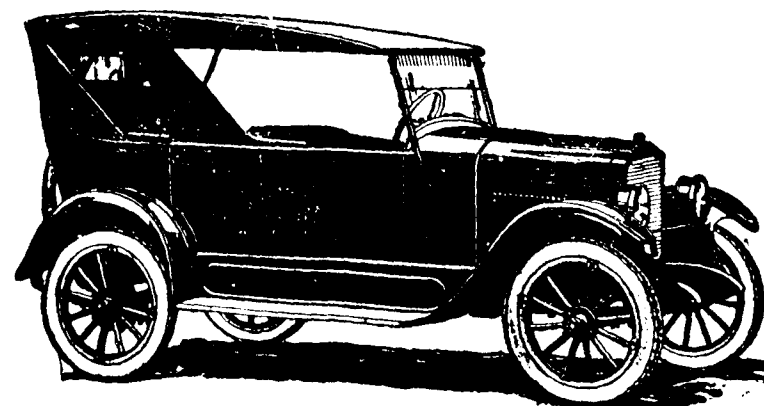
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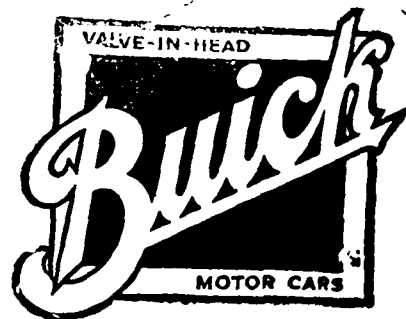
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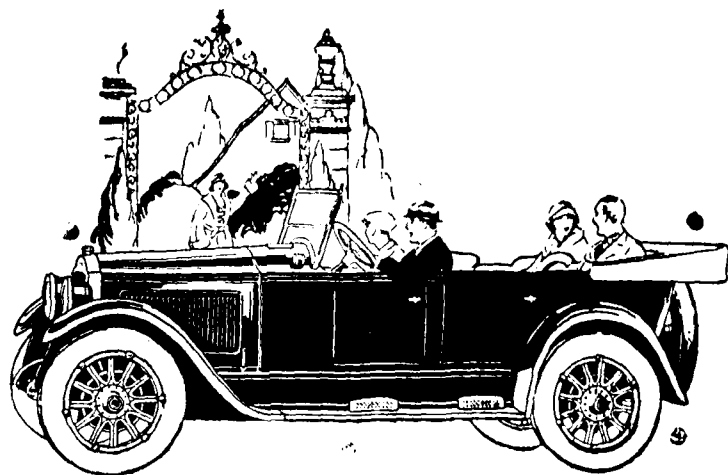
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Vol. XXVII |

JANUARY, 1926

| No 1

BEYOND

BY

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SANTINIKETAN
BEERBHUM (BENGAL)

To fledgeling birds flight in the sky may appear incredible. They may with apparent reason measure the highest limit of their possibilities by the limited standard of their nests. But, in the meanwhile, they find that their food is not grown inside those nests, it is brought to them across the measureless blue. There is a silent voice that speaks to them, that they are more than what they are, and that they must not laugh at the message of soaring wings and glad songs of freedom

Rabindranath Tagore

Nov. 29. 1925

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Nov. 29, 1925.

Rabindranath Tagore.

The Inner Synthesis of Life

BY SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL



SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

5th, December 1925.

The spirit of Ancient India aimed at the discovery of God and found Him. Fortified by this valuable possession Modern India ought to focus on the discovery of man as a personality—as an independent "whole" in an all-embracing synthesis of life—if she wants to secure a permanent foundation for her New Nationalism. But does our education to day tend to awaken in us such a sense of inner wholeness? My answer is no. Our education does not recognise man as a problem, it impresses on us the visible fact of multiplicity without giving us an insight into the inner unity of life, and thus tends to make us more and more immersed in our physical environment. The soul of man is left untouched and the result is a superficial knowledge with a mere illusion of culture and freedom. Amidst this predominantly intellectual culture which must accentuate separate centres within the "whole" the duty of higher minds in India is to reveal the inner synthesis of life.

MUHAMMAD IQBAL,
Lahore.

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Muhammad Iqbal
Lahore

5th Dec. 1925



COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S CAMP,
INDIA.

1. 12. 25

Dear Mr. Nalson.

I write to thank you for the
kindly sending me a copy of the
Silver Jubilee Number of the
Indian Review. I wish all
the best success to the New
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be issuing.

Yours sincerely,
William Birdwood.



H. E. SIR WILLIAM BIRDWOOD

Commander-in-Chief in India.

1. 12. 25.

Dear Mr. Nalson,

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Yours sincerely,
William Birdwood.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PROVINCES

28.1.25

Dear Mr. Montagu

I send you and the Indian

Review all good wishes for the coming

year, and may you long be spared to

guide its destinies

Yours faithfully

Montagu Butler



H. E. SIR MONTAGU BUTLER

NEO-POLITICS

BY

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

ONE of the remarkable results of the recent war is the stir it has caused in the thought and activity of mankind. It is seen all over the civilised world. It includes all forms of endeavour, associated as well as individual. Speculative and practical reasoning have alike been stimulated to an extraordinary degree. The tendencies are bewildering, and sometimes sharply contrasted. To some thinkers an advance in international association seems the next step, while others appear to pin their faith to more accentuated forms of nationalism. In some quarters belief in genius and autocratic power has been greatly strengthened, while in others the safety of the world is held to lie in the wider diffusion of political and economic power. The triumph, though partial, of the Wilsonian idea of a world organised for peace and the

highly republican character of the new States created in Europe make it certain that the progress of our race will be in the direction of democracy. A re-interpretation of the recent experiences of the peoples that have used democratic institutions to good purpose is, therefore, a most profitable occupation for the political philosopher. He could wish for no fuller or better reasoned guide on this subject than Professor Laski's latest contribution to the subject.*

The reader of this book will perhaps be surprised that so bold and adventurous a thinker should stop short of communism, and of such ventures in democracy as the referendum and the recall. But it is one of the many proofs in the book that the author com-

* *A Grammar of Politics*, by Harold J. Laski: George Allen and Unwin, London.

bines freedom from conventional modes of thought with recognition of the limitations of human nature. We find him, for instance, arguing for restrictions on the sovereignty of States, but shrinking from the advocacy of a regular super-State with its own physical sanctions. He is willing to explore all avenues of advance which experience has disclosed, though he is not prepared for more than one actual step in the region of the unknown. Thoroughness and accuracy may be expected in a writer of textbooks, but Mr. Laski occasionally startles the reader by the amazing array of facts and experiences from different fields brought together for the purpose of enforcing a certain point, and the power he has of novel if sometimes laboured expression in order to clinch and round off his propositions. Our author does not linger long over logical abstractions like the Austinian definition of sovereignty. As a practical statesman, he looks at the best means of adapting the government for the time being to the varied functions which it has to discharge. Not only does he contemplate certain external relations being regulated by an international body, but he favours the idea of the government being in internal matters, under the influence, though not under the legal control, of auxiliary associations like trade guilds, chambers of commerce and similar expert bodies. It is impossible for any man writing a book to give an entire picture of the agency of the State co-ordinating and controlling all such bodies, while willingly profiting by the wisdom and expert guidance of each of them. But the hints, which he gives in profusion, for the building up of this delicate mechanism are based upon a wide and, at the same time, minute scrutiny of all relevant experience both in Europe and in America. The State to him is clothed with the utmost legal authority only in order that it may most efficiently promote the highest moral good of the individual; and this moral good is conceived on such a noble level that it is not distinguishable from the highest general good. The individual citizen being thus elevated to great dignity, has to be trained to his task in

life. Universal education and universal enfranchisement follow as inevitable corollaries. Says Mr. Laski:

It is the conquest of knowledge that is the real source of our hopes; its conquest and its extension to the common man. . . . When the masses can understand, they will have the courage to act upon their understanding. For intellect, as Carlyle said, is like light; from a chaos it makes a world.

The citizen is bidden not only to co-operate and to obey, but to challenge, to criticise and, in the last resort, to resist. On the right of civil disobedience there is much of practical value in Laski's teaching.

I ought not to resist, unless I have reasonable grounds for the belief that the changes I advocate are likely to result in the end I have in view; I must moreover be certain that the methods I propose to realise my end will not in their realisation change its essential character; men have often enough sought power for good and ended by exercising it for its own sake.

Again:

The right to disobey is of course reasonably to be exercised only at the margins of political conduct. No community could hope to fulfil its purpose if rebellion became a settled habit of the population.

We all know and duly appreciate the apotheosis of resistance made by Thoreau, Tolstoy and our own Gandhi. But while no one can rule it out in the extremity of political trouble, the lesson most needed in daily practice is contained in the wise words of another writer:

However he may plead that it is thrust upon him by dire necessity and may justify it as the 'extreme medicine of the State,' he must reckon with the certain prospect that others, perhaps less law-abiding than himself, will use him as their precedent and make the 'extreme medicine' of the constitution its daily bread.

Before leaving this topic it may be pertinent to cite another profound remark of Mr. Laski. He is clear that Government is indispensable. He cannot picture even as an ideal the elimination of authority. To a certain type of Indian politician under the idealistic influence of Mr. Gandhi it may seem possible, by waging continual war on modern civilization and receding further and further backward into a state of nature, to make every man govern himself in every detail so well that neither rule nor force, neither taxation nor protection is needed any

more. But the doctrine is not applicable to modern life.

The theory of philosophic anarchy is impossible so long as men move differently to the attainment of opposed desires. The effort involved in the peaceful maintenance of a common life does not permit the making of private decisions upon what the Society deems essential to its existence. At some point spontaneity ceases to be practical, and the enforced acceptance of a common way of action becomes the necessary condition of a corporate civilization.

Indian civilization is becoming industrialised, and though we may profit in a detail here and a detail there by the mistakes of the West, the main line of our future evolution is predetermined. If we could conceive employer and employed to come together for the first time as if from another planet and with a single eye to the welfare of the community, organise industry in accordance with principles of supreme validity, we should indeed be making a new heaven and a new earth. But as it is, we shall have occasion constantly to bewail with the author the utter unsuitability of the organisation of industry. It must be organised, as he says, into a public service, not into a means of exploiting the public; it must be "professionalised."

Anyone—to generalise—who regards the casual and haphazard character of the modern business man will realise how rarely he is competent for the proper performance of his task. We demand proof of competence from the lawyer and the doctor; from the business man there is demanded nothing save the ownership of property, or the power to obtain credit. We do not allow a doctor to hand over his practice to his son unless the son has obtained the necessary qualification; the son of a business man may succeed to his father's enterprise without regard to the quality of his mind or his knowledge of its processes. We take no step to direct the flow of capital into socially necessary production. . . . To that end we must end the anarchy of the modern scheme. From the mere competition of private and selfish interests we cannot secure a well-ordered society. From combination effected to levy financial blackmail from the wants of society, we shall never secure a service conceived in terms of justice. Either the State must control industrial power in the interests of its citizens, or industrial power will control the State in the interests of its possessors.

Those who have carefully watched the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly in this country cannot be blind to the danger of corruption and intrigue which is caused by the attempt of capitalists to manipulate the sources of political power.

The publication of Sir Frederick Whyte's volume has given topical interest to a speculation on the relative merits of a written and an unwritten constitution. Sir Frederick seems to suggest that India may follow with advantage the American example of making certain parts of the constitution more difficult of amendment than others. A declaration of rights is generally placed in this category. The lapse of a certain time and acceptance by more than a bare majority are the usual conditions laid down. To these is added another provision, namely, that the Supreme Judicial tribunal of the country should pass on the validity of laws. Prof. Laski examines these issues at some length, and he is careful to put aside the prepossession natural to the citizen of a country which boasts of its unwritten and elastic constitution. His conclusion on the whole is in favour of these safeguards. And they seem the more necessary in a federal constitution which in a pure or a modified form India is likely to have in future. Space forbids, or we would present our readers with the arguments of Mr. Laski under this head. But the pith of the matter is in this sentence: "What emerges as essential, is that amendment should be reasonably accessible without being too easy of access."

Let us take one other discussion of practical importance which indicates the virile sense of the right of public discussion which our professor inculcates in the minds of the young learners of the London School of Economics. It is commonly said that the law of India on this and allied subjects follows closely that of England. If so, it is only as regards the actual text. In the application comes all the difference in the world. By long continued forbearance on the part of the British Executive in the matter of bringing into operation the law of sedition, mere expression of opinion in speech or by means of the printed word has now come to be absolutely free and unfettered. For this purpose opinion is to be distinguished from action. As usual, Mr. Laski puts this in striking form.

He may preach the complete inadequacy of the social order, he may demand its overthrow by armed revolution. . . . If I prohibit X from breaching violent revolution, I shall ultimately prohibit X from suggesting that the given social order is not of divine origin. If I begin by assuming that Russian communism is politically obnoxious, I shall end by assuming that language classes to teach English to Russians are a form of communist propaganda.

That this danger is not altogether fanciful will be apparent to those who can remember how a few years ago it was a crime in India for a schoolboy to cry *Bande Mataram*, or for a young political worker to be found with a copy of the *Bhagavad Gita* or the writings of Mazzini. A government is as liable to panic as any other human agency. In the long run it gets the loyalty it deserves. The extent of its tolerance of criticism is generally a measure of its title to the allegiance of its subjects. "A government can always learn more from the criticism of its opponents than from the eulogy of its supporters. To stifle that criticism is, at least ultimately, to prepare its own destruction." Our *Samiti* law, which the Government has refused to repeal along with other repressive laws, would receive short shrift from the author. He relies on a long course of legal decisions which has sanctioned the notion, that a peaceful demonstration does not become illegal because other people are incited to disorder thereby. In certain political situations the executive may legitimately proceed against associations of citizens, but in every case of such action it ought to be able to establish in a court of law that there is a danger of unlawful and violent conduct. Its own judgment ought not to be sufficient for the condemnation of an apparently peaceful movement.

We do not want a clumsy minister to assume that a society of Tolstoyan anarchists is likely to attempt a new gun-powder plot. We do not desire to give license to those amazing citizens who see in every movement of unconventional thought a cover for the unscrupulous assassin. The State clearly has a right to self-protection, but it should be in obvious danger before it is given leave to act.

The recent conviction of communists in London is a reminder to us that a timid executive is likewise an oppressive executive,

and that it is not alone in India that old and half forgotten laws may be brought into use to repress the activity of bold political reformers. The case has given rise to a proposal of legislation by Capt. Wedgwood Benn. And the remarks of our author on that proposal in a letter to the press are worth reading in this connection. "No country has had more trials for sedition in recent years than the United States; and nowhere has mere opinion as distinct from opinion in which disorder is inherent been more severely dealt with. Yet the opinion upon such prosecutions of the greatest living American Judge is clear and emphatic. "We should be eternally vigilant," Mr. Justice Holmes told the Supreme Court in the case of the Russian Communists "against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so immediately threaten interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country." That is the purpose Captain Wedgwood Benn's bill would secure; and its passage into law would prevent the use of antiquated statutes which are harsh in their substance and indiscriminating in their application."

Another topic of more than ordinary interest directly concerning India is emigration within the Commonwealth of Great Britain. By agreement at Imperial Conferences it is now settled policy that immigration into a Dominion or India is wholly a domestic matter. That is to say, the Dominions and India are competent to regulate the composition of their own population. Professor Laski would perhaps disapprove of this as too much of a concession to local prejudice. To judge by certain complications of the present day, this policy, like all timid and temporising policy, has led the Empire into a bog. India is at loggerheads with the self-governing Dominions over the treatment of her nationals, and the Imperial authorities, though aware of the injustice, can only look on or at the most express a pious wish. In the reconstructed policy of the future our

author would give international emigration a place among the subjects to be regulated by the world-State, or the League of Nations as it might be. At any rate, in this and in other spheres he would give a right of appeal from the decisions of individual states to the international authority. As he put it,

We must prevent, say, America making, single-handed, the decision that the Philippines are unfit for Self-Government; we must permit India to appeal beyond the decision of Parliament to the common will of a world unified into the League of Nations.

Rank heresy this in the eyes of the India

Office and of the Government of India. India has no right of appeal from the tyranny of South Africa to the British Parliament even when the peace and prestige of the empire are at stake. How could she dream of an appeal to the League? To prevent the remotest suggestion of it, the leader of the Indian deputation is always a Britisher and now, as if to seal India's impotence with the seal of doom, even the third member is a salaried official of the Government.

OUR MISSION TO INDIA

WE are here primarily because the honour and prestige of our Motherland has been flagrantly insulted by the Union Government of South Africa. Too long have we tamely submitted to the imposition of special and differential legislation against our countrymen. We have protested vigorously and vehemently but to no purpose. We have sought relief from time to time through the Indian and Imperial Governments but to no avail. To-day, we are without Parliamentary Franchise, and the Municipal Franchise has now also been taken away; we are debarred from buying Municipal lands when the same are put up for public auction etc. What have these Governments done when those they should protect are forced to accept an inferior political and civil status?

We say nothing of the operation of such laws and regulations and bye-laws as compel us to use only the three rear seats on the top deck of a tram car, prevent us using public vehicles by having them marked "For Europeans only," permit us to travel only in such railway coaches as are marked "Reserved," or buy stamps and send telegrams at separate counters from that for the general public &c. In every possible way those in authority have taken every opportunity to impose conditions which show that they have nothing but contempt for us.

Notwithstanding these irksome conditions the Union Government has now introduced an Anti-Asiatic Bill. It is purely a class legislation. The Minister responsible for it admits its object to be the reducing of the Indian population to a very great extent. This relentless and unfair persecution cannot be tolerated. It is the last proverbial straw on our back. If this Bill becomes law we are doomed. It was imperative that we should come to interest the Government of India in our cause and to get it to use its sober influences on the South African Government. We wished personally to state and explain the real issues at stake. We wished also to enlighten Indian public opinion so that our brothers here might realise the full significance of the proposed legislation that they and we were being deliberately and gratuitously insulted. We wanted India to raise her voice in no uncertain manner. We wanted her emphatically to declare a halt to the Union Government's actions. If that failed then Indians had a right to question how far they could rely upon the Imperial connection and of what real protection it is to us. Our gain would be your gain, our loss your loss.

J. W. GODFREY, V. S. V. PATHER,
A. A. MIRZA

Members of the South African Indian Congress
Deputation.

EDUCATION IN THE INDIAN ARMY ⁹

BY MR. ERNEST BURDEN, C.I.E., C.S.I.

IF anyone had been inspired to prophesy the changes that have taken place in the army in India in the brief space of six years, 1919 to 1925, he would probably not have been believed. Previous history, at any rate, history prior to the War, would not have warranted the belief that so much could be accomplished in so short a period of time, during part of which the army was engaged

even a moderate share of their attention. It is real and substantial; and its contemplation should give courage to those—and there are many of them in India—who are eager for even further progress in the satisfaction of a national ideal. The most conspicuous changes which have taken place in the army organization are those which consist in the addition of mechanical and technical equipment, invented or improved with the object of developing the scientific efficiency of modern warfare. To mention a few examples, animal transport and animal traction have been replaced very largely by mechanical transport and mechanical traction. Ground troops have been supplemented by the fighting aeroplanes of the Royal Air Force. Automatic weapons have been brought nearer to perfection and the number of such weapons allotted both to British and Indian troops has been largely increased. The artillery of the army has become more mobile, more precise, and more deadly; and the scientific appliances which play an important part in the civil and industrial life of all modern countries have been adapted to furnish the special needs of the army in the matter of communications. It is not, however, the purpose of this article, save indirectly, to deal with this particular aspect of army administration, important as it is from the military point of view. Nor is it proposed to discuss on this occasion another striking aspect of the post-War army reforms, namely the greater attention which is now paid to the material welfare of the soldier. The extent to which this has been studied and the means by which it is being promoted will be familiar to all who have



MR. ERNEST BURDEN.

in active operations on the frontier, and the military authorities had many other things to think of besides army reforms. Regarded retrospectively, the march of progress may not appear to be so remarkable. The extent and rapidity of the advance are not clearly appreciated or readily discerned by the casual observer. But the accomplishment is there for those who choose to give to the matter

read the late Lord Rawlinson's speeches in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State. In the great War of 1914-18 it was, of course, imperative to improve the soldier's weapons and to maintain at the highest possible level his powers of physical endurance. The supreme lesson of the great War was however the old lesson that the power to win lies chiefly in the mind and spirit of the soldier: and one of the happy results of the war is to be found in the special importance now attached to "education" in the army, as distinguished from military training of the technical kind. Moreover, the mental and ethical education of the soldier is now recognised as necessary not only to successful military administration but also to national efficiency. For these reasons the writer of this article is persuaded to believe that the readers of the INDIAN REVIEW will be interested to have an outline of the principles on which the present system of education in the Indian army is based and a brief account of the system itself.

To quote from one of the army training manuals, as reconstructed and published after the War, "the War has proved conclusively that military and civil moral are one. The national emergency made proof possible and complete that a man whose intelligence has been cultivated is easier to train as a soldier than one who is mentally unenlightened; it also demonstrated the far wider and more important truth that successful national effort rests on those steadfast qualities which resist the persistent undermining of moral by grievance and discontent." It has accordingly been laid down as a principle—accepted for application to the Indian as well as to the

British Army—"that the profession of arms must not stand apart from the stream of current thought and everyday life. The process of military training should have a single aim—the creation of a highly efficient army, the individuals composing which are also good and capable citizens." The ideal to aim at is, therefore, that all soldiers should receive instruction in citizenship as part of their normal military training. But practical considerations have in India rendered it necessary to recognise that the primary object of educational training in the army must be to improve the efficiency of the individual as a soldier and that of the army, as a whole, in War. The education given to a man in the army must undoubtedly help him when he returns to civil life and increase his efficiency in the performance of civic duties generally; but this must for the time being be regarded as a secondary objective—it is not for the moment the primary aim. With the introduction of the system of short service with the colours—a recent innovation—the education which a soldier is enabled to receive in the army as a citizen—not merely as a soldier—is however of greater national importance than before. Under the short service system approximately 20,000 men will be returned annually from the army to civil life and if these or a large proportion of them have received in the army a moderate but sound education the general effect on the community must be beneficial.

In the case of the Indian soldier, the educational problem has been specially difficult of solution, because approximately 80 per cent. of the recruits are totally uneducated before they enlist. One of the greatest

surprises to the Germans during the great War of 1914 was that Great Britain raised and trained a large army out of raw material and placed it in the field in six months. It was possible to do this because the men were all educated and intelligent—produced by the national system of education. Otherwise this result could not have been achieved. It will further be appreciated that the problem in the Indian army is one of adult education, as distinct from the education of children, whose minds are impressionable and more indiscriminately receptive. In the education of adults the first factor to be borne in mind is that a man of mature age will not attempt to learn anything of which he cannot see the practical and every day use to himself. The army authorities in India may fairly claim to be the pioneers of adult education, as they have also been the first to demonstrate in India the value of scientific physical training and bodily exercises, which, unfortunately, have not hitherto been assigned a sufficient part in the national system of education, but are now recognised to be essential for purposes of national welfare, for the production of citizens sound in mind and in body. Added to these initial difficulties is the fact that the time for educational training in the army is very limited and cannot easily be increased. Recruits can receive only 5 hours' educational training a week, while trained soldiers, who have to spend much of their time on duty or at field training, cannot receive more than an average of 2 to 3 hours a week during the year.

For practical reasons and for reasons of economy, it has not been found possible to give education except in the unit itself. The

private soldier cannot very well be sent on to army colleges for higher education; and all that the military authorities can do is to train at a central school instructors who, on return to their units, give educational training to the men of their units. At present the only training given outside a unit is when men quartered in the same station who have passed the regimental tests are collected at that station for higher education under a specially selected instructor. It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention the difficulties which arise from the fact that in the army, and even in the same unit, there are men who speak different languages, write different scripts, and have different religions.

The education given, therefore, is within the unit and given by instructors who belong to the unit and who have been specially trained as instructors. The syllabus laid down may roughly be described as follows:—

In the *first stage* the recruit learns Urdu (including the necessary English military words for which no Urdu equivalent exists) orally, taught by the 'direct method'. Other subjects are mental arithmetic, including simple addition, subtraction, division and multiplication, measurements and angles. Religious instruction in the soldier's own faith is given, and thrift, personal hygiene and cleanliness, and a spirit of comradeship are inculcated! for the purpose last mentioned the story of the Regimental Battle Honours is used as a foundation. The soldier also has to pass a literacy test in his own language and script, sufficient to enable him to write a letter home.

In the *second stage*, elementary Geography, Urdu in the Roman script, and written

calculations in arithmetic are introduced. In combination with Geography, the soldier is taught the history of his unit and its campaigns; the simplest facts connected with the defence of India, by sea and land; and he is given an elementary conception of the British Empire. This stage, which is marked by the 3rd class Certificate, is really intended to be preliminary work for the next stage, which is marked by the 3rd class Certificate. In the *third stage* a good knowledge of Urdu and the Roman script is required. The Geography of India is taught as thoroughly as possible, including its economic Geography, and trade, and the effect of geographical conditions on the life of men and animals. Regimental History, the work of the Navy and Army and the problems of defence and the necessity for law and order are taught, again in connection with Geography. A knowledge of elementary arithmetic and of simple geometry is given, specially for the purpose of developing the power of reasoning. Map reading and the use of the compass are introduced, also sanitation and the prevention of disease. A man who reaches this stage can be considered to be sufficiently educated to command a section of infantry or cavalry efficiently and independently.

In the *fourth stage*, Indian History is introduced, and the subjects taught in the earlier stages are now taught more extensively and up to a higher standard. A knowledge of village co-operative societies, district boards and all the important features of the administrative system of districts and provincial governments is taught as well as the organization of the field formations of the army itself. A man who has qualified in this stage

and has obtained his First Class Certificate is fit to take his place as a Viceroy's Commissioned Officer both in civil and military life. A man who has a First Class Certificate is then eligible to take the preliminary English examination which is of a sufficiently high standard to enable him to work in the field with British and Indian troops, to write English messages and understand English orders. Success in this examination is also the stepping stone which must be reached before the Indian soldier starts working for the Special Certificate of Education. *The last stage* in the system, as it exists at present, is the Special Certificate, which is gained by passing a written examination conducted in English. The paper in the English language itself consists of translation and essay writing, but all other papers have also to be answered in English. Stress is laid on conciseness and the use of simple, clear, short sentences. The standard of Geography, Indian History and Mathematics is fairly high, and the candidate has to discuss problems of the day and have some real knowledge of the main problems connected with Imperial and Indian defence. He is required to know the methods of Government in India from the village to the Central Government, and to have a rough idea of the methods of Government in other parts of the Empire and the meaning of Indian and Empire Citizenship.

The practical side of the system of education and its practical purposes are kept in the forefront throughout, and the object is to make a soldier an intelligent soldier according to his rank and duties, a man with powers of observation and judgment, and a

good citizen. The acquisition of book knowledge by cramming and memory is definitely discouraged and prevented. In view of the difficulties which have been mentioned and which must be acknowledged to be real, the task which the army authorities have set themselves is a formidable one.

So far the general value of the education imparted has perhaps been unduly emphasized. It is, in truth, difficult to disentangle the general and the special values of the system. But there is one peculiarly military aspect of the matter which must not be forgotten. In the post-war army in India the Indian soldier has a very much wider range of employment than he had before the War—employment not merely in ordinary combatant duties, but in the technical and administrative services also. To enable the Indian Officer and soldier to become proficient in these services a high level of general intelligence is indispensable. Specialised or technical training cannot profitably be applied to raw material.

The story here briefly told is the basis for the claim made in a recent Government publication. "The Evolution of the Army in India," that the army in India is now, amongst many other things, a potent instrument for the education, physical, mental, and moral of the classes who enlist for military service. That is at any rate the public and national purpose which present policy has for its second target. Those who have actually passed through the ranks of the army acquire education for themselves; and it would be a natural result that in course of time they should diffuse; among those with whom they mingle on return to civil life a

knowledge of what education, in the highest sense of the word, should mean.

It is recognised too that, ultimately, while much may be done for the soldier after he has enlisted, the most satisfactory course of all would be that there should be some educational background acquired before the recruit enlists, and here again there is a special difficulty, consisting in the fact that the agricultural and yeoman classes from whom the army in India, as in other countries, is largely recruited, and who in most countries have a hereditary aptitude for military service, are on the whole backward in education. Those who actually enlist for military service are specially hampered in securing the education they might otherwise desire for their children. The fathers, being soldiers themselves, are frequently absent from their homes for prolonged periods, and while they are away, the mothers are often unable, and in some cases may even be disinclined, to enforce the attendance of their children at ordinary schools. Shortly after the War therefore the conclusion was come to that it would be just and advantageous to provide special facilities for the Indian soldier in the matter of the education of his children. The result has been the foundation of the King George's Royal Indian Military Schools, of which two have already been opened. These schools have been founded for a particular reason and to meet a particular need; but it may be hoped that if they are successful, these schools, like the army in India, will have a larger range of effect, and will spread a knowledge of the benefits of commencing practical and robust education at an early stage in the life of a child, not only among potential recruits for the army, but among a wider circle of the general community.

Patna meeting the Assembly's September Demand of 1925 upon the Patna session and lug it into Part B. But wiser counsels prevailed and the proposal was nipped in the bud even in Simla and did not reach Patna at all. Few people knew that such an intention ever existed or that such an attempt was ever contemplated. We quote all this past history in order to reveal the background of the picture. Now suddenly, for the first time, without literally a moment's reflection, without reading seriously the Assembly's demand of 1924 February or 1925 September, without knowing the differences between the two, without realizing the seriousness of the committal, the Congress accepted the demand of the Assembly of February 1924 as the national demand,—and that not because it would do so by choice, by premeditation and by plan, but because it was pointed out in the course of the discussion that the Congress while being assured by Panditjee that he was not committing it to the demand and would not himself wish to do so, was nevertheless being hustled into it when it had to sit in judgment over the question whether the Government response if any, was or was not satisfactory, and what should be done in either case. What the Congress declined to do on the repeated requests of Babu Bhagvan Das, Dr. Besant and a host of other well-meaning friends, it was jockeyed into doing in the twinkling of an eye. But it may be asked what is lost by such a proceeding. The Legislative Assembly is to all intents and purposes the body that negotiates reforms with Government. Its demand of 1925 was undoubtedly an attenuated one. To make it united and effective it had to be diluted. Unity stands not only opposed to or at least apart from honesty but it also impairs efficiency. This national minimum which was represented by the formula reached in common by the Swarajists, the Independents and the Liberals has thus been foisted on the Congress. The Assembly's demand for Reforms would undoubtedly have been stronger and more

effective, if the members thereof could have said that what they were demanding was only a partial one, a sectional one, a minimum one, that really there was the Congress behind which would probably demand a good deal more, and to satisfy which would be a job for them. This was the strategy which the great Gokhale was following and here lies the failure of the Liberals of the present day and the 'New Moderates' of the Congress.

They say sorrow is one, sorrow is real, behind sorrow there is only sorrow, but joy is unreal, behind it there is a multiplicity of conditions and unrealities. Now when people proclaim that the Cawnpore Congress is an unmixt success and begin to beat the trumpets of joy over it, we cannot help feeling how unreal the whole thing is. On the contrary our sorrow over the termination of the great movement is real. If the Congressmen who assembled and voted at Cawnpore and whose conduct was permitted to proceed undisturbed by the no-changers' wise and moral resolve not to participate therein, had meant business they should have been either more sincere in their abandonment of Non-Cooperation or in their adhesion to it. As it is, they did neither. They have fallen victims to the same prestige which bureaucracy deifies and worships. They have given room for the criticism that the whole formula is an election *manthram*—a criticism which the friends of the Swarajists find it hard to combat. Two facts however emerge out of the situation. One is that there is a void in the moral and the intellectual positions of the Council-entrants and secondly all that participated in the proceedings swore equally by the great Master who stands isolated and silent to-day. The no-changers said that Gandhi was unreconciled to council-entry. The Swarajists proclaimed that they carried with them his blessing. The Responsive Co-operationists avowed that Gandhi would rather co-operate than obstruct. Between these conflicting claims, the Cawnpore Congress muddled through much to the sorrow of Nationalist sentiment and the detriment of national interest.

Angora : the New Turkish Capital

ADAPTED FROM FRENCH BY

DR. MUHAMMAD AHMED, M.A., LL.M., PH. D., (BAR-AT-LAW.)

IN the heart of Asia Minor, where the southern spurs of the thick chain of higher mountains end on the plateau of Galacia, Angora, the new capital of the Turks stands at an altitude of about 2,500 feet above the sea-level, amid somewhat severe scenery. It is from the aviation grounds situated behind the railway station, that one gets the best view of the new Turkish metropolis. The river Angurisu flowing from the east has isolated a mass of eruptive rocks from the gray mountain range on the North. The old town stands on the eruptive mass surrounded by old Roman walls studded with white and red stones which attract one's gaze from a considerable distance. Behind the battlements and towers of this wall, rise the gray melancholy houses of the higher part of the town. Around the walls on the slopes, in the valley and occasionally even lower down in the ravines, stand the houses of the newer and lower part of the town. In the eastern and southern parts lie the semi-somnolent quarters with narrow and dusty lanes, mud-houses and gardens with stunted trees, over-hanging the decrepit mud-walls. Towards the West and South-West lies the best quarter with straight and parallel roads ascending from the railway station towards the higher parts of the city. The city is surrounded by somewhat sad but impressive scenery, with extensive undulating plains without trees, bare rocks occasionally overgrown with a few thorny bushes. The eye dwells with pleasure on the meandering stream of the Angurisu, with its banks lined with rows of poplar trees and carefully irri-

gated gardens. There is nothing in this landscape however to inspire gaiety or even to arouse interest. The question therefore naturally arises why Angora has been chosen to be the new Capital. The situation of Angora is not without some advantages. The town is situated at the confluence of valleys and therefore of routes. It occupies a fairly central position in Asia Minor, although cut off from the south by an extensive desert. The gardens along the banks of the Angurisu provide it with an abundance of fruits and vegetables. The peasants of the neighbouring villages bring in cereals, vegetables and dairy produce.

But the chief reason which has probably determined its choice is that Angora symbolises the Turkish resistance to Foreign Powers. When the Greeks invaded Asia Minor, Angora was the only important town in the interior nearest to the front, and in consequence best adapted for the elaboration of the Country's defence.

It was there that the successful offensive was conceived and launched, which resulted in the victorious deliverance of the country. Owing to this glorious role played by Angora during the recent war of independence, it has naturally come to be regarded and treated as the heart of new Turkey, and it still occupies that affectionate position, in the Turkish body politic. Constantinople, surrounded by the sea and open to maritime attacks on all sides, could not be easily defended. It was therefore decided to concentrate and organise the forces of defence in this distant town where the work of Turkish regeneration had

already begun. The new rulers of Turkey felt quite at home at Angora, in the midst of their faithful peasants who furnished them with admirable soldiery.

But Angora suffers from serious disadvantages also, such as the distance from Constantinople. In a country with few railways, telegraphic, and telephonic lines and where the trains run slowly, considerable delay resulted and still results in the transmission and execution of orders, by installing the Government at Angora, a distance of 24 hours by rail from Constantinople. There was moreover the difficulty of improvising a modern capital in a town still resting, as it were, in the middle ages, insanitary and badly constructed, where coal, petrol and wood have to be brought from long distances, and at exorbitant prices. The want of accommodation made itself acutely felt, almost immediately. It was impossible to provide lodging for so many new arrivals, officials, members of Parliament, military officers and policemen. Some officials had to camp for six months waiting for apartments and then to content themselves with the simplest accommodation. Dearness of provisions followed as a necessary consequence. It is still difficult to obtain a simple meal in a decent restaurant there for less than 20 francs. In a hotel, one has to pay 15 francs for a night's rest, on one out of three beds in a single bedroom, unprovided with wash hand table, or any other convenience.

The climate is equally unfavourable. It snows in the winter and the temperature falls to 28 degrees below zero. In the summer it is very hot, and the heat engenders epidemics and malignant fevers.

They were specially virulent last summer and carried away ministers, officers and members of Parliament. The pale complexion and haggard features of the men in the street tell their own tale. There is something in the climate to discourage the most intrepid partisans of Angora and one hears cautious complaints on all sides.

The work of improvising a modern capital has however commenced with ardour, and the results are already visible. They are seriously trying to improve the communications, and one can now travel, from Constantinople to Angora, in sleeping cars and a direct train service is being established with Smyrna, which can now be reached in 36 hours instead of three days. There is telephonic communication with Constantinople. The aeroplanes of the Franco-Roumanian Company cover the distance between Angora and Constantinople in three hours, and they are always well filled with passengers.

Building operations are being pushed on very actively. In front of the lower part of the town, near the Railway Station, there is nothing but new buildings, new terraces and a long continuation of scaffolding to be seen on every side. Successive relays of masons and labourers continue the building operations day and night, a spectacle very uncommon in Turkey. Improvised shops are seen rising hastily on both sides, along the road which leads from the lower to the higher part of the town; under their fragile roofs one can purchase everything, from egg-plants and water-melons to the most costly jewellery.

The electric light has been installed in all the principal streets of the lower part of the

town. Automobile watering cars sprinkle water on the chief thorough-fares. Indifferent roads are being repaired and paved, Ministries and Secretariats are being hastily occupied, while yet scarcely dry, and files are being filed up alongside the walls of the passages, pending the provision of proper



LE MINISTERE DES FINANCES, ANGORA

racks. The Ministries, the Houses of Parliament and other public buildings are being solidly built in stone, in marked contrast with the mud walls of older buildings. The determination to build permanent offices, and not temporary makeshifts is visible every where. This strange medley, of a rural town and modern capital of buildings dating from the Middle Ages and new edifices with the most modern graces and refinements, furnishes a most picturesque spectacle. Brand new elegantly built palaces stand side by side with tumble-down mud hovels and ramshackle huts. Berliet lorries vigorously sound their horns, to clear the principal streets of long rows of country carts, drawn by buffaloes, with their wooden wheels without springs or axles making a horrible creaking

noise, such as that proceeding from a menagerie.

On the most fashionable road, after passing officers faultlessly dressed in irreproachable uniforms, you often meet Negro boys, of about 10 or 12 years of age, whose dress consists of only one or two amulets hanging from their necks. At six o'clock in the evening, there is always great animation on the pavement of the principal street, where one sees officials issuing from the secretariats, correctly dressed, Turkish ladies, elegantly dressed in black or gray, soldiers in clean well fitting uniforms and marine officers fashionably dressed in white, and side by side with these, numerous mendicants dressed in rags and tatters.

One cannot, however, fail to notice on every face the look of determination, of a mighty will to overcome all obstacles, which is already visibly bearing fruit. Their determination is entitled to our respect and we heartily wish them every success.



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HUMOUR IN SIKHISM

BY

PROF. TEJA SINGH, M. A.

HUMOUR is commonly taken to mean the sense of ridicule or mockery. But on observing the finer developments of human character, it would appear to have also a deeper significance. It is really an extreme sensitiveness to the true proportion of things,

incompatible with religion. Nay, explain it how we will, true humour always goes with ripeness of wisdom, and long-faced seriousness, as much as frivolity, is a sign of immaturity. Without the sense of humour virtue itself becomes self-forgetful and loses its balance. It is humour alone that can keep our sympathies well-regulated and in good trim. It is a fine corrective force in our character, and works like an instinct against all excess. Without it, a man's character is always under-done or done on one side only.

It was with this sense of humour that one quiet morning, at Hardwar, Guru Nanak had begun to throw water towards his fields in Kartarpur. His purpose was to disillusion the Hindus who believed that the water thrown to the East would reach their dead ancestors in the world beyond. It was the same humour he displayed at Mecca, when he lay down at night with his feet purposely turned towards the Kaabba and said to the priests who protested that they could turn his feet to any direction where God was not. He often announced his coming in a very strange manner. While coming back to India from Mecca he halted at Baghdad. It was yet early dawn, and the people had not yet begun stirring for the morning prayers. Guru Nanak wanted to have a congregation of his own. He took himself to a high place, and in a loud stentorian voice began to imitate the famous Mohammedan call to prayer. Hearing this new kind of Azan, the people flocked around him and listened to his preaching with more than usual eagerness. On



GURU NANAK

a sense that at once discovers for us whatever is out of joint in any thought or action. It is not merely a make-shift quality for leisure hours, but has a substantial value in our moral development. It bespeaks a full and strong sense of personal identity and is not

another occasion, during his wanderings, he came upon a knot of happy children playing in the street. The sight was too alluring for him. He at once put off his gravity and began to leap and bound and shout just as the little urchins did. It must have been a sight for angels to see the grey-haired prophet jumping and singing in the company of children! And then look at the quaint dress he wore on occasions; a leather apron round his waist, a string of bones round his neck, a *tilak* on his forehead and a prayer carpet under his arm.

Guru Arjan, who compiled the Holy Granth, knew the value of humour and when incorporating the compositions of different Bhagats did not discard the passages which were humorous or lively. One of the most effective and sincere addresses to God is the prayer of Dhanna the Jat, wherein he asks for his simple daily bread in this way; "O God, I, Thine afflicted servant come to Thee. Thou arrangest the affairs of those who perform Thy Service. I beg of Thee to give me flour, ghee, and pulse, so that my heart may rejoice for ever. I want shoes and fine clothes, and corn grown on a field ploughed seven times over. I want a milch cow and a buffalo, and a good Turkistani mare, and a good wife. These things Thy servant Dhana begs of Thee."—*Dhanasru*.

There is also a similar passage in Kabir, wherein he throws up the beads to God saying that he can offer no prayers as long as he keeps him hungry. He lays down a regular bill of fare, which he declares to be "none too covetous."—*Sorath*.

As Sikhism is particular in discarding asceticism and encouraging secular life lived

religiously, it has provided a free scope for developing a bright and vigorous spirit among the Sikhs. Bhai Bidhichand, who was the right hand man of Guru Har Gobind, was one of the most adventurous youths of the time, noted as much for his humour as for his devotion. His "larking" campaigns were so humorously conceived and romantically executed that for him even the prosaic Mr. Macauliffe is constrained to pause for diversion.

But the most striking example of humour playing a prominent part in Sikhism is the fact that there exists a regular order of Humorists called Suthras, who have carried on religious propaganda in the name of Guru Nanak through Humour.

Guru Gobind Singh also realized the value of humour and made full use of it in his religious work. Once he dressed up a donkey like a lion and set it roaming about the fields. The Sikhs began to laugh when they heard it braying in spite of the lion's coat, and asked their leader what it meant. The Guru told them that they too would look like donkeys, if with the Singh's (lion's) name and uniform, they still remained as ignorant and cowardly as before. The same love of the dramatic is exhibited by the way he exposed the futility of the belief in Durga, the goddess of power. When all the ghee and incense had been burnt, and Pandit Kesho had tired himself out by mumbling mantras by the million without being able to produce the Goddess.—the Guru came forward with a naked sword and flashing it before the assembly declared: "This is the Goddess of power." The same grim humour was shown by him, when one spring morning in

the midst of hymns and recitations, he appeared before his Sikhs and demanded a man who would sacrifice himself then and there



GURU GOBIND

for his faith. He wanted to see whether the people dared to do anything beyond mere singing of hymns and reading of texts.

As was the Guru, so became the Sikhs. In the face of desperate circumstances, they often put on a fine brag—that Hannibal or Sir Walter Raleigh might have envied—and literally shouted over a difficulty. Once a small straggling detachment of Sikhs was hemmed in by a numerous force of the enemy. Their friends were far off, and there was no

hope of their coming in time to save them. Yet they did not lose heart. They took off their broad white *chaddars* (sheets) and spread them over the neighbouring bushes to make them look like tents from the distance. All the while they kept up shouting every fifteen minutes the famous national cry of *Sat Sri Akal*. The enemy thought that the Sikhs were receiving so many instalments of help and did not dare to come forward.

As a result of this brave spirit, there grew up among the Sikhs a peculiar slang, which was called the Vocabulary of Heroes. In it the things connected with the difficulties of life were expressed in terms of such cheerfulness and bravado as if, for the Sikhs pain and sufferings had lost all meaning. Death was familiarly called an expedition of the Khalsa into the next world. A man with an empty stomach would call himself mad with prosperity. Grams were almonds, and onions Silver pieces, while rupees were nothing but empty crusts. A blind man was called a wide-awake hero, and a half-blind man an argus-eyed lion. A deaf man was said to be a man in the upper storey. A baptised Sikh was called a brother of the Golden Cup which, by the way, was only an iron vessel. To be fined by the community for some fault was getting one's salary. The big stick was called a lawyer or the store of wisdom; and to speak was to roar.

There is a superb humour in all this, which breathes a full and healthy spirit. It shows that our ancestors knew, how much better than we do at present, that religion is not incompatible with brightness and vigour.

SIGNIFICANCE OF HINDUISM

BY PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS, M.A., M.L.A.

HINDUISM is a word which is now in common use and as also is the term Hindu to denote an individual. But the term was unknown in the ancient world when what we now understand by it was being developed in its natural course. Buddhism, Christianity and Muhammadanism came one after another each more or less, as an artificial imposition on the natural man and invaded his natural religion and consequently as a set off the name Hinduism sprang up. When the natural religion of man was quite successfully swamped out of existence in all other civilised countries India alone held out and therefore the name Hind or India came to be associated with the name of the religion of its people. But in point of fact a religion like Hinduism was never meant by any individual or race to be confined to a particular area; nor was it ever preached by man to man as a means of his salvation in the way in which other great world religions have been working since their beginning.

It is often argued by the critics of the systems of religion or society that confined within the four walls of social superstition and prejudice as the Hinduism is, it is daily dying out for want of a spirit of propagation or expansion which is denied to it by virtue of its very nature and internal characteristics. There is, however, some truth in this argument so far as it is studied in the light of modern or mediæval significance of religions in the world in which proselytism plays so important a part. Particularly Christianity and Muhammadanism inflated with their internal conceit came out to the man with their forms of salvation, so to say, in their

hands and made such salvation very easy for any sinner in lieu of a mere baptism or circumcision. The enlightenment of the soul is seldom taken into consideration in practice and the natural life of man is twisted and distorted into a particular groove with a mere stamp of a name, be it that of Son of Man or the Prophet. But Hinduism in its real significance is much different. It takes stock of the soul of man and depends on the enlightenment of that soul and nothing else. Let us therefore stop to analyse the very genesis of Hinduism.

The very creation of the Universe is reasoned and systematic, though it may be at times beyond the comprehension of the human mind. Each new growth and even decay has its use and purpose. Planets and stars go on in their regular course. They sometimes appear to waste their energy in the limitless space, but the faithful believe that even in that waste there is a purpose. So also is each and every little thing of our daily experience. The brook, the forest, the rock, the vegetation, the man and the animal all are working up to their set use in this world and supplied with their necessities for growth and decay; and as a whole, all things are being nursed and nurtured, to one increasing purpose, the intimations of which are quite apparent to the religious sense of the faithful. Human soul is a distinct factor and its necessities are supplied in a like manner. God has given us rain and spring for a supply of water, the sun for the light, forest for food and fuel, scenery for our aesthetic development, varieties for the culture of our mind, and similarly religious

intimations by virtue of the same universal arrangements flash upon the human soul, and grow in strength and intensity according to its capacity and power of assimilation.

Such intimations come to every man, and in the Vedic Rishi, they became first articulate. When the Rishi felt his whole soul permeated with these universal intimations, he uttered forth in the sweetest music possible, what we now call the Vedas. These Vedas, therefore, are revelations in the sense that they were not composed by individuals for a certain purpose in view. They were utterances inevitable, and these utterances were the very outcome of natural intimations of the soul. These utterances again, were neither philosophical nor systematic. The various systematic explanations read into them in post-vedic critical literature such as, animism, polytheism, henotheism, monotheism, and pantheism are all found in the Vedas in forms of intimations which originally appealed to the soul of the Rishi in their variety of aspects without being distintegrated one from the other. They were all systematised as the culture progressed and the same thing appeared in various aspects, only to suit souls in various stages of development.

This is the natural religion given to man by a most natural process of revelation. This revelation is called *Apaurusheya* for it is not a revelation preached by an individual man and the religion developed after this revelation and this process of nature's intimation is to-day called the Hindu religion. It includes stages from animism to Vedantism, from idolatry to a mystic nihilism. All this variety of stages is the index so to say of its

very natural simplicity. As a religion it never expects all men to come to a common standard of conception nor can it prescribe forms like baptism by which people are said to come to a standard of development all at once. Even in Hindu religion forms there are, as forms there must be in all human activities and institutions, but no form is super-imposed or artificially forced upon man.

The Hindu religion studied in this light cannot be said to be a dying religion. In fact, it is the subsuming factor of all other so-called religions when they settle down into a course of natural development. The original conceit which gave rise to the so-called religions preached by individuals made them really outlandish to the natural man, though for a time they are expected to fire up the human enthusiasm on account of the hope they hold out of giving easy salvation and artificial brotherhood. This unnatural enthusiasm is called fanaticism. And it is this fanaticism which for a time makes man blind and the real religious intimation of his soul gives place to an adherence to certain forms which make the very same soul, so to say, dead. But after a time the soul must rise up in its natural glory and will feel refreshed in the everdawning intimations of natural religion which is to-day called Hinduism. Forms and conceit will be meaningless, artificial proselytism useless, God has given us life and its necessities. The soul likewise will find its necessities in the cradle of nature and expand into its fulness, in its most natural culture and development. Unfortunately this significance of the world religion is lost sight of and Hinduism is treated and studied as an ordinary preached religion of the world. This is a blunder. This blunder will vanish as man receives more and more light and his mind becomes broad and comprehensive.

Modernism As A Working Faith

BY

MR. A. G. CLOW, I. C. S.

THE division of the Christian Church into sects has long been the subject of comment, both from Christians and from non-Christians. But there are indications that an increasingly deep line of cleavage will be one which cuts across the existing sectarian divisions. For the gulf between those who are determined to hold, at all costs (even at the cost of truth if necessary) to the old infallibilities and those who accept the modern critical position is one which cannot be bridged by any compromise. The Roman Catholic who stands by an infallible Church and the American "Fundamentalist" who pins his faith on an infallible book must equally condemn as not merely dangerous but irreligious the attempt to apply the ordinary standards of criticism to the scriptures and the dogmas of the Church. The conception of an infallible Church has little appeal to those who are not predisposed to accept it. History refutes it and the Christian Scriptures give it no valid support. The conception of an infallible book has powerful attractions, not merely for Christians, but for Moslems and Jews. A source from which truth can be extracted as easily as stone is taken from a quarry is a tremendous relief to the man perplexed by the great problems of existence. The desire for an infallible code of belief and conduct has led men to attribute infallibility to books whose authors would, in many cases, have been astounded by the claim. And the man who has such a surety naturally feels a greater confidence than the man without it and so tends to become a more ardent follower of his faith. The critic is too often negative, the positive in his belief becomes dim. Mr. Pryke's book* is an attempt to present Modernist Christianity in the light of a dynamic faith. Not content with exposing the errors of fundamentalists, he carries the war into the enemy's camp and maintains that infallibility is the enemy of pure religion.

* *Modernism as a Working Faith*. By W. Maurice Pryke B. D. (Heffer, Cambridge 4/6 net. 217 pp.)

In the chapters, which have appeared as articles in different magazines (and are in consequence not entirely free from repetition), the author does not explicitly state all his beliefs on what he would regard as the non-vital parts of the Christian creed, but the reader will have little difficulty in obtaining a clear grasp of the Modernist position. He criticises much of the teaching given to the young as falling far short of truth and the Christian ideal. Some one has suggested he says 'flippantly, perhaps, yet with a sure instinct for the truth that if (as Wordsworth taught) Heaven lies about as in our infancy, that is no reason why we should lie about heaven when we grow up.' And he points out how much in Christian belief and conduct that is antagonistic to the mind of Christ is based on acceptance of the attitude of pre-Christian Jewish scriptures. For example, "Christian ethics have at best exercised but a weak and intermittent influence upon international relationships. And the reason is not far to seek. In every country the God of the Foreign Office has been the savage tribal deity of early Israel. That God shares the nationality of His worshippers, and so cannot be expected to fight against His own side, is still the popular war-time creed of all nations..... From the Old Testament, unintelligently treated, we have received the idea of Jehovah as a Man of War; from the same source we derive an apparent justification for a comfortable theory of divine partiality, of which we ourselves are the fortunate, albeit highly deserving objects."

To non-Christian readers, much of the later part of the book is not of great interest, but the earlier chapters which deal with the issues between a static and a dynamic belief have parallels and applications to more than one other religion. And the book offers perhaps the most readable and attractive account available to the man in the street of what will be the attitude of the bulk of Christians in the next generation.

DEATH DUTIES

BY MR. V. K. THIRUVENKATACHARI, B.A.

THE imposition of death duties has been proposed by many witnesses before the Taxation Committee and a great controversy has raged round the question of its advisability and the methods of collecting it. The present writer only desires to point out one particular aspect of the question as affecting the Madras Presidency which has so far not received sufficient emphasis.

The tax has been said to be a very old one indeed, for Augustus levied a 5 per cent. inheritance tax for the payment of the army.

When Augustus resolved to establish a permanent military force for the defence of his government against foreign and domestic enemies, he instituted a peculiar treasury for the pay of the soldiers, the rewards of the veterans, and the extraordinary expenses of war. The ample revenue of the excise, though peculiarly appropriated to those uses, was found inadequate. To supply the deficiency, the Emperor suggested a new tax of five per cent. on all legacies and inheritances. But the nobles of Rome were more tenacious of property than of freedom. Their indignant murmurs were received by Augustus with his usual temper. He candidly referred the whole business to the Senate, and exhorted them to provide for the public service by some other expedient of a less odious nature. They were divided and perplexed. He insinuated to them that their obstinacy would oblige him to propose a general land tax and capitation. They acquiesced in silence.

The circumstances of the tardy assent of the Senate, who only accepted the death duties as a *substitute* for a land tax, brings us to the only point we wish to make.

There is no country (except Japan, where the "assessed value of the land" is permanently fixed) where land revenue and death duties are both levied. In Great Britain and almost every other important European country, the most important land tax is the income tax on agricultural income. Under the Ryotwari system the Government takes as land revenue a share of the net product amounting to a third in the case of the less fertile lands and a fifth in the case of the better lands. Thus in every generation the Government takes away a fourth of the value of the land as tax. Then the land is re-assessed and a higher payment exacted; and the ryot has further to pay

cesses, grazing rents etc., and large duties are due on registration, transfers and other dispositions. Even if we assume that the inheritance duty will be payable only once in the same period, the cumulative effect of the land tax and the death duty on the position of the ryot will be appalling. There are in this Presidency about 63,000 holdings paying one hundred rupees and over as revenue; and the total revenue paid by these is 1.30 crores. Apart from other considerations, a death duty on these holdings will spell ruin to agriculture without appreciably swelling the coffers of the State.

The only reference in which we find ourselves able to contemplate death duties in this Presidency with equanimity is as a *substitute* for the land revenue. The ryotwari assessment would under such a system be permanently fixed at a reasonably low figure. Death duties will then be levied on holdings of above a high minimum value, the smaller holdings thus escaping heavy burdens. As will easily be seen, this would only distribute taxation more equitably and not bring additional revenue. The proper way to get increased revenue would then be to tax agricultural incomes under the general income tax.

We conclude by reiterating that death duties cannot and ought not to co-exist with a land system like that which prevails in this Presidency.

Dr. BESANT'S SPEECHES & WRITINGS

This is the first attempt to publish in one volume a comprehensive and exhaustive collection of Dr. Besant's speeches and writings on Indian Questions. The subjects dealt with cover a wide field—education, religion, social reform and politics. Her lectures on Theosophy, the Depressed Classes and on Self-Government in India are also included.

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PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

BY

DR. A. S. WOODBURN, M. A.

JOHN Fiske said of the universe that "the simile of the watch has been displaced by the simile of the flower." In an analogous way we may say that educational theory has shifted from the mechanical point of view to the organic. There are, of course, many influences which have operated to bring about the change. But they all converge at the point of enabling us to understand human nature better. Human nature like Nature is growing, developing, changing. The change from the structural to the functional viewpoint in psychology is an indication of our fuller understanding of the character of consciousness. Any change in psychological theory is certain to have a corresponding effect on education, for there is bound to be the most intimate connection between these two sciences which deal with the same subject-matter from two different points of view. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that there has been a greater amount of advance in educational theory and practice within the last three decades than in the three previous centuries. It is of value to try to summarize the important elements in the changing situation. Obviously that it is a pretty difficult task to accomplish in a single volume. Although Dr. Ballard's recent volume* points to many of the important changes, it does no more than merely indicate some of them in passing, while other points are developed at greater length.

1. The first change to which Ballard gives considerable attention is in the manner of Preserving discipline in the school. It is only in recent years that teachers are beginning to realize that there are other, and just as effectual, methods of securing discipline than the use of the strong right arm. Flogging was the only method that teachers of a

century ago seemed to know about or care to use. It was the remedy for all ills mental and moral, real and imaginary. The appeal was to the instinct of fear, an appeal of some power, no doubt, but one which is surely not to the highest and most spiritual element in human nature. To-day flogging as a disciplinary device is used much more sparingly than it used to be, and appeals are made to a boy's loyalty, his spirit of co-operation, his desire to make the most out of life, and such motives. The effect has been not a decrease in order, but a new spirit and a new motive released which make the school and its tasks much more pleasurable for teachers and pupils alike.

Teachers, like magistrates, are getting a saner conception of the function of punishment in human experience. There are four theories which Ballard appropriately speaks of as "the protective, the preventive, the retributive, and the reformative." The protective theory is that wrong-doers are punished for the protection of those who do not commit wrong, and of course there is a measure of truth in that statement, whatever other motive may be added to it. The preventive theory is based on the assumption that punishments are object lessons deterring others from going wrong who might otherwise be tempted so to do. This is the theory that lies behind all punishment in Montessorian institutions to-day. It surely pre-supposes that the majority of people act from very inferior motives when they do the right, and Ballard is right in supposing that if the preventive measures were all removed to-day, the majority of people would go on acting about the same way to-morrow. The retributive theory is that wrong must be avenged. It is based, as Carlyle in an amazingly naive way put it, on the supposition that this is the spirit of the cosmic order. "What is this Law," asks the author, "that

* THE CHANGING SCHOOL by Philip Boswood Ballard, M. A. D., Litt. (London): Hodder and Stoughton.

has to be buttressed by adventitious rewards and punishments? It is either God-made or man-made. If it is God-made, it does not need vindicating: it will vindicate itself" (as the doctrine of karma) supposes. "If, on the other hand, the Law is man-made, what becomes of its majesty, its irrevocability, and its inviolability? Instead of its being rooted in the nature of things, it merely rests on social conscience." The only thing that can be said for this theory from the standpoint of education is that it fails. Of these three theories of punishment "the first makes the punishment fit the crime, the second makes it fit the criminal, and the third makes it fit the innocent." The fourth is the most satisfactory from the educational viewpoint as well as the ethical. It is based on Herbert Spencer's theory of 'natural consequences,' and proposes that the wrong-doer should be made to feel the consequences of his actions in such a way that he will want to overcome his proclivities to do wrong and grow steadily better.

2. Nothing is more characteristic of modern educational tendencies than the movement towards freedom. Freedom is obviously a relative matter, standing in contrast to some sort of restriction. Professor John Dewey in his *Human Nature and Conduct* made it very clear that discussions about the freedom of the human will are often talking about a mythological kind of freedom, for no man is absolutely free. The educator will get along much better if he recognizes at the outset the limitations which exist. A question of more practical import is as to whether all of these restrictions are necessary, and modern education is answering that question by saying that many of the restrictions which used to be imposed were not only unnecessary but unscientific. Many of the modern experiments in education such as the Dalton plan, are being built on the basis of giving the child more freedom—freedom of choice in respect of the curriculum, and freedom of expression. There are some safeguards that must be preserved in the interests of education. Let it not be forgotten that freedom must not be obtained at the

expense of other people who have just as much right to their share of it. Secondly, theorizers in pleading for freedom more often mean *more* freedom than *better* freedom. Thirdly, children, need guidance as well as liberty. No doubt children ought to find things out for themselves, but *lead* them to do it rather than *leave* them to do it.

3. Many people are somewhat at sea as to the value of psycho-analysis for education. Some see in that movement a cure for all ills, educational and moral. They desire to bring it into operation in the class room at once, and to psycho-analyze all the poor youngsters forthwith. The contribution of the movement to the psychology of unconscious mental processes has been exaggerated in some quarters. It is a mistake to think that nothing was known of it before Freud. Neither are the psycho-analysis the only people who have studied the processes of instinctive behaviour and of suggestion. The great difficulty arises from the fact that they are trying to build up a 'new psychology' applicable to all people, healthy and otherwise, on their observations of abnormal people. This is particularly unfortunate in matters of education, for surely it is unfair to the child to accuse him of all sorts of sexual and other aberrations in matters which have never entered into his young head. One further point is made which must be remembered. Psycho-analysis has not yet been systematized as an accepted body of scientific knowledge, and until its results are more assured, the teacher had better be somewhat chary about the use he makes of it.

We have selected only three of the tendencies towards change which mark the modern school from those which Dr. Ballard discusses. In each discussion there is a readiness to receive all that experiment has shown to be of lasting worth, and at the same time a wholesome conservatism in regard to the tendency in some quarters to change just for the sake of changing. The book is packed with unusually fine material for the teacher, and is written in a style that is far more captivating than the ordinary novel.

THE THEOSOPHICAL JUBILEE CONVENTION, 1925 ²⁹

By MR. C. JINARAJADASA

SINCE the foundation of the Theosophical Society, every annual Convention has been characterised by the widest religious tolerance and the most cordial internationalism. The Fiftieth Jubilee Convention has surpassed all



MR. C. JINARAJADASA

others previous. The Society is to-day organised as 41 National Societies, and there are also Lodges in many countries which are not yet sufficient in number to form a National Society. Representatives came from all except three countries, and there were present over 2,900 delegates. From far off Iceland, Uruguay, South Africa, Roumania, Bulgaria, Australia and New Zealand, members came representing National Societies, and delegates were present also from Japan and China. All the members were housed in the Estate of the Society, a city of cadjan huts being erected for the purpose. Owing to the size of the meetings, all the lectures were held under the famous Banyan Tree of the Society, with the assistance of electrical amplifiers supplied by the Western Electric Company of Calcutta.

Before the beginning of the Convention, Dr. Besant arrived from Europe and at once the keynote of the Convention was struck by daily prayers

at 7 a. m. in the Hall of the Society. These prayers are of all the religions offered up by members of each faith. The Hall of the Society is a veritable Hall of Religions, as in it are found images of Jesus Christ, Gautama Buddha, Shri Krishna, Zarathushtra, and a great scroll of Arabic representing Muhammadanism. The names of the Founders of these five faiths are carved in the walls, and in addition there are the names also with appropriate symbols of Judaism, Jainism, Sikhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, and Bahaim and Freemasonry. These are the living religions of to-day, but the extinct religions also are commemorated by symbols bearing the names of Osiris, Orpheus, Mithra, Quetzalcoatl, Ashtroth, and Asshur. At the morning prayers, when as many of the delegates as could pack into the large Hall gathered, prayers were offered in succession according to the age of the religion, commencing with Hinduism, followed by Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Sikhism.

The Convention meetings were held during ten days. The keynote of the lectures and addresses



DR. ANNIE BESANT

was one Humanity as embodied in one World Organisation, religious and spiritual. The first public lecture by Dr. Besant, the President, and by Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, the Vice-President, had

as topic a World Religion, which should not displace any of the existing religions, but which should bring them all into harmonious co-operation for the service of mankind. The Council of the Society has formulated four principal teachings of World Religion, found in religions of all epochs. The second public lecture by Bishop G. S. Arundale and Mr J. Krishnamurti had as topic a World University, the organisation of which has begun, having as its centres three countries, Holland, India and Australia. The third lecture was by Bishop C. W. Leadbeater and Bishop J. I. Wedgwood, and dealt with the topic of the Revival of the Ancient Mystery Teachings, some of which exist to-day in



H. P. BLAVATSKY

Founders of the Theosophical Society.

Freemasonry. The fourth public lecture of Dr. Besant was a summary and expansion of the ideals presented by the speakers of the three previous days.

A unique series of events during this Jubilee Convention was the laying of foundation stones for or the opening of the Temples of the great Religions. A beautiful Hindu temple built by the Bharata Samaj was formally opened, and then later a small Buddhist Shrine. Foundation stones were also laid of a Parsi Temple and a Jewish Synagogue. A site was selected for a small Muslim Mosque, and its first stone laid. Similarly too, the foundation

stone is being laid of a small Christian Church. Only two religions remain to begin their temples. Jainism and Sikhism. Funds for the former are being collected. Already members of other faiths have been welcomed at worship at the Hindu Temple and the Buddhist Shrine, and also at the temporary Christian Church in which services have been held during Convention. A profound impression has been made upon all, of the sense of unity of religions in spite of outer diversities of the faiths, by their being made welcome at each worship. Many other meetings were held of associated organisations, like the Order of the Star in the East, and the Women's Indian association and a number of Masonic meetings were



COL. H. S. OLCOTT

held, there being present during the Convention over 500 Masons belonging to "Co-Masonry," the Supreme Council of which was started decades ago in Paris, and which permits the entrance of women into Freemasonry to all the Degrees up to the 33rd. Educational and social reform had a prominent place in the activities of the Convention. One event was the taking of the pledge of "stalwarts" by a certain number of Hindus, who pledged themselves to make a stand against child marriage, untouchability and other customs needing reform in India. An international Exhibition of Arts and Crafts was also a part of the Theosophical activities.

CONGRESS AND CONFERENCES

[In accordance with our usual practice we give below a bird's eye view of the proceedings of the Congress and other Conferences held at Cawnpore, Aligarh, Calcutta, Madras and Amroati during the Christmas Week. In preparing this account the writer has availed himself of the reports of the Associated Press and of the special correspondents of various newspapers in the country.—Ed. I.R.]

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

FOR the first time the National Congress was presided over by a gifted Indian lady. This and the presence of the South African Indian delegates were the two outstanding features of the Fortieth Session of the Congress held at Cawnpore in Christmas Week.

THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

The Congress week opened on the 24th Dec. with a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which was attended by 200 members and the South African delegation, and presided over by Mahatma Gandhi. Business of a formal nature having been transacted and reports for the year read, the Ajmere Election dispute was settled in accordance with the Working Committee's decision by which about 400 delegates were kept out of the Session. The A. I. C. C. then transformed itself into the Subjects Committee, debated for three hours the compromise resolution adopted at Patna in September last regarding the franchise and approved it by an overwhelming majority. All amendments which aimed at either toning up or toning down the resolution were lost. Needless to say Messrs. Kelkar, Jayakar and Dr. Moonji put up a plucky fight for scrapping the yarn franchise, but in vain. Mr. Gandhi made a moving speech in support of the Patna decision and carried the house with him.

THE SWARAJIST RESOLUTION

On the 25th the General Council of the Swarajya Party discussed its future programme and decided to place it before the Subjects Committee of the Congress for adoption. The Council carried the proposition of Pundit Motilal Nehru that

in the event of the Government not giving a satisfactory reply to the Assembly's demand of February, 1924, reiterated in September last, the Swarajist members of the various legislatures should not attend the meetings of legislatures except for prevention of seats being declared vacant.

A joint meeting of a Special Committee of the Party and the All-India Congress Committee, was subsequently held, according to the resolution, for framing a programme of work to be carried out by the Congress and the Swaraj Party organizations throughout the country.

After some discussion the Subjects Committee adopted by 31 to 21 votes Pundit Motilal's programme, rejecting Mr. Jayakar's amendment. The cleavage in the Swarajist camp became more pronounced and Mr. Kelkar expressed his dissent in unequivocal terms.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION

In the afternoon Mrs. Naidu introduced Dr. Abdur Rahman and other members of the South African Indian Deputation. Mahatma Gandhi moved, what is really the most important resolution of the session. The text of the resolution is given on page 60.

Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi followed criticising what he called the culpable negligence of the Congress regarding the plight of Indians Overseas. Mahatma Gandhi replying said that he knew every inch of feeling in South Africa and if he had felt that his visit to South Africa would have helped he would have gone there. The resolution was finally passed amidst acclamation.

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

On the afternoon of the 26th the Congress commenced its proceedings with songs and prayers. Dr. Murari Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates in a brief speech



DR. MURARI LAL

in Urdu narrating the difficulties of the Committee and apologising for the shortcomings in their arrangements. He declared that Non-Cooperation was not dead but had taken firm root.

Dr. Abdur Rahman the leader of the South African delegation in a short speech, said the Deputation was presenting to one of the greatest women of the world (Mrs. Naidu) her photo. He continued that "the South African Indians had given India the greatest living man."

Mahatmaji belongs to us. At least one of the two should go to South Africa and fight our battle. If we take the greatest woman of India, we are leaving behind, her photograph, so that you may look at it, and be satisfied. We present this photo.

Messages of sympathy were read from Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. C. R. Das, Lord Sinha, Mrs. Besant and others.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mrs. Naidu then proceeded to the rostrum and delivered a beautifully worded address, rich in its eloquence and dignity of phrasing. She spoke *extempore* amplifying the printed address and



MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

she is said to have kept the audience spell bound for an hour. The address covers a wide field touching the various disabilities of our countrymen at home and abroad. Mrs. Naidu spoke with

moving eloquence on the plight of our countrymen abroad and of the unfortunate political exiles nearer home.

After referring to the deaths of Mr. Das, Sir S. N. Banerjee and others, she said Mrs. Das had asked her to kindle the fire. How was she to do it? She saw around her a storm of reaction and hatred. The great epic sacrifice had been followed by reaction. They were scattered, paralysed. How would they rise? What answer would they give to the Colonies where Indians were being maltreated? Then again, what did they propose to do to defend their hearths and homes? She was, the other day, in the Frontier, and went up to Khyber Pass, and realised that one of the first essentials of their regeneration was military training and military education for their youth.

She next spoke feelingly on the Hindu-Muslim question. Why were they fighting for majorities and minorities? Why was there this deep distrust and hatred? The supreme need of the hour was, in the words of Dr. Tagore, that they should direct their love and service to the cradle of their people. They must redeem their villages and organize labour in the cities.

But we shall not adopt the tactics of the West. We will follow our own ideal. In serving Labour, we must not make a class war. There are already in India, too many race and creed wars.

She endorsed Mr. C. R. Das's idea about the federation of the Asiatic peoples.

As regards political matters her advice was that they must not tolerate the insults and insolence of Lord Birkenhead. They must not hear those who counselled patience for another half a century.

Redeem India from this horrible patience. I know Swaraj would be nearer when this patience is ended. Come out of these assemblies. If the answer you get is not satisfactory, do not go and make these assemblies' floors, places for your rhetoric. (laughter). Redeem this country by your work and sacrifice outside. (Loud Applause.)

THE FIRST RESOLUTION

Mrs. Naidu then moved from the chair a resolution mourning the death of the departed leaders which was passed, all standing.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION

Mahatma Gandhi then moved in a magnificent speech the resolution about South African Indians in the form passed by the Subjects Committee. He first spoke in Hindi and then in English. The text of the English speech which must be read in full is remarkable for its candour, its cogency and above all for its moderation, though his indictment

of the South African Government was severe. He concluded with an impassioned appeal.

I say, to South African statesmen from this platform, and with full responsibility, that they will deny their Bible, they will deny their God, if they hesitate for one moment and fail to render elementary justice that is due to the Indians in South Africa.

Dr. Abdur Rahman who acknowledged the resolution thankfully also made a striking speech in the course of which he suggested that if the Government of India failed to assist them they (Congressmen) should put the South African Indian question as an issue before the Electorate and throw out all Bills if the problem is not satisfactorily solved. He continued:

The Viceroy must tell Great Britain that she must exercise the power reserved under Section 65 of the South Africa Act, that if they don't give us a Round Table Conference, then the British Government should veto that Bill. If the British Government does not do so, then it will show that they have tricked us, that they have betrayed us. We are your soldiers. We are not beaten. We are not going to give in. It is your duty to say: 'Go on boys, fight on. We will stand by you. We will support you in every way.' Then we will go on, and maintain the honour of the great Indian Empire.

THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

The Subjects Committee met again in the afternoon. The discussion centred mainly round the resolution regarding the policy and programme of the Congress. Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestions were incorporated in the Swarajist resolution. Mr. Lajpat Rai, suggested that the reference to Civil Disobedience should come last, that the demand should be national and not merely of the "Assembly" and that the members should not come out of the Assembly before March in case the response from the Government was not satisfactory. But it was soon found that there were other amendments as well, which if incorporated would have altered the resolution out of all recognition. Mr. Jayakar wanted that they should capture all offices. But his amendment was lost. Mr. Lajpat Rai's suggestions were incorporated and the Pundit in his speech outlined the changes in the original draft. The principal changes were three.

Firstly, instead of calling the Assembly's resolutions, of 18th February 1924 and 8th September, 1925, as the National Demand, they are described as "the terms of the settlement offered by the Independent and Swarajya Parties in the Assembly." Secondly, the Special Committee to express opinion on the Government reply is to consist of the Working Committee of the Congress and a few others, to be selected. Thirdly, while the original text stated that, if the Government reply was considered unsatisfactory, the Swarajist members must leave their seats, the present, motion stated that, after

intimating that they would go out into the country and work among the people, the Swarajist member would continue to sit to reject budgets and thereafter leave their seats.

The preamble to the Resolution confirmed the Patna decision and called on the Congress "to take up and carry on all such political work as is necessary in the interest of the country" employing its "whole machinery and funds" for the purpose. Another clause reiterated the faith of the Congress in Civil Disobedience "as the only effective weapon to be used in the last resort to enforce the national claim and vindicate national honour." Clause 3 of the Resolution adopted "the terms of the settlement offered to the Government by the Independent and Swarajya Parties of the Assembly by the Resolution passed on 18th Feb. 1924." It will be remembered that the Resolution referred to is the Amendment moved by Pundit Motilal Nehru to Mr. Ranga-chari's motion which urged the early appointment of a Royal commission. The Pundit's Amendment demanded the Government "to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference."

But the discussion on this lengthy Resolution, was by no means mild. It brought in relief all the divergencies in the camp. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya whose views on the results of the last Congress are embodied in his article in another page, explained the attitude of the no-changers and asked them to stand aside and not to be a party to this patchwork. He said some caustic things which provoked a lively encounter. Then ensued a heated debate on acceptance of office and the Pundit came in for rough handling. He defended the Skeen Committee and his association with it: "The terms of reference were very wide and the subject was more important than the revision of even the Government of India Act." In this he was supported by Mr. Jayakar who, however, took the occasion to point out the absurdity of distinguishing between one office and another. Then ensued a passage at arms between the Pundit and Mr. Jayakar who was committing the former to the virtues of responsive co-operation. But the most piquant situation arose when Mr. Sambamurthy wanted to delete the clause stating that the country was not fit for Civil Disobedience. Mahatma Gandhi voted against and the House burst into laughter, turning down the amendment. But the Resolution was not won without considerable cleavage. The no-changers sullenly reconciled themselves to the new situation while

suited to the condition of things. If still the Secretary of State or any one in authority pretended ignorance of what the Indian politicians wanted it was nothing but a cloak for constitutional disinclination to introduce changes.

The resolution was seconded by Sir P. C. Mitter. At the request of the President Mr. B. C. Pal also supported it in a speech in which he criticised the Swarajist policy as mere bluff.

Other resolutions adopted by the Federation were: (1) Urging the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827, which empowered the Government to deport persons; (2) Welcoming the suspension of collection of the cotton excise duty and assuring H. E. the Viceroy that proposals would be laid before the Legislature to repeal that duty from the next financial year; (3) Urging the separation of judicial and executive functions and (4) Urging the removal of the disabilities of the depressed classes and improvement of their conditions.

At the third day's sitting of the Federation resolutions were adopted expressing great concern at the financial embarrassment of the Provincial Governments, which had severely handicapped the Ministers and Legislatures in developing the beneficial service, and contributed to the unsatisfactory working of the reforms, and expressing disappointment at the Secretary of State's decision to adhere to the so-called scheme of Indianisation of eight units of the Army, which was grossly inadequate, and urging that the Indians should be eligible for employment in all branches and ranks of the defence organisation.

Dr. Paranjpye moved the resolution on military training while another resolution recording the Federation's protest against the Civil Service Act was put from the chair and adopted.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru moved the important resolution recording indignant protest against the Anti Asiatic Bill. It urged the Government of India to move His Majesty's Government to disallow the Act, and further protested against the Anti-Indian policy of the Government in Kenya.

Mr. Chintamani moved one protesting against the Anti-Indian Legislation passed in Burma while a few other resolutions on economic development and labour conditions were also passed.

The President in his concluding speech reaffirmed his faith in the Liberal creed and said that the Party would live as they lived in the past doing constructive work for the country.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

THE resuscitated Muslim League met at Aligarh on December 30, with Sir Abdur Rahim in the chair. There was a large gathering



SIR ABDUR RAHIM.

of distinguished Muslim leaders. Mr. Sheikh Abdullah, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the League to Aligarh, the place of its birth. Mr. Jinnah, inviting Sir Abdur Rahim to take the chair recalled his famous Minute of Dissent to the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services. He then referred to his uprightness as judge and his services as member of the Executive Council of Bengal. The country desired unity, said Mr. Jinnah, and under the lead of Sir Abdur, he hoped the League would achieve their object. Sir Abdur in reply assured that the spirit with which he wrote the Dissenting Minute to the Public Services Commission's Report never deserted him during the last five years of his official career.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Reading the Presidential address, one finds a curious infelicity in Sir Abdur Rahim's reference

to his Dissenting Minute. For the tone of the address is quite in contrast with that of the famous Minute. The earlier performance was throughout marked by a spirit of patriotic independence, judicial candour and broadmindedness whereas the later performance betrays a truculent and communal spirit revealing a surprising transformation of views and temper.

Sir Abdur, in his address strongly criticised a section of Hindu politicians whose mischievous activities, according to him, were a serious challenge to Islam, and a grave menace to the political status of the Mussalmans. He supported the proposal for communal electorates, not only for Mussalmans, but also for Englishmen, and advocated the formation of a solid Muslim party in the Legislatures, as an essential need, without which, he feared political ruin to his community.

He denounced the claims of Hindu politicians as "preposterous and unfounded."

Hindus were also adepts in the art of belittling, in every way possible, the best Mussalmans in public positions, excepting only those who had subscribed to the Hindus' political creed. They had, in fact, by their provocative and aggressive conduct, made it clear that the Muslims could not entrust their fate to the Hindus and must adopt every possible measure of self-defence.

He then went on to criticise the Swarajists and made some striking revelations of his official career.

Most of the progressive measures were initiated by Englishmen themselves, and he could not recall a single occasion when there was agreement on any question among the Indian Members of the Executive Council. If the Indian point of view had not prevailed on any question where it should have, then it must be attributed more to the weakness of the Indian Members and Ministers than to anything else.

THE REFORMS RESOLUTION

The Second day commenced with a speech from Sir Ali Imam who moved the resolution urging that

the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919, and, without any delay, appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian Constitution on a sound and permanent basis, with provisions for automatic progress, to establish Full Responsible Government in India, and, thereby, secure stability in Government and the willing co-operation of the people;

Provided, however, that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed:

(1) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of the minorities, in every province, without reducing the majority in any province to a minority, or even to an equality;

(2) The representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate;

(3) Any territorial re-distribution that might, at any time, be necessary, shall not, in any way, affect the Muslim Majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North West Frontier Provinces;

(4) Full religious liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities;

(5) No Bill or resolution, or any part thereof, shall be passed in any legislature, or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill or resolution, or part thereof, on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community.

Sir Ali Imam in commending the resolution to the House pointed out the urgency of the demand for complete self-Government. He urged adequate and effective representation of the minorities in the Legislatures. He deplored the necessity for separate electorates, but it was, he said, a necessary evil and it was impossible at present to do without it.

The Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan seconded the resolution.

MR. MAHOMED ALI'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Mahomed Ali moved an amendment bringing the resolution to the tune of the Congress resolution asking for a Round Table Conference in terms of the Assembly's demand, but it was ruled out of order by the President. Mr. Jinnah supporting the resolution urged that a scheme be formulated for putting the Constitution on a permanent basis, with provisions for automatic progress.

Mr. Yakub Hasan said that he favoured separate electorates under the existing circumstances, but their efforts should be directed towards the acceleration of the day when it might be done away with. He stuck to the Lucknow Pact.

The resolution was put to vote and carried by an overwhelming majority.

CONCLUDING SESSION

On the last day of the session resolutions were passed touching the position of Iraq and Mosul. Mr. Jinnah moved one asking Mussalmans to co-operate in working the reforms in view of Lord Birkenhead's and the Viceroy's statements. Mr. Mahomed Ali moved a resolution recording support to the Indians in South Africa. Dr. Abdur Rahman of South Africa, speaking on the resolution, said that the Areas Reservation Bill was an insult to the intelligence of India, which was going to result in a fight of the East against the West.

THE HINDU MAHA SABHA

The Hindu Maha Sabha met in the Congress Pandal at Cawnpore on 29th December. The reports say that over 20,000 people took part in the demonstration. Rai Bahadur Vashambharnath Rai in his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, emphasised that so long as the Hindu community did not remain united India's salvation would not be achieved. Sangathan was, therefore, the most important part of their programme.

Lala Lajpat Rai, as President of the All-India Maha Sabha in inviting Mr. N. C. Kelkar to preside over the session, made a brief speech exhorting them

to stand for their Dharma, to give up cowardice, and become lion-hearted in the defence of their faith, not to depend upon Government or any other powers for protection, but, to learn self-defence.



MR. N. C. KELKAR.

Mr. Kelkar's address was marked by characteristic vigour of expression. Left to himself he said he would give the go by to any communal

movement in the country. To him political life and progress of the country is of infinitely more importance than the progress or set back of any single community. And yet he would not shut his eyes to realities. It is an irony of things that neither the progress of education nor the awakening of political consciousness has stemmed the tide of communalism.

And what is stranger still, in my opinion, is that the advance of education has, instead of ameliorating the bitterness of communal strife, apparently served only to furnish more abiding reasons for the continuance of its intensity than the unaided religious sentiment of the followers of the different religions in India.

Mr. Kelkar then considered the claims of the three great communities, Indian Christians, Mahomedans and Hindus. He has whole-hearted appreciation of the first.

Their spokesmen like my friends Mr. Baptista and Dr. Datta, always give the first place in their hearts to a purely national sentiment, trusting absolutely to their own sterling worth, if any, to secure to them the coveted place in the Sun.

Of the attitude of the Mahomedans with their extra-territorial patriotism and their demand for exceptional treatment he said:—

When they ask for an effective representation it is coloured less by a numerical sense than a sense of political importance based not only on the fact of their having once been the rulers of India but brought into relation with the prospects however visionary or fanciful of ruling India once more. This idea they do not of course put in concrete form, for it offends the legal sense so far as the present Government is concerned and offends the national sense so far as the Hindus are concerned.

He contended that Shuddhi and Sangathan were purely defensive movements. Why, he asked, should the Hindus alone not stir themselves to seek organised unity among themselves, when it is considered a virtue if other communities bestir themselves?

They have a stake in the country greater than any other community in India. In the recent troubles the Indian Mahomedans could at least think of such a thing as *Hijrat*, though of course they could not practise it successfully. But where in the whole wide world, is there an inch of space which the poor, unbefriended and threatened Hindu can call his own, outside Hindusthan?

At the demonstration on the following day speeches were made by Pundit Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Moonji, Sardar Sardul Singh, Pundit Neki Ram, Mr. Gupta and Prof. Yen of China. Each of the speakers urged the need for organization of Hindu Society.

NON-BRAHMINS IN CONFERENCE

Two Conferences of Non Brahmins were held in December, one at Madras and the other at Amraoti. It is curious that while most of the resolutions passed at the two gatherings are in accord with the progressive political thought in the country and some of them are even unexceptionable, the speeches alone should have betrayed that spirit of hatred and vindictiveness which some of the leaders of the movement seem to have erected into a creed. The Non Brahmin movement has in it the potency of a great, generous awakening of the masses to a fuller recognition of their rights and possibilities in the democracy of the future if only it is guided by broadminded and wise statesmanship but unfortunately its leaders are betraying a querulous, pettifogging intolerance, fraught with mischief and calculated to lead to communal hatred and internecine war.

THE NON-BRAHMIN CONFEDERATION

The Federation met on the 19th December at the Victoria Town Hall, Madras. In welcoming the delegates Mr. P. Ramanathan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, after a brief review of the past achievements of the "Justice" Party claimed credit for the present Ministry in Madras. Referring to Indians in South Africa he said the best remedy would be the adoption of retaliation. He criticised dyarchy and said that despite the best trial given in Madras it was found unworkable.

MR. JADHAV'S ADDRESS

But the surprise of the season was the presidential address. That the Minister for Education should have come all the way from Bombay to deliver a veritable hymn of hate is incredible. And yet Mr. Jadhav's performance was nothing more than a string of abuses of the Brahmins. It was felt that there was not even good manners in that address not to speak of good sense. Here are a few extracts which speak for themselves.

The sacerdotal arrogance of the Brahmin community is resented in all parts of India.

But compared to the haughtiness of the Brahmins of the South, the conduct of their brothers of the North is almost angelic. The Brahmin of the South is unapproachable in his undue assumption of superiority.

The strong weapon of the Brahmin is misrepresentation, many a time deliberately practised. "Slander boldly, something always sticks," is his motto. He will repeat his accusations and mis-representations, even though he be often exposed.

Mr. Jadhav had nothing better to say and it is a mercy that at the end he professed that he would not altogether like the business "of putting the Brahmins in bags and sinking them in the Bay of Bengal"!

The Resolutions of the Conference deserve more attention. They protested against the confiscatory measures of the South African Government against Indians and recommended the adoption of retaliatory measures, deprecated the extravagant military expenditure of the Government of India and recommended Indianisation of the army and the establishment of military schools and at least one College on the lines of Sandhurst in India.

THE NON-BRAHMIN CONGRESS

The Second Session of the Non-Brahmin Congress was held at Amraoti on the 27th December, the Hon. the Raja of Panagal, Chief Minister of Madras, presiding. There was a large gathering of delegates especially from Madras. Rai Bahadur K. S. Nayudu, Chairman of the Reception Committee took up Mr. Jadhav's thread and said "that Non-Brahmin leaders saw no hope of salvation for their brethren except by their own independent effort, unhampered by Brahmin machinations." Their Congress he continued, aimed at building up unity on the foundation of communal representation.

THE RAJA OF PANAGAL'S ADDRESS

The Raja of Panagal's address was not lacking in urbanity. He was doubtless more astute than the Bombay Minister and portions of his address especially those touching the working of dyarchy were marked by candour and judgment. Indeed he gave out the results of his own experience of the failure of dyarchy. One could understand his criticism of the Swarajists and his vindication of the Justice party. He denied that the Non-Brahmin movement was a movement of hatred.

The most severe criticism against our movement has been that it is a movement of hatred and is actuated by the desire to penalise one particular community—the Brahmins. Nothing can be farther from the truth. It is perfectly true that we desire to break down those monopolies that have encrusted themselves in our social and political lives through age long tradition and usage. It is true that we are trying to demolish that exclusiveness and that spirit of intolerance which has been the unfortunate feature of that particular community in spite of all the valuable lessons taught by our ancient literature. In such attempts of ours we are bound to impinge against vested rights and I for one can realise the pangs that must be caused to the community which is asked to give up its ancient privileges.

CEYLON NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE Seventh Session of the Ceylon National Congress opened at Kandy on December 18th amidst great enthusiasm.

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr George E. de Silva in his welcome address referred to the advent of the new Governor—Sir Hugh Clifford—and said that the country would watch with anxiety to see whether he would show sympathetic and broadminded statesmanship. One remark of the Chairman seems to be peculiarly apposite to the conditions in India.

The word co-operation seemed to him to be in the lips of every leader, but in practice there were few who grasped its significance and realised that co-operation must be maintained and not confined to any particular community.

Another matter in which Mr. De Silva made direct reference to India was with regard to the treatment of Indians in South Africa. He said :—

Though mighty changes were taking place in India with regard to the position of the Indians in the British Empire, it was heart-rending to find that Indians in South Africa were treated in a most humiliating manner by the South African Government. Indignities which had been heaped upon them, hardships to which they had been subjected to had excited feelings of indignation throughout the civilised world.

He then passed on to define the creed of the Congress which is more or less in the words of the declaration of the Liberal Federation of India.

The objects of the Ceylon National Congress are, as you are aware, the attainment by the people of Ceylon of a system of Government similar to that granted to the self-governing people of the British Empire, and participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the British Empire on equal terms with the others whose privileges it was to enjoy the blessings of Responsible Government. These objects were to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady Reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral and industrial resources of the country.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The President Mr. Francis de Zoysa also made an impressive speech. He extended to the new Governor a warm welcome.

His Excellency has come back to us with matured experience and let us hope, with a changed vision and broadened outlook.

He then spoke at some length on the representative character of the Congress and emphasised the legitimacy of its claims.

I claim that the Congress represents all the progressive element in the country, those who are moving

forward to get out of the bondage or tutelage—as some would prefer to call it—of Crown Colony Government and to attain full self-respecting manhood as a self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Dealing with the Reforms Mr. De Zoysa said, 'We have indeed gone as far as is possible under Crown Colony Government.' But the Ceylonese like Indians are out for full Responsible Government. In one particular the reforms have been of special value.

The most satisfactory feature of the reforms, however, is the inclusion in the general or territorial electorate, of men of all communities. This is an important step in the progress towards Self-Government. We have here twenty-three constituencies in which men of all castes, creeds and religions go to a common polling booth and register their votes for the election of a representative for them all. A candidate cannot ignore any community, however small numerically it may be, and his policy must always be one that will appeal not to any particular community but to the general public. Here we find political unity or at least the foundation of such unity.

The President finally referred to the need for Co-operation between the bureaucracy and the people of the Island and what he said with regards to the circumstances of Ceylon is not without value to those in India.

It is only by co-operation, between the Officials and the people's representatives, that the Government can now be carried on. But this co-operation would come to an end the moment the two sections fail to see eye to eye with each other and neither party was prepared to give in. The only real solution lies in the harmonising of the Executive with the Legislature or in other words in placing the Executive in a position to command a majority of votes in the Legislative Council. This can only be done by giving a predominant voice in the Executive to a number of elected representatives of the people who enjoy the confidence of the majority of members in the Legislative Council. This, of course is responsible Government and I say that this is the only possible step forward, indeed it is inevitable. At the next revision of the Constitution, which will take place in 1928 if not earlier, we must see that in terms of the resolution that will be submitted to you, we get a full measure of Self-Government. A mere tinkering with the Executive or the Legislative Council, adding a few members to the one or the other will not do. We must show that we are a united people, ready to act together, without trying to secure some petty advantage for this or that section of the community.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions but the most important which was moved by Mr. C. E. Corea runs as follows :—

The Congress should take early steps so as to ensure a full measure of Self-Government at the next revision of the Constitution.

YOGESVARI BRAHMACHARINI

BY MR. J. C. DAS

WITH inspiration drawn from Western culture, Indian women have, of late, won distinction in the fields of art, literature philosophy etc. Some of them are found engaged even in the fight for political freedom. This is the type of womanhood which has been moulded and fashioned by an



YOGESVARI BRAHMACHARINI

alien education. Yogesvari of whom a short life-sketch is given below represents a different type of Indian womanhood which is perhaps becoming extinct. What ancient India prized most was Brahma-Vidya and what true education aimed at, whether in the life of man or woman, was Brahma-Vidya; and so we read of such cultured women in

ancient times who were known as Brahma-Vadin. It would not be too much to say that in Yogesvari we find the spirit of a Gargi or Maitreyi* reincarnated. The following is from her own account dated 15th Asvin 1328 B. S. which appeared in the preface to her booklet called "Khepir Kheyal."

"Jagatpur Ashram which is situated in Thana Raojan, District Chittagong, was established in 1305 B.S. by Sreejut Purmananda Swami with the help of my parents—Sj. Chandranath Sen, and my late lamented mother Raj Kumari Devi. My parents were the first disciples of the said Purmananda Swami; they withdrew from the world shortly after my birth in Bhadra 1304 B.S. and I came with them to live in the Ashram while I was a mere child. My mother breathed her last at the feet of her Guru while I was only four years old. My father is alive, but on the death of my mother I have been brought up by my guru with whom I am living even now.

"My education began while I was only four years old: I learnt Bengali (mother tongue) for about one year only. Thereafter I began to study Sanskrit and passed one after another the 'ādya', 'madhya' and title examinations held by the Government Sanskrit Board in Kalāp and 'madhya' and title examinations in Kābya and Sānkhyā. In the title examinations of Kābya and Sānkhyā I stood first: I stood first also in the title examination in Kābya held by the

* Maitrayi. A Vedic Story by Pandit Tatwabhushan. Price Rs. 4. G. A. Natesan & Co., G. T. Madras.

Dacca Sârasvat Samâj which conferred on me the title of "Sarasvati." The fact that my successes pleased my *guru* highly was a great incentive and my devotion to studies became more and more ardent. I then passed the Government Board 'âdya' and "madhya" examinations in Vedânta and Upanishads and studied for about two years to sit for the title examination in that subject. Application was actually submitted, and fees were deposited but I was prevented from appearing at the centre of examination by a sudden and serious illness of my *guru*.

"One day in *Sraban* last, as my *guru* concluded his discourse, I began to revolve in my mind that the object of studying the Vedânta is to realise the falsity of the phenomenal world; the essence of what *vedanta* teaches is—"Thou art That." An examination of self revealed to me the fact that I have missed the real object in my study of the Vedânta;—what is false or illusory has not been realised as such; it is being regarded as substance. I have learnt some words like a parrot; the inner meaning of the great saying "Thou art That" has not been realised. I am sure to deceive others as well as mine own self if I were to acquire a title by passing the final examination in Vedânta. As my musings grew into a conviction I gave up the study of Vedânta. I have since then busied myself with my religious performances of *Sandhya-bandana*, and *Srabanmanan*, *Nididhyasan* of the teachings of my *guru*."

It is now about four years that Yogesvari went into retirement to which none but her *guru* had any access; and what is she now to-day? The photo taken on 14th Asvin

last conveys some idea of her inmost nature. Her resplendent face is an index of her divinity and it is no wonder that to-day we find that many a casual visitor regard her as the divine mother incarnate. She has been a Brahmacharini from her childhood and is spotless in her character. She is unruffled and passes her days and nights in *Samadhi* which is interrupted only for a short time for taking her "frugal fare." But we must stop here and must not wander into what people regard as *terra incognita*.

Freelance Philosophy.

BY

MR. P. NARAYANA KURUP.

Once on a time it was my faith to drink
The honey from a thousand blossoms sweet,
Dig out my youth's mad metal and to beat
It into a chain of merriment, to link
And cure my soul with senses and thus sink
Life's differences. But it was indiscreet,
I slowly realised, to laugh and cheat
Myself with such philosophy and wink
At my own sins. I found that flesh was less
Than soul, as, even though the yields I gained
Of flesh were vast, they proudly failed to ease
The soul which wanted more than flesh for
peace.

In vain I searched; perhaps the soul's
ordained
To war for ev'r with senses' pettiness!

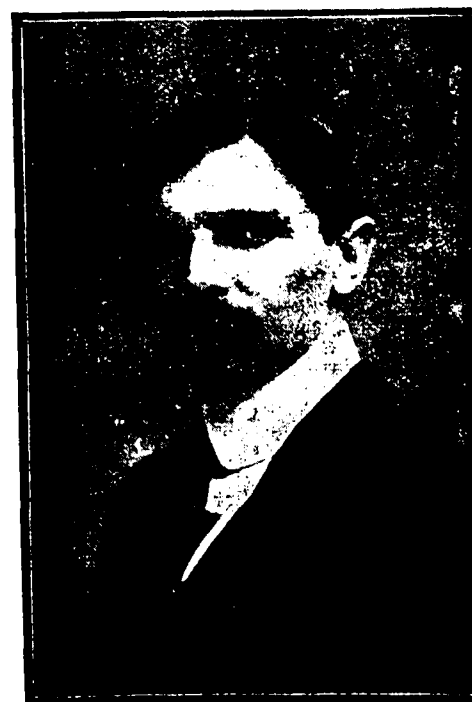
MAHOMED ALI JINNAH

BY

MR. V. NARAYANA IYER, M.A., M.L.

EARLY LIFE

MR. MAHOMED ALI JINNAH was born on Christmas Day 1876, at Karachi in a rich Khoja trading family. He was the eldest son of a rich Khoja merchant;



MAHOMED ALI JINNAH

and he was consequently reared up in affluence and fondled by the members of his family: one might very easily have become a spoilt child under these circumstances. But young Mahomed Ali exhibited an extraordinary passion for study. He was, very early in life, put to school and sent to the local Madrassah; from the Madrassah, in due course, he went to the Mission School whence he appeared for the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University.

* Condensed considerably from the Sketch prepared for the Volume on "Eminent Musalmâns" just published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Cloth bound Rs. 3. To Subs. of the *Indian Review*, Rs. 2-8.

IN ENGLAND

After matriculating at the Bombay University Jinnah went in 1892 to England to study for the Bar. He was scarcely sixteen and there is a picturesque portrait in words about his appearance then—"a tall thin boy in a funny long yellow coat." In England, he joined the Lincoln's Inn and kept his terms. In due time he was called to the Bar and he returned to India as a Barrister in 1896.

During his stay in England he came under the magic influence of Dadhabhai Naoroji and had the good fortune of taking his first lessons in politics from that veteran patriot. Dadhabhai was then the president of the London Indian Society and he acted as the guide, philosopher and friend of the Indian students in England; young Jinnah soon attracted his attention. Under the leadership of Dadhabhai Jinnah developed a sound sense of political values and a genuine enthusiasm for fair play which were the outstanding features of Dadhabhai Naoroji's patriotism.

RETURN TO INDIA

Jinnah returned home to find his family involved in financial troubles. He was denied the welcome of a comfortable home and the easy affluence in which he had lived when he left for England. The advantages of fortune were denied to the young barrister and Jinnah had to struggle through somehow during the lean years at the Bar. After three years of struggle and difficulties, Jinnah secured through the kind offices of an old friend of his family an introduction to Mr. Macpherson then acting Advocate-General of Bombay. Mr. Macpherson was kind and extended to the young Indian the privilege of reading in his chambers—an unprecedented thing in those days for a European Barrister to do. Occasional briefs now came to him and found him ready to utilise them in winning and building up a reputation for legal learning and powerful advocacy. Gradually Jinnah rose to power and to a leader's position at the Bar. In 1906 he was

enrolled as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court. To-day Mr. Jinnah occupies an envied position at the Bombay Bar and commands a very extensive and lucrative practice.

AS A LAWYER

As a lawyer Mr. Jinnah is considered a very able and powerful advocate on facts and is respected as an authority on questions of law. In the debate on the Transfer of Ships Restriction Bill in particular and generally when questions of law were raised Jinnah always commanded a respectful hearing both in the old Imperial Council and in the new Legislative Assembly.

EARLY POLITICS

Mr. Jinnah has, from the very beginning, been a staunch Congressman; his own political views have been shaped by association with Gokhale, Dadhabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee and Chitta Ranjan Das. Speaking in the Legislative Assembly, he said:

Sir, I might say that I learnt my first lesson in politics at the feet of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee. I was associated with him as one of his followers and I looked up to him as a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. Sir, as far as Mr. Das was concerned, he was a personal friend of mine. I have enjoyed his hospitality and he was one with whom I worked for many years.

On this occasion I should like to say this; that these were leaders in this country for whom the Muhammadans had the greatest respect; and they commanded the confidence of the Mussalmans as much as any Mussalman leader. Sir, the only lesson I feel that we might draw from the careers of these two great men is this: that in *Unity lies Salvation*.

THE AMBASSADOR OF UNITY

Indeed Mr. Jinnah was pre-eminently fitted to be the 'Ambassador of Unity.' For though he represented purely communal constituencies both in the old reformed Council and in the New Legislative Assembly, he has always enjoyed the confidence of Hindus and Muslims alike.

And no wonder. For he belongs to a Khoja trading family; the family trait brought in its wake cosmopolitan views of life and an intimate acquaintance with the Parsi community. A 'Khoja' inherits by birth the virtues of both Hinduism and Muhammadanism; 'Hindu by race and Moslem by

religion' as Sarojini Devi put it. He had the courtly and pacific demeanour of a Hindu combined with the virility and strength of purpose characteristic of a Moslem. And he married a daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit, a Parsi magnate of Bombay; the marriage did not mean a deviation from orthodox Muhammadan religion; for the faith permitted a marriage with a lady professing an alien religion. But the marriage brought in relief his cosmopolitan outlook. While like a true Khojah he retained the faith and the enthusiasm of a convert to Muhammadanism, his faith was rooted in the soil of true Indian nationalism.

A MOSLEM LEADER

Though certain orthodox Moslems looked askance and considered him outside the pale of orthodoxy, Mr. Jinnah, both in his inner life and in his outward conduct has proved himself a true believer in the tenets of his religion.

It is this attachment to Muhammadan religion and Muhammadan law that impelled him to sponsor the Wakf Validating Bill in the Imperial Council in 1913, sitting as a special member for an extra term for that purpose.

COUNCIL WORK

Indeed his position as a true Moslem leader has been so unchallenged that we find him repeatedly returned as a Muhammadan Member from Bombay ever since the first Imperial Legislative Council of the Morley-Minto Reforms. In the Council Hall he never brought in communal strife; but at the same time he watched jealously and saw to it that the fact of the Moslems being in a minority was never used against their interests. And he never allowed encroachments on the interests of the Moslems, their laws and their religion. The result is that his work has been much appreciated. As a nationalist he made effective speeches on the Elementary Education Bill, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill and Transfer of Ships Restriction Bill. His speeches on the Police Administration, on the working of the Indian Railways and on the Budget are clear and to the point and constitute powerful attacks on the ways and methods of the bureaucracy.

But Mr. Jinnah has no sympathy for the revolutionary. He does not despair of reforming the Government and if he has moods of despair, he does not even then think the less severely of the anarchists and the revolutionaries who seek to undermine the Government.

His abhorrence of anarchism and the revolutionary led him to support the Press Act and in the same speech he vigorously maintained his attitude. Then referring to the conditions of the time (April 1913) he said:

On this occasion I feel that having regard to the history of political crimes, my hands are tied, my mouth is closed and my countrymen who are responsible for these deeds are responsible to-day for the position which I occupy in the Council at this moment.

And he uttered a grave note of warning to the misguided anarchists:

Let those men who still have these misguided ideas, let those men who still have these hallucinations realise that by anarchism, by dastardly crimes, they cannot bring about good government; let them realise that those methods have not succeeded in any country in the world and are not likely to succeed in India. Let those men realise, before it is too late and before they bring their country into a position which may be regretted by every patriot who feels for and loves his Motherland; let them realise that those are not the methods.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOVERNMENT

Mr. Jinnah once said in the Imperial Council: "Sir, I believe in criticising the Government freely and frankly; but at the same time that it is the duty of every educated man to support and help the Government when the Government is right." It was in pursuance of this policy that he did not oppose the Press Bill, and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

It was in the same spirit that he welcomed the Indian Defence Force Bill.

AS A CONGRESSMAN

As we have said, Mr. Jinnah was an ardent Congressman. His early influences ensured that; he attracted considerable attention at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 at whose historic sessions Dadhabhai Naoroji, as President, enunciated the ideal of Swaraj for India. Mr. Jinnah was then acting as Naoroji's private secretary. He had been regularly attending the 'big meetings' every year. At this Congress he made his maiden

speech on family wakfs about which he put up such a fight later on in the Legislative Council.

ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE

Being a Congressman, the narrow sectarianism which actuated the Moslem League in its inception kept Jinnah away from participation in it. But his sympathies were in favour of the Mussalmans and their forming a League to advance themselves and their country. At the request of the League (which showed a great respect for Mr. Jinnah even when he kept out of it) he attended the Conference of Hindu and Moslem leaders at Allahabad convened in 1910 under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn. Doubtless, he worked for unity even then, although the times were not favourable. But the times changed and with it Moslem opinion. In 1912 there was a conference of Muslim leaders at Calcutta to consider the remodelling of the constitution of the All-India Moslem League "on more progressive and patriotic lines." Its secretary went on an extensive tour gathering Moslem opinion. And in December a special council meeting of the League met to consider proposals at which Mr. Jinnah was invited to be present and to render help although he was outside the League; His Highness the Aga Khan presided and an entirely new constitution was drafted which was ultimately enthusiastically adopted at the Special Sessions of the League at Lucknow on the 22nd March 1913. At this Lucknow meeting, Mr. Jinnah, still an outsider, gave his invaluable though informal support to clause D of the new constitution which materially embodied the Congress ideal of "attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of Self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting unity, by fostering public spirit and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose."

The year 1913 marks an era in Mr. Jinnah's life. Already he had sat three years in the Legislative Council. This year, he

introduced and successfully piloted the Wakf Validating Bill. For the first time a Bill introduced by a private member became law. He displayed during the progress of the Bill great powers as a tactician and debater and his powers in effecting unity were brought into play. Now that the League had a new constitution, he was persuaded by its sponsors, Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazi Hussain to join it. He was enrolled as a member in autumn 1913; the enrolment was to him a sacrament. His sponsors were required to make a solemn preliminary covenant that loyalty to the interests of the Muslim League and the Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply even a shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause.

WITH GOKHALE IN ENGLAND

About the middle of April 1913 Mr. Jinnah left for England in the company of Gokhale for a long holiday. But there could be no holiday for the active and energetic minds of Gokhale and Mr. Jinnah. As Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said with characteristic poetic vision "the Arabian stars and the Egyptian waters keep record, doubtless, of their mutual hopes and dreams for the country of their devoted service." And once in England, Jinnah could not keep idle. He founded the London Indian Association. He fought for the removal of the restrictions on Indian students. He made a study of the working of the India Council. When he again returned to England in 1914 as a member of the Congress Deputation concerning the reform of the India Council, this study was particularly useful.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

The untimely death of Gokhale in 1915 stirred Mr. Jinnah into greater political activity. He was chosen as the President of the All-India Moslem League which met at Lucknow in the Christmas week 1916. At about the same time (October 1916) he presided over the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. Already Mr. Jinnah was looking ahead for the Reforms. And after pleading for unity and concerted action by the Hindus and the Muhammadans he ended with this peroration :

In conclusion, let me tell you that after all a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Mahomedans, united and firm, the voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. India has, I believe, turned a corner. She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a bright and a great future in front of her. We are on a straight road; the promised land is in sight. 'Forward' is the motto and clear course for Young India. But in the onward march, we must be circumspect, and never lose sight of the true perspective before us. And Wisdom and Caution should be our watchwords.

ADDRESS TO THE MOSLEM LEAGUE

The Moslem League Address followed closely on this speech. After considering "a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulge freely and provocatively when the least menace arises to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power," he emphasised that India was fit for freedom and that she is determined to convince the British Empire that she is fit for the place of a partner within the Empire and that nothing less would satisfy India. He went on to point out the spirit of unity that actuated the Hindus and the Mussalmans. There was a simultaneous sitting of the Congress and the League at Bombay in 1915. There was a simultaneous sitting again at Lucknow in 1916. How much of the credit for this unity is Mr. Jinnah's is obvious from this passage from his League Address in 1916:

The simultaneous sessions were brought about with no little labour, anxiety and trouble. I do not wish to go into past controversy but I venture to say that the session of the All-India Moslem League at Bombay will go down to posterity as peculiarly interesting in its results.....The League rose phoenix-like, stronger, more solidified and determined in its ideals and aspirations, with added strength of resolution in carrying out its programme.....The main principle on which the first All-India Moslem political organisation was based was the retention of Moslem communal individuality strong and unimpaired in any constitutional re-adjustment that might be made in India in the course of its political evolution. The creed has grown and broadened with the growth of political life and thought in the community.

I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of separation sometimes levelled at Mussalmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark when I see this great communal

organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of United India. A minority must above everything else have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavour in the national tasks; to the Mussalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as regards their political existence as a community.

Then he spoke of the Congress-League scheme in moulding which he took an active part, and of the need to have a Bill drafted by constitutional lawyers as an Amending Bill to the Government of India Act. Mr. Jinnah was one of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council who submitted the famous Memorandum on the Reforms and a new constitution.

It is by these active steps in the cause of Unity that Mahomed Ali Jinnah earned the sobriquet of "the Ambassador of Unity." As early as 1913, Mr. Jinnah said "we have now reached the active stage when we realise that we must co-operate with one another for national work." Ever since, he had worked to bring about a union between the League and the Congress, between the moderates and the extremists. He was in turn a Congressman, a Moslem Leaguer and a Home Ruler and President of the Bombay Home Rule League.

IN THE ASSEMBLY

With the advent of the Reforms Mr. Jinnah found himself in his proper place in the Legislative Assembly, and there he organised the Nationalist party. He took an active part in the debate for the grant of full Self-Governing Dominion status to India and supported Pandit Motilal Nehru.

THE REFORMS REPORT

Mr. Jinnah found an excellent opportunity to emphasise these views in an authoritative document. He was one of the Members of the Reforms Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman. The publication of the Report in March 1925 was an important stage in the history of the reform movement in India. The Majority Report signed by the President and four others upheld the present system and suggested some trivial modifications in the Act with a view to pacify the national demand which was becoming insistent.

While the Minority Report which was signed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Dr. Paranjpye and Mr. Jinnah boldly put the case for dropping dyarchy altogether. The signatories pointed out :—

In our opinion, the system of Dyarchy was during the first three years everywhere worked in the Legislatures by men most of whom were professedly its friends and who, generally speaking, tried to work it in that spirit of reasonableness which is referred to by the majority of our colleagues, and it is no exaggeration to say—indeed this is also the testimony of several local Governments which we have quoted above—that generally a spirit of harmony and co-operation prevailed between the Legislature and the Executive notwithstanding the fact that the atmosphere outside was for sometime markedly unfavourable. The Indian Ministers and members of Executive Committee also, upon whom new opportunities of service were conferred appeared to us to have been with the sphere of their Executive duties, equally eager to work the Constitution in the same spirit of reasonableness, and yet differing from the majority of our colleagues we have been forced to the conclusion that the present system has failed and in our opinion it is incapable of yielding better results in future.

AN INDIAN SANDHURST

In his Budget speeches he effectively criticised the Government policy, especially in the matter of the Army. He was perhaps in his best form in attacking the bureaucracy in respect of its Army policy. In Feb. 1925 a Resolution was moved in the Assembly urging the Governor-General-in-Council to take early steps for starting a well-equipped Military College in India. Mr. Jinnah's speech on this occasion made a profound impression on the House as well as on the Government. In a series of searching questions and cross examination he strongly criticised the Government's delay in taking steps to Indianise the Army. He went so far as to question their *bona fides* with regards to their promises of early concession to the legitimate military ambitions of Indians. It was in fact this speech that made the appointment of the Sken Committee inevitable.

NOT A WRECKING PROGRAMME

In his speech upon a discussion of the demands for grants in the Assembly, Mr. Jinnah made the position of the Nationalist party clear (11-3-1924). He said :

I want to make it clear further that the Nationalist party here in this House do not stand for any wrecking programme. In this Assembly, we stand to

pursue a policy and a programme of a constitutional character. We shall pursue that policy and that programme until the last stages of the constitutional struggle are exhausted. There is no idea in the mind of the Nationalist party to resort to civil disobedience. There is no idea in the mind of the Nationalist party that we want revolution. There is no idea in the mind of the Nationalist party that we are going to carry on a campaign of non-payment of taxes.

THE LEE REPORT

Mr. Jinnah's independent attitude to political questions was never more explicit than in his protest against the Lee Report. He recognized the work and worth of the Superior Services in India but protested strongly against the extravagant claims of the Services, claims which are incompatible with the policy of Indianisation besides being a heavy drain on the finances of India.

THE BENGAL ORDINANCE

Mr. Jinnah opposed the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill in very strong terms. He never minced his words in his criticism of the bureaucracy.

Mr. Jinnah took an active part in the discussion on the Special Laws Repeals Bill, on the Indian Finance Bill, on the Maternity Benefits Bill and supported the resolution for the establishment of a Supreme Court for India. And whatever might be his views on the political problems of the day, whether he supported a Bill or attacked it, whether he moved or opposed a resolution or debated on questions of public importance with the Government or with the Swarajist party he always took an independent attitude in the interests of the country according to his lights.

BOMBAY REPRESENTATIVES' CONFERENCE

It is this transparent sincerity of purpose and candour of utterance, this willingness to consider and to pay regard to the opinions of others and to adopt them as his own when he was convinced, and his toleration for people with diverse views that characterised the part he played in the Bombay Representatives' Conference and in all his other enterprises as the "Ambassador of Unity."

MR. JINNAH'S MOVE FOR A NEW PARTY

In the Assembly, we have seen that Mr. Jinnah took an independent attitude, sometimes voting with the Liberals and sometimes

with the Swarajists. He found he could not go with either Party completely and he invariably found himself the leader of a centre Party. In the closing weeks of 1925 the Swaraj Party was torn with dissensions arising out of what was known as the Tambe controversy. The Party split itself in twain, some favouring responsive co-operation and others swearing by obstruction. At this time Mr. Jinnah was endeavouring to effect a coalition of all or most of the existing Parties, or, if that was found impossible, to create the nucleus of a new Nationalist or Central Party, which might in course of time, attract to itself Swarajists on the Left, and Liberals on the Right.

AS A SPEAKER

Mr. Jinnah is not yet past middle age. He has not completed his fiftieth year. He has had a bright career and a more brilliant one awaits him. He has, in the words of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu 'the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery, and a voice which while lacking in volume has an arresting timbre.' He has 'the cogent force of a brilliant advocate,' and at round table conferences, his genius finds the fullest scope; 'his extra-ordinary powers of persuasion, his luminous exposition, his searching argument, and his impeccable judgment' are revealed at their best when he sits in committee.

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TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Treaty of Locarno

The Locarno Settlement is the subject of a good deal of discussion in the December reviews. The most authoritative comment upon it is in the pages of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Mr. George Glasgow quotes Dr. Benes:

"The importance of what has been accomplished to-day will alter the whole spirit of European affairs. In particular it will have the following effects: (1) It will wipe out in a certain degree the past. The facts of the present situation are accepted by all parties as the basis on which Europe is to enter on a new life. (2) A definite pact has been signed whereby the signatories undertake: (a) not to make war, (b) to respect the inviolability of the frontiers of Germany, France, and Belgium. Therefore, for the first time since the war the four Great Powers say the same thing. It is a tremendous advance on anything that has yet been accomplished. In one sense it is a partial Protocol, for whereas the Protocol aimed at the universal outlawry of war, the Pact outlaws it so far as one particular danger spot is concerned. For the first time in diplomatic history nations have renounced their sovereign 'right to make war.' That fact brings with it an entirely new conception of international war and peace. (3) Arbitration treaties have been concluded which provide for arbitration on all points. It is an unexampled and tremendously important thing that Great Powers have agreed on arbitration for all questions without exception. The arbitration treaties are conceived in such a way that they restrict the possibility of war to such war as may be prescribed in fulfilment of Article 16 of the League Covenant. (4) In spite of the fact that there is no Eastern Pact to balance the Western Pact—the seriousness of which is that Eastern conditions are hardly as stable as Western—yet the moral importance of the Western Pact will be a powerful influence for peace in the East. (5) Central Europe will be consolidated. Settled peace on the Rhine means settled peace on the Danube. (6) Russia will inevitably be drawn into the European system again, for it will no longer be possible for her either to maintain her isolation or to play on the differences of the Western Powers. (7) In the United States, too the established fact of the European consolidation of nations will have great influence in the future both as regards her general conception of European affairs and her own relations with Europe."

In the EMPIRE REVIEW "Diplomaticus" says that the entry of Germany into the League of Nations is the most important immediate consequence of the Pact. He is of opinion that the next logical step would be another Disarmament Conference. He says:—

At Locarno each nation surrendered up what it had to give towards the common good, the settlement of Europe. Germany surrendered the idea of a war of revenge Great Britain her right to consider herself detached from Europe; France the keystone of her

late foreign policy, the idea that Germany is her permanent enemy. If the nations, including America will only discuss their financial relations in the spirit of seeing how much they can each afford to give up, instead of approaching these problems from the point of view of how much they can possibly get out of each other, the chances of a settlement increasing the prosperity of all will be enormously increased. Meanwhile, England, France, and Germany, respectively, may well be proud of the work their representatives have done at Locarno.

The ROUND TABLE, while rejoicing over the Locarno settlement, attempts on the other hand, to foresee the difficulties and dangers which it may involve. Referring to Article 9 which reads that "The present Treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the British Dominions, or upon India, unless the Government of such Dominion, or of India, signifies its acceptance thereof," it writes:—

It is pretty evident that Mr. Chamberlain, having kept the Dominions and India fully informed of the negotiations throughout their earlier stages, felt that if they were to be carried through to a successful conclusion it was not practical politics either to collect a really representative delegation to take with him, or to expect it to come to decisions binding the six Governments of the Empire with the speed which was essential if agreement was to be reached. For it was of the very essence of the Locarno Conference that it should be small, and not obstructed by numbers and formality, and that it should conclude its labours in not much more than a week. So he went ahead, did the best he could, and has submitted the result to the Dominions to ratify or ignore as they please.

In conclusion the ROUND TABLE calls for a British Imperial Conference to consider the position in which the Locarno Treaty has placed the Empire as a whole. It concludes:—

The Locarno pact is inseparably mixed up with the working of the League of Nations. The Dominions are members of the League. They are, therefore, under obligation to take certain action in certain eventualities. What exactly are those obligations? It is essential that public opinion should know. Further, the attitude of the Assembly towards the whole question of these arbitration treaties, still more the attitude of Great Britain, which speaks for the "British Empire" on the Council of the League, can be profoundly influenced by the views of the Dominions. How are they going to exercise that influence so as to promote peace? The problem raised by the Locarno treaties for the nations of the Empire, indeed, is far more complicated than the narrow one of whether the Dominions should formally ratify them or not. On the last point we can clearly express no opinion, for it is within the sole competence of each Parliament to decide for itself.

Christianity and Women

Under the heading "Some aspects of Christianity" Mr. S. Haldar observes in the pages of the January number of THE MAHABODHI that Christianity gives no freedom to women. Even the Bible has assigned a very low place to women. For, Eve, the first woman, introduced Sin into a world which was created perfect. She thereby incurred the serious displeasure of Jehovah who thus pronounced his curse on her: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

He says that the idea of restricting the freedom of women is bound up with the very root of the Christian conception of the origin of Sin. He substantiates his statement by citations from the Bible.

"The Bible told man that woman 'was the first in the transgression, therefore keep her in subjection.' Let us turn to the New Testament. In his first Epistle to Timothy, Paul the Apostle says that the woman should 'learn in silence with all subjection,' that a woman should not be allowed to teach or to 'usurp authority over the man' but to remain silent. According to the same apostle women are 'commanded to be under obedience.' The prevailing attitude in the earlier days of Christianity with regard to woman was that 'while man was a human being made for the highest and noblest purposes, woman was a female made to serve only one.' Augustine, as a great Christian, emphatically taught woman's inferiority. Chrysostom looked upon woman as a 'necessary evil,' a 'domestic peril,' a 'deadly fascination and calamity.' Lecky tells us that in the whole feudal legislation women were placed in a much lower legal position than in the Pagan Empire." A modern English writer has said of the position of woman in Christendom: "Women have till a very recent period had grave reason to complain of English legislation." The result in this matter is traceable directly to the teachings of the Bible."

Status of Women in Islam

THE REVIEW OF RELIGIONS has an article on "The Status of Women in Islam," by Mr. G. F. Malik who reviews the position of women in various countries professing various religions other than Islam. Before the birth of the Holy Prophet Mohammad, India, Persia, Greece and all the countries noted for ancient civilisation were keeping women under bondage. Woman was a mere marketable chattel. A man could have as many wives as he liked. The wives, with the exception of the one first married, laboured under many difficulties. But the Holy Quran refers to the so-called superiority of man:—

Men are guardians of women because of the superiority God has given to some over others and because men spend their money for women.

The writer explains this verse as follows:

The key of the superiority of man over woman lies in the fact that man is the maintainer and it is only justice that he who earns should have the final word in the management and disposal of what he earns. In spite of this superiority in matters connected with the management of the house we cannot say that man renders greater service to society than woman. If man earns livelihood for his children his wife is entrusted with their breeding and upbringing and it is difficult to give the verdict in favour of any of them.

Islam, Mr. Malik says, gives woman equal social status to that of man. She is not a victim of the caprice and whim of man. She is not to be cast aside like a worn-out garment when desired by man. Divorce, according to Islam, is allowed only under special circumstances and that even after fulfilling many conditions. It is also hedged in by a variety of limitations. Referring to the status of Muslim women in India the writer says:—

Woman is the keystone of the arch of family life and unity in family life is essential to a progressive State. After 13 centuries of progressive development working with the legacy of a prior civilization under the most favourable circumstances, the most civilised country in the world has not given to woman the status accorded to her by Islam.

Hindus and Muslims

The proceedings of the last session of the Moslem League throw a baleful light on the growing spirit of communalism in the country. It is now clear that that spirit has invaded even those quarters which were least suspected to be susceptible to it. Sir Abdur Rahim's speech is to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, "a challenge to Indian nationalism." And the whole session of the Moslem League is "indeed a thunderbolt."

Mr. Sastri has seldom written on this communal question, following the wise lead given to the Society by the late Mr. Gokhale. He would fain have followed Mr. Gandhi's resolve not to write or speak on the Hindu Moslem problem, but reticence is no longer possible. The pity of it is that there are Muslim leaders who sincerely believe "that the advent of nationalism will be furthered and hastened by yielding to the separatist desire and so winning the confidence of the minority." But, says Mr. Sastri in the SERVANT OF INDIA, "this belief is in flat contradiction of our experience since 1909."

"The separatist feeling grew and grew after that year until the Indian National Congress, after some years of resistance, actually recognised and embodied it in the now famous Lucknow pact. At the time of that pact both Hindu and Muslim nationalist patriots devoutly hoped that it was only to be for a time and confined to the apportionment of seats in the Legislature. Alas, for the vanity of human hopes! Like rank poison it quickly spread; it got into Municipalities and Local Boards; and when Sir Muhammad Shafi was Education Minister, it defiled even the sacred places of learning. From the followers of Islam it infected other communities, European, Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian, Sikh. It then performed a miracle in history. From being the shield of minorities it became in South India the battlecry of an overwhelming majority. Now communalism is the God whom most people openly worship in India, including a great many who profess themselves to be the votaries of unity and of nationality."

And what is worse, even public offices have become a prolific cause of bitter contention among the communities, so much so "that fitness, efficiency and the needs of the state are no longer the principal considerations in recruitment and promotion." As a result the public services show "a decline of morale which must in its turn weaken and debase the national character."

What is the remedy? Not in making the cleavage more pronounced by starting separate electorates. The ideal arrangement, is of course one in which there is a general register of voters and the candidate's birth, race and religion is not taken into account. But that is a far cry.

The proper course then is to depart as little as possible from the ideal. The plan that satisfies this condition is that of a general register and general voting qualified by reservation of the necessary number of seats for the benefit of the minority. * I would propose as the next alternative that one-half of the representation of the Muhammadan community be raised on the above plan and the other half raised on the present plan, namely, separate electorates. We should thus provide for both communities trying to forget their differences, in certain places at least Hindu candidates appealing to Muhammadan voters and Muhammadan candidates appealing to Hindu voters.

But Mr. Sastri is emphatic that the principle of separate election must be scrupulously kept out of the sphere of education and should not be extended in the sphere of local self-Government. Another novel proposal which Mr. Sastri puts forward is that we should erect a second House of Legislature in the provinces as well as in the centre, the larger House to be wholly elected on a democratic franchise, the second or the smaller House to include representatives of interests and of minorities. "Wide as this departure would be, it is sound in theory and in the direction of advance, provided it commends itself to our Muslim brethren. Conflicts between the Chambers might be frequent and troublesome. But most modern constitutions provide for the termination of deadlocks and time and experience will show how we can best manage such crises without serious dislocation."

"Management" in Industry

In the course of an article in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, Mr. Oliver Sheldon emphasises the importance of "Management" as the vital connecting link that will make capital and labour really efficient. What is the sphere of this "third party" as he calls it, in industry?

Efficiency in industry is overwhelmingly a question of efficiency in Management. Neither Capital nor Labour can contribute singly to the same degree to this end. Of what avail is the toil of the workshops if the product be poorly designed, if the costs be increased by unscientifically planned organisation, if inadequate advantage be taken of the facilities for inter-trade co-operation, if there be shortage of materials, ill-devised plant, inadequate or expensive transport, unhealthy conditions of work, lack of training, poor selling and ineffective sales organisation?

These things do not lie within the province of Labour or of Capital. They are the concern and responsibility of Management. Neither Labour nor Capital can be efficiently employed unless Management itself can effectively put these forces to their maximum use. The key rests in the hands of Management.

Efficiency in management has been raised to a new plane. New possibilities of output and of cost-reduction open out every day as a result of improved methods of planning and control. "To seize upon these, to employ them to the utmost—that is the task of Management."

On the one hand, science and invention have hurried industry forward into a realm of fresh mechanical possibilities; on the other, the restlessness of a new world-mentality has made industry echo and heave with the pulsating throb of great new human forces.

To control and use to the full these gigantic mechanical powers—to guide and unify these portentous human forces—to mould this strangely volatile compound of machine and man into the great Instrument of service which industry, to fulfil its destiny, must become—these are the tasks which confront the third party, in industry, as our world passes beyond the border of known and tangible things and awaits the realities which to-morrow's light must reveal."

Labour Legislation in India

Mr. P. O. Philip writes in the pages of THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL REVIEW suggesting some constructive proposals with regard to the future of industrialism in India. He summarises the need for further labour legislation in India as follows:—

- (a) A Bill for maternity benefit.
- (b) The prohibition of labour of women in mines, either by a fresh Bill or by Local Governments taking executive action as provided under the Mines Act.
- (c) A Truck Act covering such matters as excessive fines, arbitrary deductions for absence, payments in arrears, etc.
- (d) Suitable modification of the Factory Act so as to provide for the periodical examination of children between the ages of twelve and sixteen now employed as half-time workers, and also for the medical examination of children before they become full-time workers, to ascertain whether they are physically fit to become major employees.

The writer is of opinion that a good deal of improvement has to be made in the working of the legislation already in force. For example, there ought to be stricter application in practice of regulations regarding the permission for children to be on mill premises. The appointment of more factory inspectors and doctors is also very necessary, if the existing legislation has to be worked satisfactorily. With regard to women workers Mr. Philip says:—

"Considering the large number of women employed in factories and mines, we should also urge the appointment of more women factory inspectors and medical women. Where there are many women workers the establishment of *creches* should be made obligatory."

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The Truth about China

Under the caption "The Real Truth about China," Mr. S. G. Meng, Editor of the CHINESE TIMES contributes an article to THE PACIFIC WORLD. He traces the Shanghai outbreak to the awakening of the national consciousness of the Chinese who have been cheated and bullied for so long by other powers. Mr. Meng is of opinion that the present struggle is a sign of the decline of the imperialistic power and the spreading of the light of world-peace. The key to the present situation is thus put in a nutshell by the writer:

It is not the result of a sudden unwarranted outburst. It is a logical development out of a dark background which has been painted with heavy strokes by foreign powers ever since China was opened up to the outside world.

Those black strokes have been:

1. The Opium War, waged by Great Britain in 1842, for the purpose of forcing the opium trade upon China;
2. The resulting territorial concessions in the treaty-ports, wrested from China first by Great Britain and then by the other powers in turn;
3. Extra-territorial rights or immunity from Chinese law;
4. Maintenance of foreign troops on Chinese soil;
5. Control of customs by foreigners;
6. Exploitation of national resources and labour by foreign capital;
7. Habitual insult and contempt and bad treatment of all Chinese in their own country by inhabitants of the foreign settlements.

Thus the conscience of the whole Chinese nation has been aroused. Even the militarist leaders who have been always at Civil War with each other are now voicing their desire for consolidated action against foreign domination. Mr. Meng concludes:

Perhaps then this will prove to be the real opportunity for China's unification. China has awakened and is struggling for her freedom. The first thing for her to work for is the revision of all the unequal treaties, the cancelling of extra-territorial rights, and the recovery of her right to control the nation's tariff. If she strives determinedly, I feel sure she will succeed in this. But this is a most critical time, and she needs some good friends to understand and help her.

II

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS, for the month of January contains a well-informed article on the vexed Chinese question. The writer is the Rev. G. G. Warren, missionary in China since 1885. He says that the relations between the British Government and China have been characterised by goodwill to China, and always by the honourable fulfilment of treaties made on the part of the British.

Referring to the much talked of anti-British attitude of the Chinese Mr. Warren says:

There is not the slightest anti-Chinese attitude in the hearts of the majority of the British in China. I see no reason why we who live in China need change our attitude towards the Chinese. Such Chinese as have recently adopted an anti-British attitude will soon find it takes two to make a quarrel. By all means let us discuss any plans that Chinese writers or speakers wish to put before us to better our inter-relations. But let us remember that no plan based on untruth, or on the suppression of the truth, will work for the good of either people. Sooner or later truth will win. We make it sooner when we stick to truth only; we make it later every time we compromise with anything that goes to the making of a lie.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIA'S DEBT TO RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY. By Chunal Bose, [C.I.E., "THE CALCUTTA REVIEW," Decemb. 1925].

THE INDIAN FRONTIER PROBLEM. ["The Round Table," December 1925].

IS INDIA THE MOST LIGHTLY TAXED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD? By Prof. Brij Narain, ["The Modern Review," Jan. 1926].

PRINCIPLES OF LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA. By P. S. Lokanathan, M.A. ["Indian Journal of Economics," July 1925].

INDIAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. By the Rev. Canon Arthur Crosthwaite, ["The National Christian Council Review," Jan. 1926].

YONTA—THE SAVOUR OF HINDU ARTS. By Mr. K. Arambachari, B.A. ["The Educational Review," Nov. 1925].

WHAT JAPAN OWES TO INDIA. By Prof. J. Takakasu, ["The Young East," Dec. 1925].

The Function of India

Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, M.A., I.C.S., writing in the January issue of the *YOUNG MEN OF INDIA*, on "The function of India," tells us that in religion, in art and in life India was the mistress of Asia even in days long gone by. The intellectual and spiritual impulses of Asia came only from India in the first thousand years of the Christian era.

More than any other country in Asia, India has been a crucible for all that men have achieved. India is not only the home of a Hinduism which has created and absorbed Buddhism, it is also one of the principal Moslem countries, and was the seat of one of the most glorious of Islamic empires. It has also been the seat of the grandest of the European empires. The civilization of Asia, in which India herself had a leading share, has been brought into close contact with the civilization of the West, of which England is a leading exponent. There is no country in Europe and Asia where more elements of human growth have been thrown together than in India. And the civilization of nature is as richly represented in India as the civilization of man.

He says that it is the duty of India to develop her science also, including her logic, her geometry, her mechanics and even more complex branches. The ideal of India has been pitched high and to achieve it would be to conquer a new world of mind and matter. He adds:—

There are signs in India that she is embarking again on her high adventure. The importance of Gandhism lies in its attempt to use the power of man as against the power of matter. But its constructive work has not been appreciable. The engineer of mind who will build with the power of man has yet to arise. But when he arises—this I believe—he will be an Indian.

The West and the East

"To-day the Western holiday makers, who pay brief visits to Eastern countries, comfortably rushing across vast changes of environment, are unceremoniously hurled upon differences that are too obviously on the surface," writes Rabindranath Tagore in the *VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY*.

"Here they suddenly miss all the products of progress to which they have become accustomed, during the latest growth of their own civilisation, since the time of their grandparents. In their own countries their consciousness is kept stirred all the time by a sudden and rapid extension of

power that arouses in their minds the exultation of unlimited possibility.

When they come to a continent where nature's great store-house of wealth remains closed and where people's minds are mostly pre-occupied in following some time-honoured rules which, as they themselves believe, give perfection to social life, it is no wonder that the strongest impression which these Western travellers carry away with them is that of the greyness of a blank existence.

They fail to see anything significant because they miss here the intense light in which they habitually live. They believe that the obscurity is absolute, they only see the dusk and very little of the world that lives and moves behind its screen."

East and West

In the course of an article in the *EAST AND WEST* Rev. L. H. Gwynne, Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan, observes that for a better understanding between nations and races, strong desires, first rate knowledge, national support and organization are necessary. He is of opinion, that the Conference held at Stockholm is one of the many indications that mankind is drawing closer together.

In conclusion, he says:—

"We Christians do not doubt that these have come about in God's appointed time. Perhaps we were not ready for it before. The East and the West are meeting, and in the meeting there must be a clash of ideals, and mis-understandings, but there are signs of a desire to know each other better and an understanding which is spreading sympathy with each other's points of view. It will not be soon, but the time is coming when the Christians of the East, who hold on to their faith with consummate tenacity, will join with the Christians of the West in their struggle to carry out the plan and purpose which God has for the whole world."

Courses in Matrimony

Eleanor Early writing in *LIBERTY* gives an elaborate account of the College for Women at Boston which has instituted a special course of training for prospective brides.

The student who has taken the complete course and has satisfied the examiners of her proficiency is entitled on entering the bonds of matrimony to place after her name the letters C. B., that is, Certified Bride. When the course in matrimony was initiated, the "Chair of Love and Marriage" was offered to a lady who was believed to have made a success of matrimony in her own case, a Mrs. Macdonald, and was accepted by her. Mrs. Macdonald is the university's trainer of brides.

Each department in college is contributing to the idea. Every professor and instructor is pledged to further it. For instance: The professor of psychology illuminates the mental processes of the male and emphasises the differences in the psychology of men and women with a view to establishing a more sympathetic understanding between husbands and wives. The professor of accounting introduced a system of personal and household budgeting that guarantees immunity from all the usual errors of domestic finance. The professor of economics dwells particularly on the problems of the average American home, and the professor of sociology discusses the new relation of the sexes, giving a place in the sun to the wage-earning wife. Marriage is made a profound study. Girl students analyse its cause and effect. They know its liabilities as well as its assets. And no man can sell them the proposition because the night is full of stars and the air is full of roses."

Mrs. MacDonald employs the epigram as a vehicle of instruction. Here are a few characteristic examples of her *ex cathedra* utterances:

"Never marry a man just because you love him."

"Love in a cottage is a fallacy. Money talks."

"Romance and roses fade. But rent and bills we have always with us."

"A good provider wears better than a dancing partner."

The following is a typical test question from an examination paper set to students in the matrimonial class at Boston:

Mary Brown is a golf widow. She hates country club crowds and cock-tails and cigarettes. Her husband is happier at the club than at home. They love one another, but their tastes are entirely different. Mary, being of a philosophic turn of mind decides to.....Finish this paragraph in not more than two hundred words.

A Universal Language for India

Mr. Madhusudhan S. Gokhale contributes an article on "the problem of a universal language for India," to the current number of the *MODERN REVIEW*. He is of opinion that the Hindi language possesses certain characteristics necessary for occupying the position of the universal language in India. He says that the Government of India has no interest in establishing a *lingua franca* for India other than English and that the problem cannot be solved by leaving it to spontaneous development unless there be some language which is inherently qualified for it. The writer enumerates the following characteristics essential for a universal language:

I. The universal language should be easy to learn. At present in India there is no common language as such and whichever language we choose as our future universal language, will have to be studied by those whose mother-tongue is some other Indian dialect. * * * The prominence that the English language has gained in Indian politics is due to its political status, not to its simplicity, or any other inherent merit.

II. To facilitate the introduction of any of the present languages of India as our future national language, it should have a generous stock of literature available for immediate use. There is no use trying to create literature in that language after deciding on the language. The stock should be ready and copious.

III. The language should also be homogeneous. By homogeneity is meant the uniformity of character throughout that part of India in which it is spoken. It should be indistinguishable from its namesake in the neighbouring district.

IV. There should also be a large percentage of speakers in that language to start with as it will promote the growth rapidly, once adopted.

Books are given at concession rates only to subscribers of "The Indian Review." Any one who wishes to buy books at concession rates must remit Rs. Five one year's subscription to the Review in advance.

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

Britain's Army policy in India

The December number of the CENTURY MAGAZINE contains an article entitled "The United States of India," from the pen of the American Sociologist, Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, who visited India during the last cold weather. The article deals with all the political problems confronting the Indian public. Referring to Britain's Army Policy in India Mr. Ross says that the Government are not generous in their army reform. India keeps 61,000 white troops and the cost of maintaining one European soldier equals or is more than that of four native soldiers. Native soldiers are not admitted to the Air Force, the Tank Corps, the Armoured Car Companies, the Royal Horse Artillery, the Field Artillery, the Medium Artillery etc. Indian Sepoys know only to fire ordinary guns. Consequently very few of them rise above *Subedar Major* or *Kessalliar Major* (Viceroy's Commission). Whereas any new British recruit who is a second or third Lieutenant outranks the Sepoys, for he holds the "King's Commission" with regard to this policy of the Government Mr. Ross writes :

Either the British do not want young Indians to learn the art of war, or else, as an ex-Commander-in-Chief remarked to the head of the Hindu University they "have to provide for their young men."

There is resentment, too, that an Indian youth who wishes to learn how to defend his country has to spend two years at the War College at Sandhurst in England. The patriots demand that a war College be set up in India to train officers for the Indian Army. They remark with bitterness that when they ask for self-government they are met with, "But you are not able to defend yourselves." When they reply, "Very well, give us an opportunity to learn the art of defending ourselves," that opportunity is withheld. They infer that it is the policy of their British masters to treat them as a subject people and that all the fine talk about the British Empire having become the "British Indian Commonwealth of Free Nations" is eye-wash for the onlooking world. So far as India can see, she is still 'dependency' rather than "equal partner."

The Crop-drying Machine

Quite a revolution there would be if success attends the invention of the crop-drying machine which would not only be a novel method of drying crops but a simple one too. Mr. S. L. Bensuan's contribution in the QUARTERLY REVIEW would certainly be of immense interest to the agriculturists all over the world. In the course of his article he says :—

The new method of drying crops is quite simple. The stack, whether the crop be hay or corn, is built round a central frame of wood and wire, from which a pipe passes to the drying machine. The machine itself consists of an outer frame enclosing cylinders over which, by the aid of paraffin vapour lamps, air is heated to a given temperature, this temperature varying with the crop to be dried.

The hot air is driven into the pipe by means of an ordinary motor to which a belt is attached, and through the pipe to the centre of the stack, and through the centre of the stack to all parts of it. At the time of writing, it is still necessary to make circular stacks and to limit the dimensions to twelve tons, but this size and shape will undoubtedly be variable later on.

The actual cost of using the machinery, whether in wet weather or dry, is less than the cost of hand labour. For example, the making of hay in the field, comes out at 4s. 6d. a ton in good weather, and the drying of hay in the stack at 2s. 6d.

Moreover, and this is a very important matter, hay artificially dried is more nutritious than hay made in the open; it is found by experiment that there is less loss in productive nutriment. It is claimed for the crop-drying machines that they can harvest any crop in any weather, that they can eliminate field labour, that they can produce a better quality of hay, that they enable the corn fields to be cleared so that the autumn ploughing can proceed as soon as ever whether permits, that straw dried by the machine has a greater feeding value; finally, a hard sample of grain can be obtained within a week of cutting corn in any weather.

In fact, it may be said that the crop-drying plant will eliminate the bad harvests, and what this means to the farmer let those testify whose winter oats were ready for cutting in the middle of July in the summer that has passed, and whose other corn crops were following in close succession. The old days, when corn remained out on the fields until sometimes the autumn floods carried away what birds and vermin had left, or in the absence of floods, the grain sprouted in the ear, will be forgotten in a few years, when the crop-drying machine has been perfected, cheapened, and brought to the service of every holding, large or small.

Questions of Importance

All-India Social Conference

The All-India Social Conference was held on the 31st December at Calcutta along with the meeting of the Liberal Federation. A large number of ladies and gentlemen attended.

The proceedings commenced with a welcome address by Babu Muralidhas Banerjee, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who said that unless "they could elevate their women and the masses all talk of Swaraj and Self-Government was meaningless."

On the proposal of Sir M. Joshi seconded by Dr. Chuni Lal Bose, Mrs. Sarala Devi Chowdhurani took the chair. The President said that the



MRS. SARALA DEVI CHOWDHURANI.

Indian National Congress now looked upon the Social Conference as a powerful ally, and has engrafted much of its programme, and the last Programme invited recruits to rally under the flag of social reform. She criticised at length the Priesthood, and emphasised that the vast mass of humanity was waiting for torch-bearers.

She went on to add that social reconstruction goes at the root of nation building :

"I make bold to assert before my young friends as I have done erstwhile from other platforms that social reconstruction goes at the very root of

nation-building in India. Social solidarity is the progenitor of provincial privileges. Unless we set our house in order we cannot step out, claim or bear the burden of political rights in the outside world."

Dr. Paranjpye speaking about woman franchise said that it would be a great loss to the nation if the women of the country were kept aloof from Municipalities and Legislative Councils. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal spoke on the relaxation of caste rules. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani urged the need for female education, Miss Lina Roy, Mrs. Ramini Roy, Mrs. M. Dutta and Mrs. Kumudin Bose spoke on various other disabilities of Indian women and urged their removal.

A large number of resolutions advocating social reforms, and education of women, and asking all Associations and workers to make greater efforts in this direction both in the general and vocational lines was adopted. The Conference also recorded a resolution calling on the people to strive for the maintenance of cordial relations between Hindus and Muhammadans and doing away with the caste system and untouchability, advocating the remarriage of widows, and finally, urging for women political franchise and total prohibition.

The Volunteers' Conference

Mr. T. C. Goswami presiding over the Third All-India Volunteers' Conference at Cawnpore delivered a stirring address to young men.

A message from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was read by the President.

The object of the movement, said Mr. Goswami, was to inculcate non-violence and service among the youth of India. Mr. Goswami suggested the formation of volunteer Boards in each province "not so much to control all the volunteer work, as to direct it and correlate it and above all, to keep a census of the activities of all young men's union." The Volunteers, unlike the members of a standing army, will have to pursue normal vocations.

Utterances of the Day

Sir J. C. Bose on Corporate Life

In addressing the Benares Hindu University Convocation, Sir J. C. Bose referred to India's contributions in the modern epoch. He said:—

India in the past had given out her best for the enrichment of the world. Is that power now lost for ever? Let us confine our attention to the advancement of exact scientific knowledge. The specific acquirements for making great discoveries are vivid inner vision, great faculties of invention and experimental skill of the highest order. Aimless experimentation brings forth no great result; unrestrained imagination on the other hand leads to the wildest speculation, subversive of intellectual sanity. A true inquirer has at every step to compare his own thought, with the external fact; he has to remorselessly abandon all in which these are not agreed. In this path of self-restraint and verification, he is making for a region of surpassing wonder.

The excessive specialisation of modern science has led to the danger of our losing sight of the fundamental truth that there are not sciences, but a single science that includes all. India, from her habit of mind, is specially fitted to realise this wider synthesis. One of the greatest contributions in the realm of science would undoubtedly be the establishment of a great generalisation, not merely speculative, but based on actual demonstration, that the mechanism of life of the plant is identical with that of the animal. This great generalisation has been fully established by investigations which have been carried out in India. In other fields also, important advances have been made by devoted workers in different parts of the country.

TWO GREAT DANGERS

There are two great dangers which imperil the country. The first arises from foreign aggression and from internal disorder; without peace no advance is possible in national development. The students will fail in their primary duty as future

citizens unless they enrol themselves in the University Corps for necessary training. They should welcome great hardship and severe discipline by which alone they can attain their true manhood.

The second danger is immediate and widespread, Unemployment and severe economic distress is the cause of unrest in all countries; only it is far more acute here than anywhere else. It is hunger that drives people to desperation and to the destruction of all that has been built up for ordered progress. It is tragic that our country with its great potential mineral wealth and possibilities of industrial development should be in this plight. There are now a very large number of young men who could be specially trained in efficiently conducted Institutes, the standard of which should bear comparison with any in the world. It should also be our aim, as of any self-respecting country, to be independent of foreign countries for our higher education and for economic needs. For carrying such a programme a farsighted and comprehensive State-policy would be required.

UNIVERSITY OR MULTIVERSITY

The multiplication of Universities is a sign of growth in intellectual life; but there are certain dangers which must be guarded against from the very beginning. Instead of advancement of knowledge as the only goal, they may lead to the accentuation of communal differences, and the academies of learning may thus degenerate into different centres for the exploitation of narrow propagandist zeal. Instead of rivalry, there should be friendly emulation among sister Universities. Each would be expected to specialise in advancing a particular branch of knowledge, there being full facilities for exchange of professors and scholars.

SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE, *His Life, Discoveries and Writings*. With a biographical sketch and portrait. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of *J. R.* Rs. 2-8.

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

Indian States

States Subjects' Conference

Presiding over the 3rd session of the All-India States Subjects' Conference Mr. Shankerlal Kaul said that the inauguration of the Montford Reform had drawn people's attention to the Indian States and the form of administration prevalent there. Indian States could not remain unaffected by the times but the speaker deprecated the confusion of ideas on the subject of the future of Indian States. Mahatma Gandhi had himself recognised that they must provide for Indian States in the future Constitution of India.

The speaker did not think there was such a thing as Government by the people for the people in any part of the world. Russia showed them what Eastern democracy could become. In the U. S. A. democracy had become an actual danger. They had all read about lynching, the Klu Klux Klan and the recent monkey trial. In Italy Mussolini was the sole Dictator. They need not therefore be anxious in India to introduce the latest Western experiments. If Limited Monarchy was good enough for Great Britain it should be good enough for the Indian States. He asked his audience to remember that the States were more Indian than the provinces in British India. He believed in the process of evolving a common political destiny for the whole of India. The relations between the Government of India and the States were in theory dependent on treaties and sanads but while these ensure the integrity of the States there had always been an understanding that the Rulers in their turn have a corresponding obligation of administering their States on sound lines. Mr. Kaul assured them that even under Self Government the integrity of the States would not be disturbed.

As to what changes should take place in the Indian States administration. Mr. Kaul said that the States were in a real sense independent of one another and theoretically at least independent of British India. Again, the States were in varying

stages of advancement. They could not therefore lay down cut and dry theories applicable to all. Firstly, he asked for the encouragement of local talent. Another reform needed was that in the States where there was no system of revenue operation, proper settlements be introduced and the peasantry saved from oppression by petty officials. It was also necessary to have codes of law for judicial administration, as complaints of lawless procedure were by no means uncommon in the States.

But Finance was the most important question. The States were not Zemindaris and Jagirs. In some cases there was reckless misuse of public money. Princes treated the Treasury as their private purse and drew as much as they liked. There was no proper budgeting, auditing or accounting. The Budget system should be introduced and Princes should draw the maximum of 5 per cent of staff revenue for themselves and their entourage. A large majority of the States he continued, were backward for popular assemblies of a rudimentary character. What they must demand was that steps be taken in accordance with the stage of evolution of each State for the introduction of such assemblies. Mr. Kaul also pleaded for freedom of speech and the Press.

Mr. Kaul finally pleaded that instead of meeting only annually they should have a permanent organisation. Above all he concluded by appealing to the Princes to strengthen their position by responding to the spirit of the time.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions.

Secondly it framed a constitution declaring that the object of the Conference was the attainment of responsible Government in Indian States by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Other resolutions passed in connection with the constitution are more or less on the lines of the Congress.

Indians Outside India

Indians in South Africa

The following resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi was adopted by the Cawnpore Congress :

That the Congress extends a cordial welcome to the South African Indian Congress Deputation, and assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of its full support in their struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence in that sub-continent.

This Congress is, emphatically, of opinion that the proposed legislation, known as the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill is a breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, in that it is racial in character, and is calculated not only to make the position of settlers much worse than it was in 1914, but is designed to make residence in that country, of any, self-respecting Indian, impossible.

In the opinion of the Congress, if the interpretation of the said agreement, as put upon it on behalf of the settlers, is not accepted by the Union Government, it should be decided by reference to arbitration, as was done in 1893, in connection with matters affecting the Indian settlers of Transvaal, of Law 3 of 1895.

The Congress heartily endorses the suggestion that a Round Table Conference, containing, among others, proper Indian representatives, should be called to settle the question, and trusts that the Union Government will accept that reasonable suggestion. In the event of the proposal for a Round Table Conference, and the proposal regarding arbitration failing, the Congress is of opinion that the Imperial Government should withhold Royal Assent to the Bill, should it pass through the Union Parliament.

The Expulsion Bill

Mr. T. Prakasam, who has recently been touring in Burma, moved in the Cawnpore Congress the following resolution on the disabilities of Indians in that country.

This Congress regards the Expulsion of Non-Burman Offenders' Bill and the Sea-Passengers' Bill of Burma, to be an attack on the liberty of citizens; and, in the opinion of the Congress, the first Bill imperils the vast interests of Indians resident in Burma, inasmuch as it exposes innocent men to the mercy of the executive, and is of opinion that the Bills should not receive Viceregal sanction.

The real object of the Bill, he said, was the prevention of political propaganda among Indians. If the Bill came into law, he feared we would soon have a Kenya in the very heart of India.

Indians in New Zealand

With reference to a recent letter to the Bombay Corporation from the New Zealand Government regarding the treatment of Indians in the Dominion, Mr. C. F. Andrews states in an article to the INDIAN DAILY MAIL that since the war a deliberate anti-Asiatic campaign was undertaken by passing a new Immigration Act and making admission dependent on the discretion of the Agent General of Immigration. The comparison of figures of Indian immigrants during the years 1915 to 20 with those for years 1920 to 25 would, Mr. Andrews thinks, reveal the policy of White New Zealand pursued by the Dominion.

The Asiatic Bill

Mr. C. F. Andrews, addressing a mass meeting at the City Hall, Cape Town, declared that the Asiatic Bill went infinitely beyond the range of the old Class Areas Bill and directly contradicted all that had been said at every Imperial Conference since 1917.

Probably the worst feature of the present Bill was the wrong contemplated against ex-indentured labourers in Natal and their descendants. As an old member of the Labour Party in England and the President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, he was amazed to find the Labour Party in South Africa combining with the Nationalist Government to deprive some of the poorest and most oppressed labourers in the world—the Indian labourers—of their hard-won rights.

Certainly an appeal would have to be made to the League of Nations by the Labour Conference at Geneva against this specially adverse legislation against Indian labourers. If the Bill was passed a wrong would be done which would inflame the whole East.

As we go to press it is some comfort to read Mr. Andrews' cable to the *Bombay Chronicle* stating that the postponement of the Asiatic Bill is likely.

Industrial and Commercial Section

The Associated Chambers

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon, at Calcutta, on the 14th December in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. His Excellency Lord Lytton was present during the opening proceedings. Besides the delegates there were also present the Hon. Sir Charles Innes, Hon. Sir B. N. Mitra, Sir Hugh Stephenson, Mr. J. Donald, Maharaja Khaunish Chandra Roy and Mr. G. P. Roy.

Mr. Kenneth Campbell, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in welcoming the Viceroy, expressed rejoicing at the progress which Her Excellency Lady Reading has made since her recent serious illness. H. E. the Viceroy then made a lengthy speech, defending the trade policy of the Government. His Excellency spoke on the satisfactory conditions of Indian trade and the general economic stability of the country. He also congratulated himself on the fruitful effects of the suspension of Cotton excise.

The beneficial effect of this action on the situation in Bombay was immediate. I have been gratified to observe that the owners lost no time in meeting the grievances of the mill-hands and removing the cut in wages. The strike has ended, and the mills are at work again.

His Excellency then referred to the improved revenues, to the development of Indian Banking, to agricultural improvements, the re-organisation of Railways and to the general economic prospects of the future.

Meanwhile the lessons of the past years show that in Government and business alike the new conditions call again, as in the past, for continuous application, for unceasing attention and unremitting energy, and that, when the day comes India may maintain her high and honoured place in the great comity of the trading countries of the world.

Sir William Currie of the Bengal Chamber moved :

That this Association again impresses, on the Government, the equity of making provision for

business losses when computing income-tax, and strongly recommends that it should be made permissible for an assessee to carry forward the losses for a period of three years.

There was an interesting discussion on the resolution of Mr. Grantham, urging the preparation of industrial statistics, giving a continuous record of the economic condition of the working classes, being undertaken by the Central Government and not by the Provincial Governments.

Mr. Clarke of the Bengal Chamber moved a resolution urging on the Government the necessity for legislation enforcing destruction of the weed known as Water Hyacinth.

Mr. V. A. Grantham, of Bombay, moved that the Convention with Japan, of 5th March 1905, be terminated as soon as possible.

The Conference concluded its session the next day. Among the resolutions passed were, one requesting the Government of India to announce their purchases of sterling for remittance to England once a week, instead of at the end of each month, and another welcoming the decision of the Government of India to co-ordinate the activities of agricultural development in the various Provinces.

The next session will be held at Cawnpore.

The Leipzig Fair

A telegram dated 6th September from Berlin says that Indian importers are conspicuous, for the first time, among the buyers at the annual autumnal fair at Leipzig. Orders have been placed for textile machinery, agricultural machines and electro-technical appliances.

Coal Industries Plight

According to the President of the Annual General Meeting of the Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India, the outlook for the country's coal industry is very gloomy. The average price of coal has fallen heavily and shares have dwindled, in many cases to a very low level.

Agricultural Section

Problem of Fodder Supply in India

In his lucid review of agricultural conditions in India at the last meeting of the All-India Agricultural Board at Pusa, Dr. D. Clouston, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India laid stress upon the paramount importance of the problem of cattle-breeding in India. In no other country are there so many half-starved cattle he said, and "what is wanted is an improvement in the quality of our livestock." Whether for milk or for draught for which latter purpose for many years to come, cattle will remain the mainstay in Agricultural India, Indian cattle are not only rendering insufficient services, but gradually deteriorating. "Agricultural progress over the greater part of Rural India," observed Dr. Clouston, "is still handicapped, in short, by the fact that there is not enough fodder grown to meet the requirements of the cattle required for milk and draught." The land formerly assigned or rather used for grazing purposes and growing fodder is being increasingly encroached upon by a hungry population to grow "human" food-stuffs.

The future of cattle-stock in India is therefore closely associated with the question of fodder, and the Government Agricultural Adviser rightly says that "any improvement of our herds must be preceded by an improvement of the fodder supply."

Varieties of Tomatoes

Experiments made at the Agricultural College, Poona, with two varieties of tomato, as inter-crops between young fruit trees (figs or chikoos), says the INDIAN SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURIST have shown such improvement in yield, in one case at any rate, over the variety usually grown that it would seem wise that they should be more generally known.

The two varieties were known as "Great Baltimore" and "Bonny Best." They gave fruits

of high quality and of good form and size. The skin was smooth and the colour most attractive, being rich bright red. The flesh was solid and there were few seeds. The flavour was agreeable. The average weight per fruit was 13 tolas (5.3 ounces).

The results in weight of crop in 1923, in comparison with the local variety usually grown were as follows:—

Variety.	Yield per acre.
	Pounds.
1. "Great Baltimore"	.. 8,376
2. "Bonny Best"	.. 16,259
3. Local Variety	.. 9,220

The Horticulturist to Government, Agricultural College, Poona, will be pleased to supply a limited quantity of the seeds of these two American varieties to applicants. The "Bonny Best" is particularly recommended on account both of quality and high yield.

Indian Agriculture

The Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon, that lately assembled in Calcutta to discuss the economic needs and problems of the country adopted a resolution touching the improvement of agriculture in India. The Chambers ask for a bolder agricultural policy. The necessity for an effective agricultural policy on the part of the state might be political but it is primarily economic, and looked at from the Imperial standpoint, any reasonable steps that will go towards increasing the low purchasing power of India and raising the standard of life should be beneficial not only to the people of India but to British commercial interests, the prosperity whereof "depends to an overwhelming degree upon the purchasing power of the people" which "cannot be increased materially except by the development of agricultural productivity in India."

The World of Books

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION]

India in 1924-25. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 1 12

This is presumably the last of Prof. Rushbrook Williams' admirable volumes on the material and moral progress of India, for the Director of Information has since joined the service of the Maharaja of Patiala. The present volume maintains the very high standard we have learnt to associate with the writings of Dr. Williams. Few blue books are written with the same distinction of style and judgment. It will be difficult for his successor, whoever he may be, to bring to his task such judicial candour and force of expression. The volume before us is a masterly survey of the year's happenings.

Napoleonic Anecdotes. By Louis Cohen, Robert Holden & Co. Ltd., London.

There are books innumerable dealing with Napoleon's campaigns but there is hardly a volume revealing the real Napoleon—the man, not merely the soldier. This book supplies that want; for it is no less than a vivid portrait of Napoleon showing him intimately in his bed chamber as well as on the field of battle. There are pithy and pungent anecdotes touching his hobbies and his amusements.

Lord Sree Gouranga's Teachings to Sanatana Goswami. Translated by Ramondas Mozumdar. Published by Rajah Raghunandan Prasad Singh, Monghyr. 1-8/-

Of the several biographies dealing with the life and teachings of Lord Chaitanya otherwise known as Sree Gauranga, the "Chaitanya Charitramrita" by Krishnadas Kaviraj, is the most authoritative as it gives by far the fullest treatment of Chaitanya's life and teachings. The work being in Bengali, the present book which is a rendering into English of the most important part of it relating to Sanatana Siksha (teaching of Sanatana) should be welcomed. The book presents the Vaishnava Philosophy in a nutshell.

Jahangir's India The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert. Translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland, C. S. I., C. I. E., and P. Geyl. W. Haffer and Sons, Cambridge.

This is an account of life, mainly commercial but including also its social and administrative environment, in Agra written by Francois Pelsaert in 1626 for the information of his superiors in the Dutch East India Company. This REMONSTRANTIE sums up Pelsaert's seven years' experience in Agra where the Dutch were hard trying to build up their trade in indigo and spices and cotton goods. The Report ends with an account of the administration of the country, the life of the various classes and popular superstitions.

A Short Account of the Rise and Growth of the Shri Sadbhella Tirath, Sukkur rendered from the Sindhi by H. G. Ajwani—Sukkur, Sindh.

The Tirath is a place of pilgrimage situated on a small hill and washed on all sides by the Indus; and under the influence of Shri Swami Bankhandiji, the temple has been attracting pilgrims from far and near. In this book there is a brief sketch of Shri Swami Bankhandiji followed by an account of the foundation of the Tirath in 1823 A. D. and of the various places of worship and ghats there. The Swami died in 1863 A. D. The present incumbent of the Tirath is Swami Harnamdasji who is a staunch supporter of the Hindu Sanatan Dharma and of the cow-protection movement.

Lalita Sahasranama. With Baskaraya's Commentary. Translated into English by Mr. Ananta Krishna Sastri. Rs. 4-0-0. (G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras.)

This Commentary elaborately explains the beautiful verses of LALITA SAHASRANAMA which forms portion of the Brahmanda Purana the last of the eighteen, compiled by the sage Vyasa. The book comprises over 400 pages and contains the text in Sanskrit Devanagari.

December 15. The Commons passed the third reading of the Indian Civil Service Bill.

December 16. The Indian Deputation arrived at Durban to-day.

December 17. Mr. Lansbury introduced the Commonwealth of India Bill in the Commons.

December 18. Mr. Baldwin read in the Commons the text of the League's decision regarding Mosul.

December 19. The South African Indian Deputation interviewed the Viceroy to-day.

December 20. Amir Ali has abdicated the throne of Hedjaz and has left Iraq.

December 21. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald left London to-day for Ceylon.

December 22. Sultan Ibn Saud has granted a general amnesty to all the people of Hedjaz.

December 23. Rt. Hon. E. F. L. Wood, takes the title of Baron Irwin of Kirby-under-Dale.

December 24. Mr. Gandhi opened the All-India Swadeshi Exhibition in Cawnpore.

December 25. The All-India Khilafat Conference met at Cawnpore.

December 26. The Indian National Congress met to-day at Cawnpore under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

December 27. Japan withdraws her troops from Mukden (China).

December 28. The All-India Liberal Federation met at Calcutta, Sir M. Joshi presiding.

December 29. The Rumanian Crown Prince has renounced his succession to the Throne.

December 30. The All India Muslim League met at Aligarh to-day.

December 31. The ex-King Amir Ali of Hedjaz with his staff arrived in Bombay this morning.

January 1. Shapper Muhammad Renza has been appointed Crown Prince of Persia.

January 2. Heavy floods are reported in Amsterdam and its suburbs.

January 3. Margherita the Italian Queen-mother is dead.

January 4. The Hon. Sir Fazli Hussain is appointed Revenue Member of the Punjab Executive Council.

January 5. General Pangolas becomes Dictator of Greece.

January 6. The Maharaja of Nattoro is dead.

January 7. The Conference of the Elected Presidents of the Central and Provincial Legislative was held at Delhi—Mr. Patel presiding.

January 8. Sir Gerald Giffard, ex-Surgeon-General of Madras, is dead.



MR. B. G. HORNIMAN

Who has arrived in India after seven years' enforced absence and resumed the editorship of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

January 9. Mr. B. G. Horniman ex-editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* landed in India to-day.

Literary

All-India Libraries' Conference

The All-India Libraries Conference over which Mr. N. C. Kelkar presided was held at Cawnpore on the morning of the 29th December.

Rai Bahadur B. Vikramaji Singh as Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the President-elect and delegates.

Mr. Kelkar in his informing address dwelt on the importance of the multiplication of libraries all over the country and the part that they were likely to play in the regeneration of the country. The growth of the library movement he admitted was of recent growth but all the same it was making satisfactory headway. He emphasised the necessity of making co-ordinated effort in this direction just as it was being done in the same form in Maharashtra and Andhra Desa.

Two resolutions, one on the establishment of Libraries and Reading Rooms all over the country and the other for the creation of a central organization for the purpose, were duly passed.

Urdu Conference

A number of resolutions were passed at the Urdu Conference held at Aligarh last month.

The first resolution was, to the effect, that, in the opinion of the Conference, Urdu, being the common language of India, was the best means of restoring Hindu Muslim Unity, and the Conference expressed the hope that Hindu brethren would participate in a joint Conference to arrive at an amicable settlement of the question.

The next resolution asked the Government of India to recognise Urdu as the common language of India, in order to restore happy relations between Hindus and Muslims.

The third resolution recommended to the Governments of Behar, Bengal, Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay to extend to Mussalmans, the right of filing their petitions in Urdu script in the courts of their provinces.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER. Translated by Sir William Marris, Oxford University Press.

POLARIZATION. By Paul Tyner. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

THE UNIVERSE.—The three stages of the Earth. By Binode Bihari Roy Vedaratna, Rajshahi.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND CHRISTIANITY. By P. O. Philip, R. A. Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.

ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM INDIA. By Mrs. Eliza Fay. The Hogarth Press, London.

THE OPTIMIST AND OTHER STORIES. By S. V. Gulvadi, Indian Publishing House, Madras.

MYSELF IN VARIOUS THOUGHTS. By Hari Lal Dhingra, Civil Lines, Amritsar.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA UNDER A BUREAUCRACY. By John Dickinson, Published by Major Basu, I.M.S., Allahabad.

LAOLUS & OTHER POEMS. By E. Dickinson, D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

HUMPHRY CLINKER. By Tobias Smollett, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE MORAL VICTORY. By A. K. Muni, Janaki Printing Works, Produttur.

CEYLON AND THE HOLLANDERS 1658-1796. By P. E. Pieris, American Mission Press, Tellipalai, Ceylon.

PROBLEMS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION. By S. C. Basu, M.A., Sen Brothers & Co., Calcutta.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Dr. Annie Besant. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

INDIAN IDEALS. (Kamala Lectures, of Dr. Besant.) Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

ISLAM AND OTHER FAITHS. A pamphlet by C. Jinarajadasa. Theosophical Pub. House, Adyar.

THE GANGES. By Dr. E. H. Pascoe, The C. L. S. I., Madras.

INDIAN CURRENCY. By A. K. Sarkar, M. A. The Book Company, College Square, Calcutta.

CONQUEST OF TERRITORY AND SUBJECT RACES. By Rama Prasanna Sengupta, M.A. The Book Company, Calcutta.

Educational

Muslim Educational Conference

The All-India Muslim Educational Conference commenced at Aligarh on 26th Dec. Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum Khan, M. L. A., presiding. His presidential address dealt with a few important questions bearing on present-day education. He thought "the chief aim of their educational institution should not be to turn out men for Government service, but to give real education to young men. They should study carefully the strong and weak points in the educational institutions of the other nations. It was not a wise policy to teach the hawk to coo like a pigeon. They should never model their educational ideas by blind imitation of what others were doing. They should have their own men in every profession, but they should specialise only in those for which by nature and inclination they were the fittest."

He appealed to the community to provide for original research. He emphasised the need of practical agricultural education. He made a practical suggestion for improving moral instruction in schools, the first requisites being the realisation by children of the law of duty, and the second being the cultivation of the virtue of co-operation for a common end. He regarded the education of women as a settled question, and said that whatever suggestions he made for education of men applied, equally, to the education of women.

But the decorous proceedings were suddenly marred by a dramatic movement on the part of the lady visitors to the session. The latter had come to attend the Conference. But Atiya Begum of Bombay and a number of Muslim ladies who had come, found the screens removed and chairs upturned by the Conference authorities. A chivalrous member soon put up the screens and

the attention of the audience was drawn to Atiya Begum, who on behalf of the ladies, began to address the audience from the ladies' gallery.

The Secretary then walked out of the Pandal.

Atiya Begum was followed by another lady speaker, Mrs. Sakhawat Hussain of Calcutta, after whose speech the meeting was dissolved.

The Aligarh Jubilee

The jubilee week at Aligarh commenced on the 25th December with the Urdu Conference, presided over by Nawab Sadar Yar Jang of Hyderabad. There was a large gathering of distinguished Muslims from all over India to take part in the celebrations of the great educational work the foundations of which were laid 50 years ago by the illustrious Sir Syed Ahmed.

Moulvi Muklada-Khan Sherwani, in his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, set out some proposals for the development of Urdu, particularly with regard to compilation of the Urdu Encyclopaedia, and introduction of Urdu as a medium of instruction.

Afterwards Nawab Sadar Yar Jung, President, defining literature as the instrument of inculcating the messages of love and brotherhood, dwelt upon the different view points among the various communities, and pointed out that with all the existing differences they were united with one common bond of literature. He deplored the want of determination on the part of Mussalmans to move in the matter. According to him, Conferences and meetings achieved very little in the direction of developing literature. What was required was firm determination and fidelity to advance the cause of Urdu literature. He refused the popular notion that literature was confined only to unoccupied persons, and in support of his contention, he instanced Akbar and Baber, who, in spite of being great and busy men, had literary taste. The burden of the Presidential Address was to emphasise the desirability of cultivating a right taste for Urdu literature,

Legal

The Punjab Jails

Giving evidence before the Punjab Jails Enquiry Committee Dr. Satyapal, General Secretary, Punjab Congress Committee, related in detail the conditions inside the Jail in the Punjab mostly from his personal experience as a martial law and ex-political prisoner.

Questioned as to unauthorised indulgences in Jails, Dr. Satyapal stated that all conveniences could be purchased by inmates including intoxicating drugs and drinks and that even women were supplied to prisoners. In his opinion the Jail Regulations were so strict and unnatural that prisoners were tempted to bribe officials to secure ordinary amenities. Those who could not offer illegal gratification were maltreated. He suggested that a better class of Jail officials should be recruited and the Jails should be made reformatories and not mere places for punishment.

The present system of nominating non-official visitors in his opinion did not produce any very good results. He suggested the appointment of public spirited men selected by the Municipalities or other public bodies and advocated abolition of prisoner officials. He was in favour of more District Jails instead of present Central Jails.

The Bengal & Gurudwara Prisoners.

At the last Congress Mr. Sen Gupta moved the resolution on Bengal prisoners which ran as follows:

This Congress strongly condemns the abuse of Regulation III of 1818 and the autocratic enactment of the Bengal Ordinance Act, and the arrest and detention, without definite charge and open trial, of a large number of patriotic young men of Bengal under the said Regulation and Act, and further condemns their continued incarceration, maltreatment, and deportation outside Bengal, notwithstanding the clearly and repeatedly expressed opinion of the people, both inside and outside the legislatures.

This was seconded by Mr. Jayakar and supported by Mr. Shyam Sunder, Chakravarty and passed.

The Resolution on the Gurudwara prisoners was moved by Lala Lajpat Rai:

This Congress deeply regrets that the Punjab Government has not yet released the Gurudwara prisoners in spite of the settlement brought about by the Gurudwara Act merely on the technical ground that the Gurudwara prisoners would not give an undertaking, which the highsouled prisoners declared to be derogatory to their self-respect.

This Congress is of opinion that there will be no proper settlement of the Gurudwara question until the Gurudwara prisoners are unconditionally released.

Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar, Shoukat Ali, Sardar Mangal Singh and others spoke on this resolution which was carried unanimously.

Forensic Verbosity

According to a writer in the "Manchester Guardian", the longest forensic speech was that of Coleridge in the Tichborne trial, which lasted 26 days; and another lengthy one was the eleven days' performance of the Attorney General in the Behring arbitration case. Once Pollock commenced to read 300 letters. After an hour or so the judge said: "Is it necessary, Mr. Pollock to read all those letters?" "Absolutely," was the unblushing reply, "for I have never seen them before." Verbosity, however, was always gladly endured. Ellenborough had a caustic reply for the counsel who asked when it would be their lordships' pleasure to hear him again. "Pleasure!" said he. "We are bound to hear you, and will do so on Friday; but pleasure has long been out of the question." And there was that delightful remark to the tireless advocate who said: "And now, my lord, I will address myself to the furniture." "You have been doing that for some time," said his lordship.

The Expulsion Bill

As we go to press it is announced that the Non-Burman Offenders Expulsion Bill, which was passed in the last session of the Burma Legislative Council in September, 1925 has received the assent of the Viceroy.

Medical

The Medical Conference

The 20th session of the All-India Medical Licentiates' Conference was held at the Government Medical School, Rangoon on the 29th December under the presidentship of Col. Fenton, Inspector General of Civil Hospitals, Burma.

This is the second time the Conference is held in Burma, the last occasion being the session of the 8th Annual Conference in 1913. It was well attended, there being 58 delegates including 15 from India.

After the address by Rao Bahadur P. S. Pillai, Chairman of the Reception Committee and election of president, a resolution was recorded expressing deep sense of sorrow and regret of the Conference at the death of Her Majesty the queen mother.

Col. Fenton the President delivered an interesting address. Referring to the aspiration of Medical Licentiates to have the stamp of the University as the only doorway to medical career while he sympathised with their desire for improvement, he pointed out that in launching the scheme for the transformation of medical school into University institution, numerous difficulties arose with regard to the grievance that more medical licentiates were not promoted to Assistant Surgeon class. He said that the door for promotion had not been shut but had always remained open.

In regard to Burma there have been no vacancies and appointments could not be made in cadre. Both the Assistant Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons have been in excess as an aftermath of war. He expected that when orders of the Lee Commission which were awaited were promulgated it would be possible to get the cadre put on a different basis once more and to give promotions to Sub-Assistant Surgeons by election to which they have reasonable claims.

Indian Medicine

Under the auspices of the Indian Medical Students' Association, Egmore, the Hon. Sir P. Ramanathan, of Ceylon, delivered a lecture on



SIR P. RAMANATHAN, K. C., O. M. G.
the "Indian Indigenous system of Medicines." Those present included a number of medical men in the city.

Sir Ponnambalam said that as regards the indigenous system of medicine, it was one which was concerned less with minerals than with herbs and oil. The sages of India were the men who taught the system which was described in the Ayurveda. They would live happily if they took care of themselves, ate and drank at the proper time. Students of medicine should be believers in God, for unless they had the grace of God, all their efforts would end in ill-success. The vast majority of the inhabitants of India were still under the guidance of Ayurveda.

Science

Indian Chemical Society

The second annual meeting of the Indian Chemical Society was held in the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay on January 2, under the Presidentship of Sir P. C. Ray.

THE ANNUAL REPORT

The meeting began with the reading of the annual report for 1925 by Dr. J. N. Mukherji, Hon. Secretary to the Indian Chemical Society. The report recorded an all round improvement in the position of the Society during the year under review. The number of fellows has increased from 101 on January 1st 1925 to 243 on December. The total number of papers received for publication for the whole year was 48. Only five ordinary meetings of the Society were held during the year. The noteworthy feature of the activities of the Society was the opening of a section at Lahore and already as many as 47 fellows have been enlisted in that section alone.

SIR P. C. RAY'S ADDRESS

Then Sir P. C. Ray delivered his Presidential Address on "The Discovery of Oxygen." The subject he observed had been discussed with a good deal of bitterness and acrimony, the feeling of bias and patriotism playing a considerable part in the controversy. The English chemists maintained from the beginning that Priestly was the real discoverer of oxygen, while the French maintained that the real credit of this discovery should be given to Lavoisier. It could also be learnt from text-books that Swedish Chemist Scheele also simultaneously and independently discovered oxygen. But as the latter did not keep himself in touch with either England or France, the scientific world knew very little about his contributions. Sir P. C. Ray brought forth a large mass of evidence in support of his contention that the credit for the discovery of this gas should be

given to the French chemist. Priestly, he said, doubtless prepared the gas without understanding in the least its properties. Priestly was, in fact, a blind believer in the old theory of Phlogiston, while Lavoisier was very methodical. The latter proceeded at every stage with the balance as his



SIR P. C. RAY

guide and proved to the world that when a meta was burnt in air, far from there being a loss, there was a decided gain in weight.

Dr. Ray brought his address to a close with the following words:

We who are neither Englishmen nor Frenchmen can afford to hold the balance evenly and thus we can adjudicate the rival claimants. The array of facts and figures when brought together, go conclusively to establish that Lavoisier should be given the credit of being the real discoverer of oxygen.

All-India Music Conference

At the Music Conference of the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya held at Cawnpore during the Christmas Week under the Chairmanship of Prof. Kashaker the notation system of G. M. Vidyalya formed the chief topic of discussion. Papers and speeches were read out and made on the merits and the demerits of the current notation systems of the present day in India. The glaring defects of the Bhatkhande notation system were brought to the notice of the public.

Personal

Mr. Andrews and the C. I. D.

Before he left for South Africa Mr. C. F. Andrews, complaining to a press representative at Jamshedpur, said that the authorities had thought fit to send two C. I. D. detectives after him wherever he went all through his stay in Puri District. The Government, in their communique, had said they would cordially welcome non-official help. Mr. Andrews feelingly said, if shadowing those who went to rescue, by C. I. D. Officers, formed the method of Government's welcome, then Government should not be surprised if non-official relief workers did not come into close contact with the district authorities.

A Story of the C. in C.

The late Sir George Birdwood was shaving one morning before his window. Suddenly a cheery voice sang out, "Good morning uncle"! Looking out Sir George saw to his horror that his little nephew had climbed out of the nursery window and, with his feet on a ledge and his hands clinging to a coping stone, had traversed the frontage, manœuvred a corner and now stood, in a precarious position looking up. It was impossible to reach the boy from above, and dangerous to utter an alarm. So a suggestion was calmly made, that as breakfast time was near, a return journey might be advisable. The uncle's anxiety till the traveller re-appeared at the nursery window may be imagined. That boy is now the Commander-in-Chief in India.

The Will of the Late San Yat Sen

The following is the will of San Yat Sen: "Having devoted my life to the service of my country, I have little private property to leave. All that I have, a house, my books, and a few clothes I give to my wife, Sung Chin Ling, as a token of remembrance. I do not need to give anything to my children, for they have all grown up and are able to help themselves. May I hope that they will make good and carry on my work?"

The Late Sir Gerald Giffard

Sir Gerald Giffard whose death is reported received his first Commission in the Indian Medical Service thirty-five years ago and spent the early portion of his career in military employ. He



was then appointed to the Madras General Hospital staff in the end of 1897 and from then onwards he was almost continuously employed in different Madras Hospitals—holding at the same time various Professorships, but chiefly in Surgery, in the Medical College. Sir Gerald took the keenest interest in fitting out the Hospitalship "Madras," the contribution of the Presidency to war work, and was rewarded by being given Medical command of the vessel with a staff of his own selection. He was Surgeon General with the Government of Madras when he retired. Much sympathy will be felt with Lady Giffard in her great bereavement.

Political

The Khilafat Conference

Though the Khalifa has been dispensed with in Turkey the Khilafat Conference in India still continues to function. The last session was held at Cawnpore on the 24th December, Mr. Abdul Kalam Azad presiding. A number of Hindu leaders of the Congress were also present.

A sensational feature of this Session was the speech of Mr. Hasrat Mohani, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, whose views were in fundamental opposition to those of the President and the members of the Khilafat Committee. It was decided to expunge the speech from the Report. Mr. Hasrat Mohani is an out and out Sheriffian. He urged that

the Central Khilafat Committee should cease to support Ibn Saud, and should stand for a Republic in the Hedjaz.

He declared that anyone opposed to the programme outlined by him should be repudiated.

The President spoke in a different vein, altogether repudiating the views of Mr. Mohani. He called upon his fellow Muslims "to rejoice at the downfall of the Sheriffian family and applaud Sultan Ibn Saud's efforts" on their behalf.

Touching internal politics Mr. Abdul Kalam said that the Khilafat Committee should ally itself with the Congress organization, for the furtherance of the national programme. It should also have definite views on the question of Council entry, and he would, himself, advocate Council-work. The Khilafat Committee should put forward its programme in clear and unambiguous terms. The President also laid stress on political education of the people, so that the desired end might be achieved early.

A Khilafat demonstration was held in the night when Mr. Mahomed Ali spoke adversely on the speech of Mr. Hasrat Mohani. Referring to the League's decision about Mosul he prayed that the

Turks might be allowed to remain in possession of Mosul.

The next day several resolutions were passed by the Conference among which was one congratulating the Riffs on their victory. Another referred to the enlistment of volunteers and the third expressed

profound sympathy with the South African Indian brethren in their struggle for the protection of their national and civic rights.

The Conference re-assembled on the 26th, and adopted resolutions regarding Iraq and Mosul. Another resolution urged Muslim workers to join the Spinning Association.

The Khilafat Conference concluded on the 29th after passing Mr. Yakub Hasan's resolution relating to the proposed settlement of Moplahs in the Andamans and another resolution on the Hedjaz question.



THE HON. MR. JADHAV.
President, Non-Brahmin Federation, Madras,

General

Indian Christian Conference

The twelfth session of the Indian Christian Conference was held in Bishop's College, Calcutta on the 28th of December under the presidentship of Prof. K. L. Ralla Ram of Lahore.

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. S. C. Mukerji, welcomed the delegates in a speech which struck the keynote to the proceedings



MR. S. C. MUKERJEE

of the whole session. He said that Swaraj being the common goal it was imperative that the Conference should define its attitude towards Constitutional Reforms and state definitely "what policy it was going to pursue and what procedure it was going to follow for the speedy attainment of Swaraj." He criticised the methods of the Swarajya Party and observed that "the political pendulum of Swarajists was continuously

swinging from one end to another." He continued:

Indian Christians did regard Swaraj as the goal of their national aspirations, and they regarded themselves as citizens of the Indian Empire. The speedy attainment of Swaraj was their aim, and they were absolutely at one with the Swarajists and Liberals in the matter.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Presidential address was also an amplification of the same spirit of reasonableness and patriotism. In refreshing contrast to the Presidential Address of the Muslim League, the President of the Indian Christian Conference prayed that "we should set our face against communalism—a canker which is undoubtedly eating into the very vitals of our national life and progress." It does one's heart good to read the following words of Prof. Ralla Ram:

We are Indians. India is our motherland; its blood runs in our veins and its history and traditions are the springs from which we draw our inspiration. Our countrymen are engaged to-day in the great struggle for attaining Swaraj for their motherland, and the whole of the country is pulsating with a new vision and awakening. Our destinies and future hopes are closely inter-woven with theirs. It is as much our land as it is theirs. We have to live with them, and our connections with them are of a permanent character. Therefore it is highly desirable that we should identify ourselves with all healthy and constitutional movements started and encouraged by our fellow-countrymen.

The President then referred to the main object of the Conference which was

to help forward the building up of that solidarity which the Indian Christian community lacks and to knit together into genuine unity the heterogeneous material out of which our community has been composed, and discuss and consider such problems which confront us to-day, with a view to arrive at a satisfactory solution in regard to them, and to give our considered opinion on other issues which beset the country as a whole and to contribute our mite, in our own humble way, to the efforts towards the realisation of India's hopes and aspirations.

Resolutions were passed in the Conference instructing the All-India Council to investigate the disabilities of the Indian Christians, asking the Government for the appointment of a Royal Commission on Reforms and urging the immediate grant of provincial autonomy and the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government. The Conference also strongly protested against the anti-Asiatic Bill of South Africa,



Temples, Churches and Mosques

By Mr. YAKUB HASAN.

ON this remarkable volume Mr. Yakub Hasan has attempted to give a kaleidoscopic view of the world's architecture. He has travelled in three continents with eyes open and a mind susceptible to artistic impressions. He has read widely on architecture and the arts, on the history of civilizations and comparative religion. The result is a volume of great value to all who have any the least interest in these diverse subjects. The author describes the evolution of the simple altar of the primitive man into the magnificent temple and church architecture of mediaeval times. He takes us through the Chaldean to Roman, Greek and Egyptian temples, to Buddhist Monuments and the temples of the Far East in all their variety and splendour; to Solomon's temple and the Kaaba at Mecca; to the coming of the Messiah and the magnificent Cathedrals of Mediaeval Europe; to the birth of Mahomed and the Mosque architecture of Egypt and Turkey and Spain; and finally to the beautiful Moghul architecture of Hindustan. The reader finds himself face to face, now with the pyramids of Egypt or the Parthenon of Athens, now gazing at the dizzy domes of St. Marks or St. Peters, now passing through the corridor of the Rameswaram temple, or admiring the golden flooring of the Shoodagon Pagoda, now stupefied by the height and immensity of the Kutab or lulled into a beautiful vision by the delicate craftsmanship of the Taj. Every style of Temple, Church or Mosque architecture is described at length to the accompaniment of no less than 68 illustrations, the masterpieces of the world's architecture. A valuable study in comparative Religion.

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Mr. H. Hall.

Mr. H. Hall, o/o Mr. W. Hall, 5, Huntingdon Road, Stevenage, Herts., Eng., says:
"After being demobilised I began to feel out of sorts, and steadily grew worse till I was thoroughly run-down and weak. I lost flesh, then came indigestion, and I suffered after everything I ate. Often I vomited. Naturally I ate little, and this made me still weaker and thinner, till I looked more dead than alive. My wife has since told me that she never expected me to recover, and others were of the same opinion. My nerves, too, were thoroughly broken down. I used to have queer trembling turns every day, shaking like a leaf, and quite unable to keep still till the attack passed. They lasted about three-quarters of an hour. Another trouble was wind or flatulence; I was rarely free from it.
"I had been like this for months in spite of treatment, so at last I thought I would give Dr. Cassell's Tablets a trial. Almost from the first time they did good. The indigestion soon went, and with it all the flatulence and nervousness. Strength and fitness came back to me, and now I am as well and strong as before my illness."

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or Fats.
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Infantile Paralysis	Indigestion	Palpitation
Sleeplessness	Stomach Disorder	Loss of Flesh

Specially valuable for prevention of Fevers and Dysentery, also
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E. Jan. '26.

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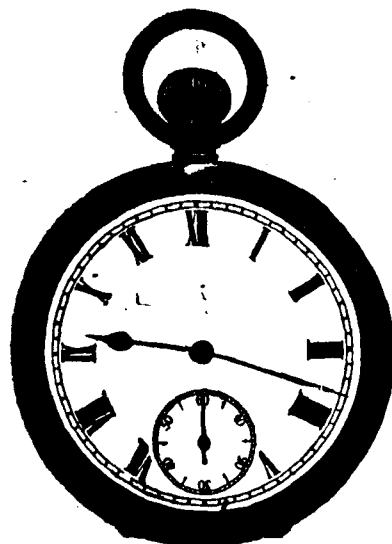
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*Maloja from Aden	21,000	21st ..	Devanba	8,000	28th ..
Kalmar-i-Hind	11,430	28th ..	Razmak to Aden	10,000	2nd Jan. 1926
Razmak to Aden	10,000	5th Dec	†Morea from Aden	11,000	9th ..
†Mantua from Aden	11,000		Rawalpindi	16,600	
Ranpura	16,100		Razmak to Aden	10,000	
			*Narkunda from Aden	16,000	

* Through steamers from Australia have limited accommodation for passengers from India.

† Through steamers from China have limited accommodation for passengers from India.

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Novara	7,000	10th November,	Nellore	7,000	1st January, 1926.
Wyanza	7,000	22nd ..	Nankin	7,000	29th ..
Dongola	8,000	18th December,	Nagoya	7,000	28th Feb.
			Novara	7,000	12th March.

P. & O. CALCUTTA TO BOMBAY VIA COLOMBO.

Delta	9000	4th Dec.
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Manela	9,000	1st December
Dumana	8,500	15th ..
Morvada	8,200	29th ..
Malda	9,000	11th Jan. 1926.
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It is hereby notified that the following fairs and festivals will take place at the dates and places shown against each during February 1926:—

	Date.	Nearest Railway Station.	Name of festival.
February	1st to 4th	Harihar	Sri Hariharaswara Swamy Jatra
"	2nd	Villivakkam	Thai Tuesday
"	4th to 10th	Chinchli	Mayakka feast
"	6th to 13th	{ Nandyal, Markapur Road, } Gazulapalli	Sivarathri Feast at Sri Sailam
"	8th	Juturu	Aswatham
"	8th	Ajjampur	Anthargate Jatra
"	8th	Walhe	Mahasola festival at Veer
"	8th to 10th	Jakkalacheruva	Tondapadu Rangasamy Bramotsavam feast
"	8th to 13th	Narasaraopet	Sivarathri feast at Kottappakonda
"	8th to 15th	Devargudda	Mailarlingam
"	8th to 17th	Mormugao	Maha Sivarathri Feast at Gokarnam
"	9th	Villivakkam	Thai Tuesday
"	9th to 11th	Kottur	Basavanna Swami Car Feast
"	10th & 11th	Shirol Road	Maha Sivarathri
"	10th to 14th	Hubli	Sri Shidharuda Swami
"	11th	Samalkot	Maha Sivarathri
"	11th	Chinna Ganjam	Maha Sivarathri
"	11th	Kalahasti	Maha Sivarathri
"	11th to 13th	Pithapuram	Kukkuteswaraswami Festival
"	12th	Masulipatam	Sea Bathing feast
"	12th to 14th	Trivellore	Grand Masi New Moon & Floating festival
"	13th & 14th	Kongl	Yellamma Jatra
"	17th to 21st	Bellary	Gadi Lingappa Jatra at Gulyam
"	17th to 23rd	Gazulapalli	Sivarathri Feast at Mahanandi
"	19th	Tiruttani	Kirthigai
"	21st to 29th	Kyatsandra	Sidhaganga Jatra
"	23rd to 28th	Devargudda and Ranibennur	Karvathi
"	23rd to 5th Mar.	Tiruvottiyur	Sri Thiyagaraja Swami Brahmotsavam
"	24th	Tiruvalem	Floating festival
"	25th to 6th Mar.	Mangalagiri	Sri Laxminarasimha Swami Car Festival
"	25th to 6th Mar.	{ Peddavedlapudi } Kolankonda Quarry	Sri Laxminarasimha Swami Car Festival at Mangalagiri
"	26th to 28th	Kudatini	Basaveswara Swami Car festival
"	26th to 1st Mar.	Savanur	Sri Satyabodha Swami
"	26th to 2nd Mar.	Narsapatnam Road	Sri Venkateswara Swami Kalyanam
		Tavargatti and Alnawar	Mahalaxmi at Godgeri
		Ambur	Chamundi Amman Feast

E. April '26.

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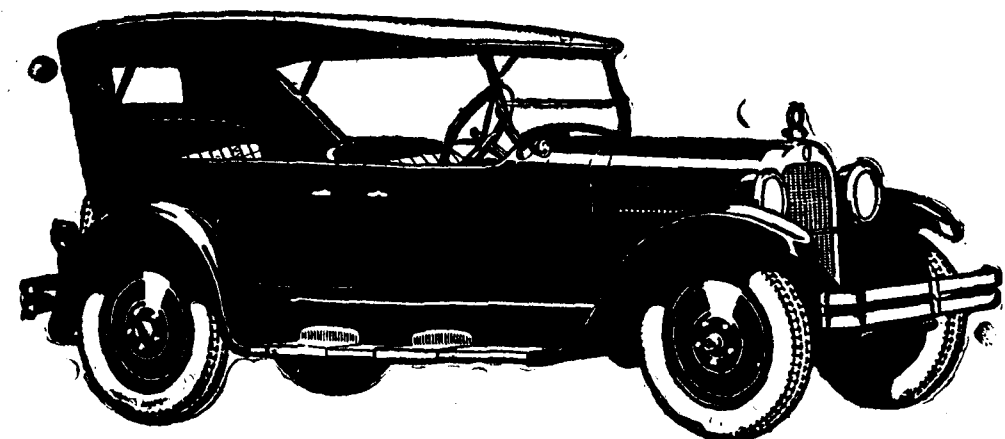
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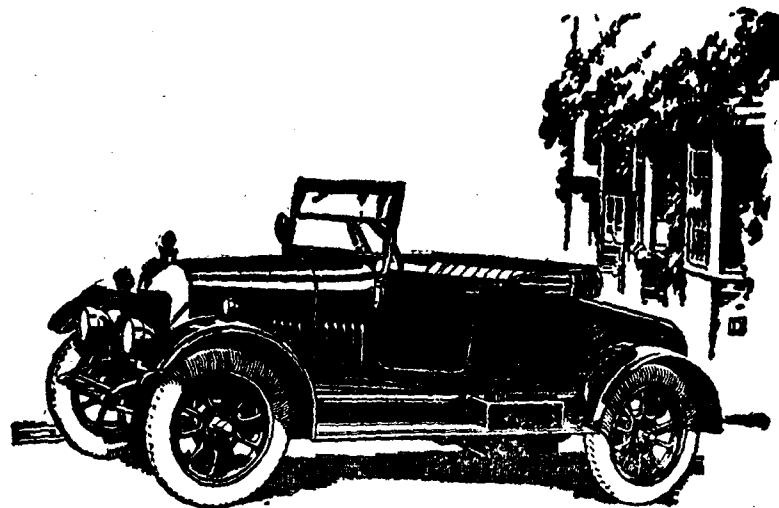
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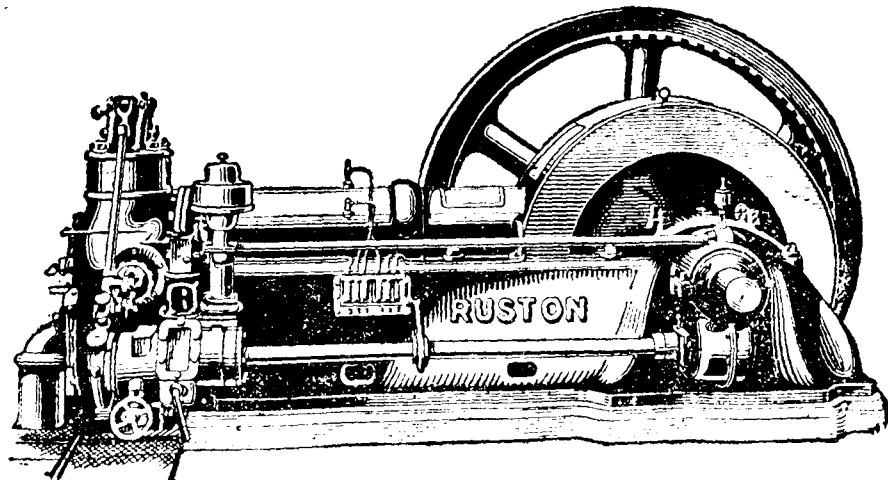
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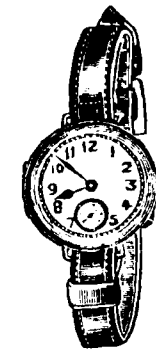
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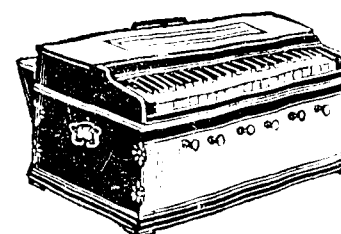
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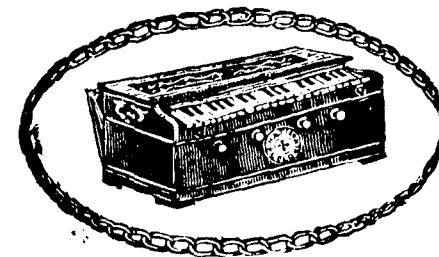
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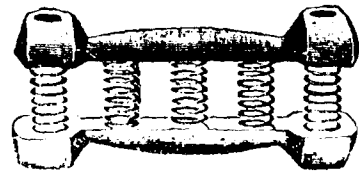
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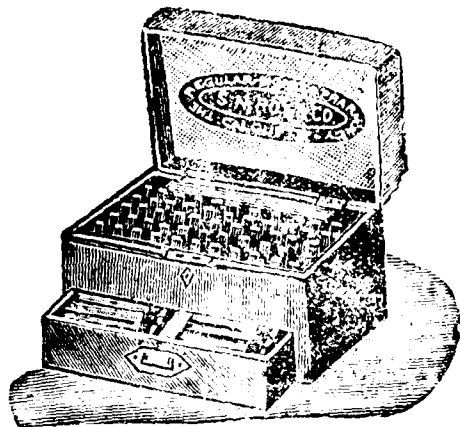
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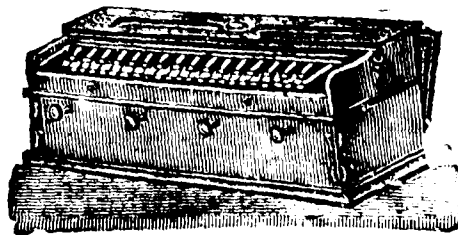
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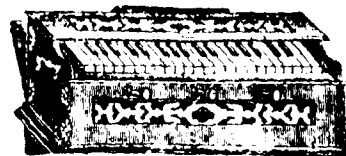
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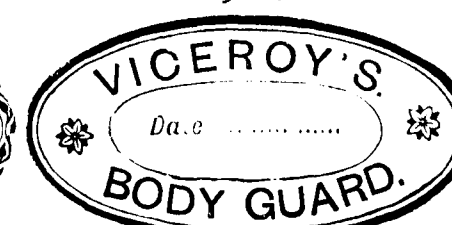
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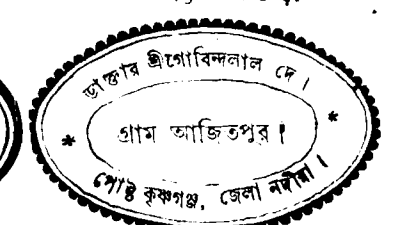
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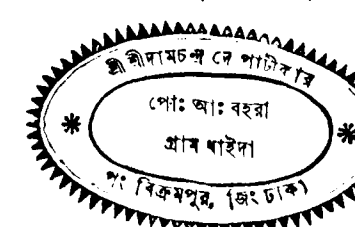
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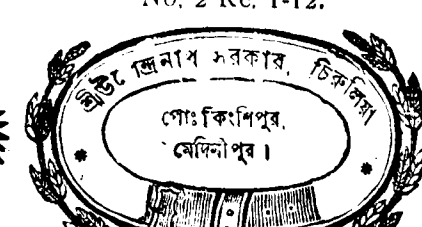
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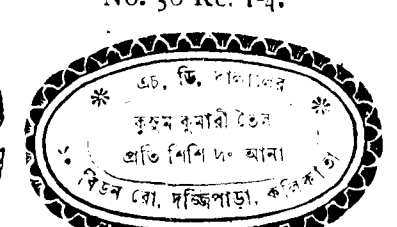
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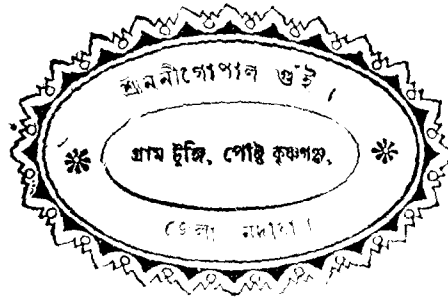


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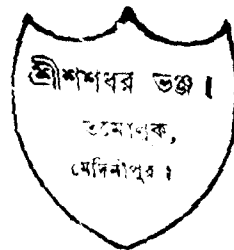


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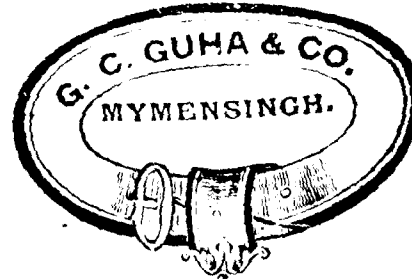
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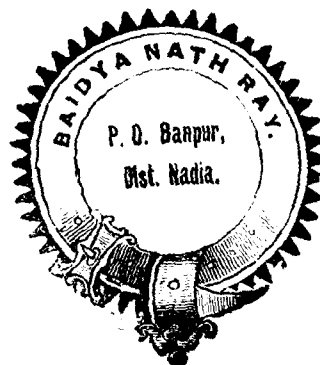
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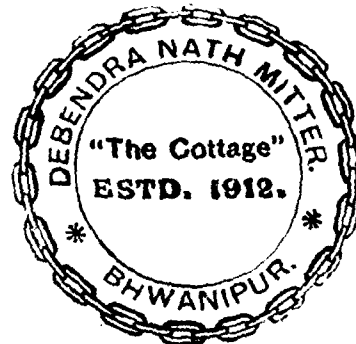
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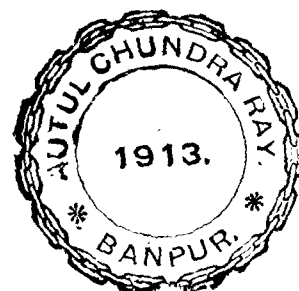
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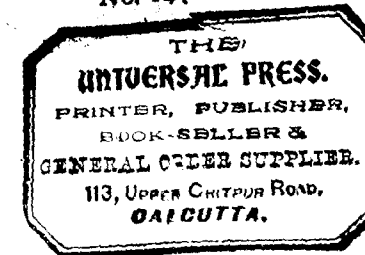


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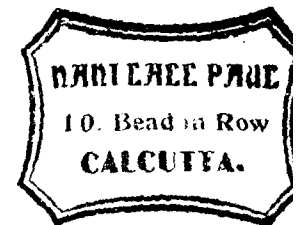
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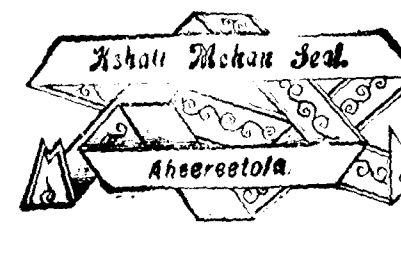
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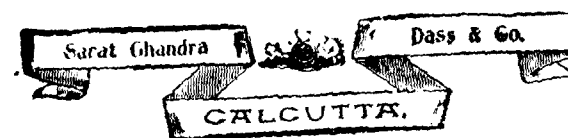
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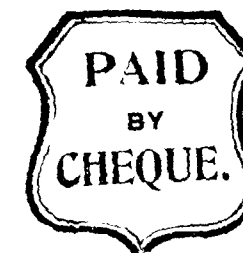
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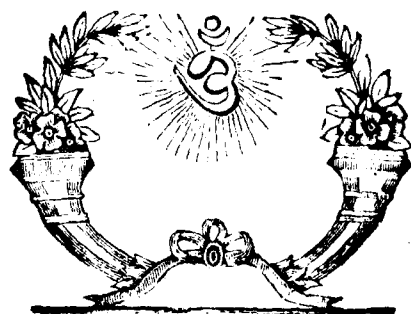
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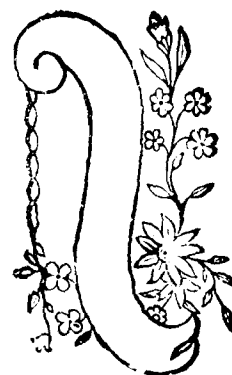
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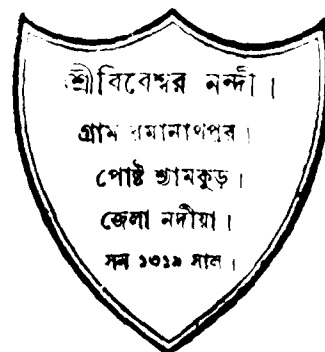
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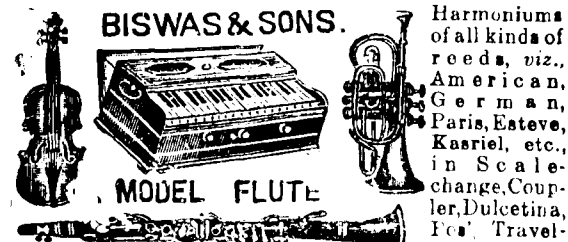
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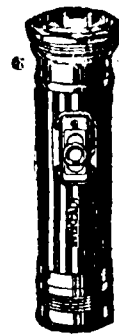
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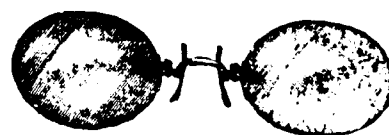
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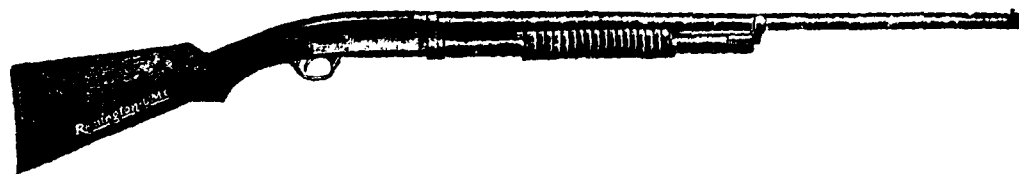


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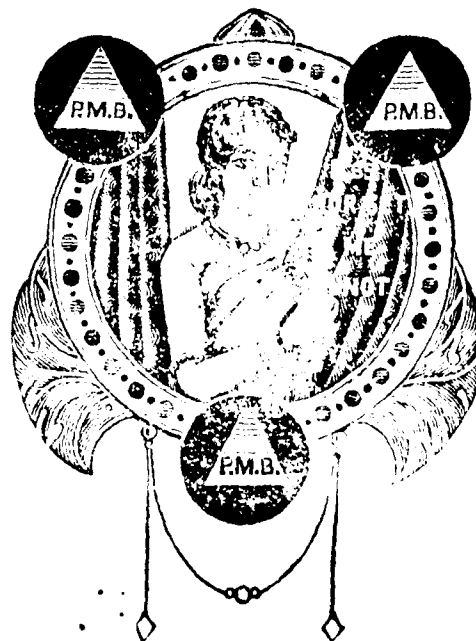
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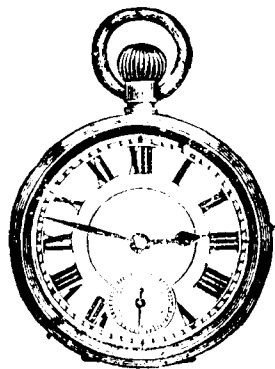
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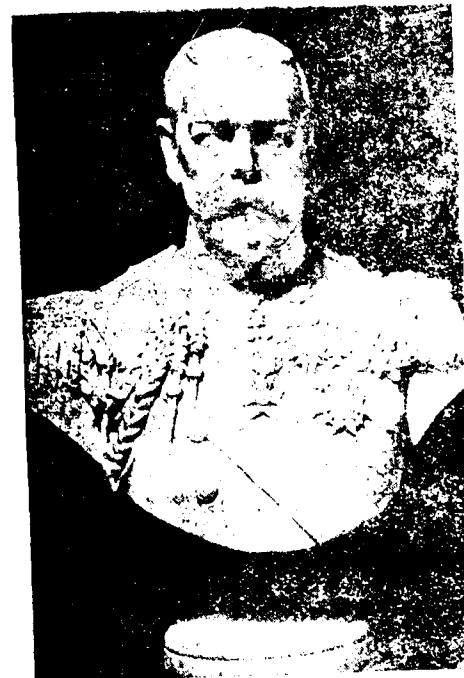
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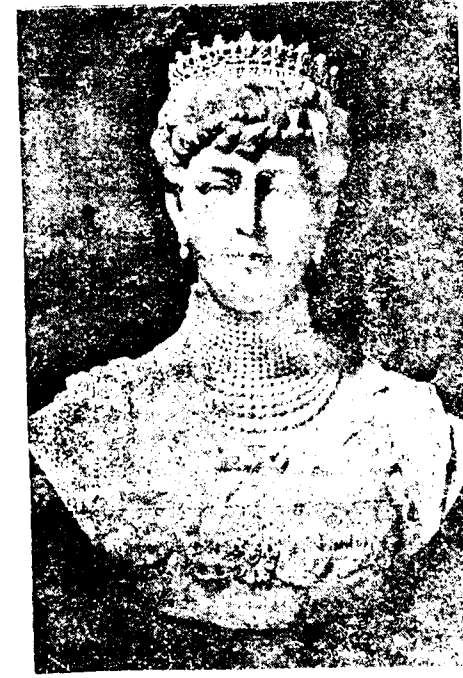
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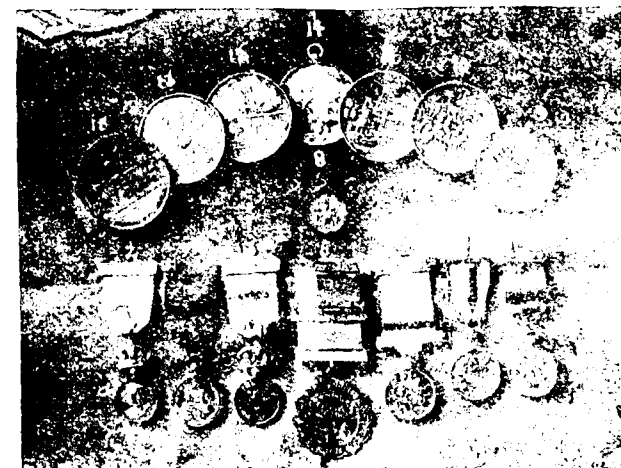


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