

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN

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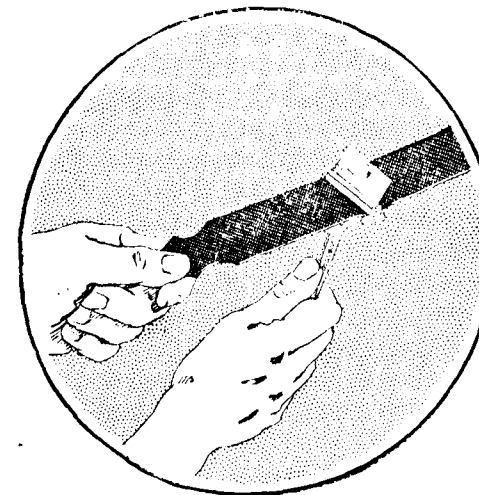
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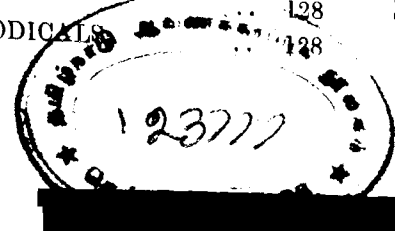
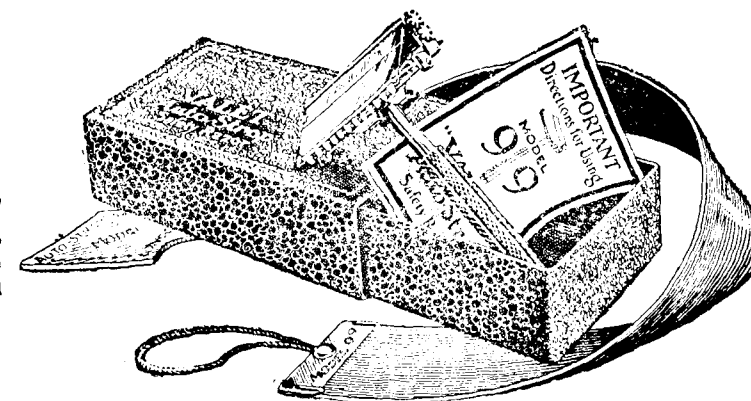
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January			February			March			April		
Sun	30	2, 9, 16, 23	Sun	—	6, 13, 20, 27	Sun	—	6, 13, 20, 27	Sun	—	3, 10, 17, 24
Mon	31	3, 10, 17, 24	Mon	—	7, 14, 21, 28	Mon	—	7, 14, 21, 28	Mon	—	4, 11, 18, 25
Tue	—	4, 11, 18, 25	Tue	1	8, 15, 22, —	Tue	1	8, 15,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

September			October			November			December		
Sun	—	4, 11, 18, 25	Sun	30	2, 9, 16, 23	Sun	—	6, 13, 20, 27	Sun	—	4, 11, 18, 25
Mon	—	5, 12, 19, 26	Mon	31	3, 10, 17, 24	Mon	—	7, 14, 21, 28	Mon	—	5, 12, 19, 26
Tue	—	6, 13, 20, 27	Tue	—	4, 11, 18, 25	Tue	1	8, 15, 22, 29	Tue	—	6, 13, 20, 27
Wed	—	7, 14, 21, 28	Wed	—	5, 12, 19, 26	Wed	2	9, 16, 23, 30	Wed	—	7, 14, 21, 28
Thu	1	8, 15, 22, 29	Thu	—	6, 13, 20, 27	Thu	3	10, 17, 24, —	Thu	1	8, 15, 22, 29
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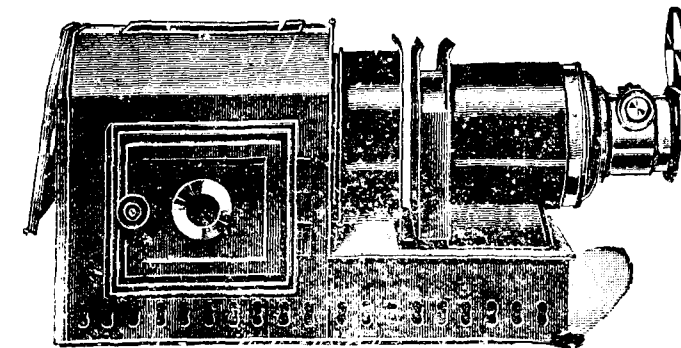
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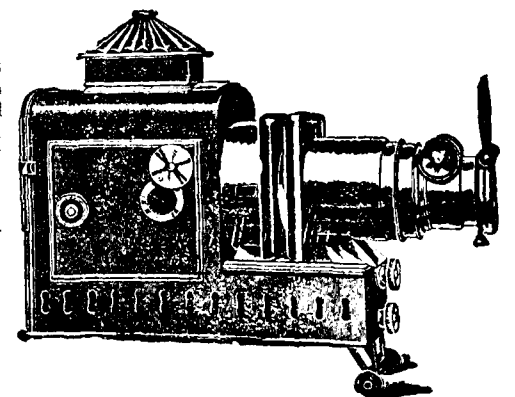
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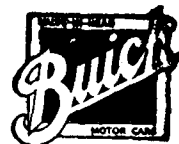
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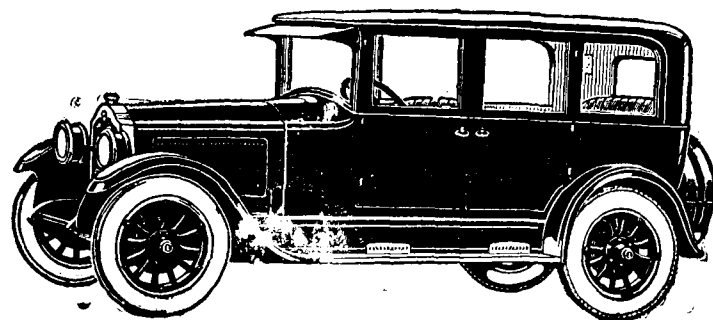
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FEBRUARY, 1927

[No. 2.]

The South African Agreement

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

SIR Mohammad Habibullah and his colleagues on the Indian deputation to South Africa deserve the gratitude of the public for bringing about a satisfactory agreement on a question which was till lately the despair of all: and we have no doubt that the bulk of our countrymen in South Africa will welcome the settlement with a sigh of relief. It may be that we have not achieved all that we wanted, but considering the past attitude of the Union Government, the bitterness of the struggle and the desperate remedies which our countrymen had sought from time to time, the compromise arrived at is one which should satisfy all reasonable people. In appraising the results of the Delegation's efforts at a compromise we ought not to forget that even the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, the terms of which were settled in consultation with Gokhale did not press for "the right of unrestricted immigration." The present arrangement has some distinctive features. The dropping of the obnoxious Class Areas Reservation Bill, the Union Government's recognition of the Indian community as an integral part of their population and of their responsibility to provide educational and other facilities to Indians, the promise to alter the law relating to trading licenses and above all their request to the Government of India to appoint an Agent "to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two countries" are sufficiently indicative of a new spirit of friendliness and goodwill. If repatriation in some form had to be accepted it cannot be denied that the new scheme of "aided emigration" is an improvement in some respects on the old.

But what is of even greater importance than the exact terms of the agreement is the pros-

pect of the growing friendship and cordiality between India and South Africa. Already we notice the remarkable transformation of the atmosphere from one of "remorseless hostility to Indians to that of a generous toleration." We find Dr. Malan speaking about this agreement in the Union Assembly proclaiming that "the most important feature of all was that no stigma of racial inferiority was implied," that the agreement had been reached "in the entire absence of a spirit of bargaining" and "it had been a whole-hearted settlement." According to him it "indicated a lasting friendship and goodwill between the great nations concerned."

Our success in this settlement is due to the vigilance with which the public in India have watched and helped the struggle of our countrymen in South Africa and the whole-hearted manner in which the Government of India from the time of Lord Hardinge has been identifying itself with the public opinion of the country. Nor can we forget the political advantage achieved by direct negotiations between the Government of India and the Union Government.

We have no doubt that the Indian Legislature will approve of the action of the Government of India in ratifying the agreement and will feel grateful for the labours of the delegation led by Sir Mohammad Habibullah, the Paddison deputation which prepared the ground for the round table conference and above all to that ever watchful friend of India, Mr. Andrews. Mahatma Gandhi's description of the agreement as an "honourable compromise" and as "the best that was possible" ought to serve as an effective answer to any ill-considered or irresponsible criticism that may be made in regard to this very delicate and difficult question.

China From 1894—1927

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

Is the Caucasian played out? asked Truthful James in 1870. By 1871 Japan had begun to put her house in order. Their privileges had been cheerfully surrendered by the *Nobles* of Japan and feudalism was abolished by decree. The country was put under a centralised government. There were treaty rights of all kinds which gave a privileged position to foreign residents. The Government sent an embassy to Europe to get the treaties modified. An efficient army, an efficient navy, compulsory education, judicial reform: these became accomplished facts and Japan was able to meet the foreigner at the gate on equal terms.

In 1893 was published "National Life and Character"* which discussed seriously the question raised by the humourist Bret Harte, and there were grave fears entertained about the yellow peril which found artistic expression in a picture by Knackfuss drawn from Emperor William II's design. A China regenerate, a China industrially awakened, and abreast of the scientifically trained West was something to give disquieting dreams to Europe. But in 1893, *regenerate* China was not. The divine inactivity, the self-complacency, of the Dragon would have remained undisturbed but for the Bear on the North and the Risen Sun in the East. Thanks to the initiative of Jermak and his Cossack bands and the furtherance of this trend of Russian absorption by successive Emperors, Muravieff was able to bring the Russian coast near to the latitudes of ice-free ports: Korea was over the way and the tenth commandment notwithstanding, Adam Zad † would have hugged Korea to his bosom but for the jealous neighbourhood of Japan.

With regard to Korea there were certain undefined rights claimed both by Japan and China. The King of Korea was shaky in his throne and to help him China had sent troops. The commercial interests of Japan were in

danger because of the disturbances in the country. China had been watching with impatient contempt the reforming zeal of Japan. The upstart nation of dwarfs had turned traitors to the yellow race and been strutting about aping the manners of the foreign devils. They must be taught a lesson. The Chinese navy had been brought to a high condition of strength and efficiency. A convenient opportunity of a rupture with Japan China was on the look out for. She carried on accordingly for years "a war of needle-pricks against Japan, slighting, badling, snubbing the power which had set the whole yellow race the shockingly subversive example of reform and progress."* Japan was irritated: the economic need (for the thickly-populated country) of a ready market for the products of her rapidly rising industries added to the tensivity of the situation. The inevitable conflict came and a most surprising thing happened: the dwarf overthrew the giant. On the 17th September 1894 Japan broke in the sea fight the maritime power of China. In the thundering of great guns in the waters of Korea Bay was recounted to the listening earth the story of the birth of a new empire that Europe had to reckon with in future.

The treaty of Shimonoseki (17th April 1895) concluding the Chino-Japanese War handed over to Japan the island of Formosa and the Liaotung Peninsula. Russia received timely information from its pensioner Li Hung Chang. Thus warned, she intervened with France and Germany and said that the cession of Liaotung to Japan would be a perfect menace to the peace of the Far East. The conqueror felt that the northern bully backed by the two roughs was too strong and pocketing her chagrin Japan acquiesced and restored the peninsula to China, receiving some additional indemnity.

China showed her appreciation of Russia's services by concessions with regard to Trans-Siberian Railway and by extension of Russian

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CHINA FROM 1894—1927

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influence in Manchuria. By March 1896, says Dr. Holland Rose, 'the gratitude felt by the Chinese Andromeda to the Russian Perseus had ripened into a definite union.' In 1897, the grabbing of Shantung healed the hurt that Germany felt for the loss of two of her missionaries. Russia obtained permission to winter her fleet in Port Arthur and demanded a lease of the ice free port. Great Britain had for solatium Wei-hai-wei and some addition in the neighbourhood of Hongkong. France obtained a concession near Tonkin. But when Italy asked for a bay, China greatly daring said 'no.' How lucky some o'er other some can be! Poor Italy!

Then came the Boxer rising against the foreign devils, the attack on European Legations, the siege of Peking and its capture.

Just as Japan's tussle with China began in connection with Korea, her tussle with Russia was with reference to Manchuria. Russia was to vacate Manchuria in three stages of six months each. After the first withdrawal, Russia demanded new concessions for further withdrawals. China, backed by Britain, Japan and the United States, refused the demands. Japan complained of Russia's not keeping her word and suggested a treaty to define Russian interests in Manchuria and her own position in Korea. Russia would not recognise Japanese claims in Korea and Japan issued an ultimatum to Russia in February 1904.

Here surely, thought the world, the fire-eating dwarf had gone a little too far. Attacking China was one thing but to meddle with the Northern Colossus was surely another matter. The debacle of Japan was only a question of some months, at most, if not, of some weeks. But Japan was not reasonable enough to fulfil expectations and instead of being beaten, beat Russia. Port Arthur was surrendered on New Year's Day 1905 to Japan. The Treaty of Portsmouth recognised the claims of Japan in Korea, gave to the victor the Liaotung Peninsula and the southern half of Sakhalin and provided for the evacuation of Manchuria by Russia.

In the years immediately preceding the war," says Mr. Gooch, "the powers had been carving China into slices. The ring leader had now been overthrown in

single combat, and the achievement thrilled Asia with a confidence and self-respect she had never known. The spell had been broken. The West was not irresistible. The question is no longer what the white man will leave to the yellow races, but what the yellow races will permit the white man to retain."

The two fateful victories of Japan brought the lesson home to China that the reformed Japanese had the root of the matter in him, that to be a master in your own house, you must be well-equipped in modern ways, that modern weapons of destruction efficiently handled would alone count in war, that painted likenesses of cannon didn't frighten the foreign devils, that the days of hocus-pocus and enchantment were gone never to return.

The glamour of old Literary Examinations had vanished. These were abolished in 1905. In 1906 a special Constitutional Investigation mission was sent to the West. An agreement was come to between China and Great Britain to discontinue the opium traffic in 1907.

The death of the Emperor Kwanghsu and of the Empress Dowager in 1908 practically marked the close of the Manchu monarchy. Nominally the monarchy continued till 1912 when the child-Emperor Hsuan Tung with the Dowager Empress Lung Yen acting as Regent retired in favour of the new Republic.

M. Henri Cordier accounts* for the Chinese revolutionary movement as follows: "There was the hatred, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, but always existing, among the old Chinese against the conquering Manchu, there was the splendour of the success of the Japanese against the Russians which proved that Europeans might be defeated by the Yellow race; the fame of Japanese victories resounding all through Asia and the Hindu as the Siamese and the Annamite as the Chinese saw therein the triumph of the Asiatic: all these awakened aspirations that were supposed to have been stifled. Young China men crowded to Tokyo in spite of their antipathy for the Empire of the Rising Sun, appealed to the Japanese Officers for the reform of their army, not only because they were cheaper than European instructors but also because they were the victors in the war. The students along with the culture of

* page 284, iv Histoire Generale de la Chine

* By Charles Pearson.

† Adam Zad the Bear that looks like a man—Kipling (1898).

* Dioso: The New Far East p. 32.

science carried with them from Japan ideas of progress.

Grave fears have been expressed about the momentous change of the adoption of the republican form of Government in a country which has had for ages the patriarchal type of society and the monarchical form of government. There are critics like Mr. J. O. P. Bland who base their distrust on the essential difference between the East and the West as expressed by the Kiplingian tag. There are others, serious students of society like Mr. E. A. Ross, who would emphasise much more the common elements of human nature and would trace the disparateness to difference of environment. It is reassuring that a scholar like Dr. H. A. Giles thinks that democracy is not alien to the Chinese genius. Though the Chinese believe in the divine right of Kings, they believe also that the Kings have responsibilities. Mis-government is a sure indication of the King's unfitness. They assert their right to put an evil ruler to death and it is not high treason to proclaim this principle in public. "The highest positions in the state have always been open, through the medium of competitive examinations, to the humblest peasant in the Empire."

It is difficult to recount the history of the Republic during the last few years. The scenes shift constantly and the personages that figure appear and disappear rapidly.

The events that immediately preceded the Revolution are in this order. In 1908 in the last year of Kwanghsu a nine years' programme of constitutional reform was laid down. In October 1909 the Provincial Assemblies met. The result of their inauguration was a demand for an earlier grant of Representative Government. At the close of the first session more than fifty delegates from various assemblies met in Shanghai and resolved to petition the throne to grant a Parliament within two years. The request was rejected in January 1910. The Government was not for expediting constitutional reform. On 2nd October 1910, the National Assembly met in Peking, and pressed again the question of the earlier opening of Parliament. The Government gave way. The date was pushed to 1913 from 1916. The Commission of Constitutional Reform was

to frame a constitution for a Cabinet responsible to the representatives of the people.

The National Assembly was to meet again in October 1911. Troubles in Yunnan with the British and in Mongolia with Russia and Government action in regard to large foreign loans had caused a great deal of public excitement. An attempt was made to placate public opinion by the appointment of a Cabinet of eleven Manchus and four Chinese under the presidency of Prince Ching. As the Prince was regarded as an arch-enemy of reform, this did not satisfy the public demands.

The Propagandist activities of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and other leaders of the revolutionary movement had resulted in the formation of many patriotic associations (chiefly in the treaty ports). The conclusion of the Hu Kuang Railway loan (April 5, 1911) roused the revolutionaries in Szechuen. Rioting took place at Chingtu in July and in September the province was in rebellion. An explosion of a bomb in Hankow leading to the arrest in October of a number of anti-dynastic plotters, there was an outbreak of rebellion: the Wu Chang Mint and the Hanyang Arsenal were seized by the rebels. The Regent was unable to quell the rising. He had no resources either of strength or of statecraft. He was forced to call to his aid the famous Chinese Viceroy Yuan Shih-K'ai who had been dismissed in January 1909. By an edict of Oct. 14, 1911 Yuan was recalled from his retirement and appointed Viceroy of Hunan and Hupeh, with supreme command of the Imperial forces.

Yuan Shi K'ai appeared as the man of destiny. On him the fate of China seemed to hang. He had come to prominence in connection with the Chinese activity in Korea, as a henchman of Li Hung Chang. Placed in command of troops near the head-quarters at Tientsin, he effectively drilled and disciplined them till they got recognised as a *corps d'elite*. In the *coup d'etat* of September 1898 he was supposed to have betrayed the interest of the reforming side and thrown in his lot with the reactionary Dowager Empress and got his reward for the betrayal of the Emperor Kwanghsu by being appointed Governor of Shantung. The Boxer rising in 1900 found him alert. He beat

them thoroughly and drove them north till they changed their original war-cry of "Down with the Manchus and the foreigner" to "Down with the foreigner". When Peking was taken, he had so far ingratiated himself with the powers that he was made Viceroy of Chihli. From 1902 to 1907 he devoted himself to creating an efficient Chinese army. The deprivation of his commanding position in the army because of court jealousy, his appointment to a comparatively harmless position as Grand Councillor and President of the Board of Foreign Affairs, his promotion as "the Senior Guardian of the Heir Apparent" in spite of Kwanghsu's last wishes about him, and his retirement to his native place in Honan followed as shifting scenes in a drama. Like a sensible man he engaged himself in developing his estates and attending to his harem. When the recalling Edict came he proceeded to the scene of insurrection, waited on events till the incapacity of the Manchus and the Revolutionists made itself manifest and got himself recognised as the saviour of the situation.

Yuan could have effectively put an end to the revolutionaries, if he was so minded. But the days of the Manchus and anti-foreign propaganda had past, as he knew. The future was with those who could command monetary resources and science. The South had declared itself openly against the Manchu and proclaimed the Republic on the 1st of January 1912. Yuan had his qualms and hesitation, resorted to shifts and devices, made sure of his position in the new order of things, and succeeded in manoeuvring the Dowager Empress Lung Yu and the Child Emperor Hsuan Tung into ceremonial retirement as the only course open to them, he himself having become the chief Executive Officer of the new Republic.

Yuan had secured from the abdicating Dynasty an Imperial Commission to organise a popular government in obedience to the national wish. He had brought to Peking the delegates of the Nanking Revolutionary body and got from them the formal offer of the Presidency of the Republic.

The Republican constitution * drawn up at

* W. W. Willoughby: *Constitutional Government in China* p. 15.

Nanking was of a provisional character. There were to be a President, a Vice-President, and a single chambered Council which was to serve as the national legislative body till a regular Parliament should be summoned in accordance with the laws which the Council was to enact. These laws were enacted in due course and a bicameral Parliament was elected to meet at Peking in 1913. By this Parliament the chapter of a permanent constitution dealing with the election of the President and Vice-President was drafted and promulgated. In accordance with these provisions Yuan became President *pucca* and not 'Provisional' as hitherto. His term of office was to run until October 10, 1918. Li Yuan-Hung was elected Vice-President for the same term.

In the autumn of 1913, before the whole of the constitution could be adopted, Yuan took upon himself to dissolve the Parliament. He had a new "Constitutional Compact" drafted and promulgated, abrogating the provisional constitution. After the pompous inauguration of his office as President (10th October 1913) he showed autocratic tendencies. Officials and *literati* of the old school were favoured. He performed the Winter Solstice ceremony at the Temple of Heaven. The Chou-An-hui Society, Yuan's supporters, carried on a monarchical propaganda at Peking and in the provinces. But Japan forcing the 21 demands on the Government (May 1915) discountenanced Yuan's approach to autocracy. Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao, one of the ablest and most influential scholars, denounced the Chou-An-hui propaganda and warned the President of the perils before him. Yuan referred the question of the monarchy to a vote of the provinces and the representatives, all in Yuan's interest, gave a unanimous vote in favour of his accession (November 5.). But Liang had accurately judged of the situation. On the 30th October "advice" was offered to the President through his Foreign Office by Japan and Britain and Russia that the change contemplated of turning the Republic into a monarchy would lead to serious dissensions. Yuan would not be persuaded. On the 12th of December the monarchy was proclaimed. The inauguration ceremony was to be on the 9th February 1916.

Rebellions broke in Yunnan, led by Tsai Ao, a military official educated in Japan, and the province proclaimed its independence. Kuangsi and Kueichou followed suit. The star of Yuan rapidly declined. The re-organization of the Cabinet under the premiership of Tuan Chi-Jui, a trusted Lieutenant of Yuan, the promise of re-introduction of Parliamentary Government, all availed nothing. A new provisional government was formed at Canton and Li Yuan-Hung the Vice-President was chosen President. A civil war between the northern Peking and the southern Canton seemed imminent. Yuan's death at this juncture averted the calamity.

Though Li Yuan-Hung was the President till 14th August 1917, when he was succeeded by Feng Kuo-Chang, the dominant figure on the stage was Tuan Chi-Jui. The question of China's joining the Allies now agitated the public mind. Tuan as the chief of the Cabinet was for joining the Allies. There would be the immediate advantage of the Boxer Indemnity payments being suspended and there was the prospect of securing Chinese representation at the Peace Conference at the close of the War. The President was under German influence. After some pressure the President gave way. Relations with Germany were severed on the 14th March 1917 and the German ships at Shanghai and Amoy were seized by the Chinese authorities.

But Tuan Chi-Jui was not allowed to declare war against the Central Powers. Tuan Chi-Jui the Premier pulled one way and Li Yuan-Hung the President, another way. In spite of the support from the military Governors, Tuan was dismissed from his office as Premier and he went to Tientsin and took refuge with the leaders of the military party.

Tuan Chi-Jui's leanings to Japan had added to his unpopularity. General Chang Hsun attempted the restoration of the throne in the person of the Young Emperor. But Tuan came to the rescue of the republic and was actively supported by Gen. Feng Kuo-Chang. Chang Hsun capitulated. Tuan resumed the premiership with the powers of a dictator and Li Yuan-Hung's position as President became impossible. Li resigned and Feng Kuo-Chang

succeeded him. There was now harmony between Premier and President. There were still disaffected elements. The new Government was declared to be illegal. A new Parliament was to be summoned, failing which there would be one summoned at Canton under a Provisional Government. This opposition notwithstanding, the Premier Tuan Chi-Jui after receiving certain assurances from the Allied Ministers announced that China would declare war against Germany on the new President's assuming office. Feng Kuo-Chang arrived at Peking on the 1st August, 1917 and on the 14th August war was declared.

A separatist movement began in the South and Kwantung seceded. The Premier and the President did not agree concerning the policy to be pursued in dealing with the South. Tuan was for strong measures and Feng for conciliation. Tuan had the support of the military Governors and he took up the offensive against the South.

To maintain the appearance of constitutionalism, Tuan convened an Assembly which proceeded to revise the law for parliamentary elections. This having been promulgated (17th February 1918), a new Parliament was elected in time to deal with the quinquennial election of the President. On the 4th September the Presidential election took place. Feng Kuo-Chang was passed over because he could not work with Tuan. Hsu Shih-Chang a veteran official was elected President.

In spite of China having declared war on Germany, she could take no active part because of internal discord and of financial straits. She permitted the recruiting of labour battalions for service behind the lines in France, Mesopotamia and Africa. She obtained relief from the payment of Boxer Indemnities by the cancellation of the dues to Austria and Germany and by the suspension of payments to the Allies.

The Japanese "special interests" in China were recognised by the United States and Tuan Chi-Jui supported Japan in the railway schemes in Shantung, Manchuria and Mongolia (September 1918).

When the war came to an end, China was allowed representation at the Peace Conference. The delegation presented a strong plea for rendition to China of the German properties in Shantung. The cancellation of spheres of influence within China, the withdrawal of foreign troops, post offices and telegraphic communications, the abolition of consular jurisdiction, the relinquishment of leased territories, the restoration of foreign concessions and settlements and tariff autonomy were demanded in vain. The Peking Government had, because of popular clamour, to instruct the Paris delegation to refuse to sign the treaty with Germany and two members of the Cabinet that had been associated with the loan negotiations with Japan had to resign. 1919 witnessed a nationwide boycott against Japanese goods. China secured substantial gains by her treaty with Austria, Russia and Germany in her character as a member of the League of Nations. In the Washington Conference the Powers agreed to respect China's independence, to seek no special privileges and to countenance Young China's aspiration for freedom. Japan adopted a more conciliatory attitude and the German holdings in Shantung were restored to China.

The Boxer indemnities that Great Britain, France and Japan had were released for educational purposes. Russia utilised her share for Bolshevik propaganda.

The cleavage between the North and the South continued. The Government at Canton was under the leadership of Sun Yat-Sen, Tang Shao-yi and Wu Ting-fang. Most of the provinces in the South and South-West were in sympathy with Canton. A Kwangsi faction driving out Sun Yat-Sen, he came back when the faction was driven out by Chen Chiung-ming. And in 1921 Sun Yat-Sen was elected 'President of the Chinese Republic', his government professing to be the only constitutional one in the country.

In the north the leading figures are Wu P'ei-fu, a scholarly and able commander, T'sao Kun, the tuchun of Chihli, and Chang Tso-lin, the master of wealthy Manchuria. These, coming into conflict with Tuan Chi-Jui in 1920, drive him and his associates out of power. Wu P'ei-fu and Chang Tso-lin quarrel

in 1922, Chang flees to Manchuria. Wu tries to unify the country and fails. The flight of Hsu Shih-Chang from the presidency in 1922, the reinstatement of Li Yuan-Hung and his flight in June 1923 and the election of T'sao Kun in October 1923 mark the next stage.

It is not quite a year since T'sao Kun was made President of the Republic at Peking. In September 1924, Lu Yung-hsiang, the tuchun of Chekiang and a member the Anfu group, (the supporters of Tuan Chi-Jui) and Marshal Chi Hsieh-Yuan, one of the supporters of Wu P'ei-fu and in power in Kiangsu, fall to fighting. Chang Tso-lin and Sun Yat-Sen join Lu Yung-hsiang; and Wu P'ei-fu joins Marshal Chi Hsieh-Yuan. Then a subordinate of Wu P'ei-fu Feng Yu-hsiang in control of forces at Peking abandons Wu, deposes from the President's seat T'sao Kun and ousts the ex-Emperor the Manchu Prince from the palace. On Feng Yu Hsiang's defection from Wu P'ei-fu, the latter withdraws to the Central Yangtze region. Feng Yu-Hsiang and Chang Tso-lin now meet at Tientsin and confer with Tuan Chi-Jui and late in November 1924 Tuan assumes the office of the Chief Executive of the Republic and announces a provisional government. At the end of the Year 1924 Sun Yat-Sen, Feng Yu-Hsiang, Chang Tso-lin and Tuan Chi-Jui are co-operating and Wu P'ei-fu is in the Yangtze Kiang valley—a power to reckon with.

On the 1st February 1925, Marshal Tuan Chi-Jui holds a Conference at Peking with a view to settle some working arrangement between the central Government and the tuchuns. Sun Yat-Sen who proceeds to Peking from the South to attend the Conference is seized with illness and dies on the 12th March 1925.

In October of the same year the tuchun of Chekiang, Sun Chuan-fang, who had driven out Lu Yung-hsiang, attacks Chang Tso-lin and consolidates his position in the five provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu, Kiangsi, Anhwei and Fukien. Feng Yu-Hsiang does not move but comes to an understanding with Chang Tso-lin.

Then follow some dizzying changes and, in summer 1926, the figures left on the scene are Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria, Feng Yu-Hsiang

in the North-West, Wu P'ei-fu in the Central North and the heart of the Yang tze Valley, Sun Chuan-fang in the lower part of the Yangke Valley, and the Canton Government in the south.

In 1925 there was a recurrence of the anti-foreign demonstrations such as have not existed since the Boxer rebellion. In Shanghai a strike in a group of Japanese-owned cotton mills led to disturbances in which some students were shot down on the 30th May 1925 by the foreign police of the place. These took an anti-British, anti-Japanese direction and caused serious trouble to the trade and shipping of those countries. This anti-foreign movement was fanned by the Bolsheviks, by the Government of Canton and by Feng Yu-Hsiang who published a series of manifestoes against foreign imperialism. A national movement, partly led by the students, demanded the abolition of the unequal treaties, the cancellation of ex-territoriality and the recovery of full customs autonomy. The anti-British feeling persisted in Canton and the neighbourhood and produced a most serious situation in Hong-Kong.

To understand the recent progress of events in China the reader will have to bear certain things in mind. It is not only north and south China, Peking and Canton. There are five Chinas of (1) Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria, (2) Feng Yu-Hsiang in the North-West, (3) Wu P'ei fu in Central China, (4) Sun Chuan-feng in Shahtung and (5) Chiang Kai-Shek in Canton. (1) Chang Tso-lin and (3) Wu P'ei fu combine and (2) Feng Yu-Hsiang flees to Moscow. (5) Chiang Kai-Shek seizes Hankow, Wuchang Hanyang and (4) Sun Chuang-feng is disturbed and (3) Wu P'ei fu rushes to the rescue and presently (2) Feng Yu-Hsiang returns and joins (5) Chiang Kai-Shek: *Kuo min chun*, (North Revolutionary forces under Feng) join *Kuo min tang* (South Revolutionary forces under Chiang). It is the moving and the counter-moving, the combining and the recombining of these forces, that contribute to the welter of the political confusion of China. Forty of her important cities and many of her great ports are under foreign control. The tariff duties are fixed by 13 different nations. Warships of foreign countries patrol her defenceless coasts. The nationalism of Young

China resents this state of things. Resentment shows itself in the student movements, strikes and boycotts of foreign goods and shipping. The trading interests of Britain are the most important and hence the prominence of anti-British feeling.

Chiang Kai-Shek has been a power in Canton for a year and practically in absolute control from April 26. He is not 'red' and of his zealous nationalism there is no question. He has secured complete control of all civic and military organisations and holds a dictatorial power beyond any other man in China to-day. Marshal Feng Yu-Hsiang, head of the North Revolutionary party (*Kuo min chun*) is at one with Chiang Kai-Shek head of the South Revolutionary party (*Kuo min tang*). A victory of southern Chinese over the north is a rare event. A Cantonese Cromwell would be something new. It is not unlikely, they say.

Eugene Chen, Foreign Minister at Canton, began life as an Editor. He got into trouble because he falsely reported the death of Chang Tso-lin. He was violently hostile to Britain as Editor. He went to Canton and soon became a political leader. Another guest arrived at Canton in the person of Jacob Borodin about the end of January '27. He is supposed to be a Bolshevik missionary. Wellington Koo is the Foreign Minister at Peking. There was a recent talk of Chang Tso-lin's approaching election as President of the Republic. Is it to be Chang Tso-lin or Chiang Kai-Shek? Time will show.

The powers seem disposed to recognise China's claims to be mistress in her own house. The willingness of Britain to meet the wishes of China appeared in the telegrams of the 3rd February.

A strong, united China whether under the lead of Canton or of Peking will be cheerfully recognised by the Powers as Japan was in 1894-1899. But if the war-lords in China persist in tearing and spitting at one another like the cats in Kilkenny, the political prophets who said that eastern nations accustomed to ages of autocracy are not constitutionally fitted for self-government, would feel abundantly justified in their vaticinations.

Indian States & Ruling Princes

BY

MR. KAZI AZIZUDDIN AHMED, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.S.O., K.B.

I feel very honoured that Sir Valentine Chirol has considered it worth his while to take notice of my article on "Indian States and Ruling Princes" which appeared in the December Number of the INDIAN REVIEW. I am not so foolishly presumptuous as to question the vast knowledge, varied experience and versatile genius of Sir Valentine. All subjects, especially political ones, handled by him bear the indelible hall-mark of his great qualities. But he has, I think, rather misapplied them in this case though not fully appreciating the purport of my article. I am the last man to belittle the importance and value of the British administration. The major portion of my life has been passed in British India in direct contact with its administration. It would, therefore, be both unnatural and unwise of me to condemn the British administration which has been gradually and patiently built up by the devoted efforts, consummate statesmanship, conspicuous ability and unflagging devotion to duty of the most accomplished civil service in the world. In fact I never intended to compare the administration of British India with that of Indian States to the disadvantage of the former. My real intention was to answer the malicious and ill-conceived aspersions of irresponsible critics who without having any acquaintance with the administration of Indian States hasten to condemn them wholesale and hold them up as Augean Stables of corruption and maladministration. I am sorry Sir Valentine Chirol, regarding my article from altogether a different angle of vision, has not touched on certain vital facts which I have stated in my

article to be true of Indian States. For instance, I referred to the solidarity of Hindu-Muslim unity in the States due in large measure to the absence of factors of communal bitterness—such as cow-slaughter etc., free education and medical treatment, the cheapness of food stuffs, and the restrictions on the export of cattle. I also instanced the elasticity of rules regarding service, the absence of galling restrictions relating to age and of artificial examinations and finally the keen appreciation of the fine arts in some Indian States. I am therefore naturally led to believe that all these statements of mine are passed uncontroverted and unquestioned by him. Sir Valentine says that my article* deals with ideals of what the Indian States should be rather than with present-day realities. This is not really so. What I have stated above are the present-day realities of many of the Indian States. My article does not indulge in Utopian ideals—nor does it adumbrate ambitious schemes that ought to be inaugurated; it is a bald summary of facts as they are and as they can be verified at any moment. British India is a political unit: and so uniformity of administration is its outstanding feature: whereas a variety of administrative methods prevails in Indian States simply because they are all separate entities. Their administration is based on their ancient customs, usages, tradition and culture suited to the temperaments and environment of their subjects.

Not for a moment would I contend that the Princes do not require British protection; but

* INDIAN REVIEW, July 1926

it can by no means be ignored that the British Government have no more loyal and devoted adherents than the Indian Princes, who vie with each other in placing all their resources in men, money and material at the disposal of the Government at any threat of hostility from without. It would be wrong to forget the acts of self-sacrifice and loyal devotion of the Indian Princes at the time of the recent European War. The Princes as a body have never boasted of what they did and suffered on this occasion and I question the good taste of reminding them by the pen of a distinguished European writer that they are protected by the British Government by an all-India expenditure. My point is that they have utilised to the fullest advantage the benefits of this protection by devoting their entire energies to their internal administration. The instances of Nabha, Indore and Hyderabad quoted by Sir Valentine are unfortunate and are exceptions to an otherwise magnificent standard, exceptions due rather to the accidental personal character of the individual rulers than to the system of administration in their and cognate States. As regards Hyderabad it is premature to pass any opinion. No GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE has appeared on the matter which may be said to be still *sub judice*. It surprises me that Sir Valentine should accept as adequate findings the biased anticipations of Indian extremists. If their judgment is right and beyond question, as Sir Valentine would seem to allow, we should logically be compelled to pass still severer strictures on British Indian administration, because they have been far more inveterate and voluble in condemning the Government under which they themselves live. Their condemnation of British Indian administration

was the main theme of their propaganda of Non-co-operation: it was not against the Indian States that Non-co-operation was directed but against the administration of British India. That being so, how can Sir Valentine accept these Nationalists as sound judges of the administration in Indian States? Indian Rulers are gratefully conscious of the help and protection which they receive at the hands of the British Government and know full well that their existence and safety depend on the permanence of the British Raj. But their dependence on the Sovereign Power is irrelevant to the real question how they govern their States. One feature of their administration is particularly worth mention, because it is one of the ways in which they show practical appreciation of the Suzerain's protection; and that is the way in which they curb and even prevent malicious attack in the Press and on the platform of their States against the British Government. In British India a man may talk or write any amount of nonsense about the British Government and may never be brought to book; but in Indian States such a man would not be tolerated for a moment simply because the Indian Princes are determined not to permit language contemptuous of the British Government.

Another point that deserves to be well brought to the attention of all outside critics, whether nationalist or European, is that the democratic system of Government towards which British India is tending is not suited to the people of Indian States, who are now living happier and more contented lives without it than are their brethren outside. Attribute their contentment to ignorance, want of education or lack of political consciousness or to any

other cause you like, but the stern fact is that they are, compared with the inhabitants of British India, happy and contented. It would be better and wiser if Indian States were left alone to evolve along the lines of their old, well tried and accustomed method of government until the people are prepared for the change. Western political institutions and ideals, however beneficial and lofty in Western countries or to parts of countries brought up on the lines of Western education and culture, are bound to fail in Indian States, where the majority of people have been living, thinking and acting for centuries past according to their old stereotyped methods, which have become part of their very being. A pretty long time is yet necessary to wean them from these older methods. But this does not mean that the administration of these States should not be strengthened and made more efficient by the appointment of really capable judges, strong and qualified magistrates and trained and honest police officers in order to prevent any danger of injustice or oppression.

Sir Valentine seems to think that with the accepted advent of self-government in British India, the Indian States which, according to him have long been hibernating in deep slumber will find it very hard to maintain their position and will have to force the pace to keep level with the British India. But I fail to see why it should be necessary for the Indian States to have the same type of administration as British India. Let there be democratic and representative government in British India; but the Indian States should have their own pattern of government suited to the temper and habits of their subjects. Both can move along their own paths without coming into conflict with each

other. Is it not within the range of practical politics that the Indian States should all combine to form a Federation under the Paramount Power of England? While each State would be self-contained it would be a co-ordinate part of the grand Federation. It might of course be necessary to group the States according to their measure of cultural evolution, material prosperity and political progress; but this grouping would be effected within the corpus of the Federation and the adjustment made without friction. While British India may go on evolving its democratic form, the Indian States indissolubly bound with each other in the affectionate bonds of a strong and healthy Federation and loyalty and devotion to the British Crown may seek the realisation of their destiny along the well-tried paths of Oriental Government, stimulated by the infusion of such modern science and culture as may help them along the path of their distinctive but none the less real evolution. It is a matter for congratulation that His Highness the Maharaja of Benares has frankly told His Excellency the Viceroy what he thinks of the Reforms. I hope other Princes will also not hesitate to open their minds. One hesitates to question the advantages of representative government, but a primary essential is that the country should be prepared for it first. It is no use thrusting a new method of government on people utterly unready and unfit. If I may venture in turn to criticise Sir Valentine's criticisms, I should say that he has fallen a victim to the prevailing weakness of political theorists, the love of uniformity. It is not by aiming at uniformity that the British Empire has been built up, but rather by giving the fullest scope to a spontaneous variety of method and system. It

is in this that the British Imperial genius lies; it is in this refusal to move along uniform mathematical lines of consciously made scientific construction, it is this preference for nursing the natural growth of political life which has at first bewildered and later won the astonished encomiums of the more logical continental statesmen. In his insistence on uniformity at all costs, in his failure to see the advantage of a parallel development of varied systems of Government that Sir Valentine is showing himself less than British and approximating sadly to the more academic, more specious but less practical theorisations of a Lionel Curtis. Inter-reactions there will be; British India as it grows more and more democratic will unquestionably affect the outlook and give a trend to the political growth of

the Indian States; but let growth go on side by side, because the benefit of neighbourhood and mutual influence will be far from being one-sided; and democracy in British India will be no less affected and, I hope and verily believe,—considerably more benefited by the proximity of the Indian States with their predominant element of aristocracy. Indian States will be found to prove once again the truism which was last held most sincerely and prominently in England by Lord John Manners, that the real and natural champions of the proletariat are the aristocracy. Uniformity in the governance of a continent may appeal to some people, but alien as it is to the organic nature of British political development, it will never commend itself to far-seeing statesmen.

Reformed Legislative Councils

BY MR. C. GOPAL MENON, M.L.C.

THE present is the time to take stock and see what progress has been made by the country under the Legislative Councils in India. The Royal Commission will conduct their enquiry in the country in 1929 to see what further instalment of reforms should be granted to the people of India. If we look back upon the Indian Legislative Councils, their Constitution and Functions, the Legislative Councils created under the Act of 1861 and the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the latter Act was no doubt an improvement over that of 1861 in all respects, because under the Act of 1892 the most valuable privilege of discussing the Financial Statement of the Government of India was bestowed upon that body. Further changes made in the Constitution and Functions of the Act of 1892

were abiding in their character and far-reaching in their possibilities.

The Indian Councils Act of 1909 inaugurated by the late Lord Morley will always be remembered as the harbinger of the first signs of political liberty in India. This Act gave to the people of India a larger measure of political representation and wider opportunities of expressing their view on administrative matters.

The next instalment of Reforms under which we are now working was brought into operation by the courage of a Liberal Secretary of State, the late Edwin Montagu, who in 1919 got it through a Coalition Cabinet and Parliament. His idea was to give India and her peoples an opportunity of training in democratic principles of Government with a view to endow her with

the ultimate realisation of Responsible Government within the Empire. The critics of this Constitution, which is considered as the best that the British Parliament can give to India are attacked on certain grounds. The Dyarchical type of Responsible Government in the Provinces which its novel feature, has transferred the subjects of Education, Agriculture and Public Health to the control of Ministers selected by the Governor from out of elected members, while Law and Order, the Police, and the Land Revenue are controlled by the Governor and the members of the Executive Council. The Viceroy and his Cabinet control all the Departments, such as Defence, Railways, Posts and Customs and are responsible only to Parliament, but have to go before the Central Legislative Assembly for the laws and the supplies they require. Another peculiarity with regard to the present system is that the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors have the power not only to veto legislation, but also set aside the decision of the Legislatures in all other matters of laws passed including finance.

Any change in the present system of Government is going to be taken up for consideration

only in 1929, when Parliament will under the present Act institute an enquiry as to how far the present system of Government has worked and to what extent it is desirable to grant further concessions.

In recent years there has been an awakening in India that absolute Self-Government is her birth-right and this sort of foreign rule is an usurpation. But the saner section of political reformers in the country plead for Dominion status within the British Empire. There has been recently a gesture from the Secretary of State for India that some further instalment of reform is due to this country and this could be secured only by a whole-hearted co-operation of the people with the Government and not by Non-co-operation. Unless the Dyarchical system of Government is given the go-by, and an autonomous system is substituted the disaffection in this country is sure to increase and the discontent and unrest will never disappear from the land. Barring foreign relations and a reasonable Army and Navy, all the other departments of Government should be given up to the control of the people of this country. Such a step will restore public confidence and gladden the hearts of the people.

The Party System in India

BY MR. T. I. OMMEN, M.A., B.L.

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IT will hardly be denied that a proper organisation of political parties is among the foremost political problems of the day in India. The recent general elections have served to bring the question to the forefront; and a good deal of literature has, of late, gathered round the subject. At a time when the political

atmosphere is still surcharged with the dust and din of a hotly contested election, it would, perhaps, be futile to attempt anything like a clear analysis of Indian political parties in general. But certain obvious features may usefully be noted.

In dealing with the subject of political parties in India, it may not, probably, be out of place

to make a few commonplace observations on the ethics of the system itself and how it is worked in the modern democratic countries. According to writers on the subject, a political party may be defined as a group of citizens more or less organised, who share or profess to share, the same or nearly the same opinions on the important political questions of the day, who act together as a political unit and who, by pooling their voting strength, seek to control the administration and carry on the government of the country.

To the superficial observer it might appear, that the party system is a superfluous political contrivance, perhaps unnecessary and in some cases even mischievous. It seems to create and foster artificial distinctions between groups of citizens. It tends to destroy freedom of individual opinion by exalting party loyalty as a high political virtue, even at the cost of the sacrifice of personal convictions. It involves a tremendous waste of time and energy in mutual criticisms and recriminations. It results in the State being deprived of the services of some at least of its best political leaders who happen to be in the Opposition, in the actual conduct of the Government. It tends to lower the moral standards of national life, in as much as party leaders unconsciously acquire a fatal bias in the direction of insincere advocacy of questions. "What is the sense", a well-known writer asks, "of setting up one group of men, A. B. C. & D to introduce legislation and handle administrative problems, and of setting up a second set, W. X. Y. & Z to harass and trip the former, opposing their proposals and hampering their executive action?"

But, on the other hand, the advantages of party system are undoubted; and almost all

the democratic countries have adopted it at the present day. As Lord Irwin recently said in his address to the Punjab Legislative Council, "when everything has been said, that can be said against it (the party system), it remains the only means of marshalling the forces, pooling the energies of a country and getting things done." "In every country there are naturally four kinds of people, *viz.*, Reactionaries or those who wish to return to the methods and institutions of the past, Conservatives or those who wish to retain the present, Liberals or those who wish to abolish them. Naturally the first two often tend to act together as against the last two; and thus we get a division into parties based on fundamental psychological difference." Far from destroying individual freedom of opinion, party system creates a healthy public opinion by focussing public attention on the question under discussion and thus clarifying the issue for the individual citizen. The restraints of party discipline tend to minimise the evils of political jobbery and corruption. The system also helps to create and maintain a high standard of administrative efficiency and public morality, because, under it, every action of the Party in power would be normally exposed to the fierce glare of public criticism by a relentless Opposition.

Party system is thus an indispensable element in the working of governments of all democratic countries. History does not record any instance of a large free country without it. Great statesmen and political philosophers, while fully conscious of its defects, have recognised its inevitability in democracies. India can be no exception to the general rule; and in the evolution of Indian

democracy, party system assuredly has a prominent part to play.

In the case of India, however, the problem is complicated by the fact that she is not a free country in the sense that her Government is not responsible to her people. Under the Reformed Constitution, the element of responsibility does not exist at all in the case of the Central Government and it is partially introduced in the Provincial Governments. In the case of the latter it is only in relation to the Transferred Subjects that the principle of responsibility can be said to exist. The Government of India is an irremovable one and is not responsible to the legislature. Government by parties has, obviously, no place in the scheme of its working. If a resolution is carried against it in the Central Legislature, it does not feel itself called upon to resign, neither could it, under the existing conditions, constitutionally do so. In fact, there is a good deal of truth in the argument often advanced that in relation to the Government of India there is room only for two parties—the party of the Government, always in power and the party of the people or the non-official party.

In the Provincial Governments, on the other hand, so far as the Transferred Subjects are concerned, the party system can work well under normal conditions. The Ministers who are in charge of these subjects would, ordinarily, be expected to command the confidence of a majority of the members of the legislature. Should they lose the support of the majority, they are bound, according to accepted political conventions, to resign and to give place to the Opposition. There would thus come about a healthy rivalry between opposing

political parties and all the salutary effects of a sound party system would be realised.

But for the proper functioning of the system, a few essential conditions have to be satisfied. In the first place, the parties themselves must be definite political groups based on effective political principles. One disquieting feature of the present position of party politics in India is the way in which parties readily assume a communal colour, members of the legislatures, both Central and Provincial, forming themselves into mutually exclusive groups according to the religions they profess, or the communities to which they belong. Obviously such communal groupings are not political parties; and the chronic tendency towards their formation cannot be regarded as furthering the evolution of democracy in India. Addressing the Members of the Madras Legislative Council in September last, His Excellency Viscount Goschen said, "I believe that the moment has arrived, when we should ask ourselves whether we should not, in the interests of the administration of the Presidency and of Parliamentary Government, hasten the day which seems to be approaching, of the institution of a real division of parties based on effective political programmes."

Another condition to be fulfilled—one peculiar to the transitional stage in India, necessitated by the Dyarchic form of the Provincial Governments—is that the Government in the Reserved Half should take up an attitude of strict neutrality between the rival parties in the Legislature and not throw in their weight with any one of them, except when problems of a purely administrative or non-partisan nature come up for discussion. Many Provincial Executives have not been able to rise above the

temptation to lend their moral support, and, at times, even their voting strength to the party in power. Obviously, such interference however justifiable from the standpoint of temporary political expediency cannot but impair the value of the constitutional experiment. It is essential, therefore, that in the interests of the success of the experiment, the Government should resist the temptation to deviate from its position of absolute impartiality, except under the pressure of abnormal circumstances, regard being had, of course, to the paramount needs of the State itself.

Again, for the successful working of the party system, a certain measure of party loyalty and party discipline is an indispensable necessity. Absence of this factor often leads to the rapid disintegration and the constant shuffling

and reshuffling, of parties. The last six years have witnessed the appearance in the country of a large number of parties, most of them shortlived. Of late, this fissiparous tendency has been very much in evidence and has affected even the highly organised parties. Lord Irwin's observation on this aspect of party politics, is well worth quoting. Said His Excellency in the course of a speech in October last :

In the short time that I have been in India, I have watched political parties appear like a meteor from the wide heavens. No one knows exactly how the constituent parts were fused together into this dazzling vision. It flashes across the political sky and, as we watch, it splits again into scattered parts. But all this will change.

It is to be fervently hoped that it will change, and that a healthy evolution of political parties based on sound political programmes, will appreciably help India to attain her cherished goal of democracy.

The Indian Mercantile Marine*

BY SIR DINSHAW PETIT

SHIPPING is one of the greatest key industries of a country and plays a very important part in its national economy. Not only does it develop the trade and commerce of a nation both domestic and foreign but it also serves as a powerful auxiliary to its machinery for national defence. Almost all the important maritime countries of the world have been helping in a variety of ways, both during and after the War, in making their Mercantile Marine a highly organised and powerful force in the larger economic life of their people and I therefore rejoice to observe signs of wide and powerful awakening amongst our countrymen during the last few years for the creation and development of an Indian Mercantile

*From the presidential address to the Indian Industrial Congress held at Calcutta during X'mas week.

Marine. I do not wish to recall here either the past glories of Indian Shipping or to deal with the systematic manner in which the foreign vested shipping interests have killed by all means in their power every indigenous attempt for the building up of Indian Shipping in years past. I, however, feel it my duty to draw your special attention to the attitude of the Government of India towards this great national industry.

As you are all aware, the Mercantile Marine Committee was appointed in 1923 in pursuance of the resolution moved by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in the Legislative Assembly in 1922. That Committee submitted its Report to the Government of India in the beginning of 1924. It is nearly three years since the Government

of India have been considering the recommendations of that Committee which had the benefit of broad outlook and matured judgment of experienced and impartial Englishmen like Sir John Biles and Captain Headlam.

Although the recommendations of that Committee fell far short of our national demand and although that Committee failed to consider the position of Indian Shipping in its large overseas trade, its main recommendation, namely the Reservation of the Coasting Trade of India to Indian Shipping met to some extent the demand of the nation for the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine. We have all been eagerly awaiting for the last three years the announcement by the Government of India of their decision in regard to this main recommendation, but in spite of constant and insistent public demand, the Government, I regret to observe, have up till now failed to lay down their definite policy for the development of Indian Shipping.

RESERVATION OF COASTAL TRADE

I was, however, extremely distressed to read in the papers the other day the answer given by Earl Winterton in reply to a question in the House of Commons that the Government of India were opposed to the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee regarding the reservation of the Indian Coasting Trade to Indian Shipping. Such a decision only confirms the opinion to which the thoughtful Indian public is reluctantly driven that the interests of the rulers and the ruled in this country are not identical and that the foreigner is allowed an economic domination and exploitation of this country to the continuous detriment of the larger economic life of

the nation. Is there any important maritime country in the world except India which has not helped the development of its national shipping in one form or another? Has not the Coasting Trade of a country been considered a domestic preserve in which foreign shipping cannot enter as a matter of right and has it not helped considerably the growth of national shipping? Did not the Japanese representatives themselves recognise before the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee that the reservation of their Coasting Trade considerably helped the development of Japanese Shipping in the early stage of its growth? Have not the American Delegates to the International Shipping Conferences freely admitted that the reservation of Coasting Trade of their country was one of the most important factors in the growth of their own Mercantile Marine? Will not England herself admit—England which is now opposed to the reservation of the Coasting Trade that her own Navigation Laws which were in force almost for a century considerably strengthened the development of British Shipping? And in spite of the opposition of England did not the British ship-owners carrying on the Coasting Trade of England ask last year for the reservation of their Coasting Trade to British Shipping alone whereas as a matter of fact 99 per cent. of the Coasting Trade of England is carried in English bottoms? Is it not a fact that this policy of reservation of the Coasting Trade is accepted by the independent maritime countries which desire to develop their national shipping and did not Turkey only a few months back act upon that policy and reserve her Coasting Trade to her own nationals? Every impartial student of shipping shall have to answer each

of these questions in the affirmative, and will have to recognise that the reservation of Coasting Trade has played an important part in the development of the Mercantile Marine of a country and if India is asking for such reservation, she is only adopting the policy recognised by the best maritime countries of the world including England herself.

A FALSE CRY

The cry has come always from interested quarters that Shipping should stand on its own legs and should never ask for any help from the State. India does not ask and has not asked for Shipping owned by the State. Are not the Dominions of Australia and Canada, however building up their own Mercantile Fleet with considerable help from the revenue of their States in spite of the advice often given to them either to sink or scrap their ships and has not England herself helped her own shipping by guaranteeing millions of pounds for building ships under the Trades Facilities Act? But England and her Dominions can always develop their shipping by such help because the interests of the Government and the people are identical. India unfortunately is not able to help her shipping because the interests of the Government and the people are conflicting. I often wonder at this narrow foreign outlook of the Government of India because it does not require any powerful imagination to realise the effective help which the shipping of the component parts of the Empire can give in developing and strengthening the position of the Empire as a whole.

TRAINING SHIP FOR INDIANS

I welcome the announcement that a Training Ship will be established at Karachi next year. The Viceroy's remarks, however, on

the Indian cadets finding a suitable sea-career after finishing their Training Ship will fill every Indian interested in the development of Indian Shipping with grave anxiety. Sea-experience, as you know, is quite essential to a sea-career. How can the cadets of the Training Ship get sea-experience unless they are taken up as apprentices by steamers plying in the coasting and overseas trade of the country and how can those who have received sea-experience and the necessary certificates of competency get employment unless they are employed by ships carrying on the trade with India? While I, therefore, appreciate the appeal made by the Viceroy to the British Shipping Companies to give a fair opportunity to the cadets coming out of the Training Ship for employment, I must candidly confess that our experience of British Shipping Companies in the past has shattered my faith in such an appeal receiving a willing and prompt response from these foreign interests. I therefore, fully endorse the views in this connection to which the Chairman of the Scindia Company gave expression in October last and consider it absolutely essential, if the Government are honest in their intentions to make the scheme of the Training Ship a success, that they should carry out forthwith the recommendation of the Mercantile Marine Committee to make it obligatory on the ships plying at any rate on the coast to recruit at least 50 per cent. of their officers from the cadets coming out successful from the Training Ship and obtaining the necessary certificates of competency.

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

Japanese Competition in India

BY MR. RASH BEHARI BOSE

[Lancashire is closely watching the Indian market. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce in their annual report observe that "the demand for cotton goods has not risen in consonance with the increase in population. Some of Lancashire's pre-War trade has been lost to foreign competitors and some to the increased production of the Indian mills, but another reason for the unfavourable trade returns is the fact that the Indian consumer has refrained from purchasing on the normal scale." At the same time Japanese manufacturers and merchants have been busy dumping their goods on the Indian market. Realising the vast possibilities of trade with India they have recently deputed a party of Commissioners to tour in India and Burma with a view to make prominent business houses take an interest in Japanese industries. A striking example of the interest which is being acquired by Japan in the Indian market was indicated by Mr. C. C. Javeri in his article in the last Number. In the following article an Indian writer, resident in Japan, points out the efforts of Lancashire in the Indian market and we gladly make room for his article on the principle of *audi alterum partem*.—Ed. I. R.]

MR. WADIA, of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, recently spoke in England with regard to Japanese competition that Japan was India's historic enemy. Was it Japan that destroyed India's industries, her splendid manufactures, and drove our artisans to the soil in which abject condition generation after generation have been wallowing in poverty? Was it Japan that turned India from a manufacturing and exporting nation to an importing one? Was it Japan that passed a hateful cotton excise duty to stifle Indian cotton industry? For an Indian to forget all that and to appear before the very people who were responsible for India's woe—Lancashire—and to say to a Lancashire audience that Japan is India's historic enemy shows the extent to which worshippers of the golden calf will go to seize the pot of gold at the rainbow.

Now, on what does the Bombay mill-owners' sustained campaign of propaganda hinge? To one who studies the subject, they hinge on the following:—

- (1) How much or what percentage of India's cotton manufacture is affected by Japanese competition?
- (2) Is India—not the Bombay mill-owners alone—a gainer or a loser by continuing the Indo-Japanese Commercial Treaty?
- (3) Are the wages paid to Japanese labourers less than those paid to those in India?
- (4) Are the hours of operation longer in Japan than in India?

As regards the first point, India being one of the leading agricultural nations of the world, two-thirds of her exports consist of foodstuffs and raw materials, so that nearly all of the goods imported into Japan from India are

agricultural products while the exports to India from Japan consist of manufactured goods, and the exports of Indian goods to Japan amount to three times the value of Japanese goods imported into India, so that if a discriminatory tariff as proposed by Bombay mill-owners be set up it will lead to retaliatory measures on the part of Japan and the masses of India will suffer. Again the Japanese cotton goods imported into India constitute only three per cent. of the total consumption of manufactured cotton goods in India and to pass a discriminatory tariff on this three per cent. is not only ridiculous but very unfair to the Indian masses and will then be a matter that will have to be handled not by Simla but by the Foreign Offices of Japan and London. It will be too difficult and delicate a subject to be entrusted to the hands of a Dependency.

Again it should be remembered that more than half of the raw cotton produced by India is bought by Japan, and if Japan ceases to buy from India, it will not be the Bombay mill-owners who will be affected but the poor cultivators of cotton throughout the length and breadth of the country. Not only cotton, but Japan buys Indian pig-iron in large quantities. Suppose Japan out of retaliation were to buy pig-iron from other countries, Indian pig-iron industry will be seriously affected. Surely the Bombay mill-owners do not expect that the whole of India should be made to suffer to enrich a mere handful of capitalists who, if I may be allowed to remark, judging from foreign and Indian sources of information, are notoriously mismanaging their key industry. The only way to put it aright is by adopting the best methods used by

Japan and other countries, but simply crying wolf at Japan's door will not do any good, but rather considerable harm. Why do not a representative body of Bombay mill-owners go to Japan and study the whole question at first hand instead of being the slavish tools egged on by Lancashire interests for the benefit of British Imperialism and never for the benefit of India. The whole thing is a hideous conspiracy of Lancashire of buying Indian support to check alleged Japanese competition on the one hand, and to disintegrate the Indian national movement on the other, and the sop was thrown in the way of the repeal of the cotton excise duty which by the way required thirty long years of hoarse crying to be repealed, but this sop the Bombay mill-owners have swallowed with more than the proverbial gullibility.

The charge made by the mill-owners that the wages paid by the cotton-spinning companies in Japan are lower than those paid in India is untrue. According to the statistical report of the Labour Office of the Government of Bombay of last year, the general average rate of wages paid by 186 cotton-spinners in Bombay in August 1923 was Rs. 32-1-0 per head per month—the number of working days per month being taken as 27. The wage paid by the cotton-spinning companies of Japan in the same month of the same year and also taking the number of days worked per month as being the same were Yen 33-53 per month. Reduced in terms of the Rupee at the rate of Rs. 155 per Yen 100 which was the average exchange rate of that year, the Japanese wages would amount to Rs. 52-4-0. Thus the Japanese wages were higher by more than 60%.

Moreover, the amount of expenses for erecting and maintaining dormitories for workers in Japan is considerable. In addition, there are other items of burden such as the half-yearly bonus to the workers, and the expenses of enrolling them and training them, as well as the retiring allowances. All these expenses have risen enormously of late years owing to the general rise in prices, which in Japan has been much higher than in other parts of the world. When impartially studied Japanese cotton-spin-

ning industry has to carry a burden which is not comparable with that of the Indian mills.

Now come the hours of operation. Another erroneous view which the Bombay mill-owners never tire of repeating in the campaign is that the Japanese cotton-spinning factories operate 22 hours a day, working day and night, whereas the Indian factories operate only 10 hours per day with the result that India is unable to compete with Japan. The hours of operation in the Japanese cotton-spinning factories are however not 22, but 20 divided into two shifts of 10 hours each.

That Japan is labouring at a disadvantage, which she tries to make up by increased efficiency and scientific management, may be confirmed by the Report of the United States Tariff Commission, issued in 1921, which says that the cost of erecting and equipping mills in Great Britain is 32 dollars per spindle, in America 40 dollars, and in Japan 60 dollars. Much noise is made over the fact that Japan has not ratified the Convention concerning the hours of labour as adopted by the First International Labour Conference held in Washington. With regard to ratification Japan does not stand alone, only five countries including India having done so. But the fact must not be lost sight of that Japan suffered so heavily from the effects of the last earthquake that were India or any other country in the same position it would do the same thing in order to stabilize her currency and restore its industries to a state of normalcy.

Another point which I want to emphasise is that a revised factory law will take effect from this year, which expressly provides that three years after the law commences to operate, night-work for women and minors shall be prohibited and therefore such night work in the cotton factories of Japan will be abolished at the latest within three or four years from now. Why three years grace has been provided is evident to those who have a knowledge of factory management. The Bombay mill-owners are living in glass-houses if they go to make out a case against Japan by comparing the labour conditions and sweated labour in India and Japan.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya

AN ENGINEER-STATESMAN

The outstanding fact about the life and career of Sir M. Visvesvaraya is, that born in a Native State, he devoted a great part of his life to the service of that State; and what is more, contrary to the usual practice his services have been frequently indented upon by other States and by important



SIR M. VISVESVARAYA

bodies in British India as well. Dewan Rangacharlu and Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, Messrs V. P. Madhava Rao and T. Ananda Rao were outsiders, while the ancestors of Dewan Purnaiya and his descendant Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi were comparatively recent settlers in the State. Sir Visvesvaraya

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for "Indian Statesmen"—G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3. To the Subscribers of the Indian Review Rs. 2-8-0.

and his people on the other hand have been residents of Mysore from time out of mind. He is therefore in a sense the first Mysorean to reach the Dewanship of the State. Again it is common knowledge that when things go wrong with the administration of a Native State, the services of a British official are invariably lent to that State. The order seems to be reversed in the case of Sir Visvesvaraya. For, on his retirement from Mysore his experience as engineer or administrator has been availed of by Bombay and Karachi and generally by the Government of India. The great Engineer-Dewan of Mysore is to day an outstanding figure among the statesmen of India.

A BRILLIANT EDUCATIONAL CAREER

Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya was born of an indigent Brahmin family at Chikballapur on the 15th September 1861. His father was a Sanskrit pundit and a well-known physician. After finishing his course at the local High School, Visvesvaraya joined the Central College at Bangalore and graduated in 1874. He took his Arts Degree with Mathematics for his optional subject and was selected as a State scholar to be trained as an Engineer, by the late Mr. Rangacharlu who thought it would be a consummation and a pride to train up local men for the various technical professions and posts of responsibility, to obviate the necessity of maintaining costly paraphernalia of foreign agency. Mr. Visvesvaraya had a very successful career in the Engineering College at Poona; and as he topped the list of successful candidates in 1883, the guaranteed appointment of the year was awarded to him. He thus abundantly justified his choice.

A SUCCESSFUL ENGINEER

His striking success at College and the University (where besides passing the F.C.E. and L. C. E. Examinations in the first class, he also won the Berkley Prize) led to his immediate appointment as Assistant Engineer in Bombay in 1884. During the next twenty-five years, says one who knows him, he did

in various professional ap-
peal in Western India. He
Engineer in the Irrigation
Districts of the Presidency,
capacity rendered excellent
people and Government. In
pointed as one of the three
of the Bombay Government
Irrigation Conference before
several noteworthy papers.
had become an Executive
acted, besides, as Sanitary
Government of Bombay and
Sanitary Board, in addition
to. In 1905, he again acted
and was, besides, in addition
Sanitary Engineer, on special
Public Works Department Secre-
tion with irrigation projects.
After he reached the rank of a
Engineer. In 1906 he was
to advise the Executive
the Aden Settlement with
sanitary matters. His good
recognized by the bestowal
medal. After a brief period
he went to Bombay as Offg. Sani-
Government. Two years
later, in 1908, he went on a
tour to visit most of the countries
in America.

VICE OF THE NIZAM

On his tour in America he
received the appointment of Special Consul-
General of the Government of H. H.
Nizam of Hyderabad. The devastating
floods called for immediate pre-
vention. He joined the Hyderabad
Government in 1909 and in six months he
devised a complete scheme for flood
reservoir works as well as a
scheme for Hyderabad City, all estimat-
ed at 150 lakhs. About the
same time, at the request of the
Nizam, he worked on the drainage of Secun-
drabad. In October 1909 he
resigned his position in Hyderabad
and went to the service of the
Nizam. The Government of
India gave him a special higher

pension on the "ground of meritorious
service."

IN MYSORE SERVICE

Already Mr. Visvesvaraya's reputation in
Bombay and Hyderabad had marked him out
for a distinguished place in Mysore. His
Highness the Maharaja, in pursuance of a
settled policy of advancing Indian gentle-
men of the Province to administrative appoint-
ments, thought about the propriety of appeal-
ing to Mr. Visvesvaraya's sense of patriotism
and inducing him to accept the Chief Engi-
neer's appointment in Mysore. Mr. Visvesva-
raya closed with the offer, the more so as
it was his wish to give of his best to his
own State.

GREAT ENGINEERING WORKS

Immediately after his advent into Mysore,
he had two difficult tasks to
tackle—the slip in the Ramasagara tank
bund and the restoration of the breach at
Krishnarajkatte. For both of these he devised
suitable designs and made arrangement for
their timely and successful completion. Public
attention was first drawn to his methods
of work by his memorandum on a complete
sewerage scheme for the Mysore City. A
warm admirer writes thus:—

Simplicity, order, method, thoroughness, perspicuity
of style and a happy knack for marshalling statisti-
cal information were the characteristics of the
man. Whatever reports or memorandum he drew up,
whatever addresses he delivered were always char-
acterised by these qualities and cold steel logic of
facts, scientific precision, conciseness of expression
and compass were evolved by a brain which
"scorned delights and lived laborious days." For
romance, sentiments, emotion and rhetoric there was
no room in a man who seemed to have been disciplin-
ed in the School of John Stuart Mill.

CAUVERY RESERVOIR PROJECT

While working at its development he was
equally assiduous in pushing forward the
necessary action to mature the Cauvery
Reservoir Project. He worked unweari-
ingly at these and by systematic organisa-
tion, persistent pressure and unflagging
work he carried on a delicate and diffi-
cult correspondence with the Government
of India and Madras to obtain the neces-
sary sanction for a reservoir across the
Cauvery. He succeeded in obtaining the

sanction of the Government of India to a
reservoir of 11,000 mc ft. capacity. If for
nothing else Sir Visvesvaraya is entitled to
the profoundest gratitude of all Mysore and
the sincere respect of all its inhabitants for
thus securing to Mysore one of its most
valuable assets, far better and infinitely more
valuable than the best gold mine in the
world. He also perfected a good Railway
Programme and a scheme of Irrigation work.

DEWAN OF MYSORE

Immediately after his term of office as
Chief Engineer was over he was appointed
Dewan on the 10th November 1912. He saw
in this high office an opportunity for the
fulfilment of many of his ambitions for the
State. That was in fact the main reason for
his accepting this high office. As we shall
see he fully justified the expectations and
raised Mysore to the status of a Model State
which it was his aim to make of her.

CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMANSHIP

We shall now consider in some detail Sir
Visvesvaraya's distinct contributions to
Mysore during his six years' Dewanship. His
Memorandum on Public Works in Mysore
was a notable contribution to constructive
statesmanship. He expounded therein the
great possibilities of development in the State,
adumbrated what steps should be taken to
give practical effect to his proposals. He was
never for doing things by fits and starts
but wanted to proceed on a well-organised
and comprehensive programme. He ad-
vocated therein a forward policy as regards

(1) Development of industries.

(2) The construction of a reservoir across
the Cauvery.

(3) Railway Construction in Mysore.

(4) Technical Education.

(5) Irrigation developments.

all of which he brought to fruition in his
regime.

THE MYSORE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Already, during his Chief Engineership was
inaugurated the Mysore Economic Conference
with its innumerable committees for tackling
various problems of State improvement. A
better means of Rural reconstruction cannot

be devised. It is a unique institution of its kind
in India bringing officials and non-officials
together, and reaching the expert on the one
side and the ryot on the other.

HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

When he became the Dewan of the State
every department was overhauled and im-
proved and his vigorous personality was felt
in every branch of the administration. The
KARNATAKA, on his retirement gave a list of
his achievements which may here be recoun-
ted:

1. New Mysore Treaty,
2. Establishment of the Mysore University.
3. Larger powers and Half-yearly Session
of the Representative Assembly,
4. Expansion of the Legislative Council,
5. Reconstitution of Municipal bodies.
6. Railway extension.
7. Krishnaraja Sagara.
8. Iron Scheme.
9. Bhatkal Harbour Project.
10. (i) Village Improvement (ii) Minor
Tank Restoration.
11. Public Libraries.
12. Mysore Bank, Sandal Oil Factory,
Paper Factory Scheme etc.

HIS FINANCIAL POLICY

Such a vigorous and aggressive administra-
tion could hardly have gone on without some
bitter criticisms. The Bhadravati Iron Works
and other projects have naturally been assailed
as white elephants and critics charged him
with extravagance and reckless waste of
public funds. But Sir Visvesvaraya held to
the maxim "that a Government forfeits its
claim to be called national unless it has a
public debt. The greater its spending capa-
city, the more progressive its character will
be." And he was never in want of funds for
his gigantic projects.

RETIREMENT AND AFTER

Sir Visvesvaraya retired in January 1919.
His services to Mysore were duly apprecia-
ted by His Highness the Maharajah. As
a mark of appreciation of Sir M. Visves-
varaya's valuable services His Highness was
pleased to grant him a special pension of
Rs. 1,250 a month.

"RECONSTRUCTING INDIA"

His plans of Reconstructing India are embodied in a book of this name (published by P. S. King & Co., Ltd. London) which is packed with information on all topics of public interest and full of cogent reasonings. His deductions have something of the definiteness and finality of a mathematical proposition and in spite of all his enthusiasm and characteristic idealism are never vague nor merely soothing. His suggestions for political, social and economic reforms are so many and so various that they afford ample material for the statesmanship of the future. New ideas in co-operation and agricultural improvement, on domestic economy and labour-saving devices, on home insurance and compulsory education, schemes for the uplift of women and the depressed classes, and work for the unemployed, methods of progressive political and cultural association besides means for the progressive realisation of economic and political freedom for social and material well-being—all find their place in this amazing book of ideas. Nor are they mere dreams of a retired Dewan. They are the fruits of years of practical experience as administrator and wide knowledge of world conditions applied to the needs of this country, with due regard to its peculiar conditions. We see in them the marks of a statesman who is himself a practical idealist. His is indeed a rare combination of genius with method, and industry, keenly sensitive to public interest.

ON THE ECONOMIC ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

It was not long before he was offered an opportunity to conduct an official enquiry into the economic conditions of the country, under the auspices of the Government of India. In January 1925 the Government of India announced the appointment of such a Committee with Sir Visvesvaraya as Chairman. Nothing could have been more appropriate.

The Committee submitted their condensed report in August 1925. It is needless to say that the document is one of absorbing interest and of profound import. It is hoped it will serve as the basis of a considered policy of industrial and economic development in the future.

A PRACTICAL REFORMER

Sir Visvesvaraya's pre-eminent interest in administrative and industrial reform should not make us forget the importance he always attached to social reform. Healthy social conditions are necessary for social well-being, and he holds that it is the duty of the state to provide such conditions. He is by no means indifferent to the duty of the individual citizen in the matter of wholesome conditions of civic life but a well ordered State should always keep an eye to the requirements of the average citizen. He warns the country against the danger of creating slums in urban areas; but he is sternly against the cry of "back to the land."

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Thus, as we have seen, Sir Visvesvaraya's recent activities have been India-wide and rarely confined to Mysore. He took part in the historic Round Table Conference in Bombay following the poignant fast of Mahatma Gandhi. Indeed wherever there was any special work requiring special talent his services could be counted upon. In response to the invitations of the Corporations of Bombay and Karachi he placed at their disposal his financial genius to set them in order. In either case his recommendations have been thankfully accepted and acted upon. The Corporation of Madras also made a similar request to him to examine and report upon its finances but for some reasons he could not accept it. His hands had been too full with other work to permit him the time and the energy needed for the affairs of this Municipality. Only the other day was published a report of the Back Bay Committee of which Sir Visvesvaraya was a distinguished member. Indeed he has given freely of his ripe experience of affairs and men, and his financial talents have been ungrudgingly given to the service of his countrymen. And so we see him at his post, now in Bombay, now in London, busy with important schemes, active as ever, giving of his best to the service of his fellow-men. What a splendid record of work is his!

Sewage Disposal and Fish-Culture

BY

MR. S. T. MOSES, M.A., F.Z.S., F.R.A.I.

WHAT with the apathy of the masses and their atrophied civic conscience, progress in sanitation and allied matters in conservative India is necessarily slow. In many parts, even in towns, the methods of sewage disposal are very primitive and sewage contamination of potable water is by no means rare. Provision of efficient methods to purify sewage and refuse and thus convert them into a substance, at once harmless to health and invaluable in agriculture, is of recent date and not widespread. The most modern method known as the 'activated sludge process' has been perfected to suit Indian conditions, thanks to the researches of Mr. N. Swaminathan and Dr. Fowler of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. A scheme of disposal suggested by Dr. Dubash, not many years ago, replaces agriculture by aquiculture.

Water is a great purifier as is well expressed in the proverb "'Tis the greatest blessing that God has given that dirty water'll wash clean." The sea with its huge volume of water cleans filth and absorbs stinks very satisfactorily, but the refuse to be thus treated should be led into the deeper parts, otherwise the light sewage will drift and be stranded at the tide-marks, conditioning a state of affairs similar to that obtaining in all our coastal villages and towns where the foreshore, particularly the area within tidal influence, is used as a latrine. The consequent distasteful odours etc., constitute the "first line of defence" of our coast, a phrase originally applied to the offensive stench due to the sun-drying of fish on the Malabar coast. Sewage, the refuse carried off by the sewers, though not usually containing human excreta, unless, as in Bombay, it is flushed with water into the drains, is a good manurial agent. In Madras the sewage after being freed from solids at the screening chambers and silt-pits is pumped into

the sewage-farm, of over 100 acres, once a sandy stretch, now fertile with luxuriant Hariali grass and cocoanut palms. In Bombay the sewage, after purification at the outfall works, is discharged into the sea. In Madras the sea maintains an irregular connection with the drainage system through the Cooum, rightly styled the "Cloaca Maxima" of Madras, and the Kelly's Drain, familiarly known as "Kelly's Scent-Bottle" for obvious reasons.

The disposal of sewage is an important problem, not only because of its vital connection with the health of the people, but also because of the potential value of the sewage as manure. The discharge of the sewage, purified or otherwise, into the sea certainly makes the land poorer, as is the case with the effluent water from the 800 and odd oil and guano factories on the west coast, drained out into the sea because of its nuisance. At the Fisheries Station, Tanur, all its effluents are used, after special treatment, as manure for palms. Experiments are now on hand to enable the complete recovery of the manurial matter by precipitation. Though the land loses by such a disposal, the sea is richer, as the sewage offers, either directly or indirectly, food for fish. The purification of sewage in the sea is done by living organisms mostly invisible to the naked eye, which after assimilating it, enter into the dietary of fish and other aquatic creatures. In many cases house-sewage directly supplies food elements to fish.

Pisciculture, fresh water or marine, may be successfully adopted as a means of sewage disposal—sanitation then need not be entirely dependent on the good will of the sweeper class because there are fish whether in tanks, estuaries or seas, that thrive on filth and sewage. Human excrement contains nutritive matter, as human digestion,

not being efficient cent per cent, does not draw all the nourishing qualities out of the food taken. It is the presence of a large proportion of unused but useful substances in the excreta that enables pigs etc., to fatten on such a diet. Catfish are notorious filth-eaters and so many avoid eating these tasty fish. The Tench, a recent introduction into our Presidency, is in its original habitat a foul feeder, found in places where fishermen could not endure the stench of the mud. Carps are known to frequent sewer outfalls and enjoy their constituents. Carps *e. g.* *Burbus vittatus*, *Rasbora daniconius*, *Nuria danrica*, and *Amblypharingodon* are recorded from the drains and gutters of Madras. A useful Top-minnow (*Haplochilus melanostigma*) which destroys mosquito larvae occurs in the gutters of Madras and in the sewage farm. *Scatophagus argus*, the Hundred-eyed Fish is found in the Cooum and is not particular in the choice of its food. Murrels are found in ditches and such obnoxious places where they keep the water pure by destroying the putrid debris there. The Gourami, an excellent foodfish introduced into Madras from Java and Mauritius, though living mostly on water-lilies and pondweeds, is not averse to include faeces in its menu. Mullet, peculiar in being adaptable to differences in the salinity of the water they inhabit, suck in mud with the odds and ends of decomposed faecal matter. In the sea are many foul feeders. To the dogfishes and sharks nothing, dead or living, comes amiss. The rock-perches are scavengers not at all fastidious in the choice of their viands. Crabs and prawns are other well-known scavengers, assembling at the mouths of drains carrying the abominations of the water closets into the backwaters or canals. It is because of this habit that special precautions are taken to remove the green alimentary canal from the prawn while shelling it for curry. Sewage unlike some trade effluents does encourage and attract into the waters fishlife

except perhaps the delicate ones which cannot tolerate unsavoury smells.

In coastal towns and even villages may be constructed aquaria, large-sized and submerged cages of iron and concrete, within which fish directly introduced or grown there, having been introduced by currents at an early age, will be confined, though the tiny meshes in the walls will allow free communication of the water with the open sea. Sewage would be diffused, purified and made use of as food by the different fishes living in the various enclosures. These farms built in convenient spots on the coasts or river mouths will be a success financially as the crude paddy-field fish-farms of Malabar and the Kallikote fish-farm of Ganjam, to mention only the private ones, are. In inland towns a terrace of aquatic enclosures may be built and sewage allowed filter down from the higher tanks to the lower, in all of which different form of fish may be arranged as per their capability to withstand different degrees of sewage-pollution. If such a terrace is located in a garden the glass-fronted tanks will afford healthy amusement to visitors giving them an opportunity to study aquatic creatures. Nowadays when schools attempt to run small aquaria and vivaria as part of nature-study teaching, such an arrangement is bound to be popular. Witness the popularity of the Aquarium in the Madras Zoo, not to mention that of the Madras Marine Aquarium. To eat sewage-fed fish, some may object but it is mere sentiment as fish are cleaned and gutted before being cooked, unlike oysters which are eaten raw and in their natural juice. Even if the fish bred there are rejected for human consumption, they may be converted into valuable manure. Some fishery bye-products *e. g.* swim-bladders, shark-fins etc., may be marketed. The farms may be utilized by disciples of Izaak Walton on payment of a small license fee.

CAPITATION TAXES

BY MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNA AYYAR, M.A., L.T.

Lecturer in Economics, Sri Meenakshi College, Chidambaram.

THE simplest and probably the oldest form of tax apportionment is that of equal division among the tax-payers. This type of taxation is known to the student of Public Finance by the familiar names of Head taxes, Poll taxes and Capitation taxes; but sometimes these taxes take their names from the purposes for which the contributions are made, as for example, road taxes in the local Boards and Municipalities. Capitation taxes are remarkable for their antiquity though they do not seem to have originated in the same way. Muhammadan writers have developed an interesting variety of explanation. True Moslems ought not to pay personal taxes, but ought to render personal service in wars and other public enterprises. Non Moslems were given the alternative between embracing Islam or paying poll-taxes to defray the expenses of the Faithful in service, as for instance the Jaziya of the Moghul rulers in India.

Whatever may be the historical explanation of capitation taxes and however great may at times have been their fiscal importance, they are no longer regarded as desirable taxes. In the United States of America, the Federal Government makes little or no use of capitation taxes. Of the various states of the U. S. A. barely a fourth seem to have reported any considerable receipts from their source. The counties and townships make considerable use of capitation taxes.

In France the poll tax is relied upon for local revenue in several ways. The French *impost personnel* is collected by the *communes* as their share of the local, departmental and national revenue and in amount it is the equivalent of from one to three days' wages and the tax tends to vary between 1 franc 50 centimes and 4 francs and 50 centimes. A common method is to substitute the *octroi* for the poll tax. Leroy Beaulieu

deplores the fact that *Octrois* have tended to be substituted for the capitation tax in France, and he argues that a moderate direct tax will have excellent effects on the people in teaching them that the payment of tax is necessary for the enjoyment of civic rights.

The Philippine *Head Tax* is said to be fiscally successful, the payers were at first classified and paid different rates ranging from 1½ to 37½ 'pesos', the highest rate being paid by Chinese merchants. Such graduated capitation taxes are to be found in England and France in early times.

The arguments against capitation tax are generally conclusive. Its regressive features make it impossible, as the sole, or even an important source of revenue. Perhaps as a low tax in a system of taxation where other taxes are compensatingly progressive, this objection would lose much of its force. Another argument against it is the difficulty of collection and this difficulty is greater as the population gets more urban and transient, and less rural and stable.

The dilemma of the capitation taxes is this: So long as it is kept low enough not to be grievous, it is too costly to collect; when it is increased so as to reduce the cost of its collection, it becomes unfairly progressive. The one great positive advantage of the tax is that its incidence can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. It cannot be shifted unless it is a heavy local tax. Since most poll taxes are small in amount laxly enforced, and neither labour nor capital are completely mobile, poll taxes are rarely shifted. When limited to certain classes, poll taxes may be used for social purposes, *e. g.*, the New Zealand head tax on Chinese immigrants, the Burman capitation tax.

Direct taxation of the nature of poll tax, as the Indian Taxation Committee points out has been known in India from early times but its modern survivals are to be found only, in Burma, *viz.*

The *Thatha meda* of Upper Burma, the capitation tax of Lower Burma. It has been rightly emphasised that in the case of these unpopular taxes in Burma, the local bodies might convert them into a circumstances and property tax. The capitation tax is now collected in Lower Burma from all males between the ages to 18 and 60 years ordinarily at the rate of Rs. 5 per head from married men and Rs. 2-8-0 from bachelors. The sea passengers tax which is imposed by the Burmese government at the rate of Rs. 5 on every person landing in Burma is really a tax on transport and is rightly regarded as a move in the wrong direction. The Chowkidari and other

similar taxes levied by the villagers themselves in the various provinces of British India for 'watch and ward' are said to be sound in theory but have practical difficulties and on these grounds, the Taxation Committee suggests the conversion of these into a proper source of local taxation. In India the salt tax though theoretically a tax on consumption operates like a poll-tax.

In conclusion it is highly desirable to avoid any kind of poll tax in India partly because it is always unpopular and partly because in the present state of the country it is likely to serve as an effective weapon in the hands of the Indian politicians for purposes of agitation against the government.

An Appeal to the Brahmo Samaj

BY

THE RT. HON. LORD SINHA OF RAIPUR.

IN this season of stock-taking of ideas and ideals, I am asked to send my contribution. I feel acutely how poor my own stock is, and yet my mite might prove useful. So I send it, with much fear and in trepidation,

What should be the motto for our League of Youth? I can think of none better than the motto of the Shaftesbury family in England: viz. "Love and Serve"

Simple words, but how hard to carry out!

Has that been the motto of India too? I do not know. And yet, is not India the land of Gautama? Did not Bengal give birth to Chaitanya? And who has ever taught the doctrine of love better than those two? Yet it seems to me, for some reason or other, the doctrine of loving service has not taken root in Bengal—it has not become a part of our everyday life, in the same way as it has in England, the country in Europe I know best and love most. I grieve to think of our poverty in this respect. Why have we not got any names which we can proudly compare with those of Lord Shaftesbury, George

Peabody and Arnold Toynbee, to mention only a few of the glorious host?

It seems to me one of the reasons, if not the chief reason, of our spiritual poverty. It is due to the fact that we of the Brahmo Samaj at least have been paying greater heed to *religious creed* than to *religious life*. Why else have got three Samajes, where there is no essential difference?

We may perhaps go further and trace the mischief even further down. Is our sense of *humanity* as large as that of England, notwithstanding our lip service to "Daridra Narayan." Is not our idea even of salvation only for our own individual souls, as isolated units, and not for the soul of humanity at large.

Here perhaps I am going beyond my depth into regions of theology and of metaphysics, which to me are as unfamiliar as they are repellent. I asked myself, have I any practical, any tangible suggestion to offer, how best we can carry into practice the doctrine of *Love and Serve*. I can only think of one: "Form a band of volunteers, who will go out into

the stricken villages of Bengal to love and serve the people who are dying of disease and dirt and dearth." How will these voluntary missionaries live? I don't know. Let love find out. In what way will they serve the people? I do not know. Let love find out.

The Brahmo Samaj has done immense service to Bengal. If the acerbities of caste are less in Bengal than elsewhere in India, it is due to the influence of the Brahmo Samaj. If the women of Bengal are better educated on the whole than before, it is due to the influence of the same Samaj. If women are free to enjoy the sun and air more than before, it is due to the same potent influence. The ideals of the Brahmo Samaj have permeated the people in general; what matters, if the number of enrolled members is stationary or even decreasing? The whole of Bengal has become *Brahmo*. Praise be to God.

I appeal therefore to that Samaj once more to lead the way. I suggest that steps may be taken to call for volunteers who, without any promise or even hope of financial support, are willing to go forth into the wilderness, so to speak, and by love

and service, help to make the lives of the people in the villages of Bengal a little less unhappy.

The times are propitious, the signs are encouraging. For many years the Ramakrishna Mission have been by their beneficent work shewing us the way. Thousands of young men have distinguished themselves by loving service in times of famine, fire and flood and fairs. Societies for helping the depressed classes and Leagues for Social Service are steadily, though slowly, gaining public support. The spirit of service is abroad. It only requires organisation to harness this spirit and curb our tendency to fitful work under feverish excitement and direct our energies along a perennial stream of daily beneficence. I can think of nothing more useful towards that end than a scheme by which a fairly large number of young men from all our Samajes who hear the call of the villages should be recruited every year. They will take the place of curates, rectors and vicars in our National Church of Holy Service. Can we do it? [Message read at the Brahmo Anniversary at Calcutta.]

The Development of Hindu Law

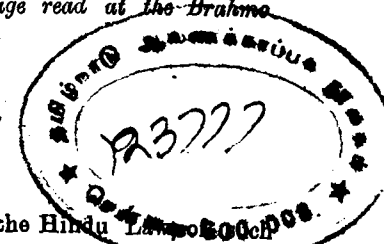
BY MR. T. K. KRISHNA MENON, B.A., B.L.

THE ultimate object of Hindu Law, unlike any of the laws in Europe, is to regulate conduct in every department of human activity, temporal and spiritual. Other laws are made by sovereigns, but Hindu Law is considered to be eternal and immutable.

Both according to Manu and Yajnavalkya, the Sruti, the Smriti and *sishtachara* (custom) form the foundation of Dharma, of Hindu Law. Sruti, which is supposed to contain the very words of the Deity, includes the four Vedas; Smriti is the recollection handed down by Rishis of the precepts of God; and custom is believed to be based on some lost or forgotten text of Sruti or Smriti.

These are, in the eye of the Hindu Law, of such value as to make even the Privy Council declare that clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law.

The orthodox Hindu jurist will have it that every rule of positive law, morality or religion of the Hindus can be traced to a Vedic text. According to him, the authority of the Smriti and of custom is derivative as being founded ultimately upon the Vedas. If you do not find the necessary text to give the binding validity to Smriti or custom, it is your own fault; for the search may not have been thorough or your learning is defective. This fiction is of paramount



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importance as it shows the sanction of the Hindu Law and gives sanctity to it. Then again, to improve and modify law to the altered conditions of the society, and to introduce equitable considerations into the strict letter of the law, fiction plays no inconspicuous part.

The present work* is a valuable treatise on Fictions in the Development of Hindu Law. Mr. Sastri explains what he means by fiction, then states, with apt illustrations, their use and influence in Hindu, Roman and English Laws, incidentally giving a brief survey of the constitution of the ancient Hindu judiciary.

In the second lecture, he divides fictions into fundamental and derivative. The three fundamental fictions about the Vedas are next adverted to, and the rest of his discourse is devoted to the classification of the Vedas into Vidhi, Mantra, Arthavada and Namadhesya. Next he addresses himself to the authority of the Smritis and of

* ("Fictions in the development of the Hindu Law Texts" by Mr. O. Sankararama Sastri, M. A., B. L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.

custom, to the cases where there is a conflict between a Sruti and a Smriti, and to the modes adopted to explain away or reconcile those differences. When dealing with customs, he refers to the distinction in the weight given to them by a Hindu *Mimamsakara* and a modern Jurist, and parenthetically adverts to an analysis of the ideas of law, command, duty and sanction, and gives a comparative estimate of the same according to the *Mimamsaka* and the modern schools of jurisprudence. This takes us to the end of his fourth lecture. The concluding lecture is more or less taken up with a consideration of the theory of *Ekavakyatva* and a few of its illustrations. "The influence of this theory is far-reaching and has affected almost every branch of the legal literature."

Even from this brief resume it will be clear how valuable a contribution this book has made to a proper understanding of Hindu Law. And we would invite every practising lawyer and every aspirant for the B. L. diploma to a close study of it.

WORLD EVENTS

BY

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

January

SO far as India is concerned the first month of the New Year produced two matters of very great importance. They are the work of the Conference in South Africa to which an Indian Delegation of trusted and influential men went to try and bring about a better understanding in connection with the racial problem; we are awaiting with much concern the report of the Conference which has been described as ending successfully. The second matter was the successful aërial flight from London to Delhi inaugurating the Imperial Air-

ways Service conducted by the Air Minister and his wife—Sir Samuel and Lady Maud Hoare. All the arrangements on the air liner and the flight itself were most comfortable. Sir Samuel Hoare said that he was able to read a number of books and did a good deal of work while on the journey. Their usual speed was over 120 miles per hour but through the desert before reaching Baghdad they did 250 miles in one hour and three-quarters. This flight opens up tremendous possibilities for India in passenger and mail service between England and the East. It remains for the Government of India to organise branch lines of service

from this main line to all the chief centres of India. Here is another link to bind together the various units of the Empire.

His Majesty, the King-Emperor sent the following letter to the Viceroy of India which was duly delivered by the Air Minister on his arrival at Delhi:

"On the memorable occasion of the first visit by aeroplane to India of a British Cabinet Minister who is, moreover, accompanied by his wife, I have entrusted to Sir Samuel Hoare this letter, the first from the Sovereign to reach the Viceroy by air, in which I offer you and Lady Irwin the heartiest good wishes for the New Year".
George, R. I.

CHINA

Things are still in a terrible mess in China. The Cantonese Army is in possession of Hankow, and they have taken over the British Concession. The present interest centres in Shanghai whither the foreigners of many nationalities are congregating. War-ships with marines are speeding to that port to protect the lives of their nationals. Two or three things stand out pretty clearly on the Chinese side: Mr. Eugene Chen has not been able to hold in check the mob spirit in the Chinese army, he said he could do it but he has not been able; Bolshevik influence and propaganda are plainly evident in the ranks of the Chinese; and Eugene Chen is evidently not master in his own house. To reach a settlement and to prevent war at all costs seemed to be his policy formerly; but the unfortunate breaking off of negotiations when peace seemed in sight, because War-ships were being sent to China which policy had been announced weeks before the negotiations began shows outside, sinister influence at work upon the Canton Foreign Minister.

Britain is not alone in this movement of War-ships; America, Japan, and Italy are doing the same thing. It is one of the very first duties

of a civilised nation to afford protection to the lives and property of its citizens at home and as far as possible abroad. If the British Government were to stand aside in this crisis and allow thousands of her nationals to be butchered on the soil of China without lifting a finger to help them it would rightly deserve the scorn of the whole world. The British policy is wholly protective; what it wants is simply to be allowed to trade in China, and the two peace moves initiated by the British Government are absolute proof of that single desire.

We sincerely hope that the Chinese will not precipitate a war, for they have everything to lose and practically nothing to gain by so doing; we are sorry that Indian troops are being sent to China, for it is no affair of India's, and to place one Asian power to fight another Asian nation is bad policy to say the least of it. We hope that the British War-ships will be diverted to Hong-Kong; and thus leave a free field to re-open the negotiations which we feel sure will lead to better understanding and a permanent settlement.

U. S. AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Not only in the East but also in the West are there trouble and rumours of War. The United States Government is having their share of trouble with Mexico, the Panama Zone, and Nicaragua. The Mexican situation is mixed up with oil-mining rights and general economic penetration; it is only natural that the United States will want to protect her interests in connection with the Panama Canal; while the question underlying Nicaragua is largely a state of revolt against the domination of the United States. It is one of the ironies of fate that some great measures and policies seem to have a boomerang effect; they have an unfortunate way of rebounding and striking the one who first sent them forth. The United States has long held the Monroe Doctrine against Europe, and now Latin America is holding the

same Doctrine against the United States. There is a fear on the part of many of the smaller Central American States of economic penetration and exploitation by the great United States from the North. Happily things are easier just now again, but the trouble in Mexico and Nicaragua are expressions of that fear, and it will come up again.

There is a remarkable document issued recently by President Butler and the Professors of Columbia University urging a reconsideration of the whole debt repayment question on the part of the American Government. They have not suggested a total cancellation, but they do urge a large modification of the present indebtedness. It is unthinkable, they claim, that one nation should be expected to go on paying large sums of money to another nation for fifty or sixty years in connection with a War in which both were active partners. On the plea to promote world peace in which America will gain more than she will lose, and to re-establish devastated Europe, America can well afford to forego some money payments. Whether this appeal will have weight or not time will tell, but if such a document were issued by say Oxford and Cambridge Professors any British Government of the day would certainly sit up and take notice.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has produced some great men, not only as soldiers but also as statesmen. We think of General Botha, General Smuts, and General Hertzog; once enemies of England, but later strong defenders of the connection with Britain. Many feared when General Hertzog became Prime Minister that the Nationalists would try to force a separation, but the Imperial Conference has changed all that, and the speeches of the Premier since his return to South Africa have been remarkable for their loyalty.

In one speech he said that South Africa was now free in its self-Government, inside as well as outside, and the degree and the nature of that

self-Government were equal to those of Great Britain, without any inferiority or reservation. It was sufficient for them to know that their status and liberty were no less than those of Great Britain.

The result of the Imperial Conference, General Hertzog continued, was the positive complete equalization of national liberty and rights without any reservation, openly declared and accepted by qualified representatives of the Government of Great Britain and the Dominions. Now that the Union had been openly acknowledged as an independent Free State, he personally did not hesitate to declare that the welfare and happiness of South Africa could along no other course be better maintained and fostered than within the Union of Nations with which she was now associated as a Free People of her own free will and that in no other manner could her national freedom enjoy greater authority and guarantee than within the British Empire on the basis which existed to-day.

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More Congresses and Conferences

In last issue, we gave an account of the proceedings of the Congress, the Liberal Federation, the Muslim, the All-India Christian Conference, the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Non-Brahmin Conference, the Mahabodhi Educational Conference, the Ceylon National Congress, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce etc. In this issue we give a running account of the activities of the Industrial and Commercial Congress, the Economic Conference, the Indian Science Congress and of the All-India Women's Conference. Ed. I. R.]

Industrial and Commercial Congress

MR. BIRLA'S WELCOME ADDRESS

The 4th session of this Indian counterpart of the Associated Chambers of Commerce was held at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, on December 1st, and the two following days. The Congress at once functioned as a demonstrative and propagandist body and has more than done its duty to mobilise Indian public commercial opinion. Over three dozen Chambers and Associations were represented in this session, nearly 300 delegates having been registered. Mr. G. D. Birla, M.L.A., the Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the Congress on behalf of the mercantile community of Calcutta. He said the system of Indian currency and defective exchange did not get the Indian trade the full advantage of the world-rise in the prices of commodities and that India's purchasing power was even now at the lowest ebb in spite of four successive good crops. The jute, rubber and sugar industries have all been fighting against bad times and succeeded; while the cotton textile industry has been very much depressed. He urged the Indian commercial community to copy the European community's example and to exert more influence on the administration.

SIR DINSHAW'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sir Dinshaw Petit, one of the foremost captains of Indian industry, was formally proposed to be the President. In his presidential address, Sir Dinshaw dwelt on the disastrous financial policy of the Government which was solicitous only about England's interests. He emphasized the need of the adoption of the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee and insisted on the reservation of coastal traffic for the benefit of Indian shipping. He pleaded also for better methods of farming and for the development of

agricultural districts and for the improvement of facilities for transporting agricultural produce. Above all he emphasized the necessity of concerted



SIR DINSHAW PETIT

and united action on behalf of the Indian business community. He strongly deprecated the attitude of Government in rushing to adopt the recommendations of the Royal Currency Commission and commended to the audience the necessity of supporting the newly-formed Indian Currency League. He desired that students should be in larger numbers to undergo technical training in Europe, Japan and America, dwelt on various problems confronting the Royal Agricultural Commission, welcomed the starting of a training ship at Karachi for Indian cadets, emphasized the urgency of putting a stop to further taxation of the people and urged

ndia should be represented by Indians alone at the International Labour Conferences.

RESOLUTIONS

The Subjects' Committee appointed a sub-committee of experts to draft a resolution on the question of the exchange ratio consisting of Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, and Messrs. B. F. Madon, D. P. Khaitan, J. K. Mehta and J. N. Roy. In moving this important resolution, Mr. Birla reviewed recent history showing how 40 to 50 crores were lost in trying to stabilise exchange at 2s. Exchange came to 1s. 4d. but Government forced it up to 1s. 6d. and wanted to stabilise it at that figure. Sir Basil's strongest points were that the ratio was *de facto* and that prices had adjusted themselves to the *de facto* rate. Government could with its resources force the exchange up to 2s. and say it was the *de facto* rate. Similarly whatever the rate of exchange, exports to and imports from foreign countries adjusted themselves easily but Sir Basil Blackett had given no answer to the question whether the prices of commodities in this country had adjusted themselves internally, whether the interest paid to the *sahukar* and railways rates for instance had adjusted themselves to the new constitutions. He charged Government with imposing by unfair means taxation to the extent of 12½ per cent. He condemned the Gold Bullion Standard. It was to be a permanent institution; but he would not be so much opposed to it if the ultimate ideal was a Gold Standard with Gold Currency.

A resolution was unanimously passed urging the appointment of a Commission with an Indian chairman and a majority of Indians to investigate the present position of Indian banking generally and to suggest measures of improvement. Another resolution moved by Sir Purushottamdas approved the draft constitution and by-laws of the Federation of Indian Chambers and appointed a Provisional Committee to look after it for the time being,

Another resolution urged that the import duty on matches, splints and veneers be maintained and facilities be provided for improving the indigenous match-industry. The Congress also urged the retention of the present duty on the export of hides and skins and also the restoration of it to its original figure of 15 per cent. Government was congratulated on the abolition of the unfair cotton excise duty which removed a long-standing grievance of the country. The coal question was recommended for being again referred to the Tariff Board this time with an enlarged scope of inquiry, comprising within it the question of a countervailing duty on South African coal and the duty on all imported coals and oil fuels competing with the industry. A ten per cent reduction in coal freights for long distances was urged; while the building of railways, between Bombay and Karachi and Karachi and Cawnpore was also recommended. Government was requested to move the existing restrictions on the acquisition by Indians of tea-gardens in Bengal. Mr. G. D. Birla was recommended for nomination as the Indian Employers' Delegate to the coming International Labour Conference.

PRESIDENTS CONCLUDING REMARKS

The President brought the proceedings to a close with the following pregnant remarks:—

Our ideal is self-Government within the Empire and the goal is a laudable one. But side by side with political work we should keep the industrial and commercial position in view so that we should occupy such a position that we should be second to none in the different parts of this Empire (hear hear). Commercial and social advancement must go side by side with the political. There are some who run down European civilization as tinsel civilization but surely there are some features among European nations which we should well adopt. We are behind them by generations. When they are able to build motors we cannot manufacture even parts of bicycles. When they can build big steamers we are not able to turn out even a small steam launch. All this difference between them and us comes home to me when I travel in Europe. I feel how backward we are. Let us therefore work shoulder to shoulder, and let us advance both commercially and industrially, as well as politically. Then only we can command the respect of other parts of the world. Then only we could assert ourselves as one of the foremost countries of this world.

The Indian Economic Conference

SIR RAJENDRANATH'S WELCOME ADDRESS

The tenth Session of the Indian Economic Conference followed closely on the heels of the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress, and opened in Calcutta on January 3rd, Sir Rajendranath Mukerji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates



SIR RAJENDRANATH MUKERJEE

pointed to the futility of entrusting to a political machine like Government on the Legislature the decision on complicated technical and economic problems and emphasized the necessity for a rapid development of the resources of a poor country like India for which it was essential that transport rates on railways and river and coastal traffic should be as low as possible. The Taxation Enquiry Committee's Report has sought to provide a systematic and equitable basis for taxation.

The main duty of the scholars in the matter of the Currency Commission Report in deciding about the ratio was the express need of the masses and the poorer middle classes of India for stable conditions, for cheap commodities for cheap freights and for low taxation. Advocates of the lower exchange ratio rate chose to ignore the vast, although convulsive, consequences that would follow a policy of inflation. He also urged that greater attention should be paid on the proposals for a gold bullion standard and for a reserve bank.

MR. TANNON'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. M. L. Tannon, Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay, who presided over the session, devoted almost the whole of his address to a lucid exposition of the Indian currency and exchange questions and defended the fixing of the ratio at 1s. 6d. at which ratio the exchange had shown a tendency to stabilise itself. This ratio would hardly affect small produces and agricultural labourers. The prices-level had got more or less adjusted to it; and a return to the pre-war ratio would entail certain hardship. Mr. Tannon agreed with the Commission in stressing upon the system of gold standard with a gold currency. As regards the immediate or early introduction of a gold currency, he opined that it was not feasible, though he admitted that the amount of rupees likely to be offered for conversion into gold could not be large.

Proceeding, he asserted that the immediate realization of India's sterling securities was neither feasible nor desirable. He believed that

there would be no great objection to a postponement of the opening of a gold mint if it was definitely assured that within a comparatively reasonable period (five to seven years) it would be possible to put the Indian currency system on a gold currency standard basis. What was immediately needed was the stoppage of the coinage of rupees, the building up of the gold reserve required, the transference of the favourable balance of account in the form of gold to this country, the maintenance of the ratio between gold and rupee and the gradual substitution of the Government currency notes by new bank notes.

After emphasizing the importance attached to credit organizations, Mr. Tannon drew attention to the disadvantages of the absence of a proper banking system, emphasized the need for a central bank and more banking offices, as also for the encouragement of the banking habit and a wider use of cheque currency. They wanted banks with large capital and long term deposits for financing the industries and agricultural improvements.

AN INSTITUTE OF BANKERS FOR INDIA

The President was glad that his proposal for starting an Indian Institute of Bankers had already been accepted and it was expected to come into fruition in the near future. Lastly he urged the need for devoting greater attention to economic studies in Indian Universities.

CES TAX

In its sittings the Conference criticised proposals for the abolition of permanent settlement and for the taxation of agricultural incomes in great detail. One contributor recommended that the minimum charge in the Cess Act may be increased from half-an-anna, to three quarters.

LAND REVENUE

A very interesting paper full of suggestive points was read by Mr. C. D. Thomson, Reader in Economics in the Allahabad University.

He proposed the entire abolition of land revenue and substitution of a tax on selling value of land together with income-tax on large incomes from agriculture. He affirmed that there were two outstanding inequalities in Indian taxation.

The first was that city land was not taxed except indirectly and lightly while agricultural land was taxed heavily by land revenue. The second was that non-agricultural incomes were subject to progressive income-tax taking as much as third of the income in the case of largest incomes while incomes from land were exempt from income-tax. A rich landlord, he emphasised, was taxed too lightly and the poor cultivator too heavily.

He suggested that the first inequality could only be avoided by taxing city lands and agricultural lands on the same basis.

If city lands were equally taxed, it should be possible to lower the rate on agricultural lands. If agricultural incomes were taxed along with other incomes, the small cultivators would all come below the limit of Rs. 2,000 and would be exempt and the second inequality would be done away with.

TAXATION ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

Mr. S. V. Iyer of Dacca criticised at length the Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee; while Mr. Findlay Shirras declared that the Report was disappointing as a scientific document. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar urged the necessity of the imposition of a larger number of direct taxes and was for more taxation of every possible source of wealth.

BANKING SYSTEM

Several papers were devoted to the Indian Banking system. Mr. Shirras leading a discussion, said that the Reserve Bank should bring to the system unity of control of currency and credit even on the present restricted scale of banking here. He continued:—

The absence of unified control over credit made the maintenance of monetary stability most difficult. The development of joint stock banking depended upon those institutions being able to turn in times of stress the maximum amount of their assets into cash.

In support of those contentions he quoted from the recent issue of *Economist*. He further said that to make joint stock banking really secure and thus to foster the growth of such banking, a central banking system must now be brought into being. It was much easier to create a new Central Reserve Bank than to recreate the Imperial Bank. If it was to pioneer in branch banking it could not be subject to the severe restrictions of the Central Bank.

These were the most important among the subjects dealt with by the Conference which focussed the *pros* and *cons* in the case of the most prominent economic issues before the nation.

The Indian Science Congress

DR. BOSE'S ADDRESS

The Indian Science Congress held its annual session at Lahore on the 3rd January and the three following days under the presidency of the illustrious scientist, Sir J. C. Bose. In the course of a remarkable address, Sir J. C. Bose



SIR J. C. BOSE

stressed on mutual aid and co-operation as a far more potent factor than conflict in the law of life. The whole world is interdependent; nothing can be more untrue than the general assertion that the world owes its progress of knowledge to any particular race. The hypnotic suggestion of ineptitude attributed to India could only be removed after many years of effort. Regarding India's contribution to Science he said:—

Although science is neither of the East nor of the West, but international in its universality, yet India by her habit of mind and inherited gifts handed down

from generation to generation, is specially fitted to make great contributions in furtherance of knowledge. The specific requirements for making great discoveries are vivid imagination, clear inner vision, great faculties of invention and experimental skill of the highest order. In order to discover the life mechanism of the interior of the tree one has to become the tree and feel the throbbings of its beating heart. This inner vision is, however, to be frequently tested by results of experimentation; for otherwise it may lead to the wildest speculation subversive of all intellectual sanity. It is enough to say that Indian workers have shown a special aptitude in advancing science by their faculty of introspection, experimental skill and great power of invention.

The intricate problems of life could not be solved without a full knowledge of the realm of the invisible. He then outlined the chief difficulties in the way of advance of knowledge in plant psychology, which would afford unique opportunities for studying the features of a growingly complex organic life.

The results given in detail in my different works prove conclusively that through the entire range of life reactions, the physiological mechanism of the plant is identical with that of the animal. Out of numerous examples I will take the typical instances (1) of *contraction* of muscular organ (2) of *spontaneous* or *automatic activity* of rhythmic tissues as exhibited by the heart and (3) of *conductivity* for transmission of excitation as by the nervous tissue. The above well-known characteristics of animal tissues will now be shown to be exhibited also by plant tissues the simpler reactions of which will cast a flood of light on the intricacies of reactions in the animal.

About the puzzling phenomena of spontaneous or automatic movements he said that he had been able to establish the essential similarity of automatic activity of the telegraph plant and that of the animal heart. He had discovered the connecting link between the ordinarily responding plant like *Mimosa*, and the automatically responding plant like *Desmodium*. He had studied the question of the propulsion of the sap and succeeded in recording the pulse-throb during the passage of the sap-stream. He had also studied the action of alkaloids and of the cobra-venom on plants and the movement of the nervous impulse in plants which might be arrested by numerous factors.

About his most recent discovery of the effect of molecular predisposition he said:—

Acting on this theory, I succeeded in coercing the molecules of the nerve, by the employment of electric

force of a polar character. I was thus able to produce at will an acceleration or inhibition of nervous impulse in both the plant and in the animal. Thus under a particular molecular disposition of the nerve, the experimental frog responded vigorously to a stimulus which had hitherto been below its threshold of perception. Under the opposite disposition, the violent spasm under intense irritation caused by application of salt was at once quelled as if by magic.

He had proved the possibility of controlling the nervous impulse which is the cause of sensation. He summarised the supreme value of his work in the following words.

From the plant to the animal then, we follow the long stairway of Ascent of Life and see the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which life rises above and beyond all the circumstances of the environment, and fortifies itself to control them.

THE SECTIONS

The Congress worked as usual in sections of which Mathematics, Botany, Anthropology, Chemistry, Zoology and Psychology worked respectively under the following Presidents: Messrs. D. M. Bose, Sampathkumaran, J. H. Hutton, H. K. Sen, Major Sewell and Lt. Col. Berkley Hill.

In the Chemistry section Dr. Sen delivered an eminently practical address on fuel problem. He dealt at length with the various means of solving it: (1) Economic utilization of existing fuels, (2) Development of methods for the utilization of solar energy (3) The hydro-electrical energy as being mainly mechanical in nature.

Lt. Col. Owen Berkley Hill, President, Psychology Section, in his address put in a strong plea for an organised movement in India for mental hygiene and made valuable recommendations for the creation of a psychiatric department, provincial or imperial, establishment of out-patient clinics, and a psychopathic ward in every hospital.

Dr. Ronald Norris, Professor of Bio-chemistry at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore and General Secretary of the Congress, interviewed by the Associated Press said the features of the pre-

sent session of the Congress were large membership, extensive number of papers and excellence of local arrangements. He appreciated the efforts of the local Committee which had made the Congress a financial success as well as a scientific and social success. He referred to the keenest interest taken by the Governor of the Punjab. He concluded by saying that delegates from all parts of the country were grateful for the wide hospitality shown them by local members.

Dr. Hutton's address to the Anthropological Section was strikingly original, touching a phase of his ever interesting study of the Nagas and laying special emphasis on Anthropological researches besides bringing attention to bear on the evil results, both moral and physical of culture-contact.

Dr. D. M. Bose spoke on some recent theories on Magnetism.

As the Director of the Zoological Survey, Major Sewell is well fitted for giving out his opinion on the study of zoology in India in the future. He said that the past Presidents had dealt on the Zoological research work done in the past and on the Oceanographic Research in Indian waters. Though the latter has been his particular study, still he chose to speak on the application of zoology to the everyday needs of the people.

The Psychological Section turned out very interesting work—proving that crime is a mental symptom with mental origin and urging better co-operation between psychologists and psychopathologists.

Sir Ganga Ram of Lahore announced the institution of a scholarship in the Lahore University for the best M. Sc. working on the Punjab fertilisers, in commemoration of the present session of the Science Congress.

There were the usual social functions and excursions connected with such a gathering of scholars.

The All-India Women's Conference.

THE MAHARANI GAEKWAR'S ADDRESS

The first All-India Women's Conference was held in Poona on the 5th of January last and the two following days under the presidency of H. H. the Maharani Gaekwar of Baroda. Her Highness urged that Indian women should realise the important part that they would have to play in the



THE MAHARANI OF BARODA

Indian Renaissance and hoped that this Conference would be the beginning of a mighty movement with great potentialities and should be a call to action and an inspiration to co-operation. She dwelt upon the part that the noble mother of Shivaji played in bringing out the latent strength of the

Marathas and of their great leader. She urged Indian women to root out the deep-seated evils of child-marriage and enforced widowhood. She recommended that the age of consent should be made by law a minimum of 16. The *purdah* should also go; and the President pointed to the example of the women of Turkey who have broken these enslaving bonds and come into the light of knowledge and culture. She also urged representation of women in the local and legislative bodies. She congratulated Indians on the important advance they have made in social legislation affecting women in the direction of the age of consent, the protection of women-labourers, the organization of vigilance and rescue work. The education of women should go hand-in-hand with physical culture. According to the Maharani there is same need for the separate education of boys and girls and the education of women should be such as would develop their distinctive qualities. There must be compulsory primary education for girls. She pleaded for special training colleges for women and for the summoning of a Conference which would adequately protect women's legal and political rights.

THE RANI SAHEB OF SANGLI

The Rani Sahab of Sangli, who was the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, in the course of her address said:—

Women's education had passed through all stages of total apathy and indifference, ridicule, criticism and acceptance. The time was therefore ripe for a further advance wherein women might help in formulating the basic principles of educational policy and programme. It would help Government if women themselves declared what they should have their children taught. They would be able to see clearly what was wanted by women and she believed Government would welcome such an effort on the part of the women of India.

Whatever the policy and plan of female education laid down by the Conference as the result of the discussions, she was emphatic that Indian culture, Indian tradition and all that was best in the past of India's womanhood, would have to be preserved and secured in any future scheme.

RESOLUTIONS

Mrs. Arundale and Sister Subbalakshmi moved a resolution for the compulsory moral training of

women: another resolution advocated a complete course of physical training; while it was also recommended that women and girls should be trained in the ideals of motherhood.

A reception was given to the President on the evening of the second day of the Conference. In the course of the third day important resolutions were passed of which the following may be noted. The first read:

"This Conference deploras the effect of early marriage on education and urges the Government to pass legislation to make marriage below the age of 16 a penal offence. It demands that the age of consent be raised to sixteen. It wholeheartedly supports Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill which is to come before the Legislative Assembly this month as a step towards raising the age of consent to sixteen and sends a deputation to convey to the Legislative Assembly the demand of this Conference on this vital subject."

Mrs. Cousins moved and Lady Sadasiva Aiyar seconded the resolution. Mrs. Hansa Mehta pleaded for legislation to declare marriage below



DR. MUTHULAKSHMI AMMAL
Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council.
the age of 16 illegal. This evoked a strong opposition from Poona delegates who resented the idea of declaring marriages illegal after they had been once performed. They, however, favoured the

proposal to penalise the parties concerned. After further speeches, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Two more resolutions were passed. The first demanded that primary education for boys and girls be made compulsory, that the present vernacular text-books be revised and supplemented by books suitable for children and that women should be on all attendance committees. The other urged inclusion of preparatory manual training in the curriculum suited to the child's need and daily experience.

The Rose

(TUNE: "THE LAST ROSE OF SUMMER")

By DR. H. W. B. MORENO

Thou art plucked from thy garden,
Sweet rose, in thy bloom,
Though art torn from thy chamber,
A bride from thy groom;
They have placed thee with blossoms
To adorn their great hall,
And now thou art drooping
And longing to fall.

Yet before all thy fragrance
Did laden the air,
'Midst the flowers resplendent
A queen without peer;
So with yearning devotion
Thy charm to renew,
Thee, I place on my bosom,
Dear rose, of bright hue.

Thus the passioned and faithful
For recompense sigh,
Soon with longing they sicken
To wither and die;
So with tender affection
I hold thee as mine,
Would that she felt my sorrow
As I feel for thine.

THE STORY OF My Experiments with Truth

BY
MAHATMA GANDHI.

[In the chapters that follow Mahatma Gandhi recounts the story of his reception in South Africa and the attempts of the Police in rescuing him from the fury of the mob. He then narrates his experiments in the education of children and says that it is "far better to remain unlettered and break stones for the sake of liberty than to go in for literary education with the chains of slavery."]



PART III. CHAPTER III.

THE TEST

So the ships were brought into the dock and the passengers began to go ashore. But Mr. Escombe had sent word to the Captain that as the Whites were highly enraged against me, and my life was in danger, I and my family should be advised to land at dusk when the Port Superintendent, Mr. Tatum, would escort us home. The Captain communicated the message to me and I agreed to act accordingly. But scarcely half an hour after this Mr. Laughton came to the Captain. He said: 'I would like to take Mr. Gandhi with me, should he have no objection. As the legal adviser of the Agent Company I tell you that you are not bound to carry out the message you have received from Mr. Escombe.' After this he came to me and said somewhat to this effect: 'If you are not afraid, I suggest that Mrs. Gandhi and the children should drive to Mr. Rustomji's house, whilst you and I follow them on foot. I do not at all like the idea of your entering the city like a thief in the night. I do not think there is any fear of any one hurting you. Everything is quiet now. The Whites have all dispersed. But in any case I am convinced that you ought not to enter the city stealthily.' I readily agreed. My wife and children drove safely to Mr. Rustomji's place. With the Captain's permission I went ashore with Mr. Laughton. Mr. Rustomji's house was about two miles from the dock.

As soon as we landed some youngsters recognised me and shouted, 'Gandhi, Gandhi.' Half a dozen or so rushed to the spot and joined in the shouting. Mr. Laughton feared that the crowd might swell, and he hailed a rickshaw. I had never liked the idea of being in a rickshaw. This was to be my first experience. But the youngsters would not let me to get into it. They frightened the rickshaw boy out of his life and he took to his heels. As we went ahead the crowd continued to swell, until it became impossible to proceed further. They first caught hold of Mr. Laughton and separated us. Then they pelted me with stones, brickbats and rotten eggs. Someone snatched away my turban, whilst others began to batter and kick me. I fainted and caught hold of the front railings of a house and stood there to get my breath. But it was impossible. They came upon me boxing and battering. The wife of the Police Superintendent, who knew me, happened to be passing by. The brave lady came up, opened her parasol (though there was no sun then) and stood between the crowd and me. This checked the fury of the mob, as it was difficult for them to deliver blows on me without harming Mrs. Alexander.

Meanwhile an Indian youth who witnessed the incident had run to the police station. The Police Superintendent Mr. Alexander sent a posse of men to ring me round and escort me safely to my destination. They arrived in time. The

police station lay on our way. As we reached there the Superintendent asked me to take refuge in the station, but I gratefully declined the offer. 'They are sure to quiet down when they realise their mistake,' I said. 'I have trust in their sense of fairness.' Escorted by the police I arrived without further harm at Mr. Rustomji's place. I had bruises all over, but no abrasions except in one place. Dr. Dadiburjor, the ship's doctor who was on the spot rendered the best possible help.

There was quiet inside, but outside the Whites surrounded the house. Night was coming on and the yelling crowd was shouting "We must have Gandhi." The quick-sighted Police Superintendent was already there trying to keep the crowds under control, not by threats but by humouring them. But he was not entirely free from anxiety. He sent me a message to this effect: 'If you would save your friend's house and property and also your family, you should escape from the house in disguise as I suggest.'

Thus on one and the same day I was faced with two contradictory positions. When danger to life had been no more than imaginary, Mr. Laughton advised me to launch forth openly. I accepted the advice. When the danger was quite real, another friend gave me contrary advice and I accepted that too. Who can say whether I did so because I saw that my life was in jeopardy, or because I did not want to put my friend's life and property, or the lives of my wife and children, in danger? Who can say for certain that I was right both when I faced the crowd in the first instance bravely, as it was said and when I escaped from it in disguise?

It is idle to adjudicate upon the right and wrong of incidents that have already happened. It is useful to understand them and, if possible, to learn a lesson from them for the future. It is difficult to say for certain how a particular man would act under a particular set of circumstances.

We can also see that judging a man from his outward act is no more than a doubtful inference in as much as it is not based on sufficient data.

Be that as it may, the preparations for escape made me forget my injuries. According to the suggestion of the Superintendent, I put on an Indian constable's uniform and wore on my head a Madras scarf, wrapped round a plate to serve as a helmet. Two detectives accompanied me, one of them disguised as an Indian merchant and with his face painted to resemble that of an Indian. I forgot the disguise of the other. We reached a neighbouring shop by a bye-lane, and making our way through the gunny bags piled in the godown, we escaped by the gate of the shop and threaded our way through the crowd to a carriage that had been kept for me at the end of the street. In this we drove off to the same police station where Mr. Alexander had offered me refuge a short time before, and I thanked him and the detective officers.

Whilst I had been thus effecting my escape, Mr. Alexander had kept the crowd amused by singing the tune:

'Hang old Gandhi.
On the sour apple tree.'

When he was informed of my safe arrival at the police station, he thus broke the news to the crowd: "Well, your victim has made good his escape through a neighbouring shop. You had better go home now." Some of them were angry, some laughed, some refused to believe the story.

"Well then," said the Superintendent, "if you do not believe me, you may appoint one or two representatives, whom I am ready to take inside the house. If they succeed in finding out Gandhi, I will gladly deliver him to you. But if they fail, you must disperse. I am sure that you have no intention of destroying Mr. Rustomji's house or of harming Mr. Gandhi's wife and children."

The crowd sent their representatives to search the house. They soon returned with disappointing

news, and the crowd broke up at last, most of them admiring the Superintendent's tactful handling of the situation, and a few fretting and fuming.

The late Mr. Chamberlain, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, cabled asking the Natal Government to prosecute my assailants. Mr. Escombe sent for me, expressed his regret for the injuries I had sustained and said: 'Believe me, I cannot feel happy over the least little injury done to your person. You had a right to accept Mr. Laughton's advice and to face the worst, but I am sure that if you had considered my suggestion favourably, these sad occurrences would not have happened. If you can identify the assailants I am prepared to arrest and prosecute them. Mr. Chamberlain also desires me to do so.'

To which I gave the following reply:

"I do not want to prosecute any one. It is possible that I may be able to identify one or two of them, but what is the use of getting them punished? Besides I do not hold the assailants to blame. They were given to understand that I had made exaggerated statements in India about the Whites in Natal and calumniated them. If they believed these reports it is no wonder that they were enraged. The leaders, and if you will permit me to say so, you are to blame. You could have guided the people properly, but you also believed Reuter and assumed that I must have indulged in exaggeration. I do not want to bring anyone to book. I am sure that when the truth becomes known, they will be sorry for their conduct."

"Would you mind giving me this in writing," said Mr. Escombe. "Because I shall have to cable to Mr. Chamberlain to that effect. I do not want you to make any statement in haste. You may if you like, consult Mr. Laughton and your other friends before you come to a final decision. I may confess, however, that if you waive the right of bringing your assailants to book, you will con-

siderably help me in restoring quiet, besides enhancing your own reputation."

"Thank you," said I. "I need not consult any one. I had made my decision in the matter before I came to you. It is my conviction that I should not prosecute the assailants and I am prepared this moment to reduce my decision to writing."

With this I gave him the necessary statement.

PART III. CHAPTER IV

THE CALM AFTER THE STORM.

I had not yet left the police station when after two days I was taken to see Mr. Escombe. Two constables were sent to protect me, though no such precaution was then needed.

On the day of landing as soon as the yellow flag was lowered, a representative of the *Natal Advertiser* came to interview me. He asked me a number of questions, and in reply I was able to refute every one of the charges that had been levelled against me. Thanks to Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, I had delivered only written speeches in India, and I had copies of them all, as well as of my other writings. I gave the interviewer all this literature and showed him that in India I had said nothing which I had not already said in South Africa in stronger language. I also showed him that I had no hand in bringing the passengers of the *S. S. Courland* and *Naderi* to South Africa. Many of them were old residents, and most of them, far from wanting to stay in Natal meant to go to the Transvaal. In those days the Transvaal offered better prospects than Natal to those coming in search of wealth, and most Indians, therefore, preferred to go there.

This interview, and my refusal to prosecute the assailants, produced such a profound impression that the Europeans of Durban were ashamed of their conduct. The Press declared me to be innocent and condemned the mob. Thus the lynching ultimately proved to be a blessing for me, that is for the cause. It enhanced the pres-

tige of the Indian community in South Africa and made my work easier.

In three or four days, I went to my house, and it was not long before I settled down again. The incident added also to my professional practice.

But if it enhanced the prestige of the community, it also fanned the flame of prejudice against it. As soon as it was proved that the Indian could put up a manly fight he came to be regarded as a danger. Two Bills were introduced in the Natal Legislative Assembly, one of them calculated to affect the Indian trader adversely and the other to impose a stringent restriction on Indian immigration. Fortunately the fight for the franchise had resulted in a decision to the effect that no enactment might be passed against the Indians as such, that is to say that the law should make no distinctions of colour or race. The language of the Bills above mentioned made them applicable to all, but their object undoubtedly was to impose further restrictions on the Indian residents of Natal.

The Bills considerably increased my public work and made the community more alive than ever to their sense of duty. They were translated into Indian languages and exhaustively explained, so as to bring home to the community their subtle implications. We appealed to the Colonial Secretary, but he refused to interfere and the Bills became law.

Public work now began to absorb most of my time. Mr. Mansukhlal Naazar who, as I have said, was already in Durban, came to stay with me, and as he gave his time to public work he lightened my burden to some extent.

Seth Adamji Miyakhan had, in my absence, discharged his duty with great credit. He had increased the membership and added about £ 1,000 to the coffers of the Natal Indian Congress. The awakening, caused by the Bills, and the demonstration against the passengers, I turned to good account by making an appeal for

membership and funds, which now amounted to £ 5,000. My desire was to secure for the Congress a permanent fund with which it might procure property of its own and then carry on its work out of the rent of the property. This was my first experience of managing a public institution. I placed my proposal before my co-workers and they welcomed it. The property that was purchased was leased out and the rent was enough to meet the current expenses of the Congress. The property was vested in a strong body of trustees and is still there to-day, but it has become the source of much internecine quarrelling with the result that the rent of the property now accumulates in the court.

This sad situation developed after my departure from South Africa, but my idea of having permanent funds for public institutions underwent a change long before this difference arose. And now after considerable experience with the many public institutions which I have managed, it has become my firm conviction that it is not good to run public institutions on permanent funds. A permanent fund carries in itself the seed of the moral fall of the institution. A public institution means an institution conducted with the approval of and from the funds of the public. When such an institution ceases to have public support, it forfeits its right to exist. Institutions maintained on permanent funds are often found to ignore public opinion and are frequently responsible for acts contrary to it. In our country we experience this at every step. Some of the so-called religious trusts have ceased to render any accounts. The trustees have become the owners and are responsible to none. I have no doubt that the ideal is for public institutions to live, like nature, from day to day.

The institution that fails to win public support has no right to exist as such. The subscriptions that an institution annually receives are a test of its popularity and the honesty of its management,

and I am of opinion that every institution should pass through that test.

But let no one misunderstand me. My remarks do not apply to the bodies which cannot, by their very nature, be conducted without permanent buildings. What I mean to say is that the current expenditure should be found from subscriptions voluntarily received from year to year.

These views were confirmed during the days of the Satyagraha in South Africa. That magnificent campaign extending over six years was carried on without permanent funds, though lakhs of rupees were necessary for it. I can recollect times when I did not know what would happen the next day if no subscriptions came in. But I shall not anticipate the future events. The reader will find the opinion expressed above borne out in the coming narrative.

PART III. CHAPTER V.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

When I landed at Durban in January 1897, I had three children with me, my sister's son aged 10, and my own sons aged 9 and 5. Where was I to educate them?

I could have sent them to the schools for European children, but only as a matter of favour and exception. For no other Indian children would be allowed. For them there were schools established by Christian missions, but I was not prepared to send my children there, as I did not like the education imparted in those schools. For one thing, the medium of instruction there would be only English, or perhaps incorrect Tamil or Hindi, which too could be arranged not without difficulty. I could not possibly put up with this and other disadvantages. I was making my own attempt to teach them but that was at best irregular and I could not get hold of a suitable Gujarati teacher.

I was at my wits' end. I advertised for an English teacher who would teach the children under my direction. Some regular instruction

was to be given them by this teacher and for the rest they should be satisfied with what little I could give them irregularly. So I engaged an English governess on £7 a month. This went on for some time but not to my satisfaction. The boys acquired some Gujarati through my conversation and intercourse with them which was strictly in Gujarati. I was loath to send them back to India for I believed even then that young children should not be separated from their parents. The education that children naturally pick up in a well-ordered household is impossible in hostels. I therefore kept my children with me. I did send my nephew and my elder son to be educated at residential schools in India for a few months, but I had soon to recall them. Later, the eldest son, long after he had come of age, broke away from me and went to India to join a High School in Ahmedabad. I have an impression that the nephew was satisfied with what I could give him. Unfortunately he died in the prime of youth after a brief illness. The other three of my sons have never been at a public school, though they did get some regular schooling in an improvised school which I had started for the children of Satyagrahi parents in South Africa.

These experiments were all inadequate. I could not give the children all the time I wanted to give them. My inability to give them enough attention and other unavoidable causes prevented me from giving them the literary education I desired and all my sons have had complaints to make against me in this matter. Whenever they come across an M. A. or B. A., or even a Matriculate, they seem to labour under the handicap of a want of school education.

Nevertheless I am of opinion that if I had insisted on their being educated at public schools somehow, they would have been deprived of the training that could be had only at the school of experience or from constant contact with parents; I should never have been free, as I am to-day,

from anxiety on their score, and the artificial education that they could have had in England or South Africa, torn from me, would never have taught them the simplicity and the spirit of service they show in their lives to-day and their artificial ways of living might have been a serious handicap in my public work. Therefore, though I have not been able to give them literary education either to their or to my satisfaction, I am not quite sure, as I look back on my past years, that I have not done my duty by them to the best of my capacity. Nor do I regret having not sent them to public schools. On the contrary, I have always felt that the undesirable traits I see to-day in my eldest son are an echo of my own undisciplined and unformulated early life. I regard that part of my life as a period of half-baked knowledge and indulgence. It coincided with the most impressionable years in my eldest son's life and naturally he has refused to regard them as my days of indulgence and inexperience. He has on the contrary believed that that was the brightest period of my life, and the changes effected in later life have been due to delusion miscalled enlightenment. And well he might. Why should he not think that my earlier years represented a period of awakening and the later years of radical change were years of delusion and egotism? Often have I been confronted with various posers from friends: What harm had there been, if I had given my boys an academical education? What right had I thus to clip their wings? Why should I have come in the way of their taking degrees and choosing their own careers?

I do not think that there is much point in these questions. I have come in contact with numerous students. I have tried myself or through others to impose my educational 'fads' on other children too and I have seen the results thereof. There are a number of young men to-day contemporaneous with my sons and I do not

think man to man they are any better than my sons, or that my sons have anything to learn from them.

But the ultimate result of my experiments is in the womb of the future. My object on discussing this subject here is that a student of the history of civilisation may have some measure of the difference between disciplined home education and school education, and of the effect on children of the changes introduced by parents in their lives. The purpose of this Chapter is also to show the extent to which a votary of truth is driven by his experiments with truth, as also to show the votary of liberty how many are the sacrifices demanded by that stern goddess. Had I been blind to a sense of self-respect, and allowed myself to be satisfied with having for my children the education that other children could not get, I should certainly have given them a literary education, but deprived them of the object-lesson in liberty and self-respect that I gave them at the cost of a literary education. And where a choice has to be made between liberty and learning, who will not say that the former has to be preferred a thousand times to the latter?

The youths whom I called out in 1920 from those citadels of slavery—their schools and colleges—and whom I advised that it was far better to remain unlettered and break stones for the sake of liberty than to go in for a literary education with the chains of slavery, will probably be able now to trace my advice to its source.

PART III CHAPTER VI.

SPIRIT OF SERVICE

I was getting on well with my profession, but that was far from satisfying me. The question of further simplifying my life and of doing some concrete act of service to my fellowmen had been constantly agitating me, when a leper came to my door. I had it not in my heart to dismiss him with a meal. So I offered him shelter, also dressed his wounds, and began to look after him.

But I could not go on like that indefinitely. I could not afford, and I lacked the will, to keep him with me indefinitely. So I sent him to the Government Hospital for indentured labourers.

But I was still ill at ease. I longed for some humanitarian work of a permanent nature. Dr. Booth was the head of the St. Aidan's Mission. He was a kind-hearted man and treated his patients free. Thanks to Parsi Rustomji's charities, it was possible to open a small charitable hospital under Dr. Booth's charge. I felt strongly inclined to serve as a nurse in this hospital. The work of dispensing medicines took from one to two hours daily, and I made up my mind to find that time from my office-work, to be able to fill the place of a compounder in the dispensary attached to the hospital. Most of my professional work was chamber work, conveyancing and arbitration. I, of course, used to have a few cases in the Magistrate's Court, but most of them would be of a non-controversial character and Mr. Khan who had followed me to South Africa and was then living with me undertook to take them if I was absent. So I found time to serve in the small hospital. This meant two hours every morning including the time taken in going to and from the hospital. This work brought me some peace. It consisted in ascertaining the patients' complaints, laying the facts before the Doctor and dispensing the prescriptions. It brought me in close touch with suffering Indians, most of them indentured Tamil, Telugu or North India men.

The experience stood me in good stead when during the Boer War I offered my services for nursing the sick and wounded soldiers.

The question of the upbringing of children had been ever before me. I had two sons born in South Africa, and my service in the hospital was useful to me in solving the question of their upbringing. My independent spirit was a constant source of trial to me. My wife and I had de-

cided to have the best medical aid at the time of her delivery, but if the doctor and the nurse were to leave us in the lurch at the right moment, what was I to do? Then the nurse had to be an Indian. And the difficulty of getting a trained Indian nurse in South Africa can be easily imagined from the similar difficulty in India. So I studied the things necessary for safe labour. I read Dr. Tribhuvandas' book, "*Ma ne Shikha-man*" (Advice to a mother), and I nursed both my children according to the instructions given in the book, tempered where necessary by such experiences as I had gained elsewhere. The services of a nurse were availed of—not more than two months each time—principally for helping my wife, and not for taking care of the babies, which I did myself.

The birth of the last child put me to the severest test. The travail came on all of a sudden. The doctor was not immediately available, and some time was lost in fetching the midwife. Even if she had been on the spot, she could not have helped delivery. I had to see through the safe delivery of the baby. My careful study of the subject in Dr. Tribhuvandas' work was of inestimable help. I was not nervous. I am convinced that for the proper upbringing of children the parents ought to have a general knowledge of the care and nursing of babies.

At every step I have seen the advantages of my careful study of the subject. My children would not have enjoyed the general health that they do to-day, had I not studied the subject and turned my knowledge to account. We labour under a sort of superstition that the child has nothing to learn during the first five years of its age. On the contrary the fact is that the child never learns in after life what it does in its first five years. The education of the child begins with conception. The physical and mental states of the parents at the moment of conception are reproduced in the baby. Then during the period of pregnancy it

continues to be affected by the mother's mood, desires and temperament as also by her ways of life. After birth the child imitates the parents, and for a considerable number of years entirely depends on them for its growth.

The couple who realises these things will never have sexual union for the fulfilment of their lust, but will unite only when they desire issue. I think it is the height of ignorance to believe that the sexual act is an independent function necessary like sleeping or eating. The world depends for its existence on the act of generation, and as the world is the play-ground of God and a reflection of His glory, the act of generation should be controlled for the ordered growth of the world. He who realises this, will control his lust at any cost, will equip himself with the knowledge necessary for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of his progeny, and give the benefit of that knowledge to posterity.

PART III. CHAPTER VII.

BRAHMACHARYA—I

We now reach a stage in this story when I began seriously to think of taking the *brahmacharya* vow. I had been wedded to a monogamous ideal ever since, my marriage, faithfulness to my wife being part of the love of truth. But it was in South Africa that I came to realise the importance of observing *brahmacharya* even in respect to my wife. I cannot definitely say what circumstance or what book it was that set my thoughts in that direction, but I have a recollection that the predominant factor was the influence of Raychandbhai of whom I have already written. I can still recall a conversation that I had with him. On one occasion I spoke to him highly of Mrs. Gladstone's devotion to her husband. I had read somewhere that Mrs. Gladstone insisted on preparing tea for Mr. Gladstone, even in the House of Commons and that this had become a rule in the life of this illustrious couple whose actions were governed by regularity. I spoke of

this to the poet and incidentally eulogised conjugal love. "Which of the two do you prize more?" asked Raychandbhai, "the love of Mrs. Gladstone for her husband as his wife, or her devoted service irrespective of her relation to Mr. Gladstone? Supposing she had been his sister, or his devoted servant, and had ministered to him with the same attention what would you have said? Do we not have instances of such devoted sisters or servants? Supposing you had found the same loving devotion in a male servant, would you have been pleased in the same way as in Mrs. Gladstone's case? Do examine the view-point suggested by me."

Raychandbhai was himself married. I have an impression that at moment his words sounded harsh, but they gripped me irresistibly. Devotion of a servant was, I felt, a thousand times more praiseworthy than that of a wife to her husband. There was nothing surprising in the wife's devotion to her husband, as there was an indissoluble bond between them. The devotion was perfectly natural. But it required a special effort to cultivate equal devotion between master and servant. The poet's point of view began gradually to grow upon me.

What then, I asked myself, should be my relation with my wife? Did my faithfulness consist in making my wife the instrument of my lust? So long as I was the slave of lust my faithfulness was nothing worth. To be fair to my wife, I must say that she was never the temptress. It was therefore the easiest thing for me to take the vow of *brahmacharya*, if only I willed it. It was my weak will or lustful attachment that was the obstacle.

Even after my conscience was roused in the matter, I failed twice. I failed, because the motive that actuated the effort was none the highest. My main object was to escape having more children. Whilst in England I had read something about contraceptives. I have already referred to Dr. Allinson's birth-control propaganda in the chapter

on Vegetarianism. If it had some temporary effect on me, Mr. Hill's opposition to those methods, and his advocacy of internal effort as opposed to outward means, in a word, of self-control, had a far greater effect which in due time came to be abiding. Seeing therefore that I did not desire more children, I began to strive after self control. There was no end of difficulties in the task. We began to sleep in separate beds. I decided to retire to bed only after the day's work had left me completely exhausted. All these efforts did not seem to bear much fruit, but when I look back upon the past, I feel that the final resolution was the cumulative effect of these unsuccessful efforts.

The final resolution could be made only as late as 1906. Satyagraha had not then been started. I had not the least notion about it. I was practising in Johannesburg at the time of the Zulu Rebellion in Natal which came soon after the Boer War. I felt that I must offer my services to the Natal Government on that occasion. The offer was accepted, as we shall see in another chapter. But the work set me furiously thinking in the direction of self-control, and according to my wont I discussed my thoughts with my co-workers. It became my conviction that procreation and the consequent care of children were inconsistent with public service. I had to break up my household at Johannesburg to be able to serve during the Rebellion. Within one month after I offered my services, I had to give up the house I had furnished with care. I took my wife and children to Phoenix and led the Indian ambulance corps attached to the Natal forces. During the difficult marches that had to be then performed, the idea flashed upon me that if I wanted to devote myself to the service of the community in this manner, I must relinquish the desire for children and wealth, and must live the life of a *vanaprastha*—of one retired from household cares.

The Rebellion did not occupy me for more than six weeks, but this brief period proved to be the most valuable part of my life. The importance of vows grew upon me more clearly than ever before. I realised that a vow far from closing the door to real freedom opened it. I had not met with success heretofore, because the will had been lacking, because I had no faith in myself, no faith in the grace of God, and therefore my mind had been tossed on the boisterous sea of doubt. I realised that in refusing to take a vow man was drawn into temptation and that to be bound by a vow was like a passage from libertinism to a real monogamous marriage. 'I believe in effort, I do not want to bind myself with vows' is the mentality of weakness and betrays a subtle desire for the thing to be avoided. Or where can be the difficulty in making a final decision? I vow to flee from the serpent who, I know, will bite me, I do not simply make an effort to flee from him. I know that mere effort may mean certain death. Mere effort means ignorance of the certain fact that the serpent is bound to kill me. The fact therefore that I would rest content with an effort only means that I have not yet clearly realised the necessity of definite action. 'But supposing my views are changed in the future, how can I bind myself by a vow? Such a doubt often deters us. But that doubt also betrays a lack of clear perception that a particular thing must be renounced. That is why Nishkulanand has sung; 'Renunciation without disgust is not lasting.' Where therefore the desire is gone, a vow of renunciation is the natural and inevitable fruit.

PART III CHAPTER VIII

BRAHMACHARYA II.

After full discussion and mature deliberation I took the vow in 1906. I had not shared my thoughts with my wife until then, but only consulted her at the time of taking the vow. She had no objection. But I was hard put to it in making the final resolve. I had not the neces-

sary strength. How was I to control my passions? The elimination of carnal relationship with the wife seemed to be a novel thing. But I launched forth with faith in the sustaining power of God. As I look back upon the twenty years of the vow, I am filled with pleasure and wonderment. The more or less successful practice of self-control had been going on since 1901. But the freedom and joy that came to me after taking the vow had never been experienced before 1906. For before the vow I was open to be overcome by temptation any moment. Now the vow was a shield to protect me against temptation. The great potentiality of *brahmacharya* daily became more and more patent to me. The vow was taken when I was in Phoenix. As soon as I was free from ambulance work I went to Phoenix whence I had to go to Johannesburg. In about a month of my going there the foundation of Satyagraha was laid, as though unknown to me the *brahmacharya* vow had been preparing me for it. Satyagraha had not been a pre-conceived plan. It came on spontaneously, without my having willed it. But I could see that all my previous steps had led on to that goal. I had cut down my heavy household expenses at Johannesburg and gone to Phoenix, to take, as it were, the *brahmacharya* vow.

The knowledge that a perfect observance of *brahmacharya* means realization of *brahman*, I did not owe to a study of the Shastras. It slowly grew upon me with experience. The Shastric texts in that behalf I read only later in life. Every day of the vow has taken me nearer the knowledge that in *brahmacharya* lies the protection of the body, the mind and the soul. For *brahmacharya* was now no process of hard penance, it was a matter of joy, a solace and a comfort. Every day revealed a fresh beauty in it.

But if it was a matter of ever-increasing joy let no one believe that it was an easy thing for me. Even while I am past 56 I realise how hard a

thing it is. Every day I realise more and more that it is like walking on the sword's edge, and I see every moment necessity for eternal vigilance.

Control of the palate is the first essential in the observance of the vow. I saw that complete control of the palate made the observance very easy and so I now pursued my dietetic experiments not merely from the vegetarian's but also from the *brahmachari's* point of view. I saw as the result of these experiments that the *brahmachari's* food should be limited, simple, spiceless, and, if possible, uncooked.

Six years of experiment have showed me that the *brahmachari's* ideal food is fresh fruit and nuts. The immunity from passion that I enjoyed when I lived on this food was unknown to me after I changed that diet. *Brahmacharya* needed no effort on my part when I lived on fruits and nuts alone. It has been a matter of very great effort ever since I began to take milk. How I had to go back to milk from a fruit diet will be considered in its proper place. It is enough to observe here that I have not the least doubt that milk diet makes the *brahmacharya* vow difficult to observe. Let no one deduce from this that all *brahmacharis* must give up milk. The effect on *brahmacharya* of different kinds of food can be determined only after numerous experiments. I have yet to find a fruit substitute for milk which is an equally good muscle-builder and easily digestible. The doctors, *vaid*s and *hakims* have alike failed to enlighten me. Therefore though I know milk to be partly a stimulant, I cannot, for the time being, advise any one to give it up.

As an external aid to *brahmacharya*, fasting is as necessary as selection and restriction in diet. So overpowering are the senses that they can be kept under curb only when they are hedged in all around, from above and from beneath, and in all directions. It is common knowledge that they are powerless without food, and so fasting under-

taken with a view to control of the senses is, I have no doubt, very helpful. With some fasting is of no avail, because assuming that mechanical fasting alone will make them immune, they keep their bodies without food, but feast their mind upon all sorts of delicacies, thinking all the while as to what they will eat and what they will drink after the fast terminates. Such fasting helps them in controlling neither the palate nor the lust. Fasting is useful when mind co-operates with starving body, that is to say, cultivates a distaste for the objects that are denied to the body. Mind is at the root of all sensuality. Fasting, therefore, has a limited use, for a fasting man may continue to be swayed by passion. But it may be said that extinction of the sexual passion is as a rule impossible without fasting, which may be said to be indispensable for the observance of *brahmacharya*. Many aspirants after *brahmacharya* fail, because in the use of their other senses they want to carry on as those who are not *brahmacharis*. Their effort is therefore identical with the effort to experience the bracing cold of winter in the scorching summer months. There should be a clear line between the life of a *brahmachari* and of one who is not. The resemblance that there is between the two is only apparent. The distinction ought to be clear as daylight. Both use their eyesight, but whereas the *brahmachari* uses it to see the glories of God, the other uses it to see the frivolity around him. Both use their ears, but whereas the one hears nothing but praises of God, the other feasts his ears upon ribaldry. Both often keep late hours, but whereas the one devotes them to prayer, the other fritters them away in wild and wasteful mirth. Both feed the inner man, but the one only to keep the Temple of God in good repair and the other gorges himself and makes the sacred vessel a stinking gutter. Thus both live as the poles apart and the distance between them will grow and not diminish with the passage of time.

Brahmacharya means control of the senses in thought, word and deed. Every day I have been realising more and more the necessity for restraints of the kind I have detailed above. There is no limit to the possibilities of renunciation, even as there is none to those of *brahmacharya*. Such *brahmacharya* is impossible of attainment by limited effort. For many it must remain only as an ideal. An aspirant after *brahmacharya* will always be conscious of his shortcomings, will seek out the passions lingering in the innermost recesses of his heart and will incessantly strive to get rid of them. So long as thought is not under complete control of the will, *brahmacharya* in its fulness is absent. Involuntary thought is an affection of the mind, and curbing of thought therefore means curbing of the mind which is even more difficult to curb than the wind. Nevertheless the existence of God within makes even curbing of the mind possible. Let no one think that it is impossible because it is difficult. It is the highest goal and it is no wonder that the highest effort should be necessary to attain it.

But it was after coming to India that I realised that such *brahmacharya* was impossible to be attained by mere human effort. It may be said that until then I had been labouring under the delusion that fruit diet was enough to eradicate all passions, and I had flattered myself with the belief that I had nothing more to do.

But let me not anticipate the chapter of my struggles. Meanwhile I may make it clear that those who desire to observe *brahmacharya* with a view to realising God need not despair, provided their faith in God is equal to their confidence in their own effort.

'The sense-objects turn away from an abstemious soul leaving the relish behind. The relish also disappears with the realisation of the Highest.' Therefore His name and His grace are the last resources of the aspirant after *moksha*. This truth came to me only after my return to India. (To be continued.)

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. and orders must be accompanied by M. O. or Cheque. G. A. Natesan & Co., G. T., Madras.

Topics from Periodicals

THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

In a clear and lucid article on the downfall of the Non-Brahmin movement in Madras, a writer who is himself a Non-Brahmin, observes in the pages of the *PRABUDDHA BHARATA* for February that the collapse of Non-Brahminism in the last general elections has its lessons beyond its merely political consequences.

It has demonstrated not only the political futility of its ideals and methods, but also how shallow, insignificant and naive is its underlying philosophy.

The Non-Brahmins prefer to place themselves in resentful opposition to the Brahmins, as if in such angry distinction lies the fulfilment of their final destiny.

This attitude is doomed to fail as surely as Justice politics. For the causes in both cases are identical. No community to-day can thrive in an atmosphere of dissension. It cannot deny, even if it so desires, the imperious demands of the larger life of the Samaj. We are apt to belittle the importance of the social implications of the national struggle under the overbearing stress of the unduly magnified importance of our political problems. But the Samaj is not dead, and signs are already patent to those who have eyes to see, of purely social problems becoming as important if not more, as the political. And on the day of reckoning, the social philosophy of Non-Brahminism will collapse like the proverbial house of cards.

Yet the Non-Brahmin movement is not fictitious and is not provoked by imaginary grievances. The writer thinks that much has to be done by the Non-Brahmins themselves, and that their present methods are unfortunate.

There must be a change of outlook. Their philosophy must become deeper and more comprehensive. And above all, their struggle must become impersonal and not resentful against any men or community. We may almost lay down a rule for all social reform: Never make grievance against persons or communities, but struggle on impersonal basis. In all matters relating to the collective life, the problems are more often than not the result of certain forces of which both parties, the oppressor and the oppressed, are victims. They are victims of the system. It is no use destroying the persons who happen to be the instrument of that system. For when they are destroyed, the system will seek other agencies. The fight must be against the forces themselves. To that end, we must make a deep study of their nature and workings and avail ourselves of that knowledge to break our fetters. Our struggle otherwise will be superficial, create new problems at every turn and set disruptively on ourselves as well as on the entire Samaj.

Continuing, the writer says that it was somewhat thoughtless and ungrateful of the Non-Brahmins

to have made their uplift movement a revolt against the Brahmins.

Little do they perceive that even their present level of culture is largely owing to this much-maligned Brahmins! Do they remind themselves that many of their ancestors were superstitious Buddhists and Jains and that it is the Brahmins that made them Hindus again? Should the Non-Brahmins ponder over these facts, they would not be so eager to eat up the Brahmins; they would be grateful to them and not hate them.

The separatist tendencies of the Non-Brahmins can do little or no good to themselves. Thirty years ago, Swami Vivekananda speaking on the Non-Brahmin problem at Madras thus exhorted them.

To the Non-Brahmin castes I say, wait, be not in a hurry. Do not seize every opportunity of fighting the Brahmin, because you are suffering from your own fault. Who told you to neglect spirituality and Sanskrit learning? What have you been doing all this time? Why have you been indifferent? Why do you now fret and fume because somebody else had more brains, more energy, more pluck and go, than you? Instead of wasting your energies in vain discussions and quarrels in the newspapers, instead of fighting and quarrelling in your own homes,—which is sinful,—use all your energies in acquiring the culture which the Brahmin has, and the thing is done. Why do you not spend millions to bring Sanskrit education to all the castes of India? The moment you do these things, you are equal to the Brahmin. That is the secret of power in India.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
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FEBRUARY 1927]

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

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ESSENTIALS OF ECONOMICS

Mr. B. G. Bhatnagar of the Allahabad University puts in a plea, in an article in *THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS*, for making a definite attempt to give shape to some of its vital conceptions, as has been done in other sciences. He would deprecate the study by beginners of the subject according to the method of inductive generalisation and comparative study for such a study in the absence of the broad essentials of the science is liable to lead to confusion and conflicting notions about things. The only sound method in the initial stage is to give well recognised definitions and enunciations of laws and theories—things that form the structure of the science—and to explain and illustrate them from examples taken from the facts of life around us. Having once familiarised the student with the essentials of the science in unambiguous and certain terms, we may then proceed to initiate him in the various views held by different writers on the main definitions, laws and theories.

Such a method is only possible when we have a set of generally accepted terms, laws and theories used in a particular sense by all leaders of economic thought. Failing or lacking this, we should have our conceptions and ideas standardised in which case we can leave the teachings of beginners in not very experienced hands. Dr. Marshall, of all modern economists, has done a great deal to give fixity of meaning to certain terms and to add his weight to that use of a particular term which his predecessors have generally adopted. He has avoided the unnecessary coinage of terms and has not generally substituted fresh terms for old terms. Certainly he introduced new terms, Usance of Property, Quasi-Rent etc; but these are for new ideas. The tendency to fashion fresh terms for old ideas and to give new ideas to old terms should be completely given up.

THE SITUATION IN INDIA

THE ROUND TABLE stresses on the resentment against the negative Swaraj policy that has grown in the country, and on the fact that the Reforms have beaten those who wanted to destroy them. The attempts at wrecking have failed; the experiment in Parliamentary Government will go on and work under better conditions. Indian Parliamentary Government is still in swaddling clothes; but whether it would grow as the English Constitution has done, with a small core of statutory enactment and a vast outgrowth of custom and convention, is doubtful. Indian politicians themselves are conscious that conventions cannot be stimulated or forced and they may prefer that each step of progress should be clearly set forth in statutory form. This in itself implies a big departure from English practice; while in the Hindu-Moslem tension it may not be possible to accept fully all the implications of the doctrine of majority rule. The devising of safeguards to the protection of the interests of minorities will carry us farther away from the model of English Parliamentary rule. A stage of modified oligarchy may be a necessary one in India's constitutional progress. Her size, the diversity of her provinces, her many linguistic and ethnic tribes and the problem of the Indian states and their relations with a self-governing India—all these will force future developments into some sort of a federal system of government with a federal constitution suited to her unique circumstances.

All that can be said at present is that some form of Parliamentary and democratic government is demanded both by the circumstances of India and by all truly patriotic and progressive Indian thought. The working of the Act of 1919 has made it possible for Indians themselves to work out their own political salvation and to work for a political constitution suited to their own needs. They themselves should work out their destiny with the Government of India and Parliament.

WHY INDIA IS POOR IN HISTORY

Mrs. Rhys Davids, the accomplished scholar of Pali Buddhism, writing in *THE YOUNG EAST* in reply to Mr. J. Takakusu's article—"Civilisation without History"—says that India has indeed buried most of her history under the cover of literature and that too little of it is revealed when the cover is scrutinised. India is so poor in ancient history because she began to write so late. Why so late?

"Because she had not discovered a plentiful and suitable material on which to write. The date-palm did not happen to be plentiful where the men lived, who would have been probably foremost in beginning to write. When the new will, the new forward movement, of which Jainism and Buddhism were important expressions migrated to East India and to Ceylon, where that palm was abundant, the growing need of perpetuating new scriptures in a worthier way than by the too unautomatic human memory produced some man of the constructive hand and eye, who began to scratch with a style and with ink on a palm-leaf. His name, his work are buried among other 'despised' matters for lack of historians!) Mid-Asia had long had her clay, Egypt had long had her papyrus: India at last found something easier to scratch upon than stone, or metal tablets. Ceylon had the palm in abundance, and it is from Ceylon that we have the first written Tipitaka, the first written Commentaries, the first written Chronicles, the first records in years of kings' reigns, by which India and we could make some sound surmise about the date of her Asoka and our Buddha."

It is not that India did not know how to write; but it is not true that she did not see the necessity of possessing history. She did not see or believe anything of the kind—she simply had not found a suitable material.

THE NATURE OF SLEEP AND DREAMS.

Dr. Helgi Pjeturss, writing in *THE OCCULT REVIEW*, talks of his attempts to explain why the contents of the sleeping mind are as vivid as if the senses were working. He says that an understanding of the nature of dreams became the means for obtaining an insight into the nature of sleep and of life itself, life being a vital charge which is renewed during sleep. One can learn to observe distinctly the inflow of the vital current when sleep comes on, and how this current comes along with it, the shadowy images of the incipient dream. During sleep we establish contact with a dream-giver—a person whose brain and other nerve states are transferred to the sleeper.

"What this person lives, the sleeper dreams, believing that he is himself experiencing the adventures of the dream-giver. What the sleeper obtains from the dream-giver, however, is more or less mutilated and distorted, translated, so to say, according to the sleeper's disposition and experience. Dreams can be divided into groups, according to the intimacy of the rapport between dreamer and the dream-giver. It follows, therefore, that the different stages of a dream can belong to different groups. When rapport is slight and transference imperfect, the pictures from the brain of the dream-giver are transferred to the brain of the dreamer much more easily than the stream of thoughts accompanying the pictures. In the brain of the dreamer, then, these pictures, in accordance with certain laws of association, are erroneously interpreted, and the dream consists of illusions, the sleeper believing that he is in the dream seeing things known to him. These are the illusional dreams, corresponding to the *enypnia* of the ancient dream-expert, Artemidoros, whose *Oneirokritikon* is the most interesting work on dreams I have read. When the transference from dream-giver to sleeper is more perfect, we have the vision-dream; and as a rule, what is seen in such a dream, is foreign and unknown."

IMPERIAL MIGRATION

According to a writer in *THE ENGLISH REVIEW* the great problems of Empire are defence, trade and migration; and a failure to effect a satisfactory solution of the migration problem will mean grave internal perils to some parts of the Empire like Australia, to which a greatly accelerated inflow of immigrants is a matter of extreme urgency. In the Empire great anomalies prevail. There are two overflowing human reservoirs, India and the British Isles, and two of far greater capacity, still empty, Canada and Australia. Evidently these striking disparities demand the immediate attention of the rulers of the Empire.

"East Africa, and, it may be suggested, the coasts of tropical Australia offer the most suitable outlets for the super abundant multitudes of British subjects in Asia. To the surplus inhabitants of Great Britain the two largest Dominions naturally offer the greatest attractions. Which of the two promises superior advantages is a question for each possible migrant to decide according to his own tastes and requirements; but from the point of view of the integrity of the Empire there can be no doubt that the claims of Australia rank first. Canada, lying adjacent to a powerful white nation, to whose citizens her own are closely bound by racial and commercial ties, and enjoying the protection against foreign attack afforded by the Monroe Doctrine, holds an absolutely unassailable position. An increased population to her means increased wealth, but not necessarily increased security. Australia, on the other hand, though like New Zealand, specially favoured among the Dominions in possessing a homogeneous British population, owing to her remoteness from both Europe and America, and her propinquity to the continent inhabited by the most numerous and formidable coloured races, is exposed to serious risks, so long as she lacks an adequate white garrison."

SECULARISM AND INDIAN EDUCATION

Sir Valentine Chirol in the course of an article in the *HINDU ANNUAL* writes:—

"Western education has failed to clear the jungle of sectarian and communal and caste prejudice which still stunts the growth of healthy and united Indian nation capable of holding its place amongst the nations of the modern world.

Whatever may happen in India, Western education has come to stay. Now that with the reforms its control has very largely passed away from the Central Government to the Provinces in which Indians already enjoy the beginnings of Swaraj the people of India have a new opportunity of bringing their influence to bear upon it. The creation before the reforms of two great denominational Universities at Benares and at Aligarh showed clearly enough that the old principle of purely secular education was breaking down.

Not all educational reforms will be inspired by such lofty ideals as prevail at Bolpur or at the Hardwar Gurukul and whilst few will desire to see popular control shackled by outworn professions of religious neutrality, there is a danger that it may be used on the other hand to intensify the reactionary spirit of sectarian intolerance and communal antagonism which has manifested itself only too frequently of recent years in the recrudescence of Hindu-Mahomedan feuds.

Lord Irwin has happily come to India in time to give her a great lead and the impression produced all over India by his first public appeal to Indian leaders, may well be ascribed to the courageous testimony he bore to his own faith in the power of religion, and in India most of all, where it is still the greatest force in her national life."

THE NEW ORDER IN TURKESTAN

THE ASIATIC REVIEW gives a very good survey of the new political order that has arisen in Central Asia since the war, no complete account of which has been given in books till now, except that a resume was given in "New Russia" and the NOVI VOSTOK (New East). In the autumn of 1919 the Khan of Khiva was deposed; and a People's Soviet Republic was established under the name of Korezm. In September 1920, the Emir of Bukhara suffered the same fate; and a similar regime was established there also. The former Governor-Generalship of Turkestan had been already constituted an autonomous Soviet Socialistic Republic. In 1924 a commission was set up by the Union Central Executive Committee of Moscow to revise in collaboration with the local bodies, the whole position in Central Asia on a national basis.

"Three principal ethnic elements were taken as a basis of this territorial redistribution—the Uzbeks, the Turkomans, and the Kirghiz—and as a result the following organizations were established and are now functioning: (1) The Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic within the borders of which is incorporated the Tajik Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic; (2) the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic; (3) the Kirghiz districts of the former Governor-Generalship of Turkestan were incorporated in the already existing Kirghiz Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (Kazakhstan), which is included within the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic; and (4) the districts inhabited by the Kara-Kirghiz and also by the Kara-Kalpaks were constituted as Autonomous Territories, and attached to the Autonomous Kirghiz Republic.

In general, it may be said that the nationalities of Central Asia have not developed their regional rights to the same extent as have the Ukrainians or the nationalities of Transcaucasia, nor is the individual influence of the native Communists so evident at Moscow as is that of the Transcaucasian Communists."

Books are given at concession rates only to subscribers of "The Indian Review." Any one who wishes to buy books at concession rates must remit Rs. Five one year's subscription to the Review in advance. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras,

DOMINION STATUS

The pre-War conception of the relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions was completely broken by the novel method employed in the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, viz., by according to the Dominions separate membership of the League of Nations and by the fresh rights which were given to them in the diplomatic field. The Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce, Prime Minister of Australia, points out in THE ENGLISH REVIEW the anomalies of the existing position and says that the work of clarifying the present position devolved upon the recent Imperial Conference. The Conference has really succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between freedom and unity—by solving the problem of achieving through consultation the essential degree of co-operation. This is in part a matter of mechanism; but still more it is a matter of goodwill. The result is that the full autonomy of the Dominions has been clearly established, and at the same time the essential unity of the British Commonwealth has been unimpaired:—

"After all, to have cleared up the political situation in the Empire, and even to have ensured an understanding as to the extent and limits of common action in future, is only to have cleared the ground for dealing with those other questions which alone can give to political unity real worth and substance. Each part can rely upon a genuine belief of all in the Imperial bond, and each knows that this close union implies no derogation from its own sovereign status."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

OPTIMISM IN INDIAN THOUGHT. By Md. Hafiz Syed ["The Allahabad University Magazine," December, 1926.]

A NATIONAL CHRISTIAN GATHERING IN INDIA. By Rev. Thomas Sitther, M.A. ["The Young Men of India" January 1927.]

INDIA AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. By The Maharaja of Burdwan, ["The Asiatic Review," January 1927.]

Questions of Importance

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF PROVINCES

In the Council of State the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammed Habibullah, replying to the Hon'ble Mr. Mahendra Prasad's question regarding the income of each Province and its expenditure on education, laid the following statement on the table.

Statement showing the income of each Province and its expenditure on (A) Education as a whole and (B) Sanskrit education, 1925-1926:—

Province.	Total income of the Province.	Total expenditure on Sanskrit education (Approximately).	Expenditure on education (Approximately).
1	2	3	4
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	16,93,59,783	1,87,44,520	54,296
Bombay	15,00,05,496	1,92,38,243	10,036
Bengal	10,70,58,000	1,31,72,599	2,19,911
United Provinces	12,71,10,478	1,85,00,000	86,000
Punjab	12,65,40,000	1,33,04,875	Not available
Burma	10,56,02,968	97,01,124 (a)	Nil.
Bihar and Orissa	5,78,64,000	88,47,414	1,49,924 (b)
Central Provinces	5,46,15,475	53,47,607	63,019
Assam	2,56,83,000	25,11,000	16,000
Coorg	13,96,266	1,43,483	1,500
Delhi	22,60,762	5,81,147	Not available
Baluchistan	22,00,000	2,78,000	840
Ajmer-Marwara	21,73,223	2,70,307	Not available
North Western Frontier Province	Not available	18,39,567	1,982 (b)

(a) Exclusive of expenditure on buildings.

(b) Exclusive of expenditure on Sanskrit teachers in ordinary schools and Colleges.

INDIAN CHURCH MEASURE

With reference to the article on "Indian Church Measure" published in the INDIAN REVIEW for December it is interesting to mark the rapid progress that Indian opinion is gaining in the highest ecclesiastical circles in England.

The Archbishop of Canterbury presided on the occasion of the opening of the Spring Session of the Church Assembly at Church House, Westminster, which unanimously passed the motion of Sir Robert Williams that "the Assembly is impressed

with the weight and importance of the petition presented by the Indian Bishops and is prepared to give consideration to the measure framed upon the lines of the draft measure referred to in that petition," and urged the desirability of severing the legal connection between the Church of England and Church of England in India and providing for the continuance of the latter as a body legally separate and independent. The petitioners declared that they proposed carefully to provide for the interests of the British members of the Church in India.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in commending the resolution said all the Assembly was asked to do was to take this preliminary step, show their respect for a very weighty memorial and say they were prepared to consider it favourably.

THE QUESTION OF PRISONERS

In winding up the debate on the question of the release of prisoners the Home Member announced in the Assembly that the Government would consider the question of release on medical grounds; and he drew the attention of the House once again to his statement, that the statement made by a detainee, that he would not take part in revolutionary activities, would not amount to a confession, and would be an element to be taken into consideration in examining the whole case for release. He assured Mr. Goswami that this was the view of both the Government of India and the Government of Bengal.

Pandit Motilal Nehru made it clear that he did not base his case on medical grounds, and Mr. Goswami, in divulging what happened at the Government House Conference in Calcutta, declared that Lord Lytton had stated that there was no definite charge against detainees who were detained to prevent crime.

When the House divided after six hours' debate, it carried Pandit Motilal's amendment by 63 votes against 50.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

H. E. Lord Irwin, in the course of his inaugural speech to the Legislative Assembly on January 24, made a comprehensive survey of the changes that had taken place in the country, since he last addressed, referred to the despatch of Indian troops to China as purely for defensive purposes, and said:

CONDITIONS OF CO-OPERATION

"When Parliament invites India to co-operate in the working of the Reformed Constitution, it does not invite any Indian party as it was authoritatively stated the other day to lay aside for the time being its demand for Swaraj. It does not desire that any party or individual should forego the freest and fullest right of criticism and constitutional opposition to any action that the Government may take, but it does invite Indian political parties to show whether or not the ultimate structure which Parliament is seeking to erect is one suitable to Indian conditions and Indian needs. If it sees any large section of Indian opinion, however vocal in its desire to further the cause of Indian Self-Government, steadily adhering to the determination to do nothing but obstruct the machinery with which India has been entrusted, Parliament is more likely to see in this, evidence that the application of Western constitutional practice to India may be mistaken, than the proof of the wisdom of immediate surrender to India of all its own responsibility. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that a considerable part of the political thought of India has not allowed itself to be dissuaded by criticism or opposition from endeavouring to work the new constitution with a constructive purpose. Those who guide their action are in my judgment proving themselves the true friends of Indian constitutional development. Parliament is likely to judge those matters as a plain question of practical efficiency. It will be less interested in the exact legal and constitutional rights granted by the Reforms to the

Indian legislatures, than in the extent to which these legislatures have realised their responsibilities and duties. It will be quite willing to recognise and make allowances for the limitations placed upon the legislatures by the existing constitution; but it will be genuinely puzzled and disappointed if it finds that a good part of the ten years has been wasted in a refusal to play the game, because some of the players did not like the rules. Propaganda in favour of altering the rules in the early stages of the game, will have little effect on the mind of Parliament; but on the other hand, it will certainly be influenced if it finds the Indian legislatures exercising their responsibilities, albeit limited, in a spirit of service to India and tacitly assuming always that their real responsibility is greater than that which is expressed in any statute; for Parliament has spent hundreds of years in perfecting its own constitution and knows very well that it has only grown into what it is to-day by the steady use and extension of the power at first limited, but by custom and precedent, constantly expanding that which it contained.

EXAMPLES OF OTHER DOMINIONS

Parliament knows too that it is by this means that every one of the Dominions has obtained fully Responsible Self-Government, finally leading as we have seen at the last Imperial Conference to a wide revision of the letter of constitutional relations previously prevailing between the several Governments of the Empire. What then is the position if we concede, as I ask we may, to British and Indian peoples' sincerity of purpose? We are in agreement on the fundamental matter of the end we desire to reach. There may be and is disagreement over the ways and means of reaching it, but it is surely a strange distortion of perspective if we allow our conduct to be unduly influenced by differences on issues which are after all only incidental to the main issue on which we are agreed."

BHAVNAGAR STATE

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, President of the Council of Administration, Bhavnagar State, at an informal discussion with the members of the State Popular Assembly stated that a deficit of about eight or ten lakhs in customs revenue and about 4 or 5 lakhs in railway earnings was expected. In spite of this Government would have to provide for all expenditure. "My policy," he said, "is that the problem of drinking water should be tackled first, next recreation for the people, then education and last dispensaries."

Sir Prabhashankar expressed his willingness to hand over control of the Municipalities of the Mahals to the people if they were ready to undertake it. He was also prepared to give liberal grants for its management. Mr. Vallabhdas U. Parekh, President of the local Municipality suggested that primary education should be in the hands of the people. Sir Prabhashankar accepted the suggestion and said that if any tangible scheme was presented to him he would be quite ready to hand over primary education to the people. He declared his willingness to give whatever rights the public wanted for the internal management of their own villages.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

We understand that arrangements are in progress for the celebration on a grand scale throughout the State and capital of the Silver Jubilee of H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore, which is due to fall in August next. A strong committee of leading citizens is in charge of the arrangements. It is their desire to make the function, worthy of the occasion. Among the proposals coming up for consideration before the Committee meeting is one for raising a suitable memorial to His Highness so as to mark the close of the Ruler's twenty-five years' rule which has been marked by many changes constitutional and other. Many more suggestions are being brought forward.

REFORMS IN AUNDH STATE

The extent of popular control of the Aundh State administration and of the power which the State Representative Assembly recently instituted exercises in the affairs of the State is indicated in some of the resolutions adopted by the recent session of the Assembly. No civil court in the State, says a resolution, shall entertain any suit unless the same is accompanied by a certificate of a Village Panchayat Court that compromise between the parties could not be effected. There should be no appeal against the judgment of a Village Panchayat Court although the aggrieved party may be permitted to move a District Magistrate or a District Judge in the matter according to the nature of the case. Women as well as men shall be eligible for membership of a Village Panchayat Court. The State shall not levy water-tax for twenty years from any cultivator who constructs a new bund across a stream for irrigating his crops. In order to encourage textile industry in the State the authorities as well as members of the Assembly shall do their best to use as far as possible cloth manufactured in the State and induce the subjects to do so.

EDUCATION IN NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

The report of the Nizam's administration records the abolition of 113 primary schools of the experimental type, but it gives no reason for this policy. The percentage of scholars is only 10·7. There is a distinct fall in the number of schools for girls as well as depressed classes.

NEW DEWAN OF BARODA

Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachariar, Member, Madras Civil Service and Secretary to the Law Department, Madras, succeeds Sir Manubhai N. Mehta as the Dewan of Baroda on the latter's retirement. Mr. Achariar acted as the Dewan of Cochin for a time.

THE POLL TAX IN KENYA

In our December Number we referred to the proposed poll-tax on Asiatics which has been increased from 30 to 50 shillings a year. Mr. D. B. Desai, who has spent a considerable time in the Kenya Colony, in the course of a letter to the Commerce Department of the Government of India, draws attention to this unjust taxation on Indian settlers.

Quoting from the minority report submitted by the two Indian nominated members to the Kenya Legislative Council, he points out "that £52,000 were spent for educational purposes, out of which the amount spent for the education of Europeans was £32,000 for 960 children, or £33-17-0 per head, and for Indians £20,000 for 2318 children, or £8-12-0 per head." This sum of £52,000 was raised as under: Spirits, wines and champagnes, £32,500, domestic servants £7,000 (from Europeans only), and poll-cess £12,000 (from Indians only). Finally, he says that if action for the cancellation of the new tax is not taken forthwith the Kenya Government will begin collecting the tax, and once collected, it will then be difficult to recover it.

INDIANS IN FIJI

The result of negotiations between the India Office and the Colonial Secretary with regard to the rights of Indians in Fiji is now published.

The correspondence relates to equal rights with Europeans, poll-tax, repatriation and the question of the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India in Fiji.

The Earl of Birkenhead feels more or less satisfied with the result, and thinks that it is wiser to accept the concessions already granted than to press for more privileges and incur the risk of delay and even ultimate rejection of their demand.

The Government of India holds the opinion that the representation proposed for Indians is inadequate, but the Colonial office are at present unable to move further in the matter.

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA

A Government of India COMMUNIQUE dated 10th January, says that the position of Indians in Australia has considerably improved and that their interests are now well looked after. "By the Acts which have recently been passed by the Commonwealth Parliament, British Indians in Australia have been admitted to benefits of invalid and old age pensions and maternity allowances. The old age pension is payable to men above 65 years of age or above 60 years if they are permanently incapacitated for work and to women above 60 years provided such persons are of good character and have resided continuously in Australia at least 20 years.

Invalid pension is obtainable by persons who, being above 16 years of age and not in receipt of an old age pension, have, whilst in Australia, become permanently incapacitated for work by reason of an accident or by reason of being an invalid or blind provided they have resided continuously in Australia for at least five years.

Maternity allowance which has been extended to Asiatic mothers in Australia who are British subjects amounts to £5 and is given to a woman for every child to which she gives birth in Australia provided the child is born alive and the woman is an inhabitant of the Commonwealth."

THE INDIAN DEPUTATION

The Habibullah Deputation, cables Mr. C. F. Andrews from Natal, (which reached Bombay on the 5th instant) deserves the gratitude of the Indian nation for the great work it accomplished. "I would personally testify to a remarkable change in South African public opinion produced owing to the Deputation's visit. Now all will depend upon the self-help of the Indian community here. Great wealth is accumulated in Indian hands, especially Mahomedan traders. If this wealth is released for education, the Government is certain to perform their part and the community will be rescued from desperate condition."

FACTORIES IN INDIA

The official report on the working of the Factories Act during 1925 which is now published distinctly shows an advance in every direction. The number of factories in India which in 1924 stood at 6,400 rose to 6,926. Those employed therein rose from 1,455,592 in 1924 to 1,494,958. There was an improvement in the number of women employed from 235,332 in 1924 to 242,514, but the number of children decreased from 72,534 in 1924 to 68,725. Accidents in factories rose from 7,000 in 1924 to 10,000. Convictions obtained for the contravention of the Factories Act was 998, out of which 271 were convicted. The corresponding figures for 1924 were 615 and 223. The percentage of factories maintaining a week of 48 hours for men was 27. In 12 per cent. more men employed worked for 54 hours or less. The number of factories, working more than 54 hours was 61 per cent. and there was an increase in the percentage of factories inspected.

PROTECTION OF STEEL

The Select Committee on the Steel Protection Bill has concluded the examination of the measure. The Committee by 7 against 6 votes carried the Government's proposals regarding discrimination in favour of British standard steel. Two members of the Committee, Mr. Jannadas Mehta and Mr. G. D. Birla were absent at the time, the former having had to be present at a meeting of the Railway Standing Finance Committee, the other being away from the station. The discussion the final stage was whether the proposals, as originally embodied in the Bill, in regard to protective duties should be adopted or the alternative proposals made by some members for the imposition of a uniform weighted average, with a fixed basic duty on steel without any discrimination as to the origin of produce. Eventually, as stated above, the Government's proposals, based on the Tariff Board's recommendations, were carried.

INDIAN ENGINEERING INDUSTRY

The Associated Press understands that it has been now decided that, in order to assist the Indian engineering industry during the coming year, when the Board will be purchasing many general service broad-gauge wagons for Indian Railways, the Government of India will call for tenders in India only, for such miscellaneous wagons of different gauges and types as are required in 1927 and 1928 by State managed Railways and also for the under-frame requirements of these Railways. In the same year they also propose to instruct State-managed Railways to call for tenders in India only for roof, trusses and bridge spans up to 80 feet, required in 1927-28 and to place in India their order for such spare parts as they cannot conveniently make in their own workshops during the year.

MINING SCHOOL FOR INDIA

On December 10 Lord Irwin opened the Indian School of Mines at Dhanbad, 160 miles from Calcutta. It is situated in the mineralogically richest province of India. The aim of the school which has been built entirely out of Government funds is to provide instruction in Mining, Engineering and Geology, of a grade equal to that of the Royal School of Mines in London.

In declaring the School open, Lord Irwin hoped the results of the School's activities will be reflected in the development of Indian industries. Though Indian boys have been reluctant in the past to embark on technical studies, it was a hopeful sign that the opening of the School has elicited favourable response.

The Viceroy emphasised that in India they approached the question of Industrial development with the experience of Western countries behind them where they had to work through the painful stages of the Industrial Revolution and the years that followed in England.

MR. OATEN ON RURAL EDUCATION

Before the Royal Commission on Agriculture at Dacca, on January 5, Mr. E. F. Oaten, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, deposed that the secondary educational system, as it had extended itself to rural areas, certainly needed modification to bring it into some relationship with the life of the country. It tended to draw the pick of rural areas away from the country instead of equipping them for life in it. This was doubtless largely the result of economic conditions. Openings were few in the country, but secondary education, which could not but influence the main activity of Bengal, certainly needed overhauling. As to possible changes there was every advantage in experiments on the lines of the vocational agricultural middle schools recommended by the Missionary Commission on Village Education, 1920, where adequate funds, competent guidance and suitable conditions existed, but any general vocationalising of the rural school system was a dream.

Collegiate education, like secondary education, had little relation to rural economy. The higher educational system came into existence to prepare students for professions followed in towns and it had received no modifications in this respect.

THE AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION

In the course of a discussion in the Standing Finance Committee's meeting of the Assembly on the demand for the grant of Rs. 13 lakhs for meeting the cost of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, all the members are said to have expressed the opinion that the expenditure of Rs. 13 lakhs on the Commission was rather large and that it may be desirable in future to lay down the principles of expenditure on Commissions and Committees. Of the 13 lakhs, it is estimated approximately that Rs. 5 lakhs may be spent in India and Rs. 8 lakhs in England and that of the entire sum, only 4 lakhs will be votable and the rest non-votable.

VALUE OF RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURE

The report just published by the Ministry of Agriculture in England (*Research and the Load*) points out to farmers the value of education and research in agriculture, which India is slowly, but steadily following, as also the amount of work that requires to be done in many directions before the results can be turned to practical use.

Agricultural research demands sustained and patient observation, as each step in some definite line requires a year's changing seasons, and any marked abnormality, such as a late frost or blight, may destroy the significance of a test, and the observer will have to commence all over again.

Experiments in crop production and soil management have led to the discovery of a simple means of reducing the resistance of the soil to the plough. "The soil colloids," it is explained, "are electro-negative; if, therefore, a negatively-charged plate is inserted in the soil, the water will pass out from the colloid and become deposited on the plate.

Now a thin film of water is an almost perfect lubricant; if, therefore, the plough-share is kept negatively charged, it becomes coated with a film of water, and therefore continuously lubricated, so that it moves through the soil with less resistance than before. The electric current can be obtained from a dynamo carried on and driven by the tractor drawing the plough."

HELP FOR PADDY BREEDING

The Madras Government reviewing the administration report of the Agricultural Department characterised the report as a record of steady advance and states that in view of the importance of paddy breeding work and need for special officer, they appointed Mr. R. O. Iliffe as paddy specialist on five years' contract and have also deputed Mr. K. Ramayya for training at Cambridge to specialise in plant genetics with a view to fitting him for the Paddy Specialist's place. The appointment of an Assistant to the Deputy Director is also sanctioned.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CURRENCY COMMISSION REPORT. By Mr. P. B. Junnarkar M A, LL.B. Head of the Department of Commerce, Dacca University. Price Re 1-4

Mr. Junnarkar has already claimed the attention of the public as the author of "The Rupee and the Gold Standard." In this new book of his he discusses the three big problems raised by the Hilton Young Commission, namely, the question of stabilisation, the Gold Standard, and the Central Bank. These take up about two-thirds of the book, and the rest of the volume is devoted to matters closely allied to our currency problem. Banks, bank-reserves, the practice and experience of banking in other countries, are discussed; besides, there are three useful appendices—Mr. Keynes' scheme for a State Bank for India, the constitution of the Imperial Bank according to the Act of 1920, and the memorandum submitted by the author before the Currency Commission. Mr. Junnarkar has brought together an amount of useful matter in his little volume. He has made a fine attempt to be unprejudiced, and when discussing certain topics, the convertibility of notes for example, he has shown sound common-sense in warning us to remember that India is a land where the vast majority of people are rural, illiterate and ignorant, that any scheme which disregards this fact must to that extent lack equity.

THE WRITERS' AND ARTISTS' YEAR BOOK 1927. Ed. by Agnes Herbert, A. & C. Black Ltd., London.

The Editor is a working author and journalist and the work is primarily inspired by a spirit of helpfulness to the literary aspirant. The present edition contains a remarkably full list of journals and magazines, their addresses, requirements and scales of payment, besides competent advice on a variety of subjects of live interest to writers and artists.

LIFE OF BARRISTER SAVARKAR. By Chitra Gupta, B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.

Chitra Gupta apparently writes with intimate knowledge of the subject and we have in this book a remarkably frank and full account of the life and doings of Mr. Savarkar down to his trial and transportation. The whole thing looks like a page of romance, and we of this generation, imbued as we are with the cult of non-violence and constitutionalism, can admire the hero without desiring to follow his lead. His courage and patriotism, as the courage and patriotism of the Seinn Feiners, have never been doubted; but have his revolutionary teachings any place in the life of to day? In the light of current events and recent history Mr. Savarkar himself would hesitate to apply his short cuts to the solution of the complex problems of modern India.

THE DAILY MAIL YEAR BOOK 1927. Ed. by David Williamson, Associated Newspapers Ltd, London.

The twenty-seventh edition of this handy book of reference is on our table and we congratulate the Publishers on the variety and copiousness of its contents. A careful chronicle of the leading events of the year is given as also special accounts of the General Strike and the Mines Dispute. The average Englishman cares little for India and no wonder that in a reference book of about 300 pages not more than two pages are devoted to affairs of this country. Its thousand biographies contain only three Indian names.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS. By B. G. Sapre, Professor, Willingdon College, Sangli.

SHORT NOTES ON LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION etc. By Kesari Singh Pancholy, B.A., LL.B., F.R.E.S., Rewa C. I.

THE OFFERING. By M. Krishnamurti—Rishikula Ashrama, Lal-Bagh Road, Bangalore,

Diary of the Month

January 11. Sir S. M. Chitnavis is elected President of the C. P. Legislative Council.

January 12. Mrs. Diamond, wife of Captain Abercromby and daughter of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst is dead.

January 13. The South African Indian Delegation left Cape Town for India.

January 14. Mr. S. Saklatwala M. P. arrived in Bombay.

January 15. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mahomed Noor is elected President of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.

January 16. The Report of the Backbay Enquiry Committee is published.

January 17. The Bengal Legislative Council voted the Ministers' salaries by 94 against 38.

January 18. The Viceroy opened the Central Legislatures at Delhi.

January 19. Mr. V. J. Patel is re-elected President of the Legislative Assembly unanimously.

January 20. Sir Kailash Chandra Bose died at Calcutta this morning.

January 21. Pandit Motilal Nehru's adjournment motion regarding S. C. Mitra, *deterue*, was carried by 54 against 46.

January 22. Sir Abdur Rahim is appointed Minister on condition he finds a Hindu colleague.

January 23. It is announced that Sir Albion Banerjee is appointed Dewan of Kashmir.

January 24. A contingent of Indian troops has been despatched to China.

January 25. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar moved the adjournment motion in the Assembly on the question of sending troops to China. The Governor-General has disallowed it.

January 26. Sir Abdur Rahim, failing to find a Hindu colleague, has resigned.

January 27. Messrs. Guznavi and Chakravarti have accepted the Bengal Ministry.

January 28. The second contingent of 250 Punjabis arrived at Shanghai from Hong-Kong.

January 29. The German Cabinet has resigned. —A State Banquet was held to-day in honour of the Viceroy.

January 30. The regime of the Inter-allied Military Commission in Germany came to an end to-day.

January 31. Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, the Independents' nominee has been elected Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly by 59 votes against 55.

February 1. A further contingent of British and Indian troops sailed for China to-day by the *S. S. Rohna*. —The Peking Government has dismissed Sir Francis Aglen, Inspector-General of customs.

February 2. The Indian Merchants' Chamber met to day at Bombay, Mr. Lalji Naranji presiding.

February 3. Sir Samuel Hoare and party left Karachi to-day for London sailing in the Air Liner, *The City of Delhi*.

February 4. A monster official Labour Demonstration was held at Albert Hall, London, protesting against the British attitude towards China.

February 5. The S. African Indian Delegation arrived in Bombay to-day by *S. S. Karoi*.

February 6. Viscount Willingdon addressing the Canadian Club at Ottawa said that India should be assisted to get control of her own affairs.

February 7. Mr. Chen (China) met to-day Mr. O'Malley at Hankow for the first time since the rupture of negotiations.

February 8. H. M. the King opened the Parliament to-day.

February 9. The Editor of *FORWARD* was convicted and sentenced to three months' R. I. and a fine of Rs. 300. —Revolution in Portugal is reported.

February 10. The United States Steamer *Pe Cos* with 258 marines arrived at Shanghai. —Quiet has been restored throughout Portugal.



MR. SCOTT BREMNER

Mr. Scott Bremner who is retiring this month has been connected with the *MADRAS MAIL* for eight and thirty years. Beginning his career as a reporter on the staff of the *MAIL* Mr. Bremner rose to be its Managing Editor, a position which he attained by years of patient and well-merited service. It is a record of which he might well be proud and it is gratifying to find that the management has not failed to appreciate it. Mr. Bremner, so long connected with the social and civic life of the City, has made many remarkable friendships especially with Indians who have a warm regard for his character and abilities. They wish him *bon voyage*, and health and happiness in his retirement.

Educational

RESEARCH IN INDIA

Prof. C. V. Raman, in the course of his Convocation Address to the Benares Hindu University



PROF. C. V. RAMAN, F.R.S.

made a forceful appeal for mobilizing the human and material resources available for the development of research in India. He said:—

"The human factor in research dominates all others. Perhaps the most striking fact revealed by the study of the careers of scientific men during the last century is the relation between the age of a man and the character of his scientific work. An astonishingly large proportion of all striking original work has been done by very young men.

A well-thought out scheme for the promotion of research in India would include the provision of National Research Fellowships on an extensive scale for young men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five who have given proof in their University career of real originality and power to do independent work. It is between these ages that energy and enthusiasm are combined and stand at their highest pitch. The provision of funds for such a scheme is a matter that can well claim the attention of our publicists.

I would advocate State aid for research on the largest scale financially possible, provided that a sound scheme such as an Advisory National Council for Research is devised at the same time by which it can be ensured that the public funds available for research are distributed in an economic and useful manner. It is a mistake to lavish money on a single individual or institution, however eminent or distinguished. The object should be rather to reach the capable but comparatively less known worker whose progress is often hampered by the lack of even the slenderest resources."

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

An Educational Conference attended by the Ministers of Education of the Punjab and Assam and the Directors of Public Instruction of all Provinces in India and Burma was opened in New Delhi last month by the Hon. Mr. J. W. Bhole. In his opening remarks, Mr. Bhole said that the Government of India believed that they would be materially assisting the cause of education by bringing together the workers from distant places. The Conference then proceeded under the chairmanship of Mr. Richey, Education Commissioner with the Government of India, to a discussion on compulsory education followed by a further discussion on the adaptation of rural schools to their environment. Other topics, such as adult education, the relative advantages of public and private management of schools and teaching of English in vernacular schools were also discussed.



Mlle. JULIETTE VILLIERE

Last month we gave an account of the remarkable address delivered by Mlle. Juliette Villiere, at the re-opening of the Court Season in Paris—an address valuable for its theme as well as for its treatment. Mlle. Villiere's handling of the Great Trial of Mahatma Gandhi was at once acute and profound. We are told that "for the whole of an hour declaiming, narrating and arguing, she held the audience like a great tragedienne and never for once did the interest flag or the orator lose the grip of the audience."—[By courtesy of the GOAN WORLD.]



SIR RONALD ROSS, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., F. R. S.

The Calcutta Corporation presented an address to Sir Ronald Ross on Tuesday, the 1st February before a large gathering of citizens including the Councillors, Aldermen and principal officers of the Corporation. Grateful references were made in the address to the deep debt of obligation Sir Ronald has laid the people of Bengal under by the results of his life-long researches. The address concluded by wishing him long life to witness a fuller realisation of his great mission.

Science

SIR RONALD ROSS'S INDICTMENT

In a recent issue of the *SCIENCE PROGRESS* Sir Ronald Ross makes a strong plea for the provision of pecuniary compensation for men who have achieved important medical advances at their own cost. Governments, he complains, prefer to obtain their scientific benefits for nothing. He has long tilted at this parsimony and returns to the subject, because after the recent death of a distinguished investigator his friends had to provide for the education of his children. Yet "his work on typhoid alone must have saved this country hundreds of thousands of lives and millions of money during the War." The public, he says, has no sense of values. It gives away millions in doles, and allows hundreds to make fortunes by work which does little good to the people. Sir Ronald indicts America equally; they have famous medical institutions there, but do little or nothing for the men on whose original investigations their work is based.

THE UNITY OF LIFE

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, writing in the *YALE REVIEW* upon the discoveries made at the Bose Research Institute in Calcutta, describes the extraordinarily sensitive instruments which he and his helpers have invented to help them in research:

"By means of the high magnification apparatus devised for the purpose, the imperceptible pulse beat of the plant in propulsion of sap is automatically recorded on a moving photographic plate. And it has been found that drugs and alkaloids produce modifications of pulse beat in the animal and in the plant which are extra-ordinarily similar. Those which, like caffeine, stimulate the animal's cardiac activity, also stimulate the propulsive activity in the plant; on the other hand, depressants like potassium bromide induce opposite reactions in both. In the plant, as in the animal, a minute dose of strychnine causes stimulation.

"The effect of cobra-venom is also identical in the animal and in the plant. A moderate dose causes death, while an excessively minute dose causes an enhancement of rhythmic activity.

"Thus the results of my researches prove that the mechanism of life in the plant is essentially similar to that in the animal. The plant contracts under a shock; it conducts excitation to a distance along a definite nervous channel; the sap is propelled by a mechanism similar to that which propels the blood. But the simpler type of plant organisation offers a unique advantage in investigation. The pursuit of this branch of scientific research will therefore lead to the solution of many problems which have long been perplexing in the study of the more complex animal life."

WIRELESS DEVELOPMENTS

The rapidity with which new wireless developments are being announced is simply astonishing. The other day there was opened a regular wireless telephone service between London and New York. This is to be followed by regular beam wireless service between London and Canada, Australia, India, and South Africa. Tests are now being made, and when completed the service will be commenced. Pictures are actually being sent by wireless, and the latest is the broadcasting by wireless of moving pictures, which it is claimed is an accomplished fact. We are living in wonderful times!

NEW SUBSTITUTE FOR PETROL

A report of the tests of the so-called white spirit petrol substitute, for which it is claimed that it is non-inflammable at temperatures below 85 degrees (Fahrenheit) and that it is possible to apply a match to it without setting it on fire, was read by the experimenter, M. Dumanoir, at the Academy of Science. M. Dumanoir claimed that aeroplane experiments showed that the new spirit was superior to petrol at 9,000 feet though inferior on the ground level from the view-point of the maximum engine revolutions.



HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR. AELEN, ARCHBISHOP OF MADRAS
who celebrated his Episcopal Silver Jubilee this month.

Political

MR. C. S. BALASUNDARAM IYER

We congratulate Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, on his appointment as the Third Member of H. H. the Maharaja's Executive Council in Mysore. The appointment is a well-deserved tribute to an able



and devoted servant of Mysore, whose talents and unobtrusive manner have earned for him the esteem of his colleagues. Whether as Chief Secretary to Government or as Inspector-General of Education or Revenue Commissioner his grasp of details and mastery of administrative needs and power of organization were remarkably evident. Indeed he has shown marked ability in whatever capacity he has served in the State. No wonder that the achievements of so distinguished an administrator have not escaped the notice of so keen judge of men as His Highness the Maharaja.

SIR PHILIP CHETWODE.

Addressing the first Battalion of the Devon Regiment, on the eve of their departure to China, Lieut General Sir Philip Chetwode, Commander in Chief of the Aldershot Command, said: You are going on what is not a pleasant job. There is no state of war existing in China, and it will not exist if we can prevent it. You are going to protect British lives and property, which we hold by Treaty. In doing so it may be difficult to keep your tempers. There will



SIR PHILIP CHETWODE

be plenty of people who will try to tempt you to lose your temper and commit an act of war. I am confident, as British soldiers, you will keep your tempers and keep smiling."

General

DEWAN BAHADUR RANGACHARIAR

Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar who has been requested by the Viceroy to represent India at the opening function of the New Capital of Australia,



T. RANGACHARIAR

will leave India in the middle of April so as to reach the destination two or three days before the ceremony in May. He will tour in Australia for four weeks visiting Melbourne, Victoria and other important cities and then sail for India.

BURMA'S FIRST LADY BARRISTER

Miss Ma Hpwa Hmee, the first lady Barrister in Burma, who returned from England recently, was enrolled as an Advocate of the Rangoon High Court on January 26. She intends practising in Rangoon and is the first woman in Burma to do so.

THE EDITOR OF "FORWARD"

The Editor of the FORWARD, Satya Ranjan Bakshi, was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 300, and in default similar imprisonment for one month more. The printer, Paulin Behari Dhar, was fined Rs. 250, with the alternative of two months' imprisonment.

MR. PICKTHALL'S MADRAS LECTURES

On the completion of the series of lectures on the Religion of Islam which Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall had been delivering in Madras the Committee in charge of the lectures have addressed a letter to H. E. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad warmly appreciating Mr. Pickthall's discourses on Islamic culture and religion. "Through these lectures", they say, "Mr. Pickthall has unreservedly placed at our disposal the benefit of his ripe scholarship, deep erudition, wide research and varied experience, and if he has here and there touched on our past achievements, it is with a view to warn us against the wide gulf that separates us from them. His lectures are the more valuable because they evidence a detached outlook and a sincere desire to see present conditions righted and his masterly exposition of facts has indeed been a



M. PICKTHALL.

startling revelation as emanating from one who has not been born and brought up in an Islamic atmosphere."

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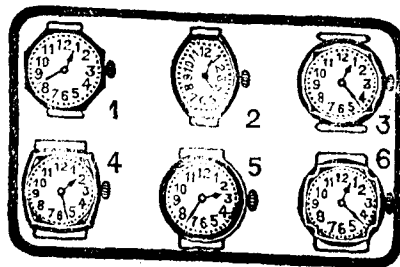
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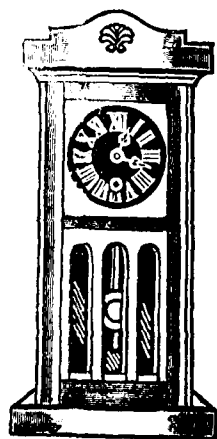
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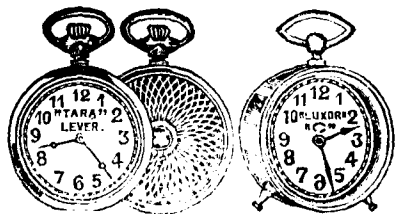
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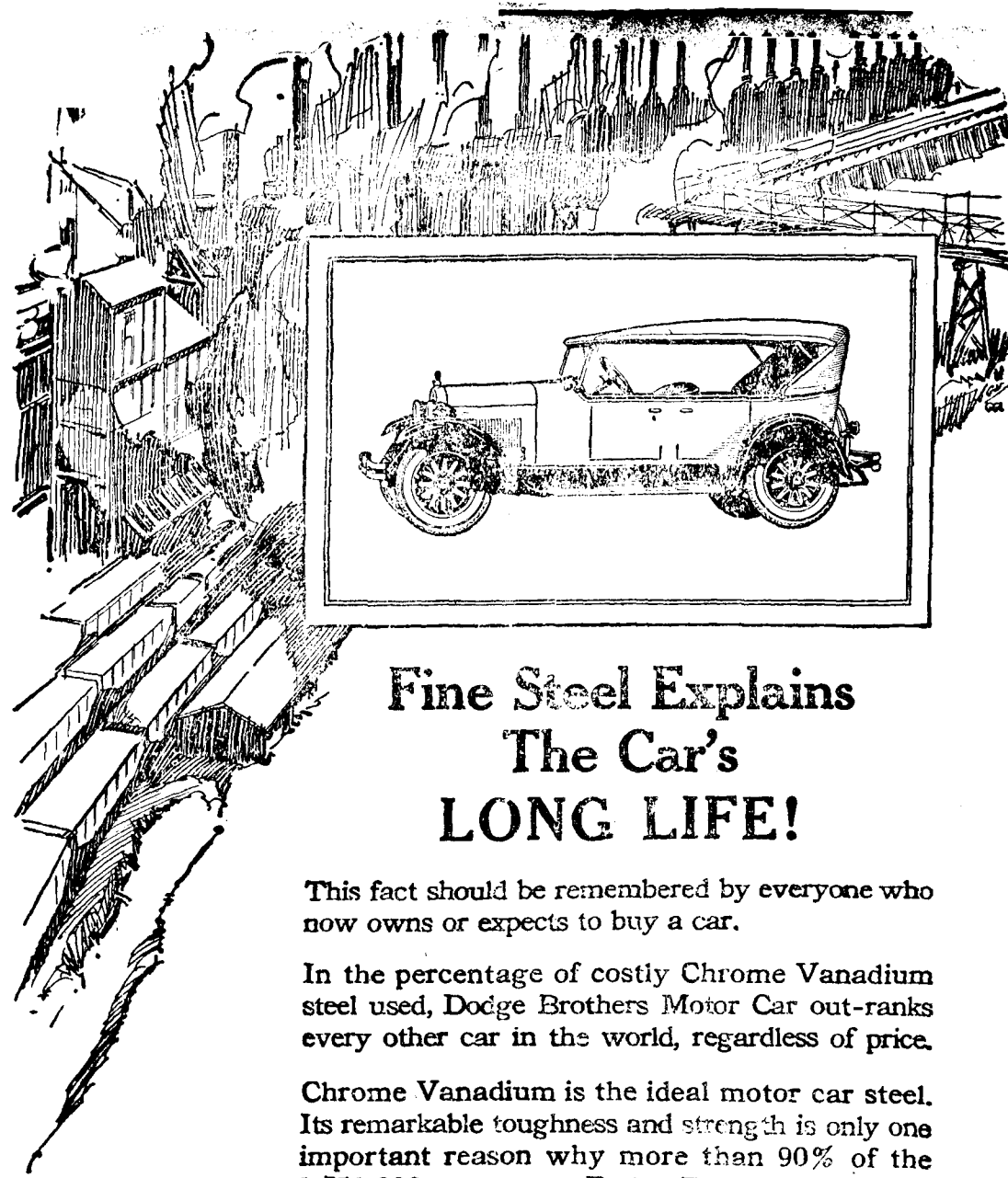


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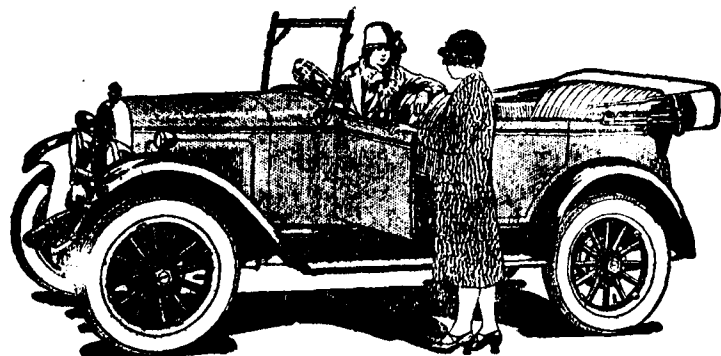
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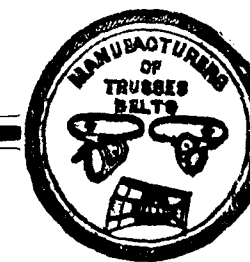
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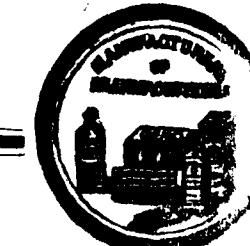
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" 2nd	Samalkot	Mahasivarathri
" 2nd to 4th	Pithapuram	Kukkuteswaraswami festival
" 2nd to 8th	Narasaraopet	Mahasivarathri feast at Kottappakonda
" 2nd to 9th	Nandyal Markapur Road & Kurnool	Sivarathri at Sri Sailam
" 2nd to 10th	Kyatsandra	Siddha Ganga Jatra
" 3rd to 5th	Trivellore	Grand Masi New Moon and Floating festival
" 4th to 18th	Gudgeri	Shaha Najrat Shaha Khadi
" 5th	Badami	Govaniki feast
" 8th	Tiruttani	Kirthigai
" 8th to 11th	Bellary	Gadi Lingappa Jatra at Gulyam near Bellary
" 13th to 17th	Narasapatnam Road	Sri Venkateswaraswami Kalyanam
" 13th to 20th	Bitragunta	Sri Venkatesa Perumal feast
" 14th to 26th	Kadiri	Sri Narasimha Swami Brahmotsavam
" 18th	Ajjampur	Car festival of Sri Durgamma at Anthargatti
" 18th to 20th	Savanur	Satyabodhaswami fair
" 18th to 22nd	Nellore	Brahmotsavam
" 20th to 26th	Dundur Annigeri and Mallapur	Yamanur feast
" 21st to 23rd	Ulindakonda and Veldurti	Gorantla feast
" 25th to 31st	Tinnanur	Brahmotsavam
" About 25th	Harihar	Sangameswara Jatra
" 26th to 29th	Koregaon	Khatgeri
" 31st to 2nd April	Anakapalle	Nookalamma feast

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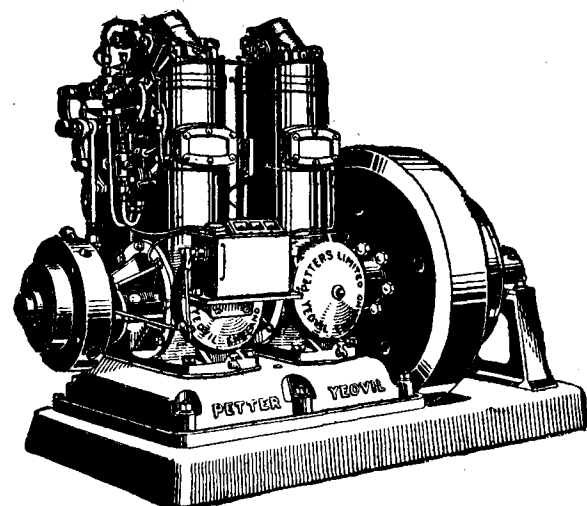
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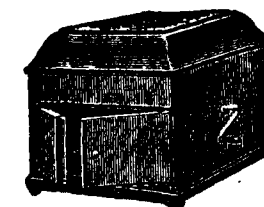
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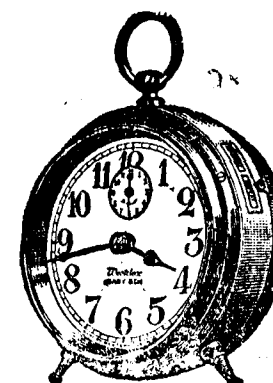
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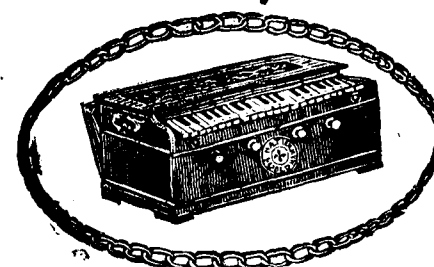
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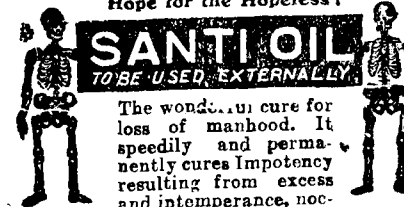
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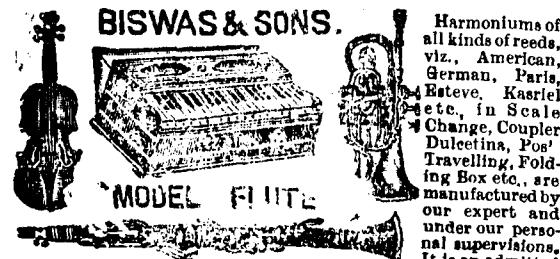
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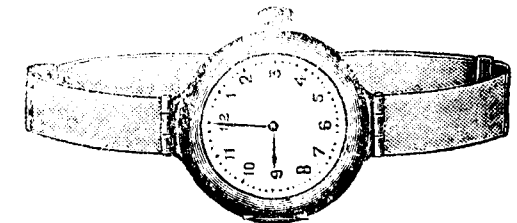
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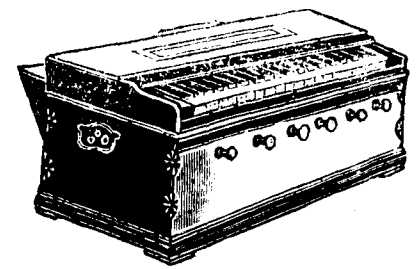
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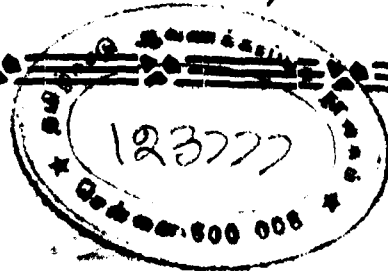
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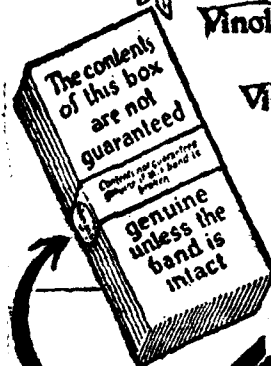
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