

THE

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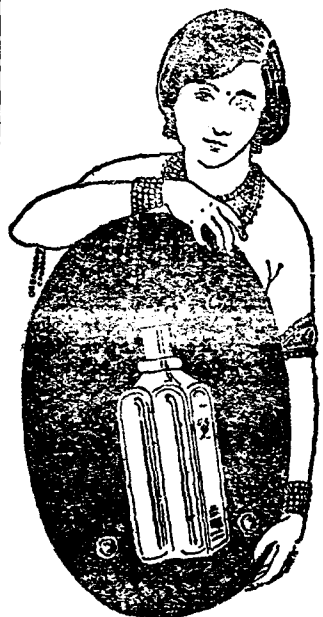
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January					February					March					April				
Sun	30	2	9	18	23	Sun	—	6	13	20	27	Sun	—	3	10	17	24		
Mon	31	3	10	17	24	Mon	—	7	14	21	28	Mon	—	4	11	18	25		
Tue	—	4	11	18	25	Tue	1	8	15	22	—	Tue	—	5	12	19	26		
Wed	—	5	12	19	26	Wed	2	9	16	23	—	Wed	—	6	13	20	27		
Thu	—	6	13	20	27	Thu	3	10	17	24	—	Thu	—	7	14	21	28		
Fri	—	7	14	21	28	Fri	4	11	18	25	—	Fri	1	8	15	22	29		
Sat	1	8	15	22	29	Sat	5	12	19	26	—	Sat	2	9	16	23	30		

May					June					July					August				
Sun	1	8	15	22	29	Sun	—	5	12	19	26	Sun	31	3	10	17	24		
Mon	2	9	16	23	30	Mon	—	6	13	20	27	Mon	—	4	11	18	25		
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Wed	4	11	18	25	—	Wed	1	8	15	22	29	Wed	—	6	13	20	27		
Thu	5	12	19	26	—	Thu	2	9	16	23	30	Thu	—	7	14	21	28		
Fri	6	13	20	27	—	Fri	3	10	17	24	—	Fri	1	8	15	22	29		
Sat	7	14	21	28	—	Sat	4	11	18	25	—	Sat	2	9	16	23	30		

September					October					November					December				
Sun	—	4	11	18	25	Sun	30	2	9	16	23	Sun	—	4	11	18	25		
Mon	—	5	12	19	26	Mon	31	3	10	17	24	Mon	—	5	12	19	26		
Tue	—	6	13	20	27	Tue	—	4	11	18	25	Tue	—	6	13	20	27		
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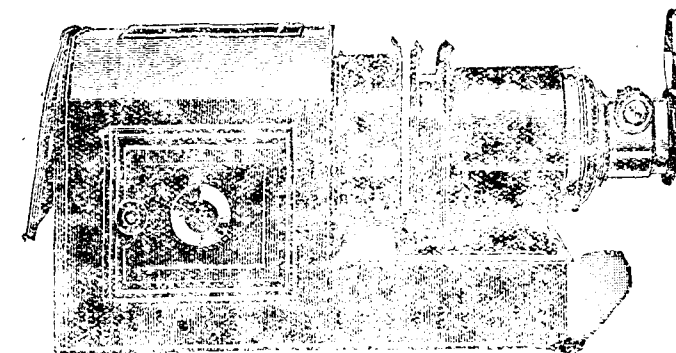
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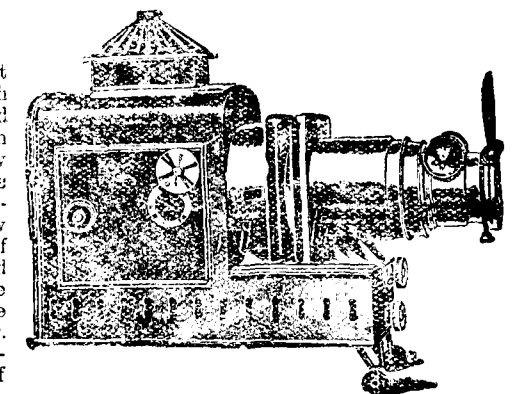
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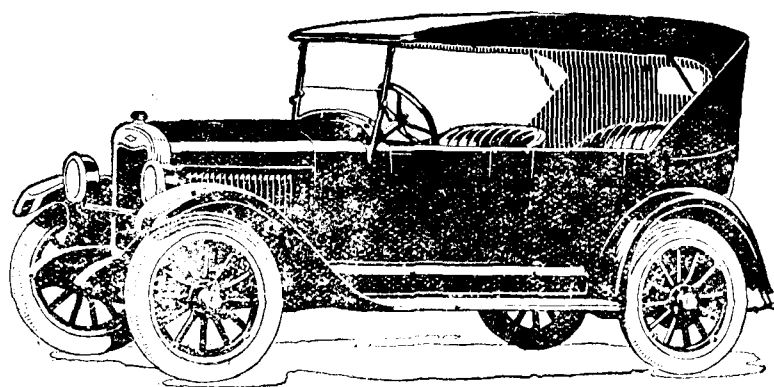
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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

Vol. XXVIII.]

SEPTEMBER 1927

[No. 9.]

The Victory of Peace

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS

THERE is one question in the world to-day about which it may pre-eminently be stated, that the future of the whole human race depends upon its right solution. This is the Colour Question. The Indian problem in South Africa is intimately bound up with it.

If Europe is unable to read the signs of the times and persists in raising fresh colour barriers, then unending conflict is inevitable,—a Colour War. If, however, Europe of her own accord is ready to listen to reason and is willing to remove these difficulties, one by one, then it means peace and goodwill for mankind. Herein lies the importance of the recent Indo-Union Agreement.

Strangely enough, by a singular coincidence, at the very time we were seeking for a solution of the Indian problem in South Africa, China was facing the West with the same searching test of forbearance instead of conflict. The threatened storm in the Far East has subsided, but the clouds are still heavy all along the edge of the horizon. In South Africa, on the other hand, the sky has grown clearer and brighter.

Few things are more astonishing, to one who comes out to the East from Europe for the first time, than to realise visually the millions of human beings who live in Southern and Eastern Asia. Except as a lesson in geography little had come to his knowledge before about it. History, such as he had studied in

school, had taught him nothing on this subject. The Bible, from which in childhood he obtained his ideas of the world, did not help him much. For it tells mainly of Palestine, Egypt and Persia, in its oldest records. Its drama is staged near the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The classics of Greece and Rome have helped him even less to orientate his vision of mankind. In quite modern days, Mr. H. G. Wells has done something to correct this old absurdly false and partial view of human history. But even he has not gone far enough. Europe still looms too large in his picture of mankind in the making.

Colour prejudice not seldom finds its support from the 'provincial' attitude of mind. There are, of course, deep cleavages in man's racial history, which only the foolish would ignore. But these need not, and ought not to, become impassable gulfs. The greatest danger to the West to-day lies in what the ancient Greeks called 'arrogance.'—an arrogance born of over-prosperity and material success. The hour of disaster will come, if the lesson of moderation is not learnt by heart and thus a conflict is averted..

The time had come, not so long ago, when first the Mongol and then the Ottoman Turk swept forward right into the heart of Europe. Then the wheel of destiny swung round, when the ships from the West weathered the Cape of Storms and came sailing up to invade the

Eastern Archipelago, gathering their pepper and spices.

During the centuries that followed, the multitudes of the East lay almost passive to this perpetual invasion from the sea.

The exploitation of Eastern shores went on almost unopposed. The troops of the conquered were used for further conquests.

The reaction came, as it was bound to come, in a later age. Japan was the first to check the onrush of the West in its full flood tide of conquest. The whole of Asia, since that eventful day, has experienced a new energy of spirit.

How far this changed current of the tide will reach, no one can predict. Certainly, China will regain her Treaty Ports and Concessions. India will become self-governing. A new hope of freedom has stirred the Dutch Indies and also Indo-China. In the north of Asia, a strange imponderable factor has been added. For Soviet Russia has been lately tending to regard itself as a part of Asia, rather than of Europe. This alignment of Russia has given an incalculable weight to the scale of the East, as it now balances that of the West.

The frequent visits that I have paid to South Africa on the Indian problem have taught me that there is still hope for a solution even of these most complicated racial and colour difficulties by peaceful means, if only moderation and good will are appealed to, rather than violence and bitterness. In the last issue of the JOURNAL OF THE UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION one who signs himself 'A Shanghai Trader' writes as follows:—

The historian of the last quarter of the Nineteenth century does not dwell with pride or satisfaction on the relations of the great Powers with their wealthier neighbours in Asia and Africa. It was the era of econo-

mic imperialism which at times became aggressive and predatory. In China it produced by imperceptible degrees a situation which recalls the renaissance of Prussia and Germany in their struggle to shake off the yoke of Napoleon's domination.....The best hope of the future lies in the changes of national ideals and policies, which are being brought about in Europe by experience gained during the World War of the bitter fruits of militarism and imperialism. In an era of international co-operation with recognition of equal rights of self-determination for all adult nations, whatever their size or power, there is no need to despair of peaceful settlement even of problems so difficult as those now at issue between China and the Treaty Powers. The recent settlement of the long outstanding differences between South Africa and India is a good example of what can be achieved with patience and goodwill and a sincere effort on both sides for mutual understanding.

From a journal, which chiefly deals with military and naval affairs, these words are significant. If the ratification of the Indo-Union Agreement at Cape Town, has been of such world-wide interest as to be able thus to reinforce at an immense distance the endeavours of those who are seeking to relieve the racial tension of the Far East, then we may indeed take courage for the future, we can go forward on our way with a stronger faith in the divine ordering of human life.

SHRAVAN

BY

MR. CYRIL MODAK

Green champaks, silver kaminis, jasmines fair
Laugh forth and dance so merrily;
Fresh herbage breathes its praise and in the air
Sighs of young Love hang wantonly!
The rain with cooling draughts of nectar sweet
Hath given life to fainting flowers;
Hath wakened drowsing birds to sing and greet
The season of joy-scented showers!
Beloved! Sit by me on rapture's swing
Twined round with myrtle and with vine:
I'll whisper my heart's longings; hear thee sing
Of hope-reviving love divine!

International Law as affecting Indian States

By MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, B.A., (OXON.)

Dixon Scholar of Christ Church Oxford. Sometime Senior Professor of History, Muslim University, Aligarh; Fellow of the Indian Women's University and late Editor of the HINDUSTAN TIMES, Delhi; Author of "An Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States with the Government of India."

IT is a clear and recognised principle of the Indian political system that the rules of international law are not binding on the relations between the Indian States and the Government of India. Though this is accepted both by the Princes and by the Central Government, it is equally evident that a body of rules affecting the relations of Sovereign States and everyday enlarging its scope of authority must affect the developments, if not the decisions, in the inter-statal controversies arising in India. There are undoubtedly many questions in which the British Government exercises control based on its own discretion; such for example as the right to decide in cases of disputed succession. But there is a much larger number of questions in which the Government of India decides, not on the basis of superior authority but by negotiations and agreement as between two States. The most obvious examples are those of irrigation projects, customs duties etc.

Besides these points on which the rules of international law have a limited bearing there have recently arisen many questions which establish points of contact between the two systems. Recent developments in international law are of such a nature as to bring their principles more and more applicable to Indian cases also. An understanding of their true character is necessary to estimate the influence they may have on the Indian political system.

First, the notion of sovereignty which for over three centuries dominated the realm of international law has undergone considerable modification. What gave international law its peculiar characteristics, was the absolute

power of the State. It was assumed and definitely stated that as between States there were no positive rights; that international law was no law at all, as it had no sanction behind it except war. This view has found vigorous expression as recently as 1923 in the famous address which Lord Birkenhead delivered before the American Bar Association. But despite the high authority of Lord Birkenhead, it is clear enough that this notion of unlimited sovereignty has undergone a fundamental change especially in relation to international law by the acceptance by a number of leading European states, the covenant of the League of Nations limiting their freedom of action on a number of matters.

Secondly, the rights and duties of the states have become more and more clearly defined. During the 19th century, the independent sovereign states did not *in theory* recognise any official duties or rights. The states in relation to each other were considered to be above law and they could break treaties and tear up agreements as occasion demanded. England fought the battle of Navarind without declaring war against Turkey; Bismark proceeded systematically on the idea that no absolute rights existed as between states; Austria annexed Bosnia without warning and without rights. Every nation in fact treated the other according to the forces it commanded. But during the course of the last quarter of a century this has very considerably changed. It is now recognised that states have positive rights as well as positive duties as against each other and this decision is embodied in both the

International Court of Justice and in the covenant of the League of Nations.

Thirdly, there has been a change in the status of individuals in relation to international polity. The old international law dealt solely with the relations of states *inter-se*. Individuals in their relations with their own or other states had nothing to do with international law. This position also is changing. Already in the middle of the 19th century Hefter had pointed out the inadequacy of this point of view. Now this has become practically a commonplace as when Westlake declares that the duties and rights of a state are merely the duties and rights of the individuals who compose it. To a limited extent this has been officially accepted. The case of the *Apatrides* is perhaps exceptional. But the right given to national minorities to complain directly to the League of Nations, where such minorities are officially recognised to exist, is a clear and definite example. The mixed tribunals established by the treaties of peace have already decided many cases in which individuals have sued states. *e.g.*, the suit brought by ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi against England.

It used to be said that the fundamental difference between the Indian political law and International law was that by far the greater part of the former was imposed on the states while the latter was a matter of agreement. Neither point of view is wholly true. The British Government has no doubt imposed many duties on Indian States by unilateral declarations, such for example as the duty of loyalty contained in the *samud* of 1861. But apart from such encroachments, almost the whole body of Indian political law is based on agreement individually negotiated with Indian States.

So far as international law itself is concerned the idea that it is wholly based on agreement requires considerable modification. A distinguished modern authority M. Nicolos Politis has gone so far as to say that "this law is the resultant of the solidarity created by social needs. Human relations create the economic usages and morals which become obligatory rules of law as soon as the interest concerned conform to them. Such conformity arises from the realisation that unless submitted to a reaction will ensue which will create effective sanction. The theory that law was an expression of will as Jean Jacques Rousseau held, or that it was the command of a superior as Austin declared has had to be replaced by a definition more in accordance with facts and such a definition has been found by Dequit in his statement that law is simply a result of social process.

So far as the encroachment of central authority on the rights of Indian princes are concerned, especially in those matters in which it becomes almost positive law, the explanation is to be found in the actual social and economic needs of a political unit rather than in any desire for aggrandisement on the part of the Government of India. Nor should it be forgotten that in the covenant of the League of Nations, a number of such positive rules are established even for independent states.

These developments of international law have a direct bearing on the Indian question. The increasing limitation of the sovereignty of independent States and their subordination to a body of laws some of which are clearly positive rules, make the position of Indian States less anomalous from the point of view of international law. It is clear that so far as Indian

States are concerned the Government of India stands in two distinct positions. First, it is one of a numerous body of political divisions constituting India, having treaty rights with other states and sovereign in its own territory. In this aspect it negotiates agreements and enunciates discussions. Secondly, it is also the central authority, the Paramount Power, as anglo-Indian writers like to express it, whose decisions in certain specified matters like Defence and internal security, the other states are bound to obey. The fact that these two functions are concentrated in the same hands should not blind us to their distinct and separable character. Much of the confusion in the discussion about the position of Indian States has arisen from an inadequate realisation of this fact.

This dual position of the Government of India may be kept separate, if we consider that British India represented by the Governor-General-in-Council is only one of the States of India, while the Viceroy as the representative of the King Emperor stands for the Indian Empire. A division of the Viceroy's functions in these lines is a clear necessity, for the introduction of constitutional Government and consequent delegation of authority to a popular chamber is possible only in relation to British India. When this division comes, as it is bound to, the principles and rules of international law will be applicable in controversial matters arising, not between imperial authorities and the States but between British India and the States.

The development of interstate rights and duties in international law have an equally important effect on Indian political law. The Government of India, in its imperial capacity,

has always asserted this right to regulate the rights and duties of states towards each other. Interference by one state in the affairs of another is treated as a first class political crime, as the Resolution of the Government of India on the findings of Mr. Justice Stuart in the Nabha-Patiala dispute clearly lays down. In the Fael Zamin which the Kathiawad chiefs had to execute at the time that the British Government assumed sovereignty in those areas, there is an important clause by which the chief undertakes not to molest or interfere with the peoples of other states.

On the third question of the right of individuals against states a reform in the direction of the International High Courts of Justice is long over due in India. The old treaties declared that the Indian sovereigns were absolute in their authority over their own subjects. The Imperial authorities in spite of occasional lapses have generally upheld this claim. Theoretically speaking, subjects of the full powered Indian States have no right of direct complaint to the Viceroy. But it is notorious that such complaints are common enough and in exceptional cases, the Government of India does interfere on the basis of suzerain authority. Besides such haphazard and irregular intervention, there are recognised institutions in Kathiawad and Rajputana to hear cases arising out of a conflict of jurisdiction. A more definite move in this direction is a clear necessity for the whole of India because of the difficulties which now exist in enforcing the claims of private individuals against the States. When sovereign States like England could be sued in international courts, there is no reason why in India some such machinery should not be evolved to protect the right of private individuals, not

being the subjects of the state who have suffered injury or have a claim against the Ruler.

The Princes' Chamber as at present constituted is too narrow to be able to develop under its auspices machinery of this character. It is only consultative and advisory and it has no authority to any one including its members. A suitable institution for this purpose could only be evolved when there is legal sanction behind it. If the new Reforms would strengthen the Princes' Chamber by giving to it more authority in matters relating to the States and establish under its auspices institutions to safeguard the rights of the people of the states a step would have been taken which would open a constitutional line of action for the subjects of the states. As it is, the only remedy open to them against unjust action is to appeal to the Viceroy. But if an impartial court is established under

the authority of the Princes' Chamber and with recognised legal sanction, the manifestly objectionable procedure of direct petitions to the Viceroy would vanish. It would at the same time give the Princes a safeguard against unnecessary intervention in their states by the central authority.

These two reforms, the clear demarcation of the functions of the Viceroy as representing the supra-statal authority and of the Governor-General as representing British India, and of establishing a machinery for safeguarding the rights of the people in Indian States are two of the most urgent constitutional problems awaiting solution. Recent developments in the realm of international law indicate to us the line of advancement in both these matters and it is to be hoped that the Statutory Commission will realise their importance.

World Events

BY DR. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A.

August:

CANADA

ECHOES are still coming through of the wonderful time Canada had in connection with their Diamond Jubilee celebrations. Since his return to England the British Prime Minister has issued the following message to the Premier of Canada, which will be read with great interest:

"I am deeply indebted for the generous welcome and unbounded hospitality given to Mrs. Baldwin and myself, and to all my party in Canada, during three happy weeks. As my first act on returning to London I should like to express to you again and, through you, to your colleagues in the Government and to everyone who helped us, and indeed to all Canada my most sincere and heartiest thanks. It is a special pleasure to feel that through the membership of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, with which I have been honoured, I shall have henceforward a permanent association with the fortunes and future of the Dominion. I came to Canada with two

thoughts uppermost in my mind. The first was to endeavour to interpret the spirit of Great Britain. If I have in any way succeeded, I shall be proud indeed. The second was to learn all I could of Canada, so that I might, when I returned, help, in some measure, to interpret her to my countrymen. That task is for the days which are coming. I have done my best to learn. I can send no better wish to Canada than that when next a Prime Minister of Great Britain visits her, he may find the same spirit and same optimism, as I have found in this year of the Diamond Jubilee of the Confederation.

One of the most significant events of the whole celebration was the dedication of the "Peace Bridge." The bridge unites Canada and the United States at the southern neck of the Niagara River end of Lake Erie, 20 miles above the famous Niagara Falls. Mr. Stanley Baldwin expressed the significance of the occasion in these words: "All bridges are proofs of Friendship. Across them men of good will

may go on their "lawful occasions", whether of commerce or of culture, but this bridge is no ordinary bridge. It stands as a sign and symbol of more than a century of peace between the United States and Canada. With all the nations of the British Empire I wish that the path of international peace were as smooth and as straight as this great highway."

GRENFELL OF LABRADOR

By common consent the most noted and probably the most successful missionary in the world to-day is Dr. Grenfell of Labrador. For 35 years he has carried on an extensive work in Newfoundland and all along the Labrador coast, for which splendid service His Majesty King George has recently appointed him to be a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

A correspondent in St. John, Newfoundland has written:

"Widespread satisfaction has been expressed here over Dr. Grenfell's knighthood. Since his first visit to the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts 35 years ago, Dr. Grenfell has devoted his life to the spiritual and material welfare of the fisherfolk of these regions.

He began his work as a medical missionary on board a small sailing hospital ship and gradually widened the scope of his activities until four substantial hospitals, including the structure opened on Monday, seven cottage hospitals, two orphanages, four public schools and numerous other institutions along the northern coasts and in Labrador, gave proof of his labours. In addition there is his fishermen's home in St. John's. He has also raised, through lecture tours and gifts from friends interested in his work, an endowment fund of over \$1,000,000 (£200,000) to ensure the continuance of his work when his advancing years compel him to relinquish his task. His name is a household word throughout the northern region as that of an unselfish servant of the needy and distressed. Each summer the United States and Canada supply hundreds of volunteer workers of both sexes who assist in all forms of work in his organization. He himself is welcome as a lecturer in every city across the continent."

AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

The American Presidential elections take place every four years, and next year, 1928, they are due again. But though they are so

near no great fighting issue has yet been discovered, and there is much confusion of thought in reference to the possible candidates. Not in the last twenty-five years have the American people been so undecided in the matter of choosing the President of the Republic. The question of the Third Term has again been raised; the first President, George Washington, set the standard against any President serving consecutively for three terms. Mr. Coolidge has stated that he does not wish to stand for re-election; if he adheres to that decision then there is no one else in the field or in sight, and the question is one of great uncertainty.

The greatest problem before the American people is that of prohibition, but that will scarcely become a Presidential election issue, for the simple reason that the prohibitionists have too large a majority, and no politician will risk his chances of success by opposing that measure at present. Then also, there are voters on both sides of that question in each of the two great political parties, so it could not become a party issue.

Of the possible candidates among the Republicans the name of Mr. Hoover is prominent; General Dawes is also mentioned with favour. The only other name which has something of a chance is Al. Smith; but he is against prohibition and is a Roman Catholic, both of which will cost him a great many votes in some quarters. Accordingly the whole question is full of uncertainty, and no one knows what may happen, but something more definite will have to emerge within the next few months.

THE MENIN GATE

Many are the memorials now being raised and dedicated to the "brave that are no more"

but whose memories we must keep green, "lest we forget"; in some respects the greatest of all these memorials of the Great War is the Menin Gate of Ypres in Belgium. As a writer in THE LONDON TIMES says:

The Gate is a symbol; no action took place immediately near it, and many of those it commemorates went to the front line without passing through the town of Ypres at all. But it stands at the head of that Menin road by which the enemy expected to enter Ypres as conquerors; it is within the Salient on which for four years hung the issue of the Great War. Few have the knowledge—and fewer the imagination—to realize how long that issue trembled in the balance, or how often it seemed destined to go against us. There were wonderful feats of arms all along the Allied line—at Arras, on the Somme, and at Verdun, to recall but a few of many glorious names—but nowhere was that struggle so continuous, or to us so costly, as in the perpetual battlefield before the Menin Gate.

It was most fitting, therefore, that on that road and leading into the city should be erected this beautiful and significant memorial to the memory of the brave dead. King Albert of the Belgians was present for the ceremony, and the unveiling was performed by Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, the General who so long defended that section against great odds. King Albert in his fine tribute declared

that there was no ground in the world more sacred than that of the Ypres Salient, for it was to uphold the sanctity of treaties that England came into the war; it was to avenge the unjustifiable attack on Belgium that the British Empire took up arms to the remotest part of its possessions. "In truth, for 50 months Ypres marked the threshold of the Empire, and throughout centuries to come its name would stand as the symbol of British courage and endurance. Ypres was to the British Army what Verdun was to the French Army. Those two bastions remained inviolate in spite of inconceivable efforts made against them."

Lord Plumer, the Field-Marshal, spoke splendidly and with great feeling:

"This ground, which for all time will be known as the Ypres Salient, is a historical record of the friendship and comradeship which existed and will always exist between the two armies, British and Belgian, who fought there side by side; and the town of Ypres, which was shattered beyond all recognition during the war and has now been rebuilt, illustrates fitly the unconquerable spirit of the Belgian nation."

LORD BEATTY

Admiral of the British Fleet, and for nearly eight years First Sea Lord, Lord Beatty, has just resigned, and has been succeeded by Admiral Sir Charles Madden. Lord Beatty has had a brilliant career, serving with great distinction during the Great War, and since then trying to apply the lesson of the war in the administration of the British Navy. To him fell the task of carrying out the reduction in the standard of naval strength laid down by the Washington Conference; the plan for enlarging the Singapore Base; the development of the Dominion navies; and the organisation of the present Fleet Air Arm. In a nicely written letter Mr. Stanley Baldwin has conveyed the warm thanks of the Government to Lord Beatty for his great and splendid service to the British people and to the world during the awful days of the War and the period of reconstruction after the War.

DEATH—SIR HARRY JOHNSTON

There has recently passed away one of England's great pioneers Sir Harry Johnston, whose name will go down in history with men like Livingstone and Stanley and Baker. His chief work was done in British Equatorial Africa in the Gulf of Guinea, in Nyasaland, in North-East Rhodesia, in East Africa and Uganda. Johnston took a sympathetic interest in the welfare of the people under him. His administration always stood for good government; he restored peace amongst the tribes, and worked for the economic development of the country. Men like Sir Harry Johnston show the disinterested and altruistic side of British administration in dealing with backward peoples.

Public Debt of India in the Days of the Company

BY DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C.

IN order to meet frequent deficits in its budgets, the East India Company was obliged to have recourse to loans. As a consequence, the public debt of India tended



DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

continually to grow. The most important cause of the accumulation of debt was, of course, war. In 1779-80, the bond and other debts of the Company stood as follows:—

Bengal	... £ 726,719
Madras	... 785,635
Bombay	... 527,916
Total	... 2,040,270

On the 1st May, 1793, the debt amounted to £ 7,971,668. The Mysore War caused the first serious increase in the debt. In 1799, it stood at £ 12,811,863. It steadily increased during the remaining period of Lord Wellesley's administration, until on the 1st May, 1806, it reached the figure of

£ 28,538,804. There was an increase of £ 1,705,537 in the following year. In 1809, the total debt amounted to £ 30,876,788. There was thus an increase of £ 22,906,120 in the course of sixteen years, or an average of £ 1,431,632 a year. Of this increase, the bulk was in the debt at interest and only a very small portion in the debt not at interest. The largest portion of the debt was raised in Bengal. But the whole of the Bengal debt, as was pointed out by the Court of Directors, was not really due by that Presidency. Calcutta being the central point in the administration of the country, the other Presidencies often raised their loans in that city. Besides, as the charges of the other Presidencies considerably exceeded their revenues, it is to be presumed that a part of the loans of Bengal must have been raised in aid of the wants of Bombay and Madras. The debt at Madras during the only period consisted chiefly of the balance of the fund reserved for the payment of the debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic.

The public debt of India remained practically stationary during the next five years. In 1814, the debt at interest was £ 26,970,786; the floating debt, £ 3,948,834; the total being £ 30,919,620. The Nepal and Mahratta Wars occasioned a large augmentation of the debt, the amount of the increase during the period 1814-15 to 1819-20 being £ 8,940,703. A reduction was effected in the years 1820-21 to 1823-24, amounting to £ 5,294,857. But the enormous expenditure incurred in connection with the Burmese War and the Siege of Bharatpur led to a large addition to debt, the net increase between the years 1824-25 and 1827-28 being

£ 13,007,823. Thus by the 30th April, 1829, the debt at interest had risen to £ 39,377,880, and the floating debt to £ 7,877,494; the total being no less a sum than £ 47,255,374.

On the 30th April, 1834, the total debt amounted to £ 41,350,952. When the trading functions of the East India Company ceased, a sum of £ 8,122,530 was, in terms of the new Charter of 1833, applied out of the commercial assets of the Company to the reduction of the Indian portion of the debt, and a further sum of £ 1,788,525 arising from the same source was appropriated to the reduction of the 'home bond debt.' On the 1st April, 1839, the total amount of debt was £ 33,980,873. From 1840, the debt began again to increase. The long succession of wars which were the outcome of the aggressive policy of Hardinge and Dalhousie made its influence felt on India's public debt, which continued to swell until the year 1852-53. A reduction of about 2½ millions was effected in 1853-54. Fresh additions were made to the debt during the next three years. On the 30th April, 1857, the total debt amounted to £ 59,441,052. The Sepoy Mutiny led to a very large augmentation of debt. On the 30th April, 1858, the total debt stood at £ 69,473,484. This, however, did not represent the total cost of bringing under control the great conflagration. No less a sum than forty-six millions was added to the public debt by this single event.

The debt of India consisted of two parts, namely, the loans raised in England, and those floated in India. We shall take the former first. During the earlier years of the Company's rule, no distinction was drawn between the territorial and the commercial debt. A Committee of the House of Commons reported

in 1783 that the bond debt in England was territorial in character. A sort of rough division was made in 1793, when the whole of the registered debt was declared as territorial. At the time of separation of the commercial from the territorial assets and liabilities of the Company in 1813, no decision was made as to the character of the 'home bond debt.' On the occasion of the renewal of the Charter in 1833, the Court of Directors urged that the whole of the 'home bond debt' should be regarded as political, and this view was accepted by Parliament. Under the Charter Act of 1833, the whole of the bond debt of the Company held in Great Britain became a charge on the revenues of India.

The debt in England consisted chiefly of the 'home bond debt.' But debenture loans, temporary loans, and bills of exchange drawn upon the Court of Directors also formed part of it. The 'home bond debt' originated in loans taken by the Company to meet sums which it had agreed to lend to the Government of England and which formed one of the Government stocks, known as the "East India Annuities." The amount of stock so created in 1750 was £ 4,200,000 and the bond debt of the Company in that year was £ 4,065,000. This debt was thus originally occasioned by the trading concerns of the Company. But the loans raised after the acquisition of territories by that body, were applied to political as well as commercial objects.

The 'home bond debt' was composed of securities issued by the Company under Parliamentary authority. The maximum amount or money which the Company was permitted to borrow was fixed from time to time by Parliament. The amount

of the bond debt in 1783 was £ 1,497,000. In 1794, the total bond debt for the three Presidencies amounted to £ 2,179,467, and in 1796 to £ 1,519,592. There was no material variation till 1805, when the amount increased to £ 2,412,092. In 1808, it was further augmented to £ 4,220,792. In 1812, it rose to £ 6,581,317. But in 1814, the 'home bond debt' was reduced by about two million pounds sterling, and in the following year by a further sum of half a million. In 1829, this debt amounted to £ 3,795,892.

On the 30th April, 1834, the amount of the 'home bond debt' was £ 3,523,237. It stood near about this figure till 1837. In that year, there was a substantial reduction in this debt owing to a portion of the commercial assets of the Company having been utilised for the purpose. During the six years which followed, 'the home bond debt' stood at £ 1,734,300. There was an addition of about half a million in 1843-44 and of another similar sum in 1846-47, while a little over a million more was added in 1847-48. A small reduction was effected in 1853-54. On the 30th April, 1857, the 'home bond debt' stood at £ 3,894,400. In the following year, after the outbreak of the Mutiny, Parliament empowered the Court of Directors to raise loans not exceeding £ 8,000,000. The permanent 'home bond debt' was not increased on this occasion; but bonds were issued as securities for temporary loans, and a 4 per cent. debenture loan was floated. The total 'home bond debt' on the 30th April, 1858, was £ 8,769,400.

The Indian portion of the debt was of two descriptions, namely, (i) the debt at interest, and (ii) the debt not at interest. The former

consisted of the registered debt, temporary loans, and treasury notes. The latter was composed of deposits and arrears of salaries and allowances due to civil and military officers. As we have already seen, it was the deficiency in the income of the Government which gave rise to Indian debt as well as 'the home bond debt.' But the Indian debt grew at a much faster rate than the debt held in England. The reason perhaps was that no legislative sanction was required for the former as was necessary in the case of the latter.

In 1792, the Indian debt was a little over seven millions. Soon after the arrival of Lord Wellesley, the debt began to show signs of increase. In 1799, it amounted to ten millions, and by 1805 it had reached twenty-five millions. The heavy commitments of this period led to further augmentations, though on a much smaller scale, in the two following years. In 1813-14, this debt amounted to 27 millions.

On the 30th April, 1834, the amount of Indian debt was £ 37,827,715. As the result of successive reductions made in the course of next five years, the Indian debt stood at £ 32,246,573 in 1838-39. From 1839-40 the debt steadily increased, until in 1853-54, it reached £ 52,313,094. In that year, a reduction of about two and a half million pounds sterling was made in the Indian debt. But in the following year, there was again an increase. Substantial additions were also made to the debt in 1855-56 and 1856-57. These fresh issues were represented by the authorities in India as well as in England as 'public works loans.' In reality, however, only portions of the sums realised from these operations were devoted to what might be called works of public improvement,

Such amounts as were utilised in the construction of barracks and civil buildings could hardly be placed in that category. On the eve of the Mutiny, the Indian debt stood at £ 55,546,652. In 1857-58, it rose to £ 60,704,084.

The main cause of the growth of the public debt of India was war. In fact, the history of Indian debt may be described as the history of Indian warfare in its financial aspect. If we glance over the period of fifty-eight years of the Company's rule during the 18th century, we find that in no fewer than forty-three of them were considerable, and often large, addition made to the public debt of the country, while only in fifteen did any diminution take place. If we take the year 1834 as the starting-point of our enquiry, the result is not very dissimilar. It gives us seven years of decrease as against seventeen years of increase.

A word may be said about the nationality of the creditors of the Government. The whole of the home bond debt was of course, held by Britishers. The bulk of the Indian debt was held by the Company's European servants and English merchants in the eighteenth century, while only a very small portion of it was held by Indians. Gradually, however, the proportion of Indian investors increased, until, at the close of the Company's administration, two-fifths of the Indian debt was held by Indians and three-fifths by Europeans.

Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, pointed out in 1859, that although the debt of India, absolutely considered, had greatly increased during the administration of the Company, yet relatively to the amount of the annual revenue, there had not been any increase from the beginning of the nineteenth

century till the outbreak of the Mutiny. He showed, by reference to the decennial figures of revenue and debt, that very rarely had the debt exceeded the amount of two years income during the whole period, and remarked "it was below that amount at the beginning of the century; it was below it in 1856-57". Further, by comparing the Indian debt with the British, he endeavoured to prove that the burden of debt of the people of India was lighter than that of the people of Great Britain. But, as was justly observed by John Bright, the argument was bad, for "it is a bad policy for a man who is just beginning to go wrong in his finances to compare himself with somebody who has been getting into debt in a manner unparralleled in the world."

The rate of interest deserves some notice. The interest rate of the bonds held in England was 3 per cent. from 1773 to 1778. From the latter year till the early part of 1783 it was 4 per cent. About the middle of the year, it rose to $4\frac{1}{2}$, and towards the end, to 5 per cent. This rate continued till 1787, when it was reduced to 4 per cent. But in 1796, it was again raised to 5 per cent. From that year till 1804, the rate of interest remained uniform at 5 per cent. Between 1806 and 1854, there were several variations ranging from 5 to 6 per cent. From 1806 to 1818 the rate was again uniform at 5 per cent. In the last mentioned year, it was reduced to 4 per cent. In April 1825, there was a further reduction to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. while in December of that year, it fell to 3 per cent. But before the close of the year, it again rose to 4 per cent. In 1831, the rate of interest on a portion of the 'home bond debt' was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1853, the interest on nearly

the whole of the bond debt was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But, in 1857, the rate of interest on the new debenture loan was fixed at 4 per cent.

The rate of interest on the Indian portion of the debt in the latter half of the eighteenth century was very high. It varied from 6 to 12 per cent. When the financial embarrassment of the Government was very great or money was scarce in the market, high rates had to be offered in order to attract loans. During periods of comparative ease, the rates were generally low. In the nineteenth century, a $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. rate was offered only once, namely, in 1800, and a 10 per cent. rate twice, namely, in 1801-2 and 1805-6. In 1806-7, a loan was successfully raised at 8 per cent. In 1809-10 the Bengal Government reduced the interest on a large portion of the debt from 10 and 8 per cent. to 6 per cent. From 1812-13 to 1822-23, the average rate of interest was 6 per cent. In 1823, the interest on a considerable portion of the 6 per cent. debt was reduced to 5 per cent. In September, 1824, a 4 per cent non-remittable loan was opened, but not with much success. In the following year, nearly the whole of the 4 per cent. debt was transferred to a loan at 5 per cent. Thus, in the year 1827, there were several rates of interest, the maximum being 10 per cent. and the minimum, 4. Somewhat less than three-fifths of the debt

outstanding at that date was held at 5 per cent. and about two-fifths at 6 per cent.

In 1834, the interest upon the 6 per cent. securities was reduced to 5 per cent. A 4 per cent. loan was raised in the years 1843 to 1845. In 1846, however, it was found necessary to re-open a five per cent. loan. In 1853-54, an important step was taken in consequence of orders received from the Board of Control. The 5 per cent. debt was entirely extinguished. Excepting the payment of a comparatively small sum in cash, the whole of the five per cent. loan was either converted into a 4 per cent. loan or replaced in the open 4 per cent. loan. The financial difficulties of the Mutiny led to an increase in the rate of interest. A 5 per cent. loan was raised in 1857, while the Governor-General-in-Council was given authority in 1858 to borrow at 6 per cent. in case he should find it necessary to do so.

It thus appears that the rate of interest considerably diminished during the second half of the Company's administration. In 1810, the average rate of interest was $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while in 1857, it was little more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Thus the history of the public debt of India "presents a singular picture of the growth of public credit along with the increase of financial embarrassment, and of the increase of embarrassment with the increase of the public resources."

TOWN PLANNING IN INDIA

BY MR. R. DANN,

Director of Town Planning, Madras.

MR. DUTT'S Book as an evidence of reviving interest in the subject of Town Planning is very welcome. I say reviving interest, for as will be seen by the very large number of references from the writing of the past which

have been assembled in this volume, Town Planning was well developed in ancient India.

But as in the West Town Planning has become a lost science. To-day however it is not too much to say that Town Planning is,

revolutionising town and city development in the West. To quote from a well known weekly review "Town Planning has become a slogan." It is now a recognised science, well past the experimental stages with its own University pro-



MR. R. DANN

fessors and courses of study. But this revolution has not been brought about without an enormous volume of spade work, visible evidence of which is an ever increasing amount, of literature which even now would be sufficient to stock a library of considerable proportions whilst a large number of monthly and other periodicals are wholly or partially devoted to the subject.

If the cities of India are to become places in which the whole community can live a full and healthy life many more volumes on the subject will have to be forthcoming. For we cannot expect the same fundamental change in city development in a less developed civilisation without at least the same amount of education and spade-work. This is not the first modern

book on the subjects as Mr. Venkatarama Ayyar of Madras some years ago produced the very useful little volume, 'Town Planning in Ancient Deccan'; but Mr. Dutt's book* is much more comprehensive, for in it he has gathered together all the references to Town Planning in the *Silpa Sastras* and it is on that account a very valuable addition to the bibliography on the subject. There is quite sufficient evidence to show that Town Planning was an art in Hind centuries ago and the writings indicate that it was on as scientific a basis as in any other country in the world. To what extent there were borrowings from Western Asia and possibly Egypt it would be interesting to discover but recent excavations in Egypt and Mesopotamia have shown that in actual construction, Town Planning was in actual practice, even down to such details as paved street and socketed stoneware drain-pipes many centuries before the time of these references.

Mr. Dutt deplores the fact that except for the map of Jaipore no plans or drawings are available to give a graphic emphasis to his work. This certainly is unfortunate as a volume of this character needs copious illustration and in this direction lies work for an enterprising student of the subject whether official or otherwise. The diagrams worked out from the writings are inadequate. Mr. Dutt expects that the Westerner will have some difficulty in following him. I find this is the case particularly as in some places it is a little difficult to distinguish between Mr. Dutt and his quotations.

* TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA By Binode, Behari Dutt, M. A., B.L. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.

In spite of the growth of towns, India is still a land of villages as it was in earlier times as can be judged from the references and the plans that have been evolved from them. As in the West in early times the village was for the people and the town for the Kings and Rulers.

Towns were of certain "type designs", distinguished by names with arbitrary dimensions and from the descriptions of these and the plans evolved from them it would seem that, except in the case of towns established by the King for his own habitation and that of his entourage, the towns of those days would be classified as villages in this. The town was then, as with the definitely planned towns in the West, the effort of some potentate to create an impressive setting for his palace and to accommodate his court.

Much of the art of Town Planning in ancient India is applicable to conditions as we find them to-day but there is a place still vacant on the shelves of the Town Planners' library for a book on Town Planning in Modern India in which ancient practice in India and modern practice in the West will be drawn upon with discrimination and imagination and a policy of Town Planning developed which will meet the demands of our more complicated civilisation, of climate, community, caste, customs, commerce, industry and transport as we find them to-day and can visualise them for the future.

Town Planning as practised in the West cannot be applied to conditions in India without modification, for in some respects our objective is just the reverse, e.g., in England streets are planned as far as possible with a view to all living rooms in the house whether front or back obtaining the maximum of direct

sunshine and streets running due East and West, the most favoured direction in India, are not desirable as the front rooms on the South side and the back rooms on the North side would never get any sunshine at all. In other respects conditions which result from life in a temperate clime don't apply to the tropics whilst the Indian complications due to community and caste and religious beliefs don't arise.

The private ownership of land presumably never had to be faced in ancient India. To-day it is about the most difficult problem amongst those that have to face the Town-Planner. The minute sub-division of land provides a fundamentally different basis for Town Planning Schemes than is found in England where, except in developed building estates the land is held in large blocks by owners who are only too glad to co-operate to the mutual advantage of themselves and the local authority in the development of their estates. Here and naturally, a good deal of opposition is encountered instead of co operation in view of the fact that in some cases at any rate life is much more bound up with the land. Conditions are not dissimilar to those in Germany (and other European countries) where owing to the laws of heredity the land has been minutely subdivided and somewhat drastic legislation for the pooling of plots and redistribution of boundaries, the local authority taking freely what is required for roads etc., has been necessary, the owner in addition being charged the cost of making up the roads. In India it is essential that ownership divisions be very largely disregarded if anything like a decent and coherent layout has to be produced. Public or single ownership

of land in urban areas, as in the Garden Cities in England is the ideal condition. Without it no large proportion of the unearned increment due to municipal activities and development is likely to be garnered into the municipal coffers.

One of the most interesting and practical chapters relates to Building bye-laws. This is worthy of study, for, besides being designed to secure sanitary conditions, the aesthetic considerations of harmony and balance are provided for. It is only necessary to compare any modern housing development in Indian cities (those in Madras at any rate) with those of past generations to realise how far we have fallen, even from the building developments of last century. I think it would be difficult to find anywhere in the world any more flagrant examples of "architectural bad manners" of competition in outward display, and individualism run mad than we see in almost any group of the latest examples of high class Indian domestic architecture. Architectural nightmares truly! Compare the new architecture of Madras City as seen in Mount, Lloyds, Edward Elliott, and Poonamallee High Roads and parts of Mylapore etc., with the restrained and pleasing frontages, based on traditional style, of the older streets of George Town and Triplicane. Other cities and mofussil towns also illustrate this point. This is a very modern break from common sense and sound practice and the sooner we can get back to develop along lines of tradition and nationality in architecture the better for the appearance of our Towns. The period in which we live corresponds with the architectural calamity which overtook England and the West during the latter part of last century, but there they are already well on the way back to sound

architectural practice. No doubt India will have to pass through the same chaotic phase and from the examples of mad architecture that are springing up, it looks as though we are to have a pretty bad attack. Shoddy self-assertiveness and self-display can be even more offensive in buildings than in human beings! In reality, flamboyant crudity the architecture of ignorance and pretence is taking the place of scholarly beauty and restraint. This criticism is levelled at the buildings of the rich where economy has not enforced decency the houses of the poor are often beautiful or at least inoffensive in their adherence to type and simplicity of form. This however is off the point but it is a matter of more than passing moment and it is particularly germane to the present time when India is striving after full nationality. The architectural heritage of India is as rich as that of any country in the world and it requires fostering. Cosmopolitanism due to the introduction and mixing up of Indian and other styles and materials will ruin our street architecture, at least so far as to destroy its appeal to the visitor from foreign parts.

The Town Planner deals with fundamentals, he tries to eradicate the conditions in urban life which render it so dangerous to health. Indian towns are just over-grown villages—huge agglomerations of population living without the restraints that town life should impose, and if our towns are to become more healthy they must be organised for "convenience, sanitary conditions and amenity" and until this is done our health measures, both curative and preventive will be largely abortive. Under the circumstances, I say again, as I did at the beginning, that Mr. Dutt's book is particularly welcome as an evidence of awakening interest on the subject.

SHRI KRISHNA

BY PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

THE *Janam Ashtami* always brings to my mind the marvellous child who, though himself behind the bars of a prison, taught the world the way to eternal freedom. He was, indeed, a person who, in personal prowess and daring, in subtlety and profundity of intellect, in hatred of oppression and abomination of tyrants, in persuasive eloquence and charm of person owned no man as his equal. India has been a nursery of heroes, warriors and philosophers, but she has not seen the like of Krishna who was a hero, an emancipator and a philosopher rolled into one. Many years have passed since Krishna shuffled off this mortal coil, but his holy presence is still felt by millions of Hindus in their daily life, and his influence still abides with every man who feels devoutly, thinks deeply and acts rightly. What is then the secret of all this?

To be sure, what Walter Pater said about Leonardo De Vinci is equally true of him; fascination is the only word descriptive of him. It was, indeed, an abiding, deep and incalculable glamour that Krishna cast on those who came within the orbit of his magnetic personality. He had, as every one would admit, a way to charm all hearts and influence all men. His daring contempt of danger, his invincible strength and great skill in the use of weapons singled him out as a born leader of the cowherds even when he was a boy. But this was not all. He had also that mysterious something which could evoke trust and devotion in the hearts of those who saw him. Thus with his manliness, his little graces of disposition, the urbanity of his manners and the charm of

his person he won the hearts of all, the young and the old, the cowherd and the prince. He could beglamour and hypnotise people in such a way that every man owned himself to be his bondsman.

But the most wonderful thing about him is that the secret of his influence has not died with him. He is still celebrated in story and song, legend and romance, and people are still as ready to die for him as to lose themselves in his contemplation. I think no other man has had this proud privilege. To this day he sums up for the young and the old all that the word romance connotes. How can they forget him? the ravishing strains of whose flute mollified the hearts of men and women as well as the brutish creation and whose very name conjures up before their minds a person seductive and fascinating, charming and magnetic, as daring in war as companionable in games. He is, indeed, to most of them a mystery ever longed for and never seen—something that takes them out of themselves and fills this drab and dull world with the charm of song, the magic of careless laughter, the joys of comradeship shared without any petty distinctions of rank and position, the memory of brave deeds bravely wrought and of oppression mightily resisted. All these things constitute the romance of youth, and Krishna, therefore, appeals to the youthful heart of India, nay, of mankind.

But Krishna is beloved of persons not only as a romantic hero. He is a saviour also: saviour who always comes to the rescue of those who are oppressed, who is the refuge of the weak, a tower of strength for the poor and

the hope of the wretched. It is in his capacity as a rescuer that he is invoked in many songs. For instance, who can forget the plaintive appeal of Droupadi to Krishna when she is being insulted by Duryodhana? This plaintive appeal has been expressed in the songs of all the people of India and is something that comes readily to all who are afflicted in any way. Thus Krishna leaves behind him the memory of a person who was always ready to fight wrongs and to redress grievances. Not has he left us now. Even now when a person girds up his loins to resist tyranny or to humble pride he finds in him a never failing source of inspiration. Thus Krishna lives not only as a romantic hero, but also as a doughty warrior and a great saviour of the afflicted mankind.

But this is not all. Krishna is our guide, friend and philosopher, as he was the guide, friend and philosopher of Arjuna, and we love him because he is the only prophet who has given us his wisdom in an essentially friendly spirit. In reading the Bhagwat Gita

one finds oneself reading not dull and dreary moralizings of a self-righteous person, but the outpourings of a friend who thinks that your difficulties are his and who will not be content only to point to you the way but will accompany you to the danger spot and fight shoulder to shoulder with you. It is on account of this spirit of friendliness and intimacy that the Gita appeals to the Hindu widow as well as to the smiters and builders. The creed that it preaches is eminently workable in this rough and tumble world. It is, as all know, a creed which asks us to face our life, however mean it be, to stand up to the mightiest when the occasion demands, to discharge our duties, however unpleasant and difficult they be, to regard the game as more than the prize, to prefer a life of action to that of ignoble ease, to eschew all thoughts of self in the service of others and to do the best and leave to God the rest; a creed indeed, which fills us with self-reliance.

All these things have endeared Krishna to us and so long as we live in the spirit of his creed, we are blessed.

HINDU CALENDARS

BY MR. K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER, B.A., L.T.

THEIR FUNCTION

THE calendars of the Hindus are primarily intended to give for all the days of the year, the week days (*Varam*), the timings of the phases of the moon, the asterisms in conjunction with the moon, the *yogam*, and *karanam*. They give information also regarding the position of the various planets with reference to the *Nakshatras* or

asterisms, and with reference to another. All this information is necessary for the Hindus because the shastras have prescribed certain religious functions to be performed by them on days corresponding to certain months *thithis*, *Nakshatras* etc. Further they celebrate their marriages, and other happy functions in consultation with the calendars, so that the moments fixed for such occasions may be auspicious.

THE DIFFERENT COMPUTATIONS.

The chief computations, on which the Hindu calendars are based, are two in number *viz.*, *Chandramanam* or Lunar computation, and *Souramanam* or Solar Computation. In the lunar system of computation, there are two sub-divisions, one sub-division begins the months on the *Prathamai* or the first phase after the new moon and the other with that after the full moon. Though the beginning is different in the two sub-divisions, yet in the matter of the length of the month or year they agree. One lunar synodic month is 29.53 days long and an ordinary lunar year has 12 such months. But, in nearly every 32 solar months, two new-moons occur in the same solar month, when the lunar year has 13 months. If, for example, two new moons occur in the month of *Chitra* (Mesham), the lunar month beginning with the *sukla prathamai* after the first new-moon in the month is called *Athika Vaisakam*, and that commencing after the second new-moon is called *Nija Vaisakam*. When no New-moon occurs in a particular solar month, the lunar month corresponding to that is omitted and it is called *kshaya masam*. This kind of suppression of a lunar month comes only rarely and it comes only after the repetition of some previous lunar month of the same year, so that the lunar year has then only twelve months. In the case of those who follow the *prathamai* after the full-moon, there is an *Athikamasam* or a repetition of the same lunar month when there are two full-moons in a solar month and there is a *kshayamasam* or suppression of a month when there is no full-moon in a particular solar month. This arrangement of *Athikamasam* and *kshayamasam* has been made in order to make up for the

difference in phase between the solar and the lunar year.

The solar computation also can be divided under two heads *viz.*, sidereal or *nirayanam*, and equinoctial or *sayanam*. According to the former method of computation one year is the interval of time that elapses between two successive transits of the sun and a fixed star (*Aswin*, say,) across a particular meridian. Its length, in mean solar units is 365 days, 6 hours 9 minutes and 9 seconds according to the Westerners, and 365 days 15 *gatikais* and and $31\frac{1}{4}$ *vinadis* or *palas* according to the Hindus. The two values for the length of the sidereal year differ by nearly 3 minutes and as to which of them is the correct one must be settled by referring the question to Superintendents of Observatories. According to the latter or *sayana* method of computation, one year is the interval of time that elapses between two successive returns of the sun to the Vernal Equinox. Its length, in mean solar units, is 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes and 50 seconds according to the Westerners and the length given by the Hindu calendars is very nearly equal to it, though it is found to be varying by a few seconds, every year.

PRESENT STATE HINDU CALENDARS

Though many almanacs are published with nearly the same name and under the same astronomical system no two of them are found to be in agreement in the matter of the duration and timings of *thithis*, *nakshatras* etc. Owing to such differences, the same event is observed on different dates by different people according to the instructions given in the calendars followed by them, not to speak of the differences due to the variant interpretations of the shastras.

THEIR COMMON DISCREPANCY

The Tamil calendar which is a solar one gives two dates which differ by nearly 23 days, for *meshayanam* and *mesaravi*, *Rishabayanam* and *Rishabaravi* etc. *Ayana* means course, birth etc. So that *meshayanam* means the time of entry of the Sun into *Mesham*. *Mesharavi* also appears to mean the same astronomical event. Therefore two dates, differing by 23 days, are given for apparently one and the same astronomical event. The Bengal calendar, which is also a solar one, gives exactly the same names for two dates differing by 23 days. It gives two dates for *Mesha Bishu* (*Vishu* or Equinox), two for *Dakshinayanam* (Summer Solstice), two for *thulu Bishu* and another two for *Uttarayanam* (Winter Solstice). The Jodhpur calendar also gives two dates differing by 23 days for apparently the same event. For example it gives two dates for *Karki Bhanu* and *Karkiravihi* (or *karkiarkaha*) as if *Bhanu*, *Ravi* and *Arkaha* do not connote the same object, the Sun. The Punjabi calendar similarly gives one date (18-10-1927) for *Thulu Ravi* or *Surij Thulame* and another date (24-9-1927) for *ofthabDharburuje misan*, though the two expressions mean the same thing. The Tanjore Maharashtra calendar and the Telugu calendar also do the same thing as the Tamil Calendar.

THE EXPLANATION OF THE DISCREPANCY

Owing to the gravitational forces exerted by the sun and the moon upon the bulging portion of the earth near the equator the direction of the earth's axis and consequently that of the celestial equator is slowly changing year by year. On account of this the equinoctial points have a retrograde motion of 50'264 angular seconds in each year. One of the

effects of the precession of the equinoxes is that the signs and constellations do not now agree. The *Sign Mesham* (Aries) is very nearly in the constellation Meenam or Pices.

The former refers to the first 30 degrees of the Zodiac beginning with the position of the sun in the Zodiac on the day of the vernal equinox, the latter refers to the group of stars having the shape of Aries or goat in outline. This knowledge will clarify the apparent discrepancy that is referred to above. The earlier of the two dates will then refer to the entry of the sun into the respective signs of the Zodiac, and the later dates to the entry of the sun into the constellations of the Zodiac. In other words the earlier dates refer to the divisions of the solar year according to the *Sayanam* or equinoctial while the later dates refer to them according to the *Nirayanam* or sidereal calculations.

WHICH IS TO BE FOLLOWED BY HINDUS?

The question now rises as to whether we should observe *Vislu*, *Ayana* and *Sankranti-punyakalas* on the earlier dates or on the later dates. At present the Hindus in Southern India, are observing the later dates and not the earlier ones. It appears that the Bengalis observe both the dates. Leaving the custom apart, let us examine the question from an astronomical point of view. *Vishu* or *Bishu* literally means the date on which the durations of day and night are equal, or in one word equinox *Uttarayanam* or *Ravi Uttare* means Winter Solstice and *Dakshinayanam* or *Ravi Dakshine* means Summer Solstice. If we examine the dates from the point of view of a *hasu* or *thinamanam* or duration of day, it will be seen that the earlier dates alone are correct and not the later ones. It follows therefore

that the *vishu* or *bishu* and *ayana* and *Sankranti-punyakalas* should be observed on the earlier dates alone, and not on the later dates.

THE PRECESSION OF THE EQUINOXES

When it is granted that *Meshavishu* or *bishu punyakala* should, strictly speaking, be observed on the vernal equinox, it will easily follow that the beginning of the solar year must be changed as also the beginning of the months of the year. The months of the year will have to begin with the entries of the sun into the various signs of the Zodiac, that is to say, the solar months will have to be equinoctial or *sayana* month and not sidereal months as at present. The division of the year into six *ruthus* (seasons) of two months' duration each and two *ayanams* of six months' duration each are true only with reference to an equinoctial year and not with reference to a sidereal year. For example *Vasanta ruthu* does not begin on or about 12th April as given by the sidereal calendars but only on or about the 22nd March when the vernal equinox occurs. The seasons, as given by the present day calendars are therefore late by nearly 23 days. If we allow the present state of affairs to continue for another 10,000 years the sun will be going towards the North while according to our calendars it must be going towards the South. Further the seasons as given by the calendars, and the actual seasons will then differ in phase to an extent of six months. The marriages done now between the 21st June and 15th July are unshastric, for *Dakshinayanam* begins on or about 21st June corresponding to 8th Mithunam and not on or about 15th July corresponding to the first of Kadakam as given by some calendars. The *sraddhs*, done by those who follow the present day solar calendars and who make *sayana*

sankalpas, that is to say, who give in their *sankalpas* not only the names of the years, months, *pakshas* and *thithis* but also those of the *ayanams* and *ruthus*, are done one month before or after the correct dates of their occurrence. For the *ruthus* and *ayanams* do not, as pointed out above, correspond to the beginnings of the present day solar months but only to the 8th of them. Feast and festivals which are fixed with reference to certain months, *thithis* and *nakshatras* are similarly affected.

PROPOSED REFORM

The solar year must be made an equinoctial one in the matter of its commencement as well as in the matter of its length. In that case the year as well as the *Meshamasam* will begin on or about the 21st March when the vernal equinox occurs, the *Dakshinayanam* or *Katakamasam* will begin on or about the 21st June, *Thulavishu* or *Thulamasam* on or about the 23rd September when the Autumnal equinox occurs and *Uttarayanam* or *Makaramasam* on or about the 21st December when the Winter Solstice occurs. So the lengths and beginnings of all the solar months will have to be changed. If this change is to be brought about, 23 days in the *Meenamasam* of the current year must be ignored, by making the 9th Meenam, the first of *Mesham*. Further our conception of *Mesham* must be altered. It must now be made to comprise $2\frac{1}{4}$ *Nakshatras* beginning with the second quarter of *Uttarattathi* (*Uthraproshtapatha*), and this conception must be changed every 240 years by making *Mesham* recede by one quarter of a *Nakshatra*.

PARALLEL INSTANCES

From a careful study of the Tilak's Orion, it will be seen that the year beginning had been thrice changed in the past, so that the seasons

as given by the calendars and the actual seasons did not differ in phase. The present Aswin system was introduced in India in the 5th century A. D. by Varahamihira of Avanti. Before his time the *Krithikas* was the first of the *Nakshatra* system. The late lamented B. G. Tilak has, in the above said book, traced the year beginning from the *Krithikas* to *Punarvasu*. From this it will be clear that so long as the sidereal system is adopted, the year beginning will have to be shifted back by one *Nakshatra* nearly every 1,000 years.

From a study of the European calendar, it will be seen that, on account of a small error in the matter of determining the length of the equinoctial year, the error had

accumulated to 10 days and that Pope Gregory remedied this by removing 10 days from October 1582 and by modifying the leap year rule given by Julius Cæsar in 45 B. C.

MEANS TO ACHIEVE THE END.

It will be but proper if the heads of Hindu Religious Mutts and Indian Rajahs convene all over India, conferences of eminent men well versed in the Jyotish and the Dharma Shastras, to discuss this important question and arrive at a satisfactory conclusion in the matter at an early date. The assistance of the Superintendents of Observatories may be obtained for fixing the length of the tropical year and for correctly dividing it into *Sayana* Months.

The Pardah System

BY

THE LATE BABU GOVIND DAS.

FALSE APPREHENSIONS REGARDING CONSEQUENCES OF ITS ABOLITION

A good many persons fear that the breaking down of the pardah or gosha will lead to disastrous consequences, breaking up the family peace and harmony by throwing unnecessary temptation in the way of the women who are now comfortably ensconced behind screens and therefore safe from the cunning or violence of lecherous rascals. Such a position displays woeful want of trust in women and even men; for to a Hindu bred on Manu it also displays a deep-seated ignorance of the way emotions work. Coercion merely as such has never made for conjugal fidelity, for repressive measures, whether in the larger life of the state or the

smaller one of the family, help only to drive the evil out of sight, never to eradicate it. Loyalty, affection, love are not the attendants of the tyrant's lash. For those whose morals are loose neither the indissoluble nature of the marriage-tie nor the rigorous *pardah* system is a check or hindrance. A happy life is impossible in all such cases when one of the conjoints is of an uncontrollable polygamous or polyandrous instincts. The only sensible remedy in such cases is a timely and amicable separation. Barbarous ideas, even though enshrined in the Indian Penal Code by which the murder of a paramour by the husband if caught in the act is a comparatively venial offence, thus putting a wife on the same level as moveable property, will never succeed

in preserving such 'property,' from 'theft'. Something might have been said for the law if it had taken an equally lenient view of the offence of the wife who slays her husband with poison or other-wise on similar discovery of his faithlessness.

In no case where there is not already a state of tension will any adultery happen. Are the women of those Hindu races who do not observe pardah in any way inferior to those who do? Are they gad-about and inattentive to the welfare and comfort of their families? Are they more self-willed, and less moral, or less lady-like, or coarser than the women within the sacred precincts of the pardah? Again what is this much vaunted pardah and what are its extent and rigidity? Do not the Hindu pardah ladies go out freely to temples and even to bathe in public in the sacred tanks and rivers? Do they not appear before their family priests who are no whit better, when not actually lower, than average humanity? In short it is an institution of a very variable quantity and quality and does no good whatsoever. Can a system which shuts up the mothers of the race behind stone walls in darkness and seclusion avoid the disastrous reaction on the manliness and civilisation of the race? It is mere blind and unreasoning prejudice which would try to preserve an institution, all too blissful in its ignorance of the tremendous injury it is doing to the future of the nation. Often it is only the money-bred vanity of the man which would shut the woman up, even where she was in the enjoyment of freedom previously when there was not so much money in the family. Not only is there male jealousy and distrust of the woman behind the pardah system, but also a

great deal of self-distrust. Does not Manu say that one is not to sit alone with his own mother and sister and daughter? It reminds one of the Biblical story of Lot and his two daughters and of those savage jungle tribes of parts of the country where animal-like the mother bears children to her own son, a reference to which is to be found in the 'Aitareya Brahman': तस्मात्तु पुत्रो मातरं स्वसारं चाधिराहति।

(33-1-9): "Therefore it is that the son begets children on his mother and sister."

Even Manu, who seems to be all the time oscillating between the two opposed views about the treatment of women, has preserved embedded in his work the old practice of the host getting his friends to sit down to dinner with his wife, quite the European practice. So far has this state of things been forgotten that even among those Hindus who do not observe pardah, the women sit apart and not with the men for their meals. It should be noted that the form of the word 'Bhojayet' in Manu's verse (iii-113) is mandatory and not merely advisory or narratory. Of course it needs no pointing out that we have the very convenient habit of shelving quietly all such awkward passages when they do not suit our prejudices or go against our present-day habit. The pardah observance bears a direct ratio to the worldly respectability and monetary condition of each individual family. As the family rises in the social scale, the women begin to be locked up behind the four walls.

It might come as a surprise to most of us to learn that Islam, to whose violence in India we ascribe the introduction of the system, itself issues no commandments about the veiling and hiding of women. In the Prophet's own day the Arab women freely

went about with uncovered faces. Nowhere does the Koran enjoin the zenana system. How it grew up among the larger number of Islamic countries is a mystery yet unsolved.

A careless reader might think the above statements rather confused and exaggerated; for I have said that the institution is of very variable quantity and quality and not quite like cellular imprisonment; though even here one may safely assert that the extreme forms are not unknown or even very rare; as some of our poets have indulged in the boast that even the sun has not seen the consorts of certain chiefs; and unfortunately the boast is not untrue. Freely admitting the gradations in the pardah system as current, it may be said that the injury inflicted is, if such an impalpable thing were capable of measurement, proportionate to the intensity and rigidity of the system. How and when it arose it is impossible to determine now. It is a false belief which would attribute it to the advent of Islam in India, though Islam must be held very largely responsible for its great spread. The west coast from Sind downwards to Malabar and the Deccan including Mysore and Madras have been as severely war-harassed as any other part of the country, and yet there the women, who are certainly not plain, are the least kept in hiding. Look also at Kashmir and the Punjab, which have been raided from the north and the west from as far back as history goes. There the women, and they are handsomer, have not even yet learnt not to bathe naked in public. On the other hand Behar is most stringent in its observation of gosha (Pardah), where among the Maithilas not only the mother-in-law but even the father-in-law will not appear before the son-in-

law. The gosha efforts of the non-Brahman but higher caste Telugus whose sumptuary regulations prevent a woman covering her head with her Sari, only excite the risibility of the unsympathetic observer by the futility of the attempt. They must learn to use a veil if they wish to hide their faces.

The purpose of what has been said above is to convey to the readers the fact that whether the system is well-observed or ill-observed, whether it is enforced in all its rigidity or dwindles down through various grades to the comparative freedom of the Maharashtra or Tamil woman, sex-self-consciousness and sex-difference are present throughout. Nowhere in India—not even among the Nayars—has the sex-feeling been subordinated and full social freedom allowed.

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Dravidian Culture in Karnataka

BY

MR. J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C.

MUCH attention has been drawn recently to Dravidian culture especially the startling theories by Pargiter (a retired I.C.S. and ex judge of the Calcutta High Court) in his *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* contained in the Vedas and Puranas, which have only tended to confirm the theories urged by myself in the past as to the important part played by Dravidians in the development of Indian, nay, Asiatic culture. To some extent these theories are borne out by (1) Folklore of Karnataka, (2) Traditions, (3) Philology of Kanarese and other Dravidian languages.

PART I. FOLKLORE

The term "Folklore" is derived from "folk", the people, as distinguished from the higher cultured classes and "lore", store of knowledge or learning. Folklore means therefore the store of knowledge and learning, beliefs, traditions, customs, rites prevalent among masses as distinguished from those in vogue among scientists, learned classes and the higher cultured priestly orders. The essential characteristic of Folklore is therefore as observed by Sir G. L. Gomme in his *Ethnology of Folklore* (1892) that "it consists of beliefs, customs and traditions which are behind civilization in their intrinsic value to man, though they exist under cover of a civilized nationality. This estimate of the position of Folklore with reference to civilization suggests that its constituent elements are survivals of a condition of human thought more backward and therefore more ancient than that in which they are discovered." In his later work "*Folklore as an Historical Science*" the same author goes so far as to assert his "profound belief in the value of Folklore as perhaps the only means of discovering the earliest stages of the psychological, religious, social, and political history

of modern man." Folklore its highest value from a comparative study of lore of the masses in different parts of the world at various stages of culture, a study which discloses parallel or similar beliefs and practices, rites and legends. Folklore or the lore of the people or the masses of mankind as distinguished from the higher or cultured classes may, according to the useful *Handbook of Folklore* by C. S. Burne, be arranged in three groups:—I. Belief and practice, II Customs, III Stories and songs and sayings. "It comprises (1) early and barbaric beliefs about the world of nature animate and inanimate, about human nature and things made by man, about a spirit world and man's relations with it; about witchcraft, spells, charms, amulets, luck, omens, disease and death;" includes (II) customs and rites about marriage and inheritance, child hood and adult-life, and as to festivals including village and rural warfare, hunting, fishing, cattle-keeping, etc, (III) myths and legends, folktales, ballads, songs, proverbs, riddles and nursery rhymes. I have abundant materials in manuscript of Karnataka Folklore to be tackled for marshalling on some method.

DRAVIDIAN CULTURE IN S. KONKAN

Meanwhile in illustration of the above divisions I may refer here to my investigations into the folklore of the Savantvadi State (a part of S. Konkan), which though Aryan in its linguistic characteristics, being in the borderland of Dravida is Dravidian in the bulk of its people and ancient culture. Dwelling upon castes, village communities, gods and folklore of Savantvadi, in several papers published in Vols. VIII, IX and X of the Bombay Anthropological Society's journal, I tried

to illustrate the following conclusion arrived at by Gomme in his *The Village Community*:—"The Village community or communities in India were not Aryan in origin but were formed by a pre-Aryan race, who having been conquered by the tribal Aryans had thus super-imposed upon them the Aryan over-lordship, with its fixed notions, sacredness in kinship and in domestic worship. In India these Aryans and non-Aryans exist side by side, the contribution of each to the building up of the Indian form of village community being still stamped with the impress of race". In the villages in the Savantvadi State, the leading families are called Gaonkars. The Marathas are Gaonkars in the majority of the villages, but though a minority they form with the village functionaries—the twelve *watundars* or *bolutedars* who enjoy special privileges at village festivals, *atras* and gatherings, and who are represented by their ancestors or tutelary deities called *bara vansh*. 'I shall not weary your readers with the repetition of illustrations from the Folklore of Savantvadi—my accounts of which have been published in several papers, Vols. VII, p. 498; IX, 344, 480; X, 126, 169 of the Journal of Anthropological Society. I may only draw your attention to some of its interesting features. *Firstly*, the intimate connection of the Chief and the State with the Deities. *Secondly*, the prominent and almost exclusive participation of the lower classes—the Mahars and the Ghadi Guravs and other Shudra and non-caste classes who form the bulk of the population and are Dravidians and pre-Dravidians in race in the worship of the village gods and in the main village festivals like the *dashruda* (literally custom of the country) held at the end of *Ashad* and before the beginning of *Shravan* in order to propitiate ghosts and ward off evils. These festivities with animal sacrifices, before the sowing season, the hook swinging, all smack so much of Dravidian or pre-Dravidian spirit and so little of Aryan spirit, that we should be justified in looking for their origin to pre-Aryan

racess that had settled and made their mark in that part of Konkan. In fact the study of Folklore of the Savantvadi State discloses three racial strata, the Aryan, the Dravidian and pre Dravidian. The ordinary common life of the villages has been very little influenced by the Aryan religion.

FOLKLORE ABOUT EXOGAMY AND TOTEMISM

We have traces of exogamy and totemism in Karnataka in various degrees of growth to an extent found nowhere else in India. We are familiar with exogamy as disclosed in *gotras* among Brahmins. They exist among certain other castes under the name of *balis* or *baris* in Kanara and *badagan* in Bijapur and Dharwar districts. About 200 of them were traced by myself (See my articles in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay VIII-385, IX-255 and XI-5551) and over a 1200 are specified as *balis* by the Census Department of Mysore Government (Census Report of 1901 Vol. XXIV-c, Part IV). Totemism, which is derived from an American Indian word is an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural objects on the other side, which objects are called totems of the human group. In the Kanarese districts we have a Dravidian people completely totemistic in its organization with exogamous groups named after animals and natural objects and descent of both the group name and properties through females, in fact matriarchal and matrilineal. These groups are called *balis* in Kanara and W. Mysore. As I have pointed out in a paper read by myself in 1908 before the Society on "Balis and Totems in Kanara." (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, VIII, p. 385), the word *bali*, is probably derived from the Kanarese word *bali*—creeper, therefore that which traces lineage, hence sept or *kul*. I have given a list of the *balis* or *baris* found among the Tulu castes in South Kanara (*ibid.*, p. 387; see also *ibid.*, IX, pp 255, *et seqq* so far discovered among them

and have shown that even the Deshasth Brahmins of the district have incorporated *balis* named after animals, plants, fruits and other natural objects (*e. g.* horse, palmyra tree, lime, banian tree, elephant, sea) in their exogamous system.

Proceeding to North Kanara within the Bombay Presidency, in my paper on *Balis and Totems* published in Vols. IX of the Journal of the Society (pp. 255 *et seqq*), I mentioned as many as 72 *balis* belonging to several Shudra castes. I have discovered afterwards others and have revised the derivation of several of the *balis* noted before. There is any amount of folklore connected with the derivation of the totem namely interrelation between totem and the septs after which they are named, their use at marriage, which deserves to be tackled as sure to throw a flood of light on culture bearing on the religion and social structure of the Dravidians.

FOLKLORE ABOUT ESTABLISHMENT OF VAISHNAVISM & SAIVISM IN NORTH KANARA.

In a few papers read by me on the *Folklore of North Kanara* before the Anthropological Society, Bombay (XI-198,) I have tried to trace the establishment of Vaishnavism and an older religion Saivism in Kanara. The possible origin of both the systems from Dravidian sources and the outside influences co-operating with the growth of Vaishnavism in Western India especially at Udipi have yet to be tackled in the light of folklore as well as Karnataka literature and history.

PART II. TRADITIONS.

I shall now mention one or two of the legends regarding the settlements of people and dynasties of Kings in Karnataka.

About the early dynasties that ruled in Kanara till about the 6th century A. D. we have absolutely no record, and we must be satisfied only with legendary lore, and even of this we have very little. The most popular of the legends about the early history of Kanara is that of Parashuram.

It is well-known, but will bear repetition. Some thousands of years ago, it is said, a great Brahmin warrior and hero—we must remember that in those good old days the Brahmins knew the use of the sword as well as that of the pen—named Parashuram (from *parashu*, an axe, his usual weapon) destroyed twenty-six times all the people of the Kshatriya or military caste, but having obtained forgiveness of this serious crime through the prayers of the Brahmins, he granted them all the land in the world and went in search of an abode for himself towards the ocean in the west of India and solicited the mighty ocean to yield to him a small piece of ground to live upon and die in peace. The ocean in its large-heartedness consented to grant him as much land as he could hurl his battle-axe over. Parashuram threw his weapon from Gokurn to Kunya Kumari or Cape Comorin and the ocean receding back allowed him to occupy all the land from Nussara, a place north of Bombay, to Cape Comorin, measuring about 800 miles in length and forty-five miles in breadth. He then inhabited the land with all classes of people except Brahmins, who refused to settle there. But the enterprising Parashuram was equal to the occasion. Seeing several fishermen on the sea-shore, he cut their nets, and having made Brahminical strings out of them, tied them round the shoulders of the fishermen and dubbed them priests. Having thus made Brahmins, Parashuram divided the lands among them in seven portions, Barat, Varat, Marat, Konkan, Haviga, Tuluva and Kerala, of which Tuluva and Haviga nearly correspond to the present South Kanara and North Kanara Districts respectively. After this he betook himself to a hill near Kunya Kumari for prayer and meditation, directing the Brahmins that if they should at any time be in distress they should think of him. After a lapse of fifty years in order to test the power of Parashuram the Brahmins thought of him, and that very

instant he appeared before them and inquired what distress they were labouring under. Finding they wanted only to test his powers, he fell into a violent rage and uttered a curse on them, saying that they should eat coarse rice, dress only with half cloth and be miserable for ever. He then proceeded to Gokurn and governed the country for several years.

There are interesting traditions as to the founder of the Kadamba Dynasty. The founder of the Kadamba Dynasty was Mayuravarman or Mayuravarman. He is said to have been born of a drop of perspiration of Siva which fell upon a Kadamba tree, and to have had three eyes and four arms and to have been surnamed Trinetra-Kadamba. From another tradition it appears that the ancestors of Mayuravarman belonged to a family of Brahmins, Hariputras of the Manavya gotra, who always planted the kadamba tree near their house and were therefore known as the Kadamba family. Mayuravarman, a Brahmin of the Brahmins, eager to establish the physical as well as intellectual superiority of the Brahmins over other people, rose in rebellion against the Pallava kings who reigned at Kandu or Conjevaram. The wily kings of the Pallavas, in order to get rid of this dangerous man, made a grant to him of the territory on the shores of the Western Ocean, over which he exercised a very doubtful or no sway, somewhat in the manner of Menelik of Abyssinia appointing the Prince of Orleans and Leontieff Governors of the Equatorial Province of Ethiopia, a region in which Menelik has never exercised any authority. Mayuravarman then marched to the West Coast with his Brahmin hosts and established his capital at Banavasi.

There is a tradition current among the Kanarese and Tulu Brahmins of Kanara that their ancestors were brought into Kanara by one Mayuravarman from Ahi-Kshetra beyond the

Godavari, and distributed over the land by Lokaditya of Gokarnam, Mayuravarman's son, and according to some by Chandragauda. The story briefly related is as follows: Mayuravarman was born in the 1609th year of Kaliyuga, i.e., about 500 years B. C. After he had ruled for twenty years, he was told by Rishal Rishi that there being no respectable Brahmins in his country, worthy men were prevented from coming into it and thus the country was polluted. On hearing this Mayuravarman felt much grieved and marching with his army to Ahi-Kshetra, beyond the Godavari river, brought with him a large number of Brahmins with their Nair servants and granted to them lands, which were cultivated by the Nairs. Twelve years after this Mayuravarman retired from the throne leaving the kingdom in the hands of his ministers, who were to be regents during the minority of his son Chandragauda. Enraged at this the Brahmins returned to their country in high dudgeon leaving behind their Nair servants. On attaining his majority, however, Chandragauda induced those Brahmins to come back, and in order to supply the want they felt of cultivators he invaded the kingdom of Pandya and imported a large number of low caste people into the country. On a second invasion of Pandya, he apprehended several other people, including the Bantas, and having put them on board a hundred vessels, landed them at Udyavar, a village near Udipi and assigned them to the Brahmins as servants and cultivators. Another account tells of Lokaditya, a son or relation of Mayuravarman, having fought battles with a local Koraga chief, Hubachicer, and other Moger and Holeyia chiefs, and defeated them. These and other traditions (which I hope to detail and explain hereafter, are interesting as throwing light on the meeting and coalescence sometimes of Aryan and Dravidian races and culture. (See the author's outlines of the History of Kanara in THE MANGALORE MAGAZINE, pp. 47, 77 to 79).

PART III. LANGUAGE.

I shall now proceed to show how the peculiar social organization I have described above is reflected in the vernaculars. In Kanarese the paternal uncles are described not as uncles but as fathers—if elder brother of one's father he is *dodda thande*, elder father, if younger "*sanna thande*"—younger father. If a man has lost his own father he will give in a plaint before the Court sometimes his living eldest uncle's name as his father's name. The mother's sisters are similarly treated as elder or younger mothers. The sons and daughters of two brothers are called as *anna-tamma* brothers and sisters. Some are sons and daughters of sisters. But sons and daughters of a brother or sister are cousins. They are called by a special name which covers also sons of a woman's husband's brother and her sister's husband. Another interesting peculiarity is that there is no common name for a brother and sister.

This latter is called *concrete* system as against *abstract* system of Aryan languages, while the former illustrates what is named as *classificatory* system. The classificatory system was discovered by Lewis H. Morgan and celebrated in his famous work "*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*," published in 1871. Since then several savants have written on the subject notably Sir John Lubbock, McLennan, Westermarck, and Riviers. The term "*classificatory*" means that whole classes of relations among the collateral consanguine are described by one name. This system preponderates in some languages than others—for instance in the Turanian, Dravidian, Malayan and American Indian languages and can hardly be traced in the Aryan, Semitic and Uralian families. There have arisen heated controversies as to the origin of the system and the state of social organization it signifies. But so far as the terminology in Bombay and Madras vernaculars is concerned, it may be safely assert-

ed that it is the outcome of social conditions which were once in vogue and survive to a great extent to the present day. Its main feature arises from the extent of exogamous social groups such as are found among several Australian and American aboriginal tribes.

No peoples are more widely separated than the Dravidians in India and the aboriginal tribes of Australia and North America. Their agreement in the principles and most of the details of the complex family system has been justly described by its discoverer L. H. Morgan "as one of the most extraordinary applications of the natural logic of the human mind to the facts of the social system preserved in the experience of mankind" (*vide* pp. 329, 332 of J. G. Frazer's "*Totemism and Exogamy*" Vol. II).

The subject I have dealt with in three sections above is of such absorbing interest and practical use in throwing light on Dravidian culture, that it requires much more detailed and exhaustive treatment than can be given in the columns of a Monthly Review.



HEAD OFFICE :—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
E, Sep. '27.

THE NESTOR OF EGYPTIAN POLITICS

THE death of Zaghlul Pasha removes from Egypt a great patriot and probably its most outstanding personality. Though he was sixty seven when he died, he continued to lead his countrymen to the last and might almost be said to have died in harness. Indeed, no leader has had a more devoted following, nor inspired more confidence in his statesmanship than this Nestor of Egyptian politics. The idol of the patriotic youth of Egypt he had time and again fought the good fight for freedom and Self-Government and suffered for the cause. He was the soul of Egyptian Nationalism and his courageous leadership and deep devotion to his country made him the power that he was. His unquestioned patriotism bore him through all the vicissitudes of a tempestuous career and enabled him to retain to the end his remarkable influence over the youth of the nation. Egypt is to-day decidedly the poorer by his death.

ZAGHLUL'S CAREER

Zaghlul was born in 1860 of a noble family in the province of Ghasbia and was educated at the University of El-Azhar in Cairo. He entered Government service as Editor of the OFFICIAL JOURNAL in 1882. But he subsequently left it to qualify for the Bar and became Counsellor of the Native Court of Appeal. In 1906 he was appointed Minister of Education and later Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly in which capacity he continued till the outbreak of the European War. Then began the grim conflict with the British Power in Egypt which has left such a deep impress on the subsequent history of that country. After the signing of the Armistice in 1918 the agitation for independence took a definite turn and Zaghlul with his colleagues who asked for permission to proceed to England found themselves interned in Malta. But the Nationalist agitation grew apace which

compelled the authorities to institute the Milner Commission and Zaghlul was released. The Nationalists under his lead declined to give evidence before that Commission and he was once again deported to Ceylon. It was in 1922 that Egypt was proclaimed a Sovereign State with the "vital interests of Britain" safeguarded by adequate guarantees.

ZAGHLUL, THE LINCOLN OF EGYPT

But the Egyptian Nationalists never reconciled themselves to the new situation whereby only the form and not the substance of Self-Government was conceded to Egypt. Zaghlul's public pronouncements were uncompromising. For example, in one speech he denounced the Declaration of Independence "as being the worst of calamities for Egypt and a mere camouflage for a protectorate." But when his party swept the elections in the autumn of 1923, he lost no time in making full use of the new constitutional liberties. He accordingly took office in Jan. 1924. It was a difficult situation for a leader to carry out a policy of practical co-operation while at the same time retaining the confidence of his extremist colleagues. "It seemed," says Mr. George Young in his recent book on Egypt (Modern World Series, Ernest Benn) "as though Zaghlul's personality and popularity would be sufficient to carry him through this difficult and delicate enterprise. For this tall, angular, ungainly *fellah* in many ways recalls another provincial lawyer, who brought his country through as difficult a crisis. Like Lincoln, Zaghlul is very human."

"His career shows that he can gamble without losing his head and that he can lead his people from the fleshpots of Egypt into the wilderness. He is wholly of the people and for the people."

ZAGHLUL AND RAMSEY MACDONALD

The conjunction of the first British Ministry with Zaghlul's first Wafd Ministry under the new constitution was considered very opportune for a satisfactory settlement. But the Labour

Government was not strong enough to carry out the generous intentions of the Party and Mr. MacDonald, weighed by the responsibilities of office and the limitations on his power, could do nothing to meet what to him appeared the impossible demands of Zaghlul. Zaghlul pitched his aspirations to the star as he felt it legitimate to demand complete independence, and the negotiations failed.

ZAGHLUL, THE STATESMAN

The Nationalists, however, continued to sweep the polls and no Government was possible or secure without Zaghlul's favour. But the unfortunate episode of the assassination of Sir Lee Stack on November 19, (1924) threw the whole country into the melting pot and Egypt was again the victim of martial law. "On the afternoon of the Sirdar's funeral," continues Mr. Young in his account of Modern Egypt which brings the story right down to our own day, "Lord Allenby with a military escort, drove down to the Council and delivered an ultimatum. It demanded an apology, punishment of the criminals, prohibitions of all political demonstrations, and payment of an indemnity of £500,000. It also required the withdrawal within twenty-four hours of all Egyptian troops from the Sudan, removal of the limitation that had, in the interests of Egypt, been placed on the area to be irrigated in the Sudan "Gezireh," and withdrawal of further opposition to the assumption by H.M.'s Government of the right to protect all foreigners in Egypt." The Egyptian Government at once accepted all the terms except those concerning Sudan; and the indemnity was paid in twenty-four hours, Lord Allenby insisted however on the fulfilment of the requirements regarding Sudan and announced that his demands would be put in force. He, of course, knew that there could be no alternative, for a British man-of-war was at once despatched to Egypt as if to demand at the point of the bayonet.

thereupon resigned and Ziwar took his place. But it was only for a time. Sweeping the polls again Zaghlul formed a coalition with the moderates and helped to steer the course for Egypt through the stormy weather. Under his steadfast and courageous lead Egypt has withstood the trials of the time with remarkable equanimity. Zaghlul's task as leader under such circumstances was by no means easy. But he guided the nation on the whole with courage and intrepidity and he had the reward of having gathered the nation round his standard through good report and evil. Zaghlul was indeed a statesman who could see far ahead. For along with his fiery zeal there was in him that element of moderation and sense of practicability which refused to be content with mere visions. "Unless I am much mistaken," said Lord Cromer on one occasion, "a career of great public usefulness lies before the present Minister of Education, Saad Zaghlul Pasha. He has all the qualities necessary to serve his country. He is honest, he is capable; he has the courage of his convictions; he has been abused by many of the less worthy of his own countrymen. These are high qualifications. He should go far." Such was the man that Egypt mourns to-day; and it will be long before such another is born to lead the people like him.

THE FUTURE OF EGYPT

The future of Egypt now depends on the followers of Zaghlul, the Wafd (Nationalist) Party. Though they are now in a majority in the Egyptian Chamber, the Government is being carried on by a Liberal Prime Minister. But the Anglo-Egyptian tension is still as acute as ever, and only recently the Egyptian War Minister's decision to dispense with British control in the army lashed Britain into fury. Then, there is the question of the Sudan, which the British are loth to give up and above all the supreme question of complete Egyptian sovereignty, on which the heart of Zaghlul was so passionately set. It is hard to fill Zaghlul's place in Egyptian politics. What is wanted for Egypt is Zaghlul's patience and courage, his unwearying service and his inextinguishable hope which burned all the brighter when the horizon was darkest.



THE OLDEST MAN OF THE WORLD

Zara Aga of Constantinople who has just celebrated his 146th birthday, is doubtless the oldest man of the world. He has been married ten times and his present wife is 90 years younger than he. He is working now as a Clerk at the Constantinople Law Court, and is very fond of motor driving. He has got 25 children in various parts of the world.

[By the courtesy of the Hindu.]

The Indian Constitution

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

[Under the auspices of the University of Madras, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer delivered "The V. Krisnaswami Iyer Lectures" for the year. The subject of the series was "The Indian Constitution". The importance of the subject and the position of the lecturer invested the occasion with special interest; and the lectures were attended by a large gathering of students and educated men of the city. Sir R. Venkataratnam, the Vice-Chancellor, who presided over the first meeting made a handsome reference to Sir Sivaswami Iyer's special qualifications to deal with the subject. Alike by study and reflection and also by practical experience of administration Sir Sivaswami Iyer was, he said, "pre-eminently fitted to be an exponent of this highly instructive theme." The theme besides has been the study of his life-time, and his culture and character coupled with his notable public career had prepared the audience for the splendid intellectual treat. To these must be added his rich experience of governmental work first as a Member of the Executive Council in Madras and subsequently as an active Member of the reformed Legislative Assembly. In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a succinct summary of the first four lectures, and public attention may well be directed to some of the main problems which will have to be considered in a revision of the existing constitution. Ed. I. R.]

I

Sir Sivaswami Iyer began with a reference to the importance of the subject and its appositeness at the present time. The most pressing need of the hour, he said, is the consideration of the constitution of India in the near future. The time fixed for the revision of the existing constitution is at hand and the appointment of the Statutory Commission is imminent. Dissatisfaction with the existing constitution has been expressed almost from the introduction of the reforms and demands have, from time to time, been made for an early revision of the constitution in accordance with popular wishes. And then Lord Birkenhead has thrown out a challenge to the Indian public to produce some agreed scheme of constitutional reform acceptable to all parties and promised to consider it when it was brought forward. Dr. Besant's scheme has not as yet had the full co-operation and support which she was led to expect. Now that the appointment of the Royal Commission is expected to be announced before the close of the year the task can no longer be put off and it is the duty of the thoughtful sections of the Indian public to devote their attention to this subject,

We must build up our new constitution upon our experience of existing conditions in this country and upon a careful study of the working of the British constitution, which has furnished the model to nearly all the countries which have adopted the system of Parliamentary Government. We may also profit by the experience of the working of Parliamentary institutions in other countries and by a study of their defects and merits. * * * The charge of want of political inventiveness is not confined to Indians but has been made against other peoples also both in Europe and in America. I will not enter upon a discussion of the question whether democratic institutions were known in ancient times in India. Of one thing we may be fairly certain, that democracy has come to stay in this country and that it is not likely to be dislodged. In our consideration of the problems of the future constitution of India, we must proceed upon this assumption. There may be some perhaps who may be of opinion that the reforms of 1919 were of too democratic a character just as there were others who consider that the reforms were not sufficiently democratic. But, whichever of these views is correct, there is no doubt that it is not now possible to go back upon the reforms introduced and that the only course possible is to go forward.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer pointed out that advance should be made not merely in the sphere of provincial Governments but in the sphere of the Central Government as well. Whatever may be the changes which may be introduced in any part of the structure of the Government, care must be taken to see that it is in no way inconsistent with the ultimate goal as we conceive it and as it has been promised.



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The ultimate goal as declared in the announcement of the 20th of August 1917 is the realisation of Responsible Government as an integral part of the British Empire. Responsibility has been introduced only at the level of Provincial Government and even there only in a limited sphere. In the Central Government there is no element of responsibility to the people. There is a representative Legislature in the sphere of the Central Government but while it has considerable means of influencing the views of the Government, it has no responsibility whatever. It is a matter of common observation that a system of representative government without responsibility is, in its nature, of an unstable character and generally tends either to develop into a system of responsible government, or relapse into a system of government under which the legislature as well as the executive is controlled by the Crown. Though as a matter of general principle, it is not true that the right to grant or create a constitution implies a right to revoke or destroy it, section 84-A of the Government of India Act reserves power to the Imperial Government to restrict the degree of responsible government already granted as the result of the enquiry by the Statutory Commission. It is however very unlikely that any such power will be exercised and we may safely assume that the only question will be whether the responsible government now in existence should be enlarged and if so to what extent.

GOAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS

Responsible government as understood in India aims at Dominion Status. The demand which has been always put forward on behalf of India is for the same kind of government as obtained in the self-governing colonies, but restricted, it may be for a short period, in external affairs and defence.

It was admitted by Sir Malcolm Hailey that full dominion self-government was a logical outcome of responsible government and was the inevitable and historical development of responsible government. We cannot believe that in passing the Reform Act of 1919 the Imperial Government intended, in using the term 'responsible government' as the goal of British administration, to draw any distinction between the dominion status and the status of responsible government or to hold out anything less than dominion status as the goal of India. The relations between the self-governing Colonies and the Imperial Government have been gradually undergoing a change in the direction of equality between the Imperial Government and the Colonies. In matters of internal administration the Imperial Government practically ceased to interfere as soon as responsible government was granted. The matters in which the Imperial Government used to exercise control over the colonial governments were treaty relations and foreign affairs, trade and currency, merchant shipping, copyright, divorce and status, and military and naval defence. Even in these matters, there has been a steady relaxation of control. The relations between the Imperial Government and the self-governing colonies have always been in a fluid condition and English

statesmen were generally unwilling to commit themselves to any rigid definition of Dominion Status.

The idea of Imperial federation which was once widely discussed as a means of closer association of the dominions with the United Kingdom and giving them a voice in matters of Imperial concern was distasteful to many, as suggestive of a super state and was quietly abandoned as inconsistent with the daily expanding notions of Dominion status. It was felt that any rigid definition of the status would interfere with the elasticity of the nexus which has enabled the Imperial Government to make concessions from time to time to the sentiments of the Dominions.

With regard to the conduct of foreign policy, it was recognised that though the major share of responsibility must, for some time, continue to rest with the Imperial Government and though practically all the dominions are engaged to some extent in the conduct of foreign relations, particularly those with foreign countries on their borders, the governing consideration underlying all discussions of the problem must be that neither Great Britain nor the dominions could be committed to the acceptance of active obligations, except with the definite assent of their own Governments.

It will thus be seen that the status of a self-governing dominion within the British Empire is as high as can be wished for by the most ardent patriot, and that it offers the fullest scope and security for the realization of national aspirations while it carries with it all the great advantages of partnership in the most powerful empire in the world.

THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

The lecturer then dealt with the important question: Should the Government of India be of the type known as a Unitary Government or a Federal Government or of any other type? If it is to be federal in type, should it follow the type of the Government of Canada or of the Government of Australia? Sir Sivaswami Iyer is definitely for a strong Central Government.

In the special circumstances of India and with its past history, it must be regarded as a piece of good fortune that it possesses a strong Central

Government and that the question for consideration is not how much shall be yielded by the Provinces to the Central Government, but how much shall be surrendered by the Central Government to the Provincial Governments. Disruptive forces have been very strong in the past history of India. It is the administration of India by a strong Central Government that has succeeded in bringing about uniformity of laws and standards of administration and a feeling of common nationality. The separatist tendencies likely to be produced by differences of race, religion, language and customs have been largely overcome or kept in check by the influence of a strong centralised Government. A federal government of the type of what prevails in the United States or in Australia is likely to encourage separatist forces and particularist tendencies and check the consolidation of the Empire.

It would, he continued, be very unwise to sacrifice the position of advantage we are now occupying and attempt to create a federation of the type of the Australian Commonwealth.

PRINCIPLE OF NORMATIVE JURISDICTION

While it would be inconsistent with our idea of Indian Home Rule to permit any dictation or interference by the Imperial Government, he said, there would be nothing wrong and on the other hand great advantage, in allowing a responsible Central Government in India to exercise a normative jurisdiction besides the exclusive and concurrent jurisdictions which are generally exercised by a central legislature.

The exercise of such a jurisdiction would enable the Central Government to prevent any serious departures from correct policy by the local governments in the exercise of their powers. It is a jurisdiction which should only be exercised in matters of great importance and in the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole.

II

CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS

The general principles on which subjects should be classed as central or provincial were discussed at length by the Functions Committee and by the Government of India before the Devolution Rules for the classification of subjects were framed. Subjects which have not been specially assigned under the Devolution Rules to the schedule of provincial subjects, as well as all matters expressly excluded by the terms of the provincial schedule, are treated as central subjects.

Excluding the subjects which were selected for transfer to the Ministry, the division between the other provincial subjects and the central subjects was not a matter which required a definite and final decision at the first stage of the constitutional reforms. Whether the subject was central, or provincial and reserved, the administration of it was subject to the control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The authority exercised by the provincial governments in the administration of central subjects was by virtue of the delegation of authority by the Government of India and the Secretary of State and was not the result of a recognition of any right or acknowledged authority, as it has been called, of the provincial governments to deal with those subjects. The Functions Committee and the Government of India were careful to point out that when a question should arise of transferring any reserved subject to the Ministry, the question of definition between the central government and the provincial government would assume a different aspect and they were anxious to guard against the supposition that they had prejudged the question as to the limitations necessary for the purpose of protecting the interests of the central government, if and when the question of transfer arose.

As the question of provincial autonomy is bound to be raised before the Statutory Commission, it becomes necessary to consider whether any and what changes will be necessary in the existing list of provincial subjects.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

On an examination of the list of provincial subjects, we find that the subjects which are likely to be considered more vital than the others are land revenue, administration of justice, police and prisons. The Government of India naturally attach great importance to the subject of law and order and to the subject of land revenue and it is very likely that they may consider that public interests would suffer by the transfer of these subjects. We must therefore see what safeguards, if any, are necessary to allay any reasonable apprehensions in regard to these subjects.

The Joint Committee recorded their opinion in favour of codification of the principles of settlement, the pitch of assessment and the graduation of enhancement. This recommendation must meet with general approval and it is a matter for regret that it has not been found possible to give effect to it. On the other hand, the views held by many public men on the question of revenue settlement and periodical revision are equally open to criticism and there is danger of these views gaining acceptance in the legislative councils to the serious detriment of the most important source of revenue of the

provincial governments. In a ryotwari province, there is no question which excites greater interest in the minds of the rural population than the subject of land revenue. The demand for permanent settlement which has often been made from the public platform may be advocated in the legislature in response to the clamour of the electorate. It is hardly necessary to point out that any move in this direction is not merely opposed to the whole trend of modern economic thought, which has been in the direction of the nationalisation of land, but is bound to be disastrous to provincial finance. It will be impossible to find any substitute for this staple item of revenue which has held a place in the financial system of India for ages.

Apart from this clamour for a permanent settlement, we cannot shut our eyes to the demand which has been put forward by some public men that the land tax should be levied only after making allowance for a margin of subsistence to the ryot.

I wonder if those who advocate the exemption from land revenue of so much of the income as is required for the cultivators' subsistence will be prepared to apply their doctrine in favour of lessees from ryots and against the ryot's demand for rent. Apart from the soundness or otherwise of the theory on which these novel claims are rested, it cannot be said to be an unreasonable apprehension on the part of the Government that the transfer of land revenue to the popular control is likely to be attended with grave risks. It is, however, quite easy and practicable to provide safeguards against any menace to the security of this source of revenue. Just as in the case of a number of other subjects there is a provision that it is subject to Indian legislation, it can be provided in this case also that the administration of the head of land revenue should be subject to Indian legislation or in accordance with the principles to be laid down by a statute by the Central Government.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAW AND ORDER

Another group of reserved subjects to which great importance is naturally attached by the Government of India is that relating to law and order and which comprises the administration of justice, civil and criminal, and police and prisons. While the provincial governments are not likely to neglect the administration of subjects of such vital importance, it may be conceded as essential that there should be no lowering in the standards of administration, which have been slowly and aboriously built up by the Government. The question we have to consider is whether there is any reason for apprehending that there may be a risk of deterioration of such standards.

Such deterioration can arise only from two causes either by bad laws or from the unsuitability of the personnel employed in the administration. As regards the more important laws with which the administration of law and order is connected, they are included in the schedule of laws with regard to which the restriction of previous sanction of the Government of India is imposed by the statutory rules. If any Bill for the amendment of any of the laws included in the schedule is proposed to be introduced in a provincial legislative council, the Central Government will have an opportunity of considering the wisdom of the measure and according or refusing sanction as seems best in the circumstances of the case. This should be a sufficient safeguard against the risk of a provincial legislature passing bad laws likely to injure the administration of law and order.

The autonomy of the provincial Governments does not imply complete freedom from all legislative control or restrictions and provincial autonomy can mean nothing more than independence of any superior external authority within the limits laid down by constitutional legislation.

Provincial autonomy necessarily postulates the existence of a Central Government and, wherever there are two Governments working in contact with each other, there must necessarily be a subtraction from the independence which would be enjoyed by an absolutely independent and isolated state. As between the Central Government and a provincial Government, it stands to reason that the Central Government should be in a position to exercise a considerable measure of authority over the provincial Government.

SELECTION OF PERSONNEL

The other factor which may contribute to a deterioration of the standards of administration with regard to law and order is improper selection of the personnel which may be employed in the services connected with the maintenance of law and order. This is not an imaginary danger but a real one against which it is necessary to provide safeguards.

Experience of the working of democracy in other countries shows that the vicious system of spoils too often finds a favourable lodgment in democratic countries. The existence and growth of communalism in this country, the demand for communal representation in the public service and the methods which have been resorted to by the champions of communalism for carrying out their views offer a warning and dictate the necessity for the timely adoption of suitable safeguards. If recruitment and control of at least the higher services are regulated by statute and if the recruitment is effected through the machinery of a public service commission, the members of which are appointed by the Governor instead of the Ministry, there is every reason for the expectation that the standards of efficiency and integrity of the services

can, without difficulty, be maintained at the present level.

The statutory rules which have been made regarding the civil services deal only with the question of security of tenure and administrative control but not with the question of recruitment. It may be open to question whether a public service commission is a suitable body for exercising control and discipline, at any rate, in the first resort, over the public services.

But, there can be no doubt that for the purpose of recruitment the public service commission guided by definite principles would be the most suitable machinery. Our object should be to assimilate the methods of recruitment of the services to the methods in force in England and to eliminate completely the intrusion of any political or Ministerial influence in the making of appointments to the service. I am unable to agree with the view of the Lee Commission that the necessary legislation for the regulation of the provincial services should be undertaken by the local legislature. The public service commission has been rightly included among the all-India subjects and in the interests of efficiency of administration, it is desirable that the subject should be dealt with by the central legislature rather than by the local legislature and that the principles laid down should not be capable of alteration by the local legislatures except with the previous sanction of the Government of India. One wonders why the Government of India have not yet taken steps to introduce the necessary legislation for the constitution of the public service commission and for the regulation of the methods of recruitment to be followed. If these reforms are carried out, any danger which may be otherwise apprehended by way of deterioration of the efficiency or integrity of the services can be easily averted.

SEPARATION OF PROVINCIAL FROM CENTRAL REVENUES

The introduction of full responsibility in the provincial governments requires not merely the separation of the provincial from the central subjects, but also the separation of their revenues, their fields of taxation and of their accounts and balances. The separation of the revenues has been effected by the Devolution Rules. Provincial contribution to the Central Government are in course of abolition and the controversies, to which the system of provincial contributions gave rise, will die out.

The incidence and administration of the revenue from land and irrigation are of a local character and the two heads are much more suitable for administration by the provincial authorities than

by the central government. It would be impossible to treat these items as heads of central revenue and agricultural provinces like Madras would resist any attempt to centralise these sources of revenue. It may also be pointed out that the principles upon which the allocation is made should as far as possible be applied uniformly throughout the country. The want of uniformity in this matter would be uneconomical and involve the maintenance by the Government of India of a number of departments of a diverse character according to the items of revenue which may be selected for centralisation from particular provinces.

CONTROL OVER PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION

While the principle of responsibility was introduced in regard to transferred subjects only in a limited field of provincial administration, the competency of the provincial legislatures was not restricted to transferred subjects, but extended to the whole sphere of provincial administration. The local legislature is empowered to make laws for the peace and good Government of the province, but certain restrictions are imposed upon it by provisions of section 80-A which require previous sanction to the introduction of Bills of various kinds.

The control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State over provincial legislation is mainly exercised through the requirement of previous sanction of the Governor-General or the process of certification or resort to the power of veto. * * If provincial autonomy is introduced, the checks placed by section 80-A, in the hands of the Government of India over provincial legislation may be more sparingly used, but the maintenance of the sanction of the Governor-General as a pre-requisite will still be found to be necessary. It would be a more satisfactory means of avoiding conflicts than the exercise of the power of veto. There are undoubtedly disadvantages attached to this requirement of previous sanctions. It often gives rise to a complaint that the work of the provincial legislatures is delayed and impeded. It has also the disadvantage pointed out by the Functions Committee of inviting the Government of India to pronounce an opinion upon a provincial bill before they have had the advantage of considering the debates upon the bill. The disadvantages, however, are not such as to outweigh the advantages to be derived from the procedure of previous sanction.

Another important matter in which considerable control is exercised by the Government over the provincial legislature is in connection with the budget which is placed before the Provincial Government annually.

Under section 72 (d), the local government is invested with the power to over-rule the legislature

with regard to the demands for grants and to authorise such expenditure as may be, in its opinion, necessary for the safety or tranquility of the province or for the carrying on of any department. Under section 72 (e), the Governor has the power to certify the passage of a bill as essential for the due discharge of his responsibility for any subject. This power of over-riding the Legislative Council is one which is inconsistent with the principle of full provincial autonomy. The result then of an examination of these sections is that, while sections 72 (d) and (e) will have to disappear upon the introduction of full responsibility, section 80 A would in all probability still retain its place in the statute.

III

In his third lecture Sir Sivaswami Iyer referred to the group of questions connected with the constitution of the provincial legislatures such as the two chamber system, the duration of councils, their strength, representation etc. The Upper House is generally deliberative and reflective and is not affected by sudden gusts of passion because the members of the Upper House are recruited from among persons of experience and mature judgment. Unless there is hearty co-operation between the two Houses, there will be deadlock.

In almost all the constitutions which have been adopted in European countries and in nearly all the federal constitutions of the world, he said the federal legislature consists of two chambers. The practically universal adoption of the bicameral system shows that it must be due not merely to the tendency to imitation of the English model, but also to a perception of the advantages to be derived from the system. The lecturer then dwelt upon the system prevailing in other countries. In Canada there is the bicameral system of legislature in Quebec and Nova Scotia. All the other States have the unicameral system. In Australia, Queensland alone has a unicameral system. The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms did not express themselves on the ultimate form of legislature in India. Some people are of opinion that a second Chamber is inconsistent with the democratic principle.

If it is considered desirable to establish a second chamber, it would be necessary that it should be constituted on principles different from those determining the composition of a single house. The electorate should be constituted on different principles; the franchises should be higher and the term of office of the members should be longer. The considerations applicable to these matters may be more properly and fully dealt with, when we come to the constitution of the second chamber in the Central Government. All that need be pointed out at this stage is that there is a misconception in several quarters that a second chamber is not quite consistent with the democratic principle and is neither necessary nor desirable. The argument of Abbe Sieyès that if a second chamber dissented from the first, it was mischievous, and if it agreed with it was superfluous has not found favour with the framers of modern political constitutions.

DURATION OF PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

He then proceeded to consider the question of the duration of the Provincial Legislative Councils. The period or duration of the Indian legislature is three years. This is too short for efficient working out of any measure. The period should neither be too long nor too short. If it is too long the members cease to represent their constituencies, if it is too short they can't do any work. The first year of the members' work in the legislature is spent in learning the method of procedure. In the third year, they are busy with the preparation for facing the next election. Ministers require some more time to frame their policy and carry them out. The duration of the House of Commons is 5 years. In other countries four years is the time.

In view of the experience of these countries and our own experience, I have no hesitation in saying that the period of three years is much too short and that it is necessary and desirable to extend the term to a period of four years, if not five.

ELECTIONS

He next considered the strength of the Provincial Legislature and passed on to the consideration of the expenses of modern elections. The cost incurred by candidates in facing an election is too excessive. Generally it costs about Rs. 10,000. Sometimes the cost goes to as much as Rs. 50,000. This results in the desirable candidates being left outside the field. The lecturer pleaded for smaller electoral units. Only 10·7 of the whole population had the franchise.

The general poverty of the country and the illiteracy of the masses is responsible for this state of things.

Making allowance for all inaccuracies of information and exceptional cases, we shall not be far wrong if we assume that the cost of an average contested election in which no improper methods are resorted to may be something in the neighbourhood of Rs. 10,000, an amount which must be considered unduly heavy in the circumstances of this country. The high cost of elections is bound to keep many persons from the field, who would otherwise be most desirable candidates. This is another reason for endeavouring to diminish the frequency of elections by prolonging the life of the councils by an additional year or two.

The lack or deficiency of communications in several of the districts is another factor which is bound not merely to add to the cost of elections but also to the difficulty of educating the electorates.

QUALIFICATION FOR FRANCHISE

He then considered the suitability of the existing franchise for the general constituencies. Under the statutory rules, the qualifications for franchise are fixed differently in the various provinces. It is not possible, he said, to express a definite opinion without a detailed examination of the economic and educational conditions of each province.

We can only lay down the general principle that the franchise should be as broad as circumstances in each province may permit and that it is generally desirable to base the franchise upon the ground of ownership or occupation of property liable to tax or rent, or the exercise of some calling and the receipt of an income liable to taxation in some form or other. It may here be pointed out that at the time of the first Reform Act in 1832, only 3 per cent. were enfranchised in England, that the proportion increased to 9 per cent. in 1867 and to 18 per cent. in 1884 and that it was only in 1918 that the number rose to over 50 per cent. Those who criticise the electoral system of this country as not being sufficiently democratic will do well to bear in mind the stages through which democratic Government has passed in European countries. It is not intended to suggest that the progress of democracy in India should follow the same pace of growth as in England but in view of the illiteracy and poverty of the people it is not possible to introduce democracy at once on as broad a basis as has been now adopted in England after 80 years of political training and economic and educational progress.

REPRESENTATION OF DEPRESSED CLASSES.

However desirable it may be to secure representation of the depressed and working classes, it is

not possible to reduce the franchise so low as to give them an opportunity for representation by means of election. Short of universal suffrage, it would be difficult to devise any scheme of franchise qualifications which would secure the representation of these classes by election.

It has been suggested that special constituencies might be formed for them and that it might be possible to secure their representation by election from these special constituencies. The creation and multiplication of special Constituencies is an evil to be deprecated and deplored. The want of uniformity in the franchise in the same electoral unit is open to objection not merely on the ground of invidiousness but also on the ground that it increases the burden on the Local Governments of preparing electoral rolls. If a low qualification is considered sufficient for the depressed classes, it should be equally so for the other classes who are superior to them in worldly position, status and education. The best method of securing representation of the depressed classes would therefore seem to be nomination by the executive government or nomination by associations recognised as the organs and mouth-pieces of these classes.

REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES

He then tackled the question of the representation of minorities. The principle of representation of minorities does not necessarily mean representation in proportion to the numerical strength of the minorities. The representation granted may be either above or below the numerical proportion.

In the case of the European community, the representation granted to them is in excess of their numerical proportion. It is said that their representation should be proportionate to their political strength and to the importance of their vested interests in commerce, trade, wealth, etc. If, however, the political training, superior knowledge and economic superiority of the Europeans are allowed to justify their claim to a larger number of seats, the same plea may be put forward on behalf of the Hindu community as against the Mahomedan community. In those provinces in which they are in a minority as compared with the Mahomedans. The principle of proportionate representation should be applied to all communities in the same manner and a departure from the principle in the case of one community is sure to give rise to a demand for similar departure in favour of others. The creation of communal electorates has been recognised as an evil though in some cases it has been considered a necessary evil. Recognised at first in the case of the Mahomedans and Europeans, it has been extended to the Indian Christians, the Sikhs and the Anglo-Indians. So far as the Indian Christian community is concerned, the members of it now feel that it is unnecessary for them to claim a communal electorate for the protection of their interests. The question remains whether it is necessary to retain such separate communal electorates in favour of the

other communities. In the case of the Mahomedans, they strongly cling to the system of communal electorates and, though some of the more enlightened members of that community recognise the evils arising from the system and are prepared to adopt the system of a joint electorate with reservation of seats, the majority of the community are apparently unwilling to make any change. It would be a great step towards the national progress and unification if the Mahomedans could be induced by their leaders to abandon the system of communal electorates and be content with a reservation of seats.

In the absence of any agreement on the part of that community, it will not be possible for the Government to make any change against their wishes and we can only trust to the growth in course of time of better feelings and relations between the two communities.

One question, which calls for notice, is up to what limits can a minority be considered as entitled to claim representation in excess of its proportionate share and whether the principle of giving an advantage in representation in excess of the numerical proportion is to be applied in favour of all minorities. The application of this principle of excess representation would have the effect of cutting down the number of seats to which the community, which happens to be in a majority, would be entitled and might also deprive it of a majority.

It is very much to be desired that the European community should be induced to give up the system of communal electorates with or without reservation of seats.

In their report on this subject, the Functions Committee express the hope that it might be possible at no very distant date to merge these communities in the general electorate. It is a consummation to be devoutly wished for and, if the European community threw themselves into the general political life of the country, it would be attended with great advantage both to the community and the country. With their superior knowledge, political experience, wealth and other qualifications, we should be surprised, if they failed to secure due representation. It is because the community has hitherto kept aloof from the political life of the country and has not chosen to identify itself with the interests of Indians that feelings of mutual aloofness have often arisen between them and Indians. But, if they would abandon their position of exclusiveness and take an active part in all questions that concern the political progress of the country or interest of the people and will not consider themselves members of the ruling race, they may be certain that there will be no feeling of hostility against them and that they would have as good chances, if not better, of success at the elections as the Indian leaders.

The members of the Anglo-Indian community, he continued, do not enjoy the same advantages as the European community, but even in their case, the abandonment of the attitude of exclusiveness as advocated by enlightened leaders like Col. Gidney will be conducive to the growth of friendly relations between them and the Indian community and they may be sure that if they give up their exclusiveness, there will be no prejudices against them in the minds of Indians :—

To allay any misgivings in the minds of these communities and as a half-way house towards the system of general electorates only, the method of reservation of seats may be adopted as a guarantee of just representation.

Similarly, in the case of the Sikh community, the wisest course for them would be to merge themselves in the non-communal electorate with a guarantee, if necessary, in the shape of reservation of seats.

The non-Brahmin community in this Presidency and the Mahratta community in the Bombay Presidency entertained at one time apprehensions of their failure to secure adequate representation in the absence of reservation of seats. It was pointed out at the time that if these large and influential communities would only organise themselves efficiently they would have no difficulty in securing an adequate number of seats in the legislature. Events show that their apprehensions were ill-founded. While the number of reserved seats in Madras is only 28, the Non-Brahmins were able to secure 54 seats in the election of 1920, 63 seats in the election of 1923 and 56 seats in the election of last year. In the light of this experience, there is no necessity for continuing the system of reserving seats for the purpose of protecting the representation of non-Brahmins.

SHOULD THERE BE NOMINATION TO COUNCILS?

Should there be any seats to be filled up by nomination? Sir Sivaswami Iyer answers :—

Inconsistent as it may be with the system of full responsibility of the legislatures to the electors, it does not seem to be feasible at present to dispense with nominations in the immediate future. For the purpose of securing representation for the depressed and working classes, it will be necessary to resort to nomination rather than election. The system of nomination will lead more readily to the system of special class constituencies, which would otherwise have to be created and which would perpetuate the evils of class and communal electorates. If the number of seats to be filled up by nomination were to be fixed at a comparatively low proportion of the total number of seats, there need be no fear that the wishes of the representatives of the general electorate would be frustrated by a combination between the nominated members and the Government. It may also be pointed out that when provincial autonomy is introduced, there would be no place in the legislature for any official except the members of the Government.

IV

SALARIES OF MINISTERS

In his fourth lecture Sir Sivaswami Iyer considered the constitution of the executive government in the provinces under a system of provincial autonomy. The system of dyarchy which was introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was put forward only as a transitional measure and as a half-way house in the progress towards responsible government. That the system of dyarchy was a novel one and had many imperfections was fully recognised by the framers of the scheme.

It would be strange if a system of government admittedly defective, were continued even after the period of nine years fixed by the Act as necessary for the trial of the experiment. It is not too sanguine to expect that as the result of the enquiry by the Statutory Commission the subjects which are now treated as reserved will also be transferred to popular control.

As a result of the Statutory Commission the subjects now treated as reserved may be taken over as transferred. There may also be an increase in the number of Ministers. The claims of the Services for particular appointments can not be allowed to stand in the way of further development. The strength of the future Ministry is likely to be raised to seven, the strength of the present Ministry and the Executive Council members combined. In case the number of Ministers is reduced, it may not be possible to satisfy the claims of the leaders among the politicians. Personally, the speaker did not believe in the principle of creating appointments to satisfy the politicians. The inability of the Government to gratify the wishes of the leaders may drive them to opposition.

The work of the Government may be conveniently divided into the following portfolios :—

(1) Finance; (2) Revenue; (3) Home Department including Law and Order; (4) Education and Public Health; (5) Local Self Government; (6) Public Works and communications; and (7) Agriculture, Commerce, Industries and Development. In any scheme of division of the portfolios, it is essential that the minister in charge of finance should be in charge of no other subject.

The salaries of the ministers should be fixed at such a sum as will attract men of ability, and enable the ministers to maintain their status and a position of slight superiority to the officer who will serve under them. Rs. 4,000 a month is not too much and reduction of the salary of Minister is not advisable. There should be a Prime Minister and the principle of joint responsibility in the Cabinet should be introduced. There should be no room for disunion, faction and intrigue. There should be co-operation between the Legislature and the Executive. There should be entire subordination to the Prime Minister.

APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS

Turning now to the appointment of ministers, the best course, he said, is to follow the English practice and leave the Governor of the Province to appoint the Prime Minister and the appointment of the other ministers to the choice of the Prime Minister. The system of joint responsibility and cabinet government should be strictly enforced :

"A failure to enforce the principle of joint responsibility among the ministers was one of the matters about which complaints were made before the Reforms Enquiry Committee. The absence of Joint responsibility is bound to affect the strength and solidarity of the Government and is likely to encourage disunion, faction and intrigue."

The exclusion of the Sovereign is a course in accordance with the principle of Constitutional Government. The Governor's presence would serve to weaken the position of the Prime Minister. The Minister may look to the Governor for support. On exceptional occasions the Governor may preside, for example in taking formal decisions on important occasions. The proceedings of the Cabinet should be sent to the Governor. The Prime Minister and the Governor may consult and discuss important matters.

THE SERVICES

Under the statutory rule, the Services were divided into the Ordinary Service, Provincial Service, Subordinate Service and the All-India Service. Members of the All-India Service have the ultimate power of appeal to the Secretary of State. There is the question as to how far the existence of the All-India Service could be reconciled with a system of Provincial Autonomy. The Reforms were not actuated by a spirit of hostility to the All-India Service. So long as the Secretary of State has the power to recruit to the All-India Service, foreign recruitment can not be dispensed with.

"So long as the recruitment to the All-India services is made by the Secretary of State, the necessity for the protection of the interests of these services will continue to be urged as an argument for retaining the ultimate control in his hands and it will continue to be urged that full provincial autonomy cannot be granted. The most important of the reserved subjects are law and order and land revenue. Refusal to transfer these subjects is really tantamount to a refusal of further constitutional advance. The champions of the All-India Services must take up one of two alternative positions: either that the Secretary of State must cease to recruit and control these services, or that there should be no further transfer of any important subjects to popular control. If the services are willing to accept the former position, it would not bar the way to further political advance. If, on the other hand, they take up the latter position, their claims cannot possibly be reconciled with full provincial autonomy. The adoption of the latter position by the All-India services must intensify the feeling of hostility which now exists in a mild form against the services. Speaking for myself, strongly inclined as I am to the retention of the All-India services for a considerable time, if the choice lay between the abolition of the All-India services and the indefinite postponement of full provincial autonomy, I should prefer the former alternative."

If the rights and interests of the services are safeguarded by legislation they should have no reason for feeling any discontent in employment

under the ministry. Section 96 (B) of the Government of India Act contemplates the delegation of the power of making rules for the recruitment, conditions of service and discipline of the Civil Services to the Governor-General-in Council or to the Local Government or the Indian or the local legislatures.

"But, mere delegation of the powers will not satisfy Indian public opinion and what is required is a statutory devolution of the necessary authority to the Government of India. It may be urged that the principle of full provincial autonomy requires not merely the withdrawal of the control of the Secretary of State but the withdrawal of the control of the Government of India also, but I am prepared to reconcile myself to this position as the action of the Government of India will be influenced, if not controlled, by the opinion of the Indian legislature. If the subjects now reserved are transferred to the control of the ministry, I should have no objection to the services operating in these fields being placed under the ultimate control of the Government of India."

The next question to which the speaker directed his attention was how the constitution of the provincial Government might be amended or modified.

LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION OF THE PROVINCES

Lastly he turned to the question of the linguistic redistribution of the Provinces. Some of our politicians are very keen about the re-distribution of provinces according to languages. Whether such a re-distribution is practicable or not, it would be a great tactical blunder he said to raise the question at the time of the revision of the constitution.

"It would be a red herring across the path of constitutional advance and would divert attention from the main constitutional issues to inter-provincial and intra-provincial controversies. * * The proper re-arrangement of provinces with due regard to all these considerations is a matter of great intricacy and difficulty and should therefore be left to be tackled after the revision of the constitutional reforms."

(To be continued.)

THE STORY

OF

My Experiments with Truth

BY

MAHATMA GANDHI.

[In the chapters that follow, Mahatma Gandhi explains how the sole aim of journalism should be service to humanity and how he fulfilled this in the conduct of "Indian Opinion" which like a white elephant devoured all his private money. He then narrates how he undertook to do sanitation work during the outbreak of the Black Plague in Johannesburg. Ed. I. R.]



PART IV. CHAPTER XIII.

"INDIAN OPINION."

Before I proceed with the other intimate European contacts, I must note two or three items of importance. One of the contacts, however, should be mentioned at once. The appointment of Miss Dick was not enough for my purpose. I needed more assistance. I have in the earlier chapters referred to Mr. Ritch. I knew him well. He was manager in a mercantile firm. He approved my suggestion of leaving the firm and getting articulated under me, and he considerably lightened my burden.

About this time Sjt. Madanjit approached me with a proposal to start INDIAN OPINION and sought my advice. He had been already conducting a press, and I approved of his proposal. So the journal was launched in 1904, and Sjt. Mansukhlal Nazar became the first editor. But I had to bear the brunt of the whole work, as indeed for most of the time I had to be practically in charge of the journal. Not that Sjt. Mansukhlal could not carry it on. He had been doing quite an amount of journalism whilst in India, but he would never venture to write on intricate South African problems so long as I was

there. He had the greatest confidence in my discernment, and so threw on me the responsibility of attending to the editorial columns. The journal has been until this day a weekly. In the beginning it used to be issued in Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil and English. I saw, however, that the Tamil and Hindi sections were a make believe. They did not serve the purpose for which they were intended, and I even felt that there was a certain amount of deception involved in continuing them. So I felt at ease only when I discontinued them.

I had no notion that I should have to invest any money in this journal, but I discovered in no time that it could not go on without my financial help. The Indians and the Europeans both knew that though I was not nominally the editor of INDIAN OPINION, I was virtually responsible for its conduct. No harm would have happened if the journal had never been started, but to stop it after starting it would have been both a loss and a disgrace. So I kept on pouring my money, until ultimately I was practically sinking all my savings into it. I remember a time when I had to remit £ 75 each month.

NOT A COMMERCIAL CONCERN

But after all these years I feel that the journal has served the community well. It was never intended to be a commercial concern. So long as it was under my control, the changes in the journal were indicative of changes in my life,

A few sets of the INDIAN REVIEW for last year (1926) containing Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography from the very beginning are available. Copies will not be sold separately; but only as a set. Price Rs. 6; if by cheque Rs. 6-4. Copies will not be sent by V. P. P. All orders must be accompanied by M. O. or Cheque to G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

INDIAN OPINION, like YOUNG INDIA and NAVAJIVAN to-day, was a mirror of part of my life. Week after week I poured out my soul in its columns, and expounded the principles and practice of Satyagraha as I understood it. During ten years, that is until 1914, excepting the intervals of my enforced rest in prison, there was hardly a single issue of INDIAN OPINION without an article from me. I cannot recall a word in these articles set down without thought or deliberation, or a word of conscious exaggeration, or anything merely to please. Indeed the journal had become for me a training in self-restraint, and for friends a medium through which to keep in touch with my thoughts. The critic found very little therein to object to. In fact I know that the tone of INDIAN OPINION compelled the critic to put a curb on his own pen. Satyagraha would probably have been impossible without INDIAN OPINION. The readers looked forward to it for a trust-worthy account of the Satyagraha campaign as also of the real condition of Indians in South Africa. For me it became a means for the study of human nature in all its casts and shades. As I always aimed at establishing an intimate and clean bond between the editor and the readers. I was inundated with letters containing the outpourings of my correspondents' hearts. They were friendly, critical or bitter, according to the temper of the writer. It was a fine education for me to study and digest and to answer all this correspondence. It was as though the community thought audibly through this correspondence with me. It made me understand thoroughly the responsibility of a journalist, and the hold I secured through it over the community made the future campaign workable, dignified and irresistible.

In the very first month of INDIAN OPINION, I had realised that the sole aim of journalism should be service. The newspaper press is a great power, but as unchained torrents of water submerge whole countrysides and devastate crops, even

so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy. If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when exercised from within. If this line of reasoning is correct, how few of the journals in the world would stand the test? But who would stop those that are useless? And who is to be the judge? The useful and the useless must, like good and evil, go on together, and man must make his choice of them.

PART IV. CHAPTER XIV

COOLIE LOCATIONS OR THE GHETTOES?

Some of the classes that are rendering us the greatest social service, and whom we Hindus have chosen to regard as 'untouchables' are relegated to remote quarters of a town or a village, called 'dhedhwado' in Gujarati, and the name has acquired a bad odour. Even so in Christian Europe the Jews were once its 'untouchables', and the quarters that were assigned to them had the odious name 'ghettoes.' In a similar way we have become the untouchables of South Africa to day. It remains to be seen how far the sacrifice of Andrews and the magic wand of Shastri succeed in rehabilitating us.

The ancient Jews regarded themselves as the chosen people of God, to the exclusion of others with the result that their descendants were visited with a strange and even unjust retribution. Almost in a similar way the Hindus have considered themselves *Aryas* or civilised and a section of their own kith and kin as *Anaryas* or untouchables, with the result that a strange, if unjust, nemesis is being visited not only upon the Hindus in South Africa but the Mussalmans and Parsis as well, inasmuch as these belong to the same country and have the same colour as they.

The reader will have now realised somewhat the meaning of the word 'locations' to which I am going to devote this chapter. In South Africa we have acquired the odious name of 'coolies.' The word 'coolie' in India means only a

porter or carrier, but in South Africa it has a contemptuous connotation and means what a pariah or an untouchable means to us and the quarters assigned to the 'coolies' are known as 'coolie locations.' Johannesburg had one such location, but unlike as in other places where there were locations and where the Indians had tenancy rights, those in the Johannesburg location had acquired their plots on a lease of 99 years. The Indians were densely packed in the location, of which the area never increased with the increase in population. Beyond arranging to clean the latrines in the location in a haphazard way, the Municipality did nothing to provide any other sanitary facilities, much less good roads or lights. It was hardly likely that it would safeguard its sanitation, when it was indifferent to the sanitary welfare of the people. The Indians living there were too ignorant of the rules of municipal sanitation and hygiene to do without the help or supervision of the Municipality. If those who went there had been all Robinson Crusoes theirs would have been a different story. But we do not know of a single emigrant colony of Robinson Crusoes in the world. Usually people migrate abroad in search of wealth and trade, and the bulk of the Indians who went to South Africa were ignorant, pauper agriculturists who needed all the care and protection that could be given them. The traders and educated Indians who followed them were very few.

The criminal negligence of the Municipality and the ignorance of the Indian settlers thus conspired to render the location thoroughly insanitary. The Municipality, far from doing anything to improve the condition of the location, used the insanitation caused by their own neglect as a lever for destroying the location, and for that purpose obtained from the local legislature authority to dispossess the settlers. This was the condition of things when I settled in Johannesburg.

The settlers having proprietary rights in their land were naturally entitled to compensation.

A special tribunal was appointed to try the land acquisition cases. In case the tenant was not prepared to accept the offer of the Municipality he had a right to appeal to the tribunal, and if the latter's award exceeded the Municipality's offer, the Municipality had to bear the costs.

Most of the tenants had engaged me as their legal adviser. I had no desire to make money out of these cases, and so I said to the tenants, that I should be satisfied with whatever costs the tribunal awarded, in case they won, and a fee of £ 10 on every lease, irrespective of the result of the case. I also told them that I proposed to set apart half of the money paid by them for the building of a hospital or similar institution for the poor. This naturally pleased them all.

Out of about 70 cases ~~only one~~ was lost. So the fees amounted to a fairly big figure. But INDIAN OPINION was there with its persistent claim and devoured, so far as I can recollect, a sum of £ 1,600. I think I had worked hard for these cases. The clients always surrounded me. Most of these were originally indentured labourers from Bihar and its neighbourhood and from South India. For the redress of their peculiar grievances they had formed an association of their own, separate from that of the free Indian merchants and traders. Some of them were open-hearted, liberal men of high character. Their leaders were Sjt. Jairamsing, the president and Sjt. Badari, who was as good as the president. Both of them are no more. Both were exceedingly helpful to me. Sjt. Badari came in very close contact with me and took a prominent part in Satyagraha. Through these and other friends, I came in intimate contact with numerous Indian settlers of North and South India, and became more their brother than a mere legal adviser, and shared in all their private and public sorrows and hardships.

It may be of some interest to know how the Indians used to call me. Sheth Abdulla refused to address me as Gandhi. None fortunately ever insulted me by calling or regarding me as 'sahab' Abdulla Sheth hit upon a fine appellation—'bhai', i.e., brother. Others copied him and continued to address me as 'bhai' until the moment I left South Africa, but there was a sweeter flavour about the name when it was used by the ex-indentured Indians.

PART IV. CHAPTER XV.

THE BLACK PLAGUE—I.

The Indians were not removed from the location as soon as the Municipality secured its ownership. It was necessary to find the residents a suitable place before dispossessing them, but as the Municipality could not easily do it, the Indians were suffered to stay in the same 'dirty' location, with this difference that their condition became worse than before. Having ceased to be proprietors they became tenants of the Municipality with the result that their surroundings became more insanitary than ever. When they were proprietors, they had to maintain some sort of cleanliness, if only for fear of the law. The Municipality had no such fear! The number of tenants increased, and with them the squalor and the disorder.

While the Indians were fretting over this state of things, there was a sudden outbreak of the black plague, also called the pneumonic plague, more terrible and fatal than the bubonic.

Fortunately, it was not the location but one of the gold mines in the vicinity of Johannesburg that was responsible for the outbreak. The workers in this mine were for the most part Negroes for whose cleanliness their white employers were solely responsible. There were a few Indians also working in connection with the mine, twenty-three of whom suddenly caught the infection, and they came one evening to their quarters in the location with an acute attack of the plague. Sjt. Madanjit, who was then going about canvassing subscribers for INDIAN OPINION and realising subscriptions, happened to be in the location at this moment. He was a remarkably fearless man. His heart wept to see these victims of the scourge, and he sent a pencil-note to me to the following effect: "There has been a sudden outbreak of the black plague. You must come immediately and take prompt measures, otherwise we should be prepared for dire consequences. Please come immediately."

Sjt. Madanjit bravely broke open the lock of a vacant house, and put all the patients there. I cycled to the location, and wrote to the Town Clerk to inform him of the circumstances under which we had taken possession of the house.

Dr. William Godfrey who was practising in Johannesburg ran to the rescue as soon as he got the news, and became both nurse and doctor to the patients. But twenty-three patients were more than three of us could cope with.

It is my faith based on experience that if one's heart is pure calamity brings in its train men and measures to fight it. I had at that time four Indians in my office,—Sjts. Kalyandas, Maneklal and two whose names I cannot recollect. Kalyandas had been entrusted to me by his father. I have rarely come across in South Africa men more obliging and willing to render implicit obedience than Kalyandas. He was fortunately unmarried then, and I therefore did not hesitate to impose on him duties involving risks however great. Maneklal I had got hold of in Johannesburg. He too, so far as I can remember, was unmarried. So I decided to sacrifice all the four,—call them clerks, co-workers or sons. There was no need at all to consult Kalyandas. The others expressed their readiness as soon as they were asked. "Where you are, we will also be," was the short and sweet reply they gave.

Mr. Ritch had a large family. He was ready to take the plunge, but I prevented him. I had not the heart to expose him to the risk. So he attended to the work outside the danger zone.

It was a terrible night,—that night of vigil and nursing. I had nursed a number of patients before, but never one attacked by the black plague. Dr. Godfrey's pluck proved infectious. There was not much nursing required. To give them their doses of medicine, to attend to their wants, to keep them and their beds clean and tidy, and to cheer them up,—was all that we had to do.

The indefatigable zeal and fearlessness with which the youths worked delighted me beyond measure. One could understand the bravery of Dr. Godfrey and of an experienced man like Sjt. Madanjit. But oh for the spirit of these callow youths!

So far as I can recollect, we pulled all of them through that night.

But the whole incident, apart from its pathos, is of such absorbing interest, and for me, of such religious value, that I must give it the next two chapters at least.

(To be continued.)

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY. By Ivor Brown, B.A., Richard Cobden. Sanderson, 17, Thavies Inn, London.

Democracy is one of those over-worked words which have come to mean anything and everything and never has it been more discredited than now. Recent attempts in Italy and Spain and Russia have cast a shadow over the democratic world which in itself has suffered not a little from the after-effects of the War. And yet there are thinkers who believe Democracy has a future quite as brilliant as its past. The writer has therefore done well to strip the idea of Democracy of all irrelevances and to analyse its exact content. In so doing he attempts to define many of the leading concepts of political theory, such as Liberty and Equality and is thus led to a discussion of some of the burning questions of the day, including Party Politics, Direct Action, the General Strike and the conflict between Parliamentary Government and Dictatorship. The main object of the book is to clarify confused issues and to show that politics, being the business of all, can and should be comprehended of all. Mr. Ivor Brown has done it with trenchancy and force. Though some of the chapters were written as he says "before our disenchantment," they fit in very well indeed with the author's critical analysis of the needs of the times we are passing through.

TALES OF INDIA. Macmillan & Co., Madras.

Messrs Macmillan have issued a series of story books for children—stories of men and animals that must be entertaining to the young. We have received four uniform volumes, all illustrated: Lal Behari Day's "Bengal Folk Stories; Flora Annie Steel's "Punjab Folk Stories; and Mrs. Sathyanathan's "Ranthi Deva and Other Stories" and "Indian Tales of Animals". These, we suppose, will be succeeded by a further series of stories for elderly boys.

INDIAN AFTER-DINNER STORIES. Vol. II. By A. S. P. Ayyar, I. C. S., Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

As a race we are not quite happy at after-dinner speeches. We are prone to be rather too didactic and we seldom exhibit that lightness of touch and gaiety of spirit that are the marks of good after-dinner eloquence. This book is therefore a welcome guide to speakers. But beyond that, it seems almost to lift the cap off the Indian mind and we congratulate the author on the feast of amusement afforded in this little volume of anecdotes that make one laugh and be merry.

THE AFFINITY BETWEEN THE ORIGINAL CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST AND ISLAM. By Al Haj.... Lord Headley. The Mosque, Woking. 2/s.

Lord Headley, an ardent convert to Mohammed, attempts to show how the Islamic Faith is very nearly akin to the simple and yet noble religion given to the world by Jesus. He writes with all the zeal of a convert who is also a propagandist, and he points out towards the end that the Christian religion is not free from sacerdotalism with its attendant dogmas and greed for power. He tries to show the beauty and simplicity of the Muslim Faith and controverts the wilful misrepresentations of overzealous traducers.

VIRASAIVISM. By T. H. M. Sadasivayya, M.A., Publishers—T. H. M. & Co., Harpanahally, Bellary, 1927.

This book is based on the lecture delivered by the author in the First Universal Religious Conference, Madras. It is designed to meet the needs of the student commencing the study of Virasaivism. The cardinal tenets of Virasaivism are here set forth in brief and simple form. The book assigns the position of Virasaiva philosophy in the different systems of Hindu Philosophy, and explains the significance of linga worship.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. Translated from the Tamil—Edited by H. Dodwell—Vol. XI. July 1757—December, 1759.—Madras Government Press.

The two and a half years covered by this volume of the famous Diary form an interesting period in the history of the French in India in which the high hopes entertained of great victories as in the case of the War of 1746-49 were only followed by disappointment after disappointment. The Diarist gives an account of what all happened at Pondicherry and what news filtered into it from without. An interesting item of news is the account of the dispute between the Right Hand and the Left Hand castes of Pondicherry in connection with the processions of Varnadaraja Perumal, Kalahasti Iswaran and Kali during the Vijayadasami festival, described in pp. 71-76. The victories of Soupire who came to India shortly preceding Lally greatly excited the hopes of the Diarist; while Lally's initial successes raised them to the highest pitch; and these hopes and expectations did not abate even with the growing knowledge of Lally's failure before Madras and the loss of Masulipatam. We get in the Diary glimpses of the intolerance of Lally towards the Pondicherry officials and of the fatal want of co-operation between the land and the sea forces under Lally and d'Ache respectively. We are also given plain indications of the degeneracy and indiscipline of the European troops in Pondicherry, of the growing disorder in the town; and according to the Editor, even allowing for the native exaggerating vein of the Diarist, "we see the discipline of the troops and the maintenance of order in Pondicherry steadily decayed." In one of his darkest moments Ranga Pillai sees anarchy approaching (as seen in his note on Tuesday, 1st May 1759). Financial ruin and naval impotence, the two factors, which above others wrecked the prospects of French success are also seen in the course of the *Diary* to be operating effectively.

A MANUAL OF COMPANY LAW. By P. B. Advani, M. A., Professor of Company Law, Sind Collegiate Board's Law College, Karachi. Rs. 3. This book which is the outcome of lectures delivered by the author to the students of Sind Law College "gives a methodical and systematic exposition of the principles of Company Law." The book deals successively with the formation of Companies, their capital and membership, management and administration and windings up. The number of useful appendices enhances the value of the book which will be of practical use to lawyers, businessmen and students.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- ANCIENT JAFFNA. By C. Rasanayagam Garu. Everyman's Press, Madras.
- SOVIET UNION YEAR BOOK 1927. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, W.C. 1.
- PALESTINE AND THE CHOSEN LAND. By Edward A. Annett. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.
- HANDBOOK OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES, Bangalore Press, Bangalore.
- A BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE. By V. Ramachandra Rao. The Davachar Publishing House, 6, East Iyan Street, Kumbakonam.
- REMINISCENCES OF LOKAMANYA TILAK, 2 Vols. By S. V. Bapat, 566, Narayanpeth, Poona.
- THE FLUTE. By P. Sambamoorthy, B.A., B.L. The Indian Music Publishing House, Madras.
- PRACTICAL EDUCATION. By G. N. Gokhale, The Educational Publishing House, Karachi.
- ESSAYS AND CRITICISMS. By S. Ganguli, Luzac & Co., London.
- THE SHADOW OF MUSSOLINI. By Mrs. Wilfrid Ward—Sheed & Ward, London.
- CAVOUR. By Maurice Pale Ologne, Ernest Bennett Co., London.
- THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA. By N. M. Joshi, Servants of India Society, Bombay.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

THE ITALIAN CONSTITUTION

The place of honour in the June Number of the *POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY* is given to a very informing article on "Italy's New Syndicalist Constitution" by Mr. Herbert Schneider. We in India have no need to go to Italy, least of all to Fascist Italy, for the model of a constitution. But Fascism has worked with more or less success in Italy for over four years and for aught we know, may continue. It is needless to discuss the justice of a minority, however forceful and determined, in over-throwing constituted authority by force of arms. But the Italian people seem to have reconciled themselves to the dictatorship of Mussolini and it remains to us to trace the course of events that led to the making of the present constitution.

Fascism was originally the tactics of a group, of volunteers, "militant squads of young patriots who helped break the peasant revolt, and continued to break the opposition by means of punitive expeditions, terrorist raids and political murders." This was the beginning of Fascism. Obviously such tactics could not long continue in a stable government anxious to enlist the sympathy of the people. After the Matteotti murder in 1924 a reaction set in against intransigent Fascism. Mussolini himself wrote urging discipline with a view to prevent illegalism in Fascist ranks.

On the subject of syndicalism the Fascisti fall into several groups. There is the original Mussolini group of 1919 now quite extinct. Then there is the group of nationalists who have taken up Syndicalist ideas. There are the Sorellian Syndicalists who have abandoned anarchism and internationalism. Fourthly comes a group of idealists "who have embraced national syndicalism as a practical expression of an organised hierarchy of spiritual values, unifying politics, economics, science and religion." There is the fifth group of practical labour organisers who organised general strikes and

preached armed revolutions. Rossoni took up the ideas of the nationalists and endeavoured to organise national Corporations which would embrace not only all Italian labour but the employers as well. In agriculture he even succeeded in organising mixed Syndicates of small proprietors and peasants. Mussolini, finding the success of this movement, joined forces with the nationalists and nationalist Syndicalists, a coalition which a year later carried him into power. In December 1923 he called the heads of rival organisations to a meeting at Rome and appointed a permanent Commission for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities. In February 1924 a similar agreement was made for rival agricultural confederations and commerce. In August, the Grand Council of the Fascist Party appointed a Commission whose duty among others was to report on the legal recognition of Syndicates and to formulate a body of labour laws. The report was published in July 1925 and contains an analysis of the corporate state. It recommends the legal recognition of Syndicates and a system of corporate chambers.

These Chambers were to be constituted as follows:—the nation to be divided into three "orders": (1) professional men, artisans and public employees, (2) agriculture and agricultural industry, (3) industry, commerce, proprietors of buildings and movable property. The members of the various syndicates in each order were to elect representatives to a Provincial Chamber. Each of three Provincial Chambers was to have a council and an assembly. The three Chambers taken together would constitute the Provincial Corporate College. Each Provincial College would have its council and assembly. The Provincial Colleges were to elect their representatives to the National Corporate Council, which would elect its own president. This Council was to be divided into three committees, corresponding to the three orders. These bodies, both provincial and national, would have complete charge of the administration of economic affairs, the judging of labor disputes, recommending appropriate measures to the government, etc.

On this basis the law of April 1926 was passed. The twenty-three articles of this Act form the basis of the new constitution in which however important developments are taking place as the law is being put into effect. Thus the Fascist Syndicalist Legislation is a revolutionary experiment in constitution making.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

The "Statutory Commission", to be appointed not later than the year 1929 is expected to form a judgment whether Indian politicians have shown themselves capable of being entrusted with further responsibility or deserving of that indulgence by amiable and responsible Co-operation with Government in working the Dyarchical constitution. The demand that they should have satisfied such a test is galling to Indian reformers, says Lord Olivier in the August Number of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*. For Indians claim Self-Government as a right, not as a concession to submissive behaviour. He writes:—

And although public-spirited Indians might have been better advised to make the best of a bad job by entering and taking office in Councils, their doing so would have often placed them in unsatisfactory, and even humiliating position, to which they might well say it was not worth their while to expose themselves. For the fact which is of most importance about the Dyarchy is that as elected member, by accepting Ministerial office, accepts responsibility or at least has it imputed to him, for things for which he is not responsible, and becomes identified with the Government, and therefore exposed to the criticism of his Party members, who are elected and must necessarily under present conditions act as an Opposition. How could co-operation and responsible Party leadership be combined in such circumstances?

Lord Olivier says that, whenever the Statutory Commission is appointed, its constitution and the form of reference to it must be such as to give no excuse for any suggestion of a suspicion that it is intended to "plough" its Indian examinees.

For there still prevails among the foremost Nationalists of all sections in India an obstinate scepticism as to the sincerity of British statesmanship in its often professed purpose of guiding India into the position of a self-governing dominion. The causes of this scepticism are many and various but in so far as the corporate and continuous assurances of British Governments can be regarded as representing the will of the country, it cannot be regarded as warrantable. The purpose has been declared on behalf of all political parties involved in the transition to self-governing institutions. Those difficulties, no doubt, may appear more formidable to Conservative than to Labour or Liberalism. But no intelligent or well-informed man in this country can possibly doubt the good faith in which the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution was set up. The Diehards bewail and denounce it because they knew it was genuine and its effects irrevocable. And yet that constitution was pilloried on the manifesto of the Swarajist Party for the election of 1923 as knowingly intended to secure the continuance of the

subjection of India to British exploitation. The charge is intrinsically absurd, and Indian leaders weaken their own power by entertaining such errors.

Expectations and rumours have recently been current that His Majesty's Government were intending immediately to appoint the Statutory Commission at an early date to reconsider the Indian Constitution. Various parties in the country entertain different views. Says Lord Olivier:—

The Swarajist and other Indian nationalist parties exhibit a certain degree of disinclination that this course should be taken. They distrust the quality and temper of a Commission that may be appointed by the Government which they believe to be unsympathetic to their cause; and they suspect that there may be inclination that the Commission should engage in its survey at a moment when distrust of the future of self-governing institutions for India has been fomented by the continual advertisement of the Hindu-Moslem dissensions. They are also disinclined to have the settlement of the future constitution of India controlled by a Government whose policy at home has so conspicuously been devoted to entrenching their own views of what is healthy for the State by repressive legislation against industrial or political combination and by altering the constitution of their own country with the purpose of strengthening the resistance of the House of Lords to democratic encroachments. But even if these ideas can be imagined likely to influence His Majesty's Government in this particular matter, it would be idle to suppose that any objection on that account to the early appointment of the Commission would be likely to have any influence towards postponing it. Such objections are, however, founded, in my opinion, on too short and too superficial a view of the possibilities in regard to the next step in development.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE. By Dr. (Miss) Stella Kraniesch, Ph.D. (Vienna) ["*Buddhist India*" April 1927].

RECENT PROGRESS IN ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOUTH INDIA, AND THE DECCAN. By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A. ["*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, June 1927].

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS SUITABLE FOR THE USE OF THE INDIAN CULTIVATOR. By A. P. Cliff, B.A. ["*The Agricultural Journal of India*" July 1927].

THE FEEDING OF POULTRY IN INDIA. By Douglas G. Ansell. [The Journal of the Central Bureau for Animal Husbandry and Dairying in India," July 1927.]

BOOKS AS LINKS OF EMPIRE

What is the weakest link in the chain that binds together the British or any other Empire? It is the clash of contending interests writes the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell in the *EMPIRE REVIEW*.

The Bombay and Manchester cotton markets; the handful of white settlers on the salubrious highlands of East Africa, contrasted with the much larger number of Indian immigrants, and the two-and-half millions of native blacks sweltering below; Moses and Mohammed in Palestine—and so on, down a disagreeably long list of similar contentions.

In the seductive language of the orator, the stronger links of the Empire are said to be ties of religion, language and blood. They are no doubt strong ties but by no means of an imperial character.

Our far-flung Empire includes many powerful Religions, more Languages, and a very thin red streak of Blood, streaming from a common source. In truth, even within our own narrow seas, it would be unsafe to lay too much stress on any real community of Religion; and were the whole of Europe to learn one universal language, so as to be able (oh! horrid thought!) to read each other's newspapers, the great and holy task of keeping the peace would not be found any the easier by our Foreign and Colonial Ministers. And, if neither Religion nor Language can be trusted to keep us from each other's throats, the sacred ties of Blood have never yet been able to put civil wars out of the range of possibility.

The love of native land, says Mr. Birrell, is the strongest binding tie in human nature. Some think the word Federation may prove the master key and "eventuate in the production of the United States of Europe, if not of India or Africa." But that day is not yet. One thing however is certain. If we are to be bound together, the yoke must be an easy one, and the burden light. "Your chains must clink musically" says Mr. Birrell and what can be a "more delightful instrument for producing this harmony than literature, which touches our emotions so universally."

Our deep, abiding, and, despite the Ruhr, our increasing affection for France, notwithstanding our centuries of warfare and the horrors of her Revolution, is largely based upon the delights of French literature. The names of the great French writers, in all departments of genius, taste, and learning, sound even more musically in our ears than do those on our own side. Some day—who knows?—we may feel the same towards Russia, despite the horrors of

her Revolution. Moliere, Dumas, Anatole France; Tourgueniev, Tolstoy, and Anton Tchekoff count already (though too few English read French easily, and fewer still Russ) for much in the comity of nations.

Such are the uses of literature, in an Empire, which amidst all the diversities of race, colour, religion and language has taken to English literature with a passion seldom excelled by the middle ages for the classics of Rome and Greece. Mr. Birrell concludes with an appropriate panegyric on Johnson and commends him to the reader who is assured of much happiness. "There is at least one subject of the British Empire, who will never, willingly, become either a rebel or a slave" says Birrell and that is the fruit of a life-long study of Johnson.

THE RIGHT OF WAR

In the July Number of the *HIBBERT JOURNAL* there is an interesting article by Don Luigi Sturzo on "The Modern Conscience and the Right of War." He says that the history of every nation is a long string of wars broken every now and then by a pause of peace. Is War, then, the heavy price of much coveted peace?

Of peace so brief and incomplete, so disturbed and uneasy, as to call for fresh war in the hope of another and better peace? Or is humanity caught in a vicious circle, ever striving to reach the peace it craves, ever falling instead into the war it abhors?

Anti-pacifists, practical men of the present order, exponents of natural law and philosophers, answer that war has always been and always will be because such is the nature of man. The historians confirm this assertion, telling of all the wars of the world; and the pessimists of humanity speak of a fatal inheritance.

Yet the modern conscience is not quieted by this terrible answer, for its tendency is to exalt the human will as something without limits, a dominant actualism capable of breaking down every barrier. And therefore the modern conscience considers war from two opposing standpoints—either as a good to be sought, as strength, selection, vitality, the triumph of collective energies dominion, apotheosis; or else as an evil to be overthrown, war being disorder, destruction of life and property, arrested progress, tragedy. Either current admits war as a phenomenon to be circumscribed by the will; a product, therefore, of man's willing.

If War depends on the human will, he says, "it ought to be possible to prevent it by the human will" to reach a state of things in which "the right to make war would be no more recognised than the right to possess slaves is recognised to-day."

INDIA'S PHYSICAL WEAKNESS

Continual ill-health and the tragedy of premature death are having their toll in this country to an alarming degree. At a time when the human powers are at their height in other countries we in the East find ourselves rapidly sinking as we have known in the case of many of our brilliant leaders in public life. It is worse still with the bulk of our people, placed by no means under happy circumstances. What is the remedy for this? How are we to purge ourselves of this curse of premature decay and death?

Mr. C. F. Andrews, writing in the *HINDUSTAN REVIEW* gives copious instances to prove how with a little care we could avoid much preventable death. He says the opium habit is sapping the vitality of a large proportion of people in India, Burma and China. He points out how the law in England is enforced with rigour against illicit use of opium and how it is loose and inefficient here.

I have seen, with my own eyes, Indian men and women literally scrambling and pressing one over another in order to pay the money at the opium shop (licensed by Government) so as to get their opium dope, with which to poison themselves. I have visited villages in India, in which every single family had its opium smokers and opium eaters. These people were rendered perfectly useless by the opium habit for any honest work. I have seen the whole Assamese people who take opium, being surely and steadily pushed backward by the Mymensingh immigrants, who do not take opium. They have pressed forward into the Brahmaputra Valley, because they are physically more robust. Meanwhile the Government has gone on making larger and larger profits out of the sale of opium, and a great part of the revenue every year has been obtained from the opium sales.

The next is malaria. Large tracts of this country are infested with malarial germs: and yet they can be got rid off by vigilant sanitary work. Why the Malay States have been cured of malaria; the Suez is already free from it; the Gold Coast of Africa and Sierra Leone are now comparatively healthy; Italy and Greece have no longer this scourge upon them. In India also we can get rid of it by vigilant and persistent work with the help of such experts as Sir Malcolm Watson and others.

Apart from work on a large scale Mr. Andrews gives some practical advice which should be of advantage to every one to follow. He says:—

The last thing, that I should like to suggest is the need of personal hygiene on the part of those who live in infected areas. The imperative necessity of a mosquito net must never be neglected. A solution of magnesium sulphate to bathe the exposed parts of the body after sunset will save the skin from many bites and neutralise the poison also. Citronelle or the oil of lemons may also be used. The utmost care should be taken to see that no mosquitos are in the net when it is lowered and that there are no holes or outlets. Some nets that are used are far more mosquito carriers than anything else. Lastly, if there has been any serious biting by mosquitos in the night or in the evening, five grains of quinine should at once be taken in order to stop the injection establishing itself in the blood. There are very simple personal rules, but if they are carefully obeyed they may save the physical health of many people. A wholesome and nourishing diet and a thorough evacuation are also absolutely necessary to prevent the onset of the disease, where it is already lurking in the system.

AMERICA AND EUROPE

"Europe is further off than it ought to be in the American mind. The press only report from the old world a crisis or a scandal, and subordinate even that to the sensational accounts of local crime and violence. Our constant troubles are remote and no concern of theirs. Except in intellectual and some business circles the inter-dependence of nations although widely separated geographically is not appreciated. The War has produced no desire for closer association, rather the opposite," writes Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P. in the *ST. MARTIN'S REVIEW*.

"But the world has become smaller, the ties of commerce, finance, economics, labour, science, literature and art can be and ought to be used to draw nations into closer contact leading to harmony and co-operation rather than discord and conflict. The United States of America have a great role to play in promoting the solidarity of the Society of Nations. Their present reluctance is temporary and intelligible, but there are many signs to show that as time passes they will rise to a higher appreciation of their international responsibilities and by that very means they may cure their self-sufficient conventionality and their mechanical drift towards materialism."

CHECKS IN DEMOCRACY.

The current Number of the *ENGLISH REVIEW* contains the substance of a lecture delivered to the students of Cairo University by Prof. Charles Sarolea. Prof Sarolea points out that the study of American institutions is of urgent practical importance in the near future, as the economic hegemony of the world has passed from Europe to America.

If America needs Europe, Europe needs America a great deal more, and our ignorance of American conditions has already been attended with disastrous results. There is the tragic demonstration of the Peace of Versailles. After the Armistice, President Wilson was hailed as the arbiter of civilisation. When reference was made to M. Clemenceau of his disagreements with Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, the Tiger is said to have made the retort: "What can you expect when you have to negotiate with two colleagues, one of whom thinks he is a Napoleon, whilst the other believes he is Christ?" President Wilson was sincerely convinced that his mission was to bring peace and goodwill to all men. Alas! events soon proved that he had come to bring, not peace, but a sword. He proclaimed himself the spokesman of the American people. Then it was discovered that the American people disowned him. It was discovered that the American Senate, which under the American Constitution shares with the President the treaty-making power, solemnly repudiated his policy. And only a few weeks after the plenipotentiaries had affixed their signatures under the Peace Instrument, the lamentable and grotesque spectacle was witnessed of the American Government refusing to join the League of Nations, which was the special creation of their Chief Executive. How many appalling blunders would have been avoided, how many fond illusions would have been dispelled, if the European plenipotentiaries at Versailles had made themselves familiar with the first elements of the American Constitution.

Prof. Sarolea reviews the various crises through which American institutions have passed and shows that their survival is due to the fact that they are much more limited and restrained than the popular governments of France or England. It is such limitations, says the Professor, that explain the survival of the American commonwealth. What are these limitations? They are:—

(1) The protection of State rights and the thorough-going decentralisation of political life. (2) The protection of individual liberty through an ingenious mechanism of weights and counter-weights, a delicate balance of the various political forces. (3) The strengthening and buttressing of the Executive which gives the President so much power that the Government of the Republic is sometimes called "Presiden-

tial" as opposed to "Congressional." The American President is more powerful than any constitutional monarch. (4) The pre-eminent position of the Senate, a small and aristocratic assembly of 96 members representing the individual States. The ancient Roman State was officially described as "Senatus Populusque Romanus." The "Senatus" came first. So it does in the United States. (5) The subordinate power of the House of Representatives as compared with that of the British House of Commons or the French Chamber of Deputies.

The last and not the least original feature is the establishment of a Supreme Court. It represents the Might and Majesty of the Law. It is the guardian of the people's liberties, the champion and protector both of State and individual rights.

NAPOLEON AND ISLAM

Mr. Khalid Shelohake, writing in the *ISLAMIC WORLD* for July, gives a vivid description of Napoleon's great interest in Islam. Throughout his career, this great Emperor denied always that he was a Christian; that he allowed his Generals to openly declare their conversion to Islam to marry and settle in Egypt are sufficient to prove "that the Emperor was in very truth a Mussalman." Napoleon joined in the prayers at the Great Mosque and performed it in its entirety, prostrating himself fully. His proclamation to the people of Egypt, says the writer, is another instance of his faith in Islam.

"People of Egypt! you will be told that I am come to destroy your religion. Believe them not. Tell them that I am come to restore your rights, punish your usurpers, and revive the true worship. Tell them that all men are equal in the sight of God; that wisdom, talents, and virtue alone constitute the difference between them. And what are the virtues which distinguish the Mamelukes, that entitle them to appropriate all the enjoyments of life to themselves? If Egypt is their farm, let them show the tenure from God, by which they hold it. No! God is just, and full of pity to the suffering people. For long a horde of slaves, bought in the Caucasus and Georgia have tyrannised over the finest part of world; but God, upon Whom everything depends, has decreed that this tyranny should terminate. Cadis, Sheikhs, Imams, tell the people that we too are true Mussulmans."

ISLAM A PRACTICAL RELIGION

Of all the religions in the world, Islam alone is practicable, says Mr. Syed Akhtar Ali, in the *MUSLIM REVIEW* for August. He contends that Islam has definite laws for everything moral or social and is in perfect accord with the laws of nature.

"Various practices, having no divine authority behind them, have assumed religious aspects owing to their antiquity and this is why they are inadapted to the advanced rationalism and progressive humanity of to-day. On the other hand, Islamic laws are unchangeable and will remain so satisfying all our moral and social requirements.

It has fixed principles of laws for everything with which we are concerned. Whatever situation may arise, whatever aspects human affairs may assume, Mohammedans have definite laws to meet them successfully, because the laws of Islam are in perfect accord with the laws of nature. We need at no stage to grope in the dark. It is a matter of pride for us that it has left no need unprovided in any walk of human activity. It is practically beyond the powers of a man, so unlettered as our prophet was, to invent so all-embracing a moral and social system of religion until he was inspired by divinity. Islamic laws are suitable to all men of all ages, in all countries and all climes, while all other isms are destitute of this merit of self-sufficiency."

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Time was when it used to be admitted without question that women's proper sphere of activities was the Home. House-hold duties and the up-bringing of children were the appropriate duties for which Nature had meant them. "But this view will go hardly unchallenged now, not only by women themselves but by a considerable section of men also," says Mr. D. S. Gordon in the July issue of the *EDUCATIONAL REVIEW*. According to him the originators of the women's movement in this country are mostly men and in

their attempt for the betterment of women, they have not only failed but given them what they did not want. The serious mistake was in the common educational system for both sexes. As the existing arrangements tended to make men of women and as this is not as it should be, Mr. Gordon observes that a good educational system is one which fits men and women for their several businesses in life. In economic science, division of labour is a well-known principle; and in ordinary life too this principle naturally applies. Men and women must be differently equipped for their different duties in life.

Let there be no misunderstanding. By saying that woman's sphere is the Home it is not by any means suggested that woman should refrain from taking an intelligent interest in the progress of the world at large. But what is urged is that woman's education should not be commercialised as at present.

RURAL RE-CONSTRUCTION

"Socio-Economic Revolution in Bengal during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century" is the subject of an informing article by Mr. Akshaya-kumara Sirkar in the *CALCUTTA REVIEW* for July. Now the problems of rural Bengal are definite enough—sanitation, education and economic welfare, and they are not different from those of the other parts of India. For more or less the same conditions calling for almost the same remedies prevail all over the country.

The writer traces the Socio-economic conditions of Bengal during the latter half of the last century and points out the reasons for the decline of rural Bengal. He says that it is mainly due to the economical revolution which attracted the flower of the rural populations to Calcutta and other towns, thus depriving the villages of the services of those most capable and interested in their welfare. This tendency was accentuated by the revolutionary land measure of 1793 which deprived the proprietors of land of their immemorial rights. The

CHINA'S VITAL PROBLEM

Mr. J. O. P. Bland, writing in *TIME AND TIDE* refutes the statement advanced by those who regard its "Intellectual Renaissance," as the clue to the truth in Chinese affairs. He says:—

The dominant fact in China is the social system, produced by the Confucian code of ethics, which through countless generations has inculcated in the race principles of passive resistance, and imposed upon it a chronic burden of over-population. Neither intellectual renaissances, political revolutions, nor pious resolutions can alter the immemorial tradition of the race which decrees, with all the force of imperative instinct and religious belief, that a man's first duty is to provide as many male descendants as possible for the comfort of his ancestors. The first result of this social system is that China breeds four generations to Europe's three; the next, following directly from the first, is that the pullulating swarms of humanity thus produced, are condemned to a struggle for bare subsistence so fierce, and to a standard of living so pitifully low, that for the masses the ever-insistent and unsolvable problem is that of keeping body and soul together. The whole history of China bears eloquent testimony to this central fact. It must be evident that so long as such conditions exist, the mental attitude of the New China, and the effect of its Intellectual Renaissances, are of no more real importance than the twitterings of sparrows on the housetops. The lesson to be learned from the present paroxysm of unrest and disorder is a lesson already writ large in the annals of the race, namely, that under a social system which produces these results, only the strong hand of despotic authority can hold in check the lawless minority, to whom disorder means opportunities of rising and remaining above the hunger-line. The numbers and activities of the bandits and freebooters have always increased, as they are doing to-day, in the absence of an effective central authority, ruling ruthlessly in the Oriental manner.

The peasants, plundered and driven from their ruined homes, and the desperate victims of the military press-gangs, are finally driven by necessity into the ranks of the lawless.

The collective intelligence of the race must be led to perceive that most of its discontents and disasters are the unavoidable consequences of their present social system.

Educate and alter the state of mind which regards with equanimity an infant mortality of 85 per cent.; convince Young China that there is no great virtue in being a grandfather at forty; and the way will then be prepared for the birth of a new Chinese nation—really new, because freed from the chief cause of all its suffering and unrest, the grim spectre of famine.

newly created absentee landlords left the management of affairs entirely to hirelings which boded ill for the poor inhabitants of villages.

Another reason for their decline is the economic invasion of the Western manufactures that began to ruin the villages. They were no longer the self-sufficient economic units they had been in times of yore.

The third is the social revolution due to English education. The family tie became loose and young men took to the vices of Western life. The breaking of the joint family system had disastrous consequences in the village.

Lastly the insanitary conditions, due to the obstructions to the natural drainage caused by the railways, raised roadways and embankments have had not a little to do with the growth and spread of infectious diseases like malaria, etc. It is notorious that malaria came in the wake of the first railway line in Bengal. This is quite an unforeseen calamity and steps ought to be taken to counteract it.

Now what are the remedies for this deplorable state of things? No half-hearted and spasmodic measures will meet the situation. A programme of continuous and effective work ought to be put into operation for which both the money-power and man-power of the villages should be mobilised. A large body of men should be organised for conducting sanitary and educational institutions and sufficient money should be pooled up for the work to go on uninterruptedly.

"The money may be obtained by preventing the illegal exactions or *abwabs* which may be calculated to amount annually to 50 lacs of rupees.

It can be calculated that on the mortgage of 50 lacs out of the 60 lacs most of which annually goes out of the pocket of the village toiler in an illegal way, a capital loan of 10 crores can be raised, and the monetary problem for the rural reconstruction in Bengal can be solved for ever and effectively."

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES

The Chamber of Princes has already appointed a Committee to report on the future of the Indian States and their relations to the future Government of India as constituted by a further instalment of Reforms. Mr. Chimanlal M. Doctor's article on "The Problems of Indian States and their position in Federated India" in the September Number of the MODERN REVIEW discusses the *pros* and *cons* of this vital problem. For, Mr. Chimanlal rightly observes that the demand for responsible Self-Government in Indian States is growing apace, and it is being supported by an influential section of the Indian Press, and politicians in British India as well. As the Royal proclamation of 1917 has declared full responsible self-government for India as the goal of British policy it involves the federation of Indian States with the different Self-governing Provinces of British India.

If the Royal Commission goes through the grievances of the subjects of each individual State and gets a plebiscite, I am sure the vast majority of the Ryots of Indian States would vote for absorption in British India, and the British Crown will be bound to respect the wishes of the majority and annex most of these States as rotten States, pension off the Royal families and extend the comparative blessings of bureaucratic autocracy with a veneer of democratic institutions of British India.

Even the elementary rights of man, *viz.*, liberty of speech, Press or Association, security of life and property and the right of *habeas corpus*, are almost non-existent in most of these states. Religious toleration and the protection of the honour of women are not to be found in some of these States and rapes, and abductions in broad day light by the Princes or their underlings are frequently reported.

The writer goes to the extent of suggesting the pensioning of several Ruling Princes and amalgamating their territories with the British India. Outlining the work before the Royal Commission Mr. Chimanlal says :—

In any scheme of federation there can be only two Houses; *viz.*, the Congress or House of Commons representing the population of the whole of India including the Indian States, and the senate or the upper House representative of the various Provincial Legislatures and Governments. There is no place for a Chamber of Princes or a house of Representatives of States subjects, but till India becomes a full-fledged federation of United States of India, it is necessary to have a separate House of Representatives of Indian

States subjects to balance the Chamber of Princes. The functions of the suggested House which is proposed by the Deccan States subjects' Conference should be that of the House of Commons for Indian States subjects, while the Chamber of Princes may remain as the House of Lords with no greater Powers than that of a similar Body in England. Where there are questions of common concern to the whole of India there may be joint sessions of the Legislative Assembly and the House of Representatives of Indian States subjects and there may be a similar joint sessions of the Council of States and Chamber of Princes. The Royal Commission should be empowered to recommend to the Statutory Commission of 1929 what should be done for the representation of Indian States subjects in order to safeguard their interests and the redress of their grievances by the Central Government.

THE LESSON OF NON-CO-OPERATION

The Anniversary Number of the SEARCHLIGHT has a budget of sprightly articles on various outstanding problems of interest to the country. Mazharul Haque who took a prominent part in the Non-Co-operation movement is not at all disheartened by its failure. He says that the one lesson of the failure is that we must give up our intolerance which is the besetting sin of the country. The great test was applied by Mahatma Gandhi but the country could not stand the test. What is the lesson? Mr. Haque answers:—

Such a movement churned the very life of India to its deepest depth and brought out all the good and evil on the surface. The scums have been thrown up and are floating on the top. These have to be taken out or settle down before clear water is seen again.

Who would have imagined that such an essentially pure movement will lead so disastrously? In principle Non-Co-operation did not mean hatred, injustice or ingratitude but in practice it led to these emotions. The hatred and anger of a weak and impotent people do not produce any catastrophic result. Nor do they conquer countries. When the people saw that their foolish passions and thoughtless actions did not produce the desired and much coveted result, they were simply bewildered. Evil passions were roused and required an inlet to be discharged. In their bewilderment, finding no opponent to vent their anger and dissatisfaction upon, they turned upon themselves and began to rend each other.

Let no one suppose that Non-Co-operation is dead. The body is dead, but the spirit lives. The spirit never dies. It will manifest itself again and again till the object for which the movement was started is accomplished.

The Indian Problem. By C. F. Andrews
Price Re. One To Subscribers of the INDIAN REVIEW Annas. 12

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THE UNITY CONFERENCE

In response to the earnest appeal made by His Excellency the Viceroy (printed in another section) the leading men of both the communities issued an appeal to all citizens. The appeal emphasized the fact that "peaceful social existence itself is threatened" by the "heart-rending tragedies" of communal conflicts which have become a common feature of our civic life. It expressed abhorrence at the vilification of religious founders and other revered personages indulged in by individual members of both the communities, although it is acknowledged that no community as a whole has instigated such conduct. It addressed itself in particular to journalists and speakers not to utter anything that might offend the feelings of any of their countrymen.

The provisional Committee met at Simla in the first week of this month when nearly 150 members from practically all provinces attended. The discussions were continued day after day. At the outset, the question arose whether the Conference should discuss political grievances in addition to those of a social and religious character, because the grievances of the Muslims related to political questions. A long discussion ensued. Mr. Zafar Ali spoke on the muslim side. Most of them argued that until political differences were also settled there would not be peace in the country.

For the Hindus, Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar and Goswami, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, Dr. Moonje and Lala Lajpat Rai and others spoke. Nearly all of them urged that social and religious grievances should be discussed first, and a decision taken on them. When this was done, and the masses agreed to act on their recommendations, they proposed to discuss political questions, in a calm atmosphere.

Lala Lajpat Rai moved a resolution for the formation of a Committee of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders under the Presidentship of

Mr. Jinnah to decide upon the agenda to be placed before the Conference. This was accepted unanimously.

At their meeting held on the 9th the Conference regretted that in spite of their appeal, three communal disturbances had occurred, and in some sections of the Press the tone had not improved. They once more wished the public and the Press to create a favourable atmosphere in the country in order that their efforts may be crowned with success.

DR. ANSARI'S VIEWS

Dr. M. A. Ansari, president-elect of the Indian National Congress, in a statement to the Press said that all were disappointed when the Viceroy said that constitutional evolution was unthinkable in the present state of communal disharmony and ill-will. They thought that he was made an unwilling mouthpiece for Tory diehards who were bent upon thwarting India's march to self-Government.

Referring to the Royal Commission, Doctor Ansari said it was obvious that the Commission would not fulfil the expectations of even those who had faith in it. He was convinced that it would give India nothing, even if the Hindus and Moslems fell on each other's neck in the ecstasy of newly found love.

In the matter of the forthcoming unity conference at Simla the Doctor held that he did not favour unity with a limited scope. He wanted it to be broad-based on higher considerations than the advent of the Royal Commission. He was not in the least affected by the Viceroy's speech in that respect.

His proposals to achieve communal unity were extensive propaganda by leaders of both the communities in the country in favour of unity, the establishment of a Public Safety Bureau and conciliatory Boards in the country, the former of which could check inflammatory writings and speeches by moral or legal force,

VICEROY ON COMMUNAL QUESTION

H. E. the Viceroy addressed the members of the Central Legislature on the 29th of last month, on the communal question and offered to convene a conference, provided the responsible leaders of both the communities gave him a promise of helping in the task of finding an effective solution of the problem. In the course of his speech he said:—

During the 17 months that I have been in India, the whole landscape has been overshadowed by the lowering clouds of communal tension, which have repeatedly discharged their thunderbolts, spreading far and wide, throughout the land their devastating havoc. From April to July last year, Calcutta seemed to be under the mastery of some evil spirit, which so gripped the minds of men that, in their insanity, they held themselves absolved from the most sacred restraints of human conduct. The citizens went abroad in peril of their lives from fanatical attacks; and the paralysis that overtook the commercial life of a great metropolis, was only less serious than the civic loss that followed from a naked and unashamed violation of the law, which perforce had to be reasserted by methods drastic and severe.

The sorrows of war are often mercifully redeemed, as many of us have known, by an element of self-sacrifice that transfigures and consecrates them to the achievement of some high purpose. But here, over these domestic battle-fields, sorrow holds sway unredeemed by any such transforming power: and speaks only of the senseless and futile passions that have caused it. Nor are the many houses of mourning the only measure of the damage which is being done to India. Is there not much in Indian social life that still cries out for remedy and reform, and which the enlightened India of to-day would fain mould otherwise? Nowhere, perhaps, is the task before the reformers more laborious; for the Indian civilisation is age-long, immemorial; and all things are deep-rooted in the past. United must be the effort, if it is to gain success; and on the successful issue of such work depends the building of the Indian nation. Yet the would-be builders must approach their task sorely handicapped and with heavy heart so long as the forces to which they would appeal are distracted and torn by the present animosities. For nothing wholesome can flourish in an unwholesome soil; and no one may hope to build a house to stand against the wind and the rain and the storm of life upon foundations that are rotten and unsound.

EFFECT UPON CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS.

"And what shall we say of the effect of these troubles upon India's progress in the field of Constitutional evolution? There are many who hold that the very Reforms, that were designed to lead India along the peaceful road of political development, have, by reason of the political power that they conferred, been directly responsible for the aggravation of these anxieties. True, it most certainly is, that, where private citizens do not possess these qualities, political self-government of a nation is an empty name, and merely serves to disguise, under an honourable

title, the continuance of something perilously akin to civil war. Thus this problem, of which the reactions upon the future of India must be so intimate, is a problem with which Great Britain, not less than India, is vitally concerned; for India desires to win Self-Government and it is Great Britain's self-appointed task to guide her to this end. Surely, it is evident that those who desire to win and those who desire to lend assistance in the winning, are mutually and vitally confronted with the necessity of fighting the spectre that besets the path of their common hopes. By the logic of our purpose or desires, we are partners in the task: and no one of us can here shirk or decline the responsibility of the burden which India's unhappy disunion imposes on the Government.

NEED FOR A REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE

"I myself have long been considering anxiously whether any action by the Government could help to stimulate that general desire for reconciliation, without which nothing can be done. It is not easy or perhaps possible for me to give a positive or assured answer to these reflections. In matters of this kind, each man must search his own heart and answer for himself whether he does in truth and without reserve, desire to play his part as an apostle of peace, and whether these associated with him are like-minded. But this, I can say. If it were represented to me, by the responsible leaders of the great communities, that they thought a useful purpose might be served by my convening a conference myself, with the object of frankly facing the causes of these miserable differences and then in a spirit of determined goodwill considering whether any practical solution or mitigation of them could be found, I should welcome it as evidence of a firm resolve to leave no way unsearched that might disclose means of rescuing India from her present unhappy state. If these representations were made by those who occupy such a position in their communities as to permit me to assume that the communities would accept and abide by any decision at which they might arrive on their behalf, then allying myself with them and such other leaders of public thought as might be willing to assist, I should gladly and cordially throw my whole energies into this honourable quest.

"I have been told that any such efforts are foredoomed to failure; and that all we might accomplish would be to contribute a few more barren pages to the story of the unprofitable discussions. I do not underestimate the difficulties. I do not minimise the risk of failure. But difficulties are meant to be surmounted; and outward success or failure is not the sole test of conduct in this sphere.

There must surely have been times during these latter months, when Indian patriots, gazing upon their motherland bruised by this internecine and senseless struggle, must have been hard put to it to maintain their faith in India's destiny undiminished; and when many must have been even tempted to hate the very name of religion, which is said to be man's greatest solace. Yet, may it not be that the purpose of these trials has been to test the calibre of our faith, and that some day when the testing time is past, those who, with trust in their hearts and hope in their eyes, have striven unceasingly to spread kindly feeling among their fellowmen, will reap for India a reward that will repay tenfold the bitter cost at which it has been purchased?

THE NIZAM'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

We understand that proposals for the reform and expansion of the Hyderabad Legislative Council have been placed before the Executive Council by Nawab Ameen Jung Bahadur and it is expected that the result will be announced shortly.

It will be remembered that a scheme was first promulgated by Sir Ali Imam the first President of the Executive Council by order of a special "firman" of the Nizam. It was based on the material collected by Rai Balakum, special officer appointed for this purpose.

Two years ago another Committee was formed in which there were Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur, Finance Minister, Nawab Nizam Jung Bahadur, Political Minister, Dewan Bahadur Krishnamachariar ex-Legal Adviser, to consider Sir Ali Imam's scheme and submit definite proposals to Government.

The Committee, it is understood has submitted its report and it has been placed before the Executive Council for discussion.

MAHARAJAH OF TRIPURA.

H. H. the Maharaja of Tripura was invested last month with ruling powers by the Governor of Bengal. Since the death of his father, H. H. Maharajah Mankya Birendra Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur in 1923, the administration of the State was run by a Council. The young Maharaja is now over 19 years of age and has had a careful educational career. The State has an area of 4116 square miles and a population of 304,437. The revenue from the State is about Rs 14 lakhs.

BARODA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

The Baroda University Commission have unanimously recommended the establishment of a separate University for Baroda. The report, we understand, has been sent to the press and will be out for the public shortly.

BHOPAL LEGISLATURE

The Nawab of Bhopal in his inaugural address at the opening of the State Legislature, said he had a number of schemes for ameliorating the condition of the people. The policy of his Government was to make provision for their young men in State service provided they had the qualifications and proper experience. He rejoiced that there had been no communal tension in the State and expressed heartfelt gratitude to Lord Irwin for his recent stirring appeal. The Nawab offered his service in any way to bridge the gulf to restore communal unity and goodwill.

REMOVAL OF SEX BAN IN MYSORE.

In view of the fact that there is a strong public opinion in favour of the privilege of admitting women in the public bodies and in accordance with the resolution passed in the February session of the Mysore Legislative Council the Government of the Maharajah of Mysore are pleased to direct that sex disqualification be removed so as to enable women to stand for election to Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council.

It is also expected that lady members would be nominated to both the newly constituted Assembly and the Council.

KOLHAPUR STATE JUDICIARY

It is understood, says THE INDIAN STATES REVIEW, that some important changes are being made in the Judiciary of the Kolhapur State, according to which all appeals in civil suits coming up for the decision of the Huzur will be heard by a bench court of two Judges, composed of Mr. Changule, the Chief Judge and Mr. Acharekar, the present Finance Minister and appeals in criminal cases will be heard by the Chief Judge and the Chief Revenue Officer, who in their turn will form a bench court of their own. Revenue cases will be heard by the Chief Judge and the present District Judge.

EAST AFRICA AND INDIA

Mr. K. C. Roy moved for the adjournment of the Assembly to discuss the question of the appointment of a Royal Commission on East Africa, its terms of reference and personnel. Mr. Roy said that the well-being of 60,000 Indians was affected by the announcement. He therefore urged the appointment of an adequate number of Indians on the Commission. Sir Mahomed Habibullah assured the Assembly that the Government of India would be watchful so that the interests of Indians might not be prejudicially affected by any recommendations which the Commission might make. But there was no reply to the suggestion that Indians should be appointed on the Commission. Mr. Roy's motion of adjournment was carried.

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA

It is important to remember, says Mr. G. S. Arundale in the weekly *New India*, that there is practically no colour prejudice in Australia as regards Indians. "The moment these become domiciled, they obtain equal citizenship with their white comrades. Indeed, if an Indian happens to reside in Australia for six months, he or she automatically becomes a voter. My wife, for example, is entitled to vote at elections for the New South Wales or Federal Parliament. The White Australia policy is by no means a gesture of antagonism towards India. It is merely a gesture of general self-protection—wise or unwise as one may care to look at it—to prevent competition. Australia has high regard for India and for all that India represents."

SOUTH AFRICA AND INDIA

Addressing a large gathering of students at the Gokhale Hall Madras, on September 1, on the South African Agreement, Mr. C. F. Andrews said that there was a feeling among Indian settlers to return to their motherland to spend their last days and in considering the question of repatriation that feeling ought to be taken into account.

Referring to the fear whether the agreement would be worked out in the spirit in which it was drawn up if the present Ministers went out of office and others took their place, Mr. Andrews said: "The only party which might step in was the South African Party and if it did, the subject relating to the agreement would be in the hands of Mr. Patrick Duncan who had come to know India and to love her. The road to the goal of full self-respect, of full citizenship and political equality was really open and we in India should do our utmost to help our fellow-countrymen abroad." Mr. Andrews stressed the value of mutual understanding between the two countries and pleaded for the exchange of visits by men of culture from both sides. He suggested that Sir J. C. Bose should visit South Africa and India should invite General Smuts who had devoted all his spare time to philosophy, to deliver lectures to Indian Universities on his philosophical conceptions.

INDIAN LABOURERS TO CEYLON

The number of Indian Immigrant labourers to Ceylon up to the end of August this year totals 1,21,415 being 50,527 more than the arrivals during the corresponding period of last year. The number has been the largest since 1921.

A rough estimate of emigration of Indian Estate Labourers from Ceylon shows the number to be 64,720 upto August 1927, an increase as compared with the corresponding in last year.

An indication of the increase in numbers and cost incurred by Government is seen in the acreage fees levied from the estates for any quarter of the year. The Controller has fixed the acreage fees for the next quarter payable from October as follows:—Tea Rs. 150; Rubber, Cocoa and Cardamom 50 cents per acre. During the previous quarter rates were 50 per cent. less demand being regulated by the number of arrivals and consequent heavy expenditure incurred.

RESERVE BANK BILL.

Great indignation prevails among unofficial members of the Legislative Assembly over the announcement made in the Legislative Assembly by Sir Basil Blackett, of the decision to postpone further consideration of the Reserve Bank Bill.

Immediately after the announcement in the House, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, on behalf of the Congress Party with the tacit consent of the President given as a special case in view of the grave importance of the question, protested against the postponement and left the House, accompanied by the members of his party.

In a statement to the Press, Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, endorsing the protest made by the Leader of the Congress Party on the floor of the House, explains how Lord Birkenhead has violated the convention,—laid down and practised in regard to Fiscal matters by the late Mr. Montagu—of non-intervention where there is perfect accord between the Executive and the Legislature in India.

Prominent men of the other unofficial groups, like Sir Victor Sassoon and Mr. M. A. Jinnah have expressed their surprise and indignation at the sudden and unexpected step adopted by the Finance Member which, virtually, amounts to an act of discourtesy to the Assembly.

LANCASHIRE'S MILL INDUSTRY.

At a meeting called by the Cotton Yarn Association at Manchester. Mr. Keynes expressed the opinion that it was scarcely possible to exaggerate the seriousness of the situation and suggested the summoning of what might be termed an unofficial Royal Commission composed of representatives of every section of industry including operatives to ascertain the costs of every stage of production and to consider mill reorganisation and capitalisation reform with a view to bringing Lancashire's organisation up-to-date and to putting it on a competitive basis with the rest of the world.

A FIELD FOR EMPLOYMENT

A writer in a Bombay journal suggests an avenue for the unemployed educated persons, specially graduates, in the following words:—

"I want particularly to draw attention to the possibilities in connection with salesmanship by commercial travelling in India. Look at any Directory of Indian goods. Articles of daily use (which are now being largely imported) are easily procurable from Indian Manufacturers and more such articles can be easily manufactured, but the public know not their existence and the manufacturers are unable to reach the public.

Now a man who can sell goods is always in request by the man who has goods to sell. University education is no doubt an asset, but it is not essential for success in the profession of salesmanship. Neither is capital required nor influence. An elementary education plus the determination to succeed will go a long way in equipping one for this profession.

Let not any one look down upon the profession of a commercial traveller. Commercial travelling affords excellent opportunities for exercise of imagination, the thinking out of ideas pushing them to success and fortune."

PROTECTION TO TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

Sheth Chamanlal Parekh, President of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, has wired to the Secretary, Government of India, Commerce Department:—

"My Association is greatly disappointed with the revised proposals of the Government which offer a meagre relief to a portion of the yarn section of the Industry, but which altogether ignore the vital and imperative question of protecting the weaving section which in fact constitutes the Textile Industry of India. I hope the Government would realise that the failure to obtain relief at a critical juncture will ruin a great national industry."

SIR R. N. MUKHERJI ON CO-OPERATION

In his recent pronouncement on the Co-operative movement in Bengal, Sir Rajendranath Mukherji pointed out that the things from which at present the province is suffering and which make it imperative to push on Co-operation are exactly the things which stand in the way of the spread and consolidation of the movement. Bengal suffers from poverty, indebtedness and illiteracy. These stand in the way of the spread of the movement. But it is mainly co-operation which can pull Bengal out of the slough of despond. Sir Rajendranath pointed out how the peasants of Germany and Ireland have got rid of their indebted condition by recourse to co-operation, and how Italy has fought illiteracy with the same weapon.

He wants our villages to be made centres of the movement. In his opinion all the villagers should become members of the Village co-operative societies, which should be autonomous in their own internal affairs, as far as may be practicable.

The co-operative movement is at present under official guidance and control. It should be democratised. But any attempt which may have to be made in that direction must be made by men whose honesty and solvency are unquestionable and whose business capacity has been proved by successful work in other directions.

CENTRAL AGRICULTURAL BOARD

A memorial has been recently addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy praying for the establishment of a Central Board of Agriculture. A research University and Technological Institute, which are proposed to be established to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, are suggested to help the establishment of an efficient board. We understand the matter is receiving the consideration of His Excellency.

FRAGMENTATION OF LANDS

The Bill known as "The Bombay Small Holdings Bill" which the Bombay Government has drafted is perhaps the first systematic legislative attempt in British India to neutralise the evils of the steady fragmentation of agricultural lands as a result of the Law of Succession obtaining in Hindu India and other factors that have sprung from the Tenancy Laws. Piecemeal measures to check such fragmentation have been tried in other parts of country and found successful. Experiments in consolidation were carried out in the Punjab where the evils had attained acute dimensions and the results show how the evils can be remedied and the position of the agriculturist improved. Bombay in sponsoring this measure is first in the field in attempting by means of legislation to check the process of disintegration that goes with endless sub-division of agricultural holdings—a veritable curse that cuts at the root of economic exploitation of land.

RURAL RE-CONSTRUCTION

In connection with the Rural Service Exhibition held in Madras about the end of August, the Trustees administering the Rural Re-construction Fund instituted by the Hon. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar have decided to offer two prizes of Rs. 50/-each for the best paper in the English language on the following topics:—

I. How a Teacher can most constructively assist the Rural Re-construction Movement in South India?

II. How an educated Indian citizen can by voluntary effort most constructively assist the Rural Re-construction Movement in South India?

The merits of the papers will be judged by a Committee consisting of Mr. K. T. Paul, Rao Bahadur N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar and Mr. V. Venkatasubbiah.

Papers should not exceed 4000 words and should be submitted by the 15th November 1927 to Mr. V. Venkatasubbiah by registered post.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF HEALTH

At the thirty eighth Annual Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute held recently in London in the section devoted to Personal and Domestic Hygiene, the President, the Countess Brassey, quoted with effect the following Ten Commandments which she had seen in a school at Ashford:—

"Thou shalt honour thy neighbourhood and keep it clean.

"Remember thy cleaning day and keep it wholly.

"Thou shalt take care of thy rubbish heap else thy neighbour will bear witness against thee.

"Thou shalt keep in order thy alley, thy back-yard, thy hall and thy stairway.

"Thou shalt not let the wicked fly breed.

"Thou shalt not kill thy neighbour by ignoring fire menace or by poisoning the air with rubbish.

"Thou shalt not keep thy windows closed day or night.

"Thou shalt covet all the air and sunlight thou canst obtain.

"Because of the love thou bearest thy children thou shalt provide clean homes for them.

"Thou shalt not steal thy children's right to health and happiness."

BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

"Britain's machinery for the prevention of disease is justly the envy of the world," declared Sir Robert Paillip in his Presidential address to the British Medical Association at Edinburgh. Though still caring for the individual, medicine has begun to think in terms of communities. "Why shouldn't private contracts be arranged on the oriental plan of payment for keeping a client well?" he asked. "At least there should be an agreement between doctors and patients regarding the advisability of periodic examination so that morbid tendencies or the threatenings of disease may be nipped in the bud. Lessons in health should begin at School."

NEEDLE'S JOURNEY THROUGH BODY

A remarkable story of a broken needle travelling through a girl's body from foot to head comes from Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk), says THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. In June 1926, Miss Dora Watkinson, a maid at Westley Hall, trod on a darning-needle, which entered her right foot and broke off. The foot was X-rayed. Apparently she felt no ill-effects, and no more was thought of the needle.

Recently she felt a scratch on her tongue. Placing a finger in her mouth she withdrew half an inch of broken needle which was emerging from between two teeth in the left lower jaw. Nurse King, of Westley Hall, who has been attending the girl, stated that the broken needle had been travelling about the maid's body for over twelve months.

"Unfortunately," she said, "Dora threw the broken needle into the fire immediately she drew it from her mouth. It is a pity she did, for the fragment would have been of great interest, and perhaps a help too, to medical men had it been saved."

CRADLE CURE FOR INSOMNIA

A bed which rocks the occupant to sleep, like a baby in a cradle, was one of the exhibits at the Institution of Civil Engineers, held at Westminster. This wonder bed, a cure for insomnia, has been constructed by the National Physical Laboratory at the special request of Sir Alfred Yarrow, the eminent scientist, who presented the Laboratory with its famous experimental tank.

The movements are arranged to occur at the rate of 80 a minute. And there are special devices whereby the extent of the movements—which are to the order of three eighths to three-quarters of an inch—can be controlled.

The movements of the bed are adaptable to the idiosyncrasies of the sleeper. He will be rocked to sleep like a baby in his cradle, and nausea is avoided by making the movements irregular.

SIR J. C. BOSE'S DISCOVERIES

The LONDON DAILY CHRONICLE reporting Sir J. C. Bose's recent lecture in London says:—

Remarkable discoveries which may revolutionise modern medicine were announced by Sir Jagadis Bose, the Indian Scientist, in a lecture on "The Mechanism of Life," at the Kingsway Hall.

Sir Jagadis said that his recent finding that plant life and animal life are identical had led him to the discovery in plants of an enormous number of medicines which had never been suspected.

A new apparatus, which he had invented, recorded side by side the action of the drugs on the tissues of plants and animals, and showed that they both acted in the same manner.

Thus Sir Jagadis prophesied that plants would in the future supersede vivisection.

"The time will come," he said, amid applause when most experiments will be carried out on plants."

There was nothing in men that had not been foreshadowed in the plant; thus by experimenting on the plant it is possible to alleviate the sufferings of man.

Plants, explained Sir Jagadis, were a truer witness of the effect of drugs on human beings themselves, for plants were devoid of imagination and therefore immune to power of auto-suggestion.

PSYCHIC RESEARCH

For the first time in history psychic research came into the orbit of the British Association. Dr. T. W. Mitchell, in an address entitled "Phenomena of Mediumistic Trance," declared that telepathy or other super-normal mode of acquiring knowledge must be admitted. Moreover, man might survive bodily death and after death sometimes communicate with the living but hitherto there was no evidence that survival after bodily death implied immortality.

A NEW RADIO-CHAIN

The Press Association has been informed that a giant chain of fifteen American and Canadian broad-casting stations forming the second largest radio-chain in the world will be subject to British direction most immediately as a result of an important scheme ratified in London recently. The contracts have been signed between the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and Columbia Gramophone Company under which the latter will open fifteen stations covering North America from the Atlantic coast to the Rockies and broadcast its own musical programme.

CIRCLING THE GLOBE BY AIR

Two American airmen, Messrs. Brock and Schlee, are meeting with gratifying success in their attempt to make a world flight in three and a half weeks in the Wright engined Stinson monoplane, "Pride of Detroit." Their route is by way of Newfoundland, London, India, China, Yokohama, Manilla, Honolulu, and San Francisco, finishing at Detroit. They were held up for two days by the Turkish authorities and have been trying to make up for lost time.

PHOTOGRAPHING STOMACH

Science at last has found a way to photograph the inside of the stomach, according to reports from Germany. A tiny camera containing seven films is inserted directly into the stomach on the end of a tube. It takes a complete set of pictures of the stomach's actions in fourteen seconds' time. The operation is said to be entirely painless, and the results obtained much more satisfactory than X-ray pictures.

THE LATE DR. WILSON

Seated in a chair, wearing a mask, Sidney Wilson, an eminent surgeon and pioneer of modern methods of anaesthesia, was found dead at Manchester in circumstances suggesting that he had fallen a victim to his custom of making self experiments in anaesthetic research.

THE PRESS

The Council of the League of Nations has approved of the Press Conference report and recognised the Press as a "national and international institution." Indeed, the modern Press can hardly discharge its duty as an organ of Nationalism without taking due notice of what is going on in the international world. The foundation of the League of Nations is itself a recognition of the political, economic and moral affinity of the nations. The Press too has to recognise this international character of the relation of nations. The Geneva Press Conference has done well by raising its powerful voice against the system of Press censorship which finds favour with Mussolinis all over the world. One would, however, search in vain the proceedings of the Press Conference to find a word in condemnation of the policy of repression and persecution of newspapers whenever their views happen to offend against the interests of the ruling class.

THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

"In the rivalry, the competition, the internecine struggle in which the popular Press is ceaselessly engaged, it is apparent that the reading public, for whose favours the battle rages, is universally regarded as a spoilt or tired child who must be constantly amused or excited, but never exerted," writes "The Old Stager" in the ENGLISH REVIEW.

"Every new 'stunt' or concession to catch the popular fancy is in the direction of reducing the exercise of the mind—of cutting the cackle and doubling the pretty pictures.

"The shortest report of an event is too long for the public—it must be extracted to head lines and summarised under headings. Newspaper staffs are constantly devising new lay-outs and new types to make the business of glancing through a newspaper easier; at all cost the public must be

spared exertion; an important speech is boiled down to two lines containing some homely or humorous simile irrelevant to the context; if trouble breaks out in Palestine, a view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives is as much as the public must see of it; a photograph of his wife's boudoir is regarded as an adequate substitute in the public menu for the declared policy of a great statesman.

"Always the tendency is in the direction of reading without tears, of pretty pictures, of saving exertion, of killing time."

IN GOKHALE'S GARDEN

BY SAROJINI NAIDU.

With crystal rods the necromantic rain
Touches dead loveliness to life again,
Revives on withered meads and barren rocks
Pastures and gleaming pools for wandering flocks
And sows wet fields with red and ivory grain.
In your sweet garden where I walked with you
The rain has wrought its wizardry anew
With silver jasmine, golden champak stars,
Small coral-stemmed, pearl-petalled harsingars,
Bakul and flowering neem of lilac hue.
Steadfast, serene, dauntless, supremely wise,
In earth's renascent bloom, with prescient eyes
You found Hope's symbol, and you strove to teach
My heart with patient, high, prophetic speech
The parable of Beauty's brave emprise:
The transient forms of Beauty perish, still
Endures her proud imperishable will
In myriad shapes and songs to be reborn,
Age unto age, from morn to splendid morn.

* * *

Your ashes lie in old Prayag, but we,
Heirs of your spirit's immortality,
Seek in your vision Love's perpetual flame
Of adoration lit in Freedom's name,
Rekindling all our dreams of Liberty.

THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

In view of the agitation over the amendment to the Andhra University Bill, the following view expressed by Professor Radhakrishnan is of interest.

"I hope it will be agreed that the University should be in charge of the higher teachings in the cultural, professional and technological courses. It will be necessary for the University to develop these schools in the University centre. It is unfortunate that Bezpada which happens to be the University centre has not the facilities of a University centre. All things considered, Rajahmundry perhaps is the best place in the Andhra Desa for the graduate schools. The question is not to be viewed from any narrow point. We have to sink our college patriotism in the larger University patriotism. While the University may take charge of the Arts College, Rajahmundry, and develop in it Honours post-graduate schools, the other colleges may be offered facilities for developing Honours classes on complying with certain conditions."

OSMANIA TECHNICAL INSTITUTE.

A sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees has been sanctioned by the Nizam's Government for extension of the buildings of the Osmania Central Technical Institute and for equipping it with an up-to-date laboratory. The workshops of the P.W.D. will be amalgamated with the Mint Workshops thus affording more opportunities for the students to tackle works on a larger scale. It is understood that the period of training also will be extended with a view to bring the standard of training and education on a par with that of the Technical Graduates' education in the United Kingdom.

PROFESSOR SESHADRI

Professor Seshadri, of the Benares Hindu University has been invited to deliver a course of lectures on English Literature by the Council of the Osmania University, Hyderabad,

MR. GANDHI'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN

Mahatma Gandhi who arrived in Madras on the 3rd Sept. had a crowded programme during his stay in the City. He addressed several public meetings. Speaking to the students of the Pachayappa's College on Sept. 7th he said:—

"I want you all unmarried young men, to make this sacred resolve that you are not going to marry a girl who is not widowed and will hunt for widowed girls and marry them. What I would like you to do is to have a touch of chivalry about you."

Mr. Gandhi spoke for full one hour, in the course of which he said if the students went about collecting purses and distributing them, village sisters would only learn to depend on charity. He, therefore, appealed to them to give the poor millions of India work by using khaddar.

GRAMMING METHODS IN SCHOOLS

Instructions have been issued to Educational Inspectors of the Bombay Presidency discouraging the use in schools of "Keys" and "Notes" which contain questions with model answers and other cramming methods as they are undesirable from an educational point of view and costly for the parents. Schools are also advised to retain the use of the same text books for at least three years, since frequent change entails unnecessary expense on the parents.

INDIAN EDUCATION

Mr. D. J. Frey Williams writes in the DAILY HERALD:

"From 1919 to 1924 the percentage of total scholars to the population of British India increased from 3.36 to 3.77, which is less than one-half of 1 per cent. In 10 years there will be an increase of 1 per cent., in 100 years 10 per cent., and in 500 years 50 per cent."

India is taxed to build a navy over which Indians have no control, and there is no money for education in which Indians have been given some control."

A PRIVY COUNCIL FOR INDIA

In moving a resolution in the Council of State for the establishment of a Privy Council in India, Sir Sankaran said that there was a distinct



advantage to the litigants by the creation of a supreme court, because the solicitor's fee for the Privy Council, which was a considerable portion of the litigants' burden, would be avoided. It was the rich man alone who

could go to Privy Council and that was, he said, why that the Privy Council would be helpful to the rich.

Mr. Haig, in opposing the motion referred to the rejection of "a similar motion in the Assembly and said that the taxpayers' burden would have to be increased, if a Supreme Court was to be established. He advised the House not to be carried away by sentiment, which was dear and would only create perhaps half a dozen jobs for purposes, which were really very limited in character.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhai also opposed the motion while the Hon. Mr. Ramdas spoke in favour of it. After some discussion the Council rejected by twentyfive votes against fifteen the resolution of Sir Sankaran Nair.

LAW AND POLITICS

Speaking recently on the importance of the legal profession at the Amphi Theatre, Poona, Mr. Jayakar observed that the ranks and files in the public life, in India, as also in countries like England and France, were filled by the members of the Law profession. Discussing where a lawyer should yield to the Judge and where he could afford to be dogged he said that they should adopt the policy which was indicated by the saying "the iron hand in the velvet glove."

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL

The Council of State met on the 7th instant when Mr. Ramdas Pantulu's motion for the consideration of Sir Hari Singh Gaur's Criminal Law Amendment Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly came up for discussion. Mr. G. A. Natesan, supporting the motion said that the Repressive Laws Committee had recommended the repeal of Part two of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, when the situation in the country improved. They had not to find out whether that time had come. The present motion, however, did not aim at a complete repeal of Part Two, but sought to remedy some minor defects, and notably the question of declaring an association unlawful. Mr. Natesan contended that a higher tribunal, like a High Court, was the best authority to decide whether Magisterial or provincial Governments' decision of declaring any particular association as unlawful, was right. He was of opinion that the author of the non-co-operation had practically given up his movement, and was now engaged in khaddar and untouchability works, having given his followers the option of entering the Councils, if they wished to do so. He appealed to the Government not to oppose the motion, and accept the amendments, which would improve the relations between the Government and the people.

Mr. Haig, Home Secretary, replying on behalf of the Government expressed regret at opposing the motion. He strongly repudiated the suggestion that the existence of the Act on the Statute Book was a slur on the country. Mr. Haig warned the Council that in view of foreign propaganda rampant in this country the amendments should not be adopted.

Sir Sankaran Nair, Messrs. K. S. R. Choudhri, R. N. N. Seth and others supported the motion. But on being put to vote Mr. Ramdas Pantulu's motion was defeated by 25 votes against 17.

SWAMI SARADANANDA.

Swami Saradananda, the Secretary of Ramkrishna Mission, passed away on the 19th instant at the Ramkrishna Math (Udbodhan Office), Baghbazar, Calcutta. He was a direct disciple of



SWAMI SARADANANDA.

Sri Ramkrishna and along with Swami Vivekananda and others gave up the world after the demise of his revered Master in 1886. For the next ten years he lived a life of strenuous prayer and austerities, and passed most of this period in Baranagore, Puri, Brindaban, Benares and the Himalayas. At the call of Swami Vivekananda

in 1896 he went to London and working there for sometime sailed for America where he preached the message of Vedanta for about two years. He helped Swami Vivekananda to found the Ramakrishna Math and to organise the Ramkrishna Mission acting as its Secretary from its very inception and was practically the executive head of the whole organisation. Swami Saradananda made extensive preaching tours in Guzerat, Kathiawar and Eastern Bengal. He edited the UDBODHAN for a long time and was the author of several important books, the principal of which is the philosophic treatment of his Master's life named Sri Ramkrishna 'Lila Prasanga.'

SIR MANCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE

The Parsee association of Europe gave a Dinner at the Cecil Hotel in honour of Sir Mancherji M. Bhownaggree, K. C. I. E. On behalf of the members Sir Dinshaw Petit who presided over the function presented to Sir Mancherji an address on vellum enclosed in a silver box, and his portrait in oils is later to be presented to him. The address referred to the many services rendered by Mancherji to the Zoroastrian community in Europe during nearly forty years' residence in England. Reference was also made to his general services to India, both as a member of Parliament and in connection with Indians overseas. Of the three Indian members of the House of Commons all of them Parsis, he was the only one to enjoy the confidence of the same constituency for ten consecutive years. The toast of the chief guest was spoken to, not only by the chairman, but by Lord Winterton, who spoke in terms of great respect and affection for Sir Mancherji. Sir Mancherji in his reply, thanked the various communities with whom, under the Pax Britannica, the Parsis in India have been privileged to work for the well-being of the common Motherland.

REFORM OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna moved the following resolution in the Council of State on Sept 7.

This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council the appointment of a Committee, consisting partly of elected and partly of nominated non-official or official members of both the Houses of Central Legislature, with some Indians outside the Central Legislature, who are known for their study and knowledge of the constitutions, to consider and report on

- (1) the constitution and powers of the Council of State,
- (2) the qualifications of members and voters thereof,
- (3) the constitution of constituencies, entitled to elect Members to the Council of State and
- (4) on other incidental matters, so as to make the Council of State a proper revising Committee to report on or before the 1st August 1928.

Mr. Haig on behalf of the Government, asked the mover not to press this resolution and assured the House that the views which had been expressed would be placed before the Statutory Commission. The resolution was, however, put to vote and negatived.

DIARCHY IN MADRAS AND BENGAL

The Madras Council has again lived up to its reputation for level-headedness, says the GUARDIAN of Calcutta, by rejecting the motion of no confidence in the Ministers, which was promoted by the Swarajists in alliance with the disgruntled Justice party. "Nothing could better illustrate the unreality of much of our Indian politics to-day than the fact that the Justice party which had for six years held office in Madras, and whose leaders had vainly endeavoured to return to office at the beginning of the present Council, allied itself with the Swarajists in denouncing the system that it had worked to its own advantage for so long, and attempted to dislodge the only Ministry that could hold office in the present Council. We are glad that as large a body as thirty of the elected members were found to save the ministry and give them the opportunity to carry forward some of the plans that they have formed."

In Bengal, however, the Ministry met with a different fate. Here the issue was complicated by

the failure of the National Bank, with which one of the Ministers had been closely associated. "It is, to say the least, unfortunate that, on the eve of the appeal of Dr. Ansari for the giving up of the useless policy of non-co-operation and obstruction, the Bengal Council should have gone back to its old paths and should have rejected the opportunity to play its part in the amelioration of the condition of the people of the province." The admitted defects of diarchy are no excuse for such a refusal, concludes the same journal, and it is the bane of political life in this country that political and personal considerations take precedence of considerations of human welfare in so many of the decisions of our politicians.



DR. M. A. ANSARI.

who has been elected President of the 43rd Indian National Congress to be held in December 1927 at Madras.

THOSE WHO FOUNDED THE PASTIME.

Mr. A. Wallis Myers, the well-known writer on tennis, has a timely article on "National Traits in Lawn Tennis" in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY, and commences his contribution by saying:—

"The authors of lawn tennis have much to their credit. They founded a pastime which permits men and women of all nationalities to meet in friendly competition under a common code of rules. But this was not their only benefaction to mankind. The game, by its popular vogue and catholicity, has provided a medium for physical and mental expression that is satisfying both to the individual and to the patriot.

"The athletic emancipation of women, one of the features of the present decade, has been hastened and nourished by lawn tennis, a game so happy in its scope for industry, movement and grace.

"No invention could have been better timed. It arrived to give society of either sex not only exercise and health, but, as its cult developed, an art through which national characteristics could be exploited. The lawn tennis court became an international arena; the language of the court assumed the power and utility of Esperanto; frontiers melted before the game; the pride of race and individuality was none the less stimulated."

A CRICKET SUGGESTION

"We have never yet seen sufficient justification for sending in the best men first. The Scripture says: 'The first shall be last,' and to be the last defender of one's side would appear to be a greater honour than batting first," says the *Welwyn Garden City Pilot* in a leader on "Cricket," and makes some plausible suggestions not likely, however, to be adopted.

"A sea captain is the last to leave the sinking ship. Surely a cricket captain should be the last man in, so that if his side is 220 runs short he may, by masterly combination with the remaining

player, retrieve the match and prove himself a captain in deed as well as in word.

"There are several advantages to this reverse method. The young colts, dismissed by a wily bowler, would see how the master hand avoided the same pitfalls. The younger players would be encouraged to join cricket instead of tennis clubs.

"One other improvement we venture to suggest. Genuine excitement disappears when scoring becomes slow. Unsportsmanlike cricketers sometimes will not take risks for fear of lowering their batting average. If every batsman were given half an hour or a fixed time at the actual playing wicket his objective would be to score as many runs as possible in the given time, and an acid test of each man's batting capabilities would result."

CRICKET HUMOURS.

There was a match played in a Northamptonshire village. A batsman was unfortunate enough to be struck in the middle of the back by a ball that got up sharply from the pitch, and would have missed the wicket by a yard.

An ever-keen wicket-keeper appealed, and the village umpire, who was a twelfth man for the home team, promptly gave the batsman out. The protestations of the batsman were of no avail. He had to go, and he retired in an angry mood.

When he went to the wickets for a second time later in the day he had ample revenge. Amid roars of laughter he strode defiantly to the wickets with a leg-guard strapped to his back, and this so put the umpire out of countenance that he left the field.

THE COCHIN ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

The Cochin Olympic sports will be conducted on the 28th and 29th November at Trichur. The entries close on the 16th November.

The Association will conduct the Kerala Inter-Collegiate sports on the 28th and 29th December, and the Kerala Inter-Collegiate Football Tournament on the 16th January, 1928.

Y. M. C. A. AND POLITICS.

The Committee composed of Mr. Justice Pearson of the Calcutta High Court, and Mr. B. L. Mitter Advocate-General, Bengal which enquired into the allegation made at the last annual meeting of the European Association, regarding the alleged political activities of Y. M. C. A. officials in India has just issued a lengthy report. The Committee finds that there is no evidence in support of the allegation that the paid servants of the Y. M. C. A. sell their time to the promoters of anti-British political movements. The allegation that the Y. M. C. A. distributed literature in Mesopotamia which caused unpleasant incidents is not established. With regard to the allegation that anti-British missionaries were allowed to lecture under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. the Committee states that about 4,000 lectures are delivered every year in Y. M. C. A. halls, and some check is kept over the lecturer and the subject-matter by the local Y. M. C. A. boards which include Europeans and Indians of the locality.

Referring to the allegation that American money is running the Calcutta branch, the Committee finds that the American Association made certain building grants to the Calcutta branch, where two Canadians and one American are secretaries. The policy now adopted is that these grants should be gradually reduced until they are extinguished. No cash grants, however, have been made to any local Y. M. C. A.

The allegation that Y. M. C. A. Boy Scouts are not allowed to sing "God Save the King," the Committee finds, is not supported by evidence. The statement that Sir Arthur Yapp came out to India to enquire into the Y. M. C. A.'s alleged "Red" activities is not supported by facts.

Concluding, the Committee states that only three out of 117 paid officials of the Y. M. C. A. participated in politics, two of them nominated to the legislatures by the Governor-General, and one elected by the European community.

THE GENEVA ASSEMBLY

In the Assembly of the League of Nations, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, opening the debate, on the work of the past year congratulated the League on the comprehensiveness and thoroughness of its work and referred to the way India had been fulfilling in practice the ideals of the League. He congratulated the League on realising the importance of India and Eastern problems.

He believed that it was through the technical organisations of the League that its ideals could be more adequately realised in non-European countries. He dwelt on the importance of health organisations, particularly the Bureau at Singapore, in assisting the control of epidemics and welcomed the projected tour in India of medical officers associated with the League. He anticipated valuable results from such a tour.



ANANDA MOHAN BOSE
The 21st Anniversary of whose death was the occasion of a great public demonstration in Calcutta on the 20th August.

Diary of the Month

- July 28. Sir Charles Madden succeeds Earl Beatty.
- July 29. The third reading of the Indian Church Bill is passed.
- July 30. The Prince of Wales accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin lands in Quebec.
- August 1. H. E. The Viceroy arrives at Ooty.
- August 2. The Japanese plan for naval limitation is rejected by the Americans.
- August 3. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar leaves Madras for Geneva.
- August 4. Sir Montagu Butler opens the C. P. Legislative Council.
- August 5. Hon. Mr. Patel arrives in Bombay.
- August 6. The Greek Cabinet resigns.
- August 7. Hon. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar leaves Bombay by S. S. "Razmak" for Europe.
- August 8. Mr. Baldwin makes a notable speech on the opening of the "Bridge of Peace" by the Prince of Wales.
- August 9. Burma People's party demands an enquiry into the working of the Reforms.
- August 10. The Dublin Senate passes the Public Safety Bill.
- August 11. The De Valerans decide to take the oath of allegiance in the "Dail."
- August 12. C. P. Council rejects the motion for the introduction of spinning in Schools.
- August 13. Mr. Chen, Chinese Foreign Minister resigns.
- August 14. The Nagpur citizens present Dr. Moonjee with a purse.
- August 15. A Franco-German Treaty is signed.
- August 16. Bernard Shaw announces that he is not visiting India.
- August 17. The adjournment motion of Mr. K.C. Roy re the E. African Federation is passed.
- August 18. Secretary of State accepts the proposals of the Government re the Shea Report.
- August 19. C. F. Andrews arrives in Bombay.
- August 20. The Governor of Bengal invests the Maharaja of Tripura with full powers.
- August 21. Mr. Motilal Nehru leaves for Europe.
- August 22. Sacco and Vanzetti are executed.
- August 23. The motion of no-confidence in the Madras Ministry is defeated.
- August 24. World Press conference meets in Geneva under the presidency of Lord Burnham.
- August 25. Bengal Legislative Council passes the no-confidence motion.
- August 26. Sir Alexander Marr becomes member of the Bengal Executive Council.
- August 28. The Calcutta University elects Mrs. Srejinini Naidu as Kamala Lecturer for 1928.
- August 29. H. E. Viceroy addresses the Members of the Central Legislature at Simla.
- August 30. Viscount Cecil resigns.
- August 31. Mahatma Gandhi leaves Bangalore.
- Sept 1. The Bengal Governor takes charge of all Transferred Subjects.
- Sept 2. The League approves the Press Conference Report.
- Sept 3. Mahatma Gandhi arrives in Madras.



MR. STANLEY BALDWIN

JUST READY. FAMOUS DEWANS AND PRIME MINISTERS OF Native States. Indian Statesmen.

NOW that the question of the future of Indian States and their place in the Constitution of the Country are being widely discussed, this volume of Indian Statesmen is of more than ordinary interest to politicians and laymen alike. In this new publication we have sketches of Eminent Indian Statesmen, notably those who have been Dewans or Prime Ministers of well-known Indian States. Besides being a record of the lives and achievements of these statesmen and administrators who have distinguished themselves both in British India and in the territories of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the book offers an instructive study in the evolution of Indian States. For the lives of these men are so linked with the fortunes of the States which they served that it is hardly possible to draw the line between biography and history. We see the one merging in the other: especially as the early records of these States are little more than the doings of the men who made them what they are. Hyderabad without Sir Salar Jung or Nepal without Jung Bahadur or Gwalior without Sir Dinkar Rao, are inconceivable. Bhavanagar and Oodeshanker, Mysore and Rangacharlu, Travancore and Sir T. Madhava Rao, Pudukottah and Sir Sashia Sastri are so intimately connected that neither the history of the States nor the lives of the Statesmen are complete without the other.

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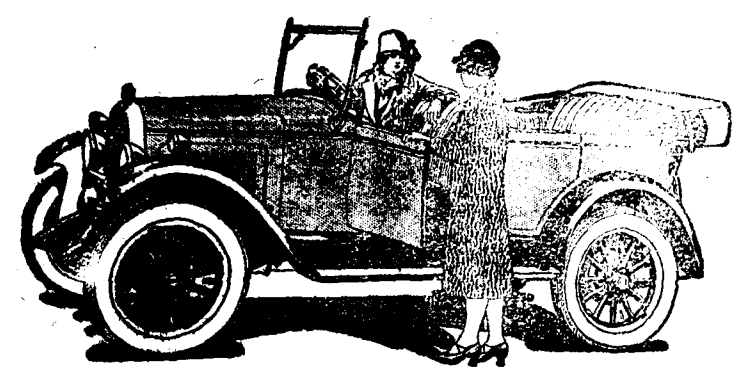
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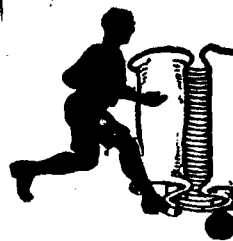
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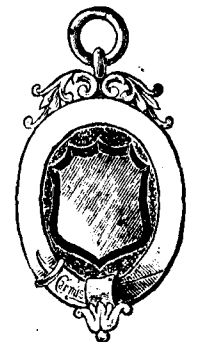
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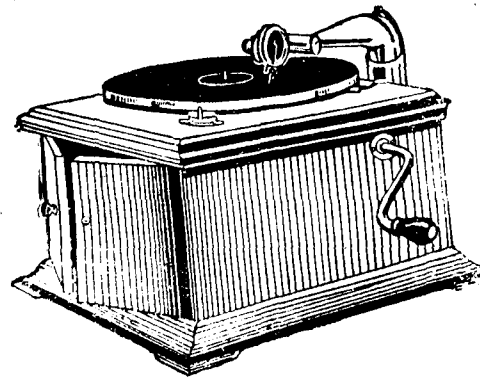
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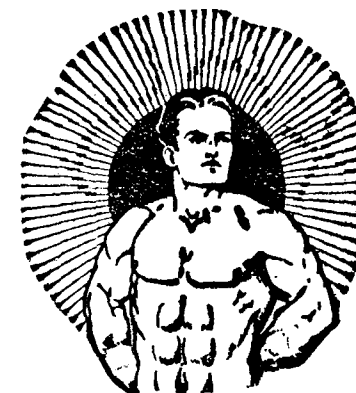
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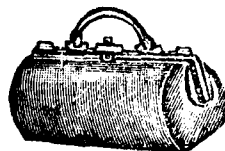
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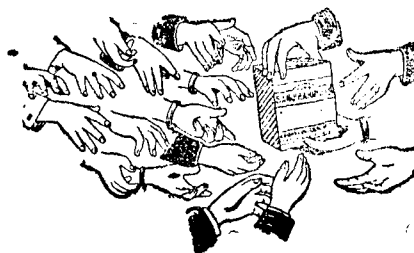
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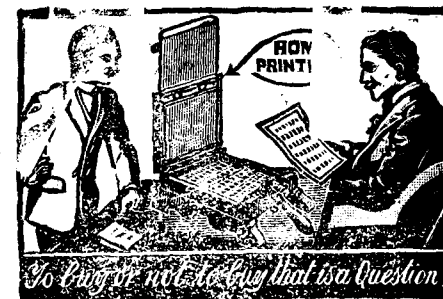
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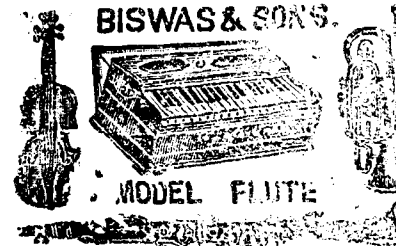


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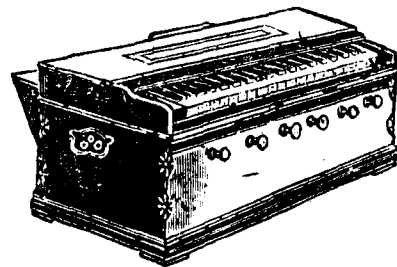
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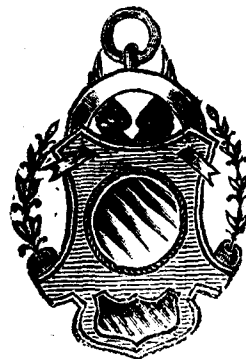
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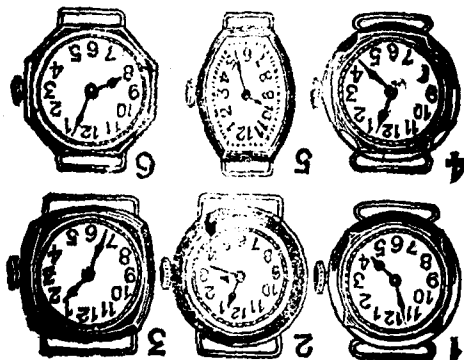
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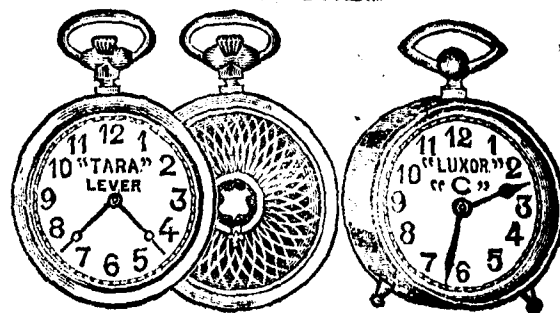
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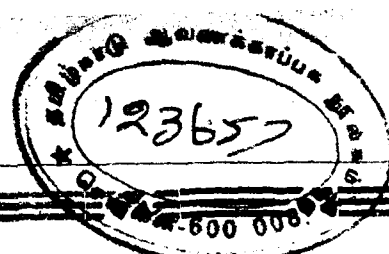
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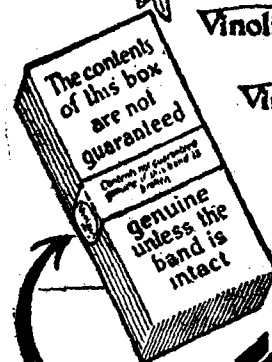
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