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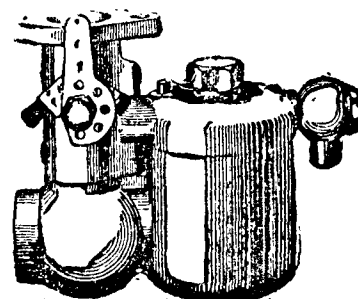
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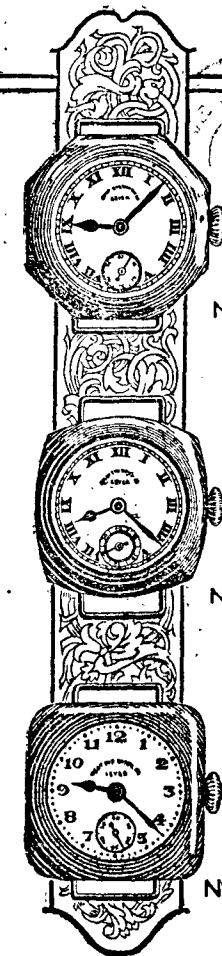
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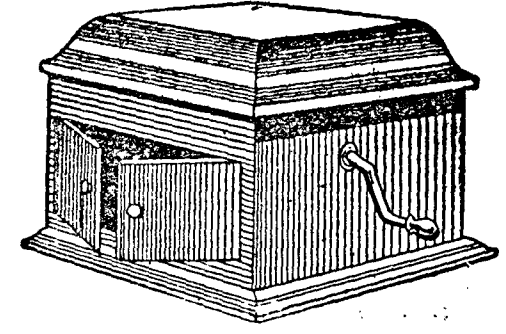
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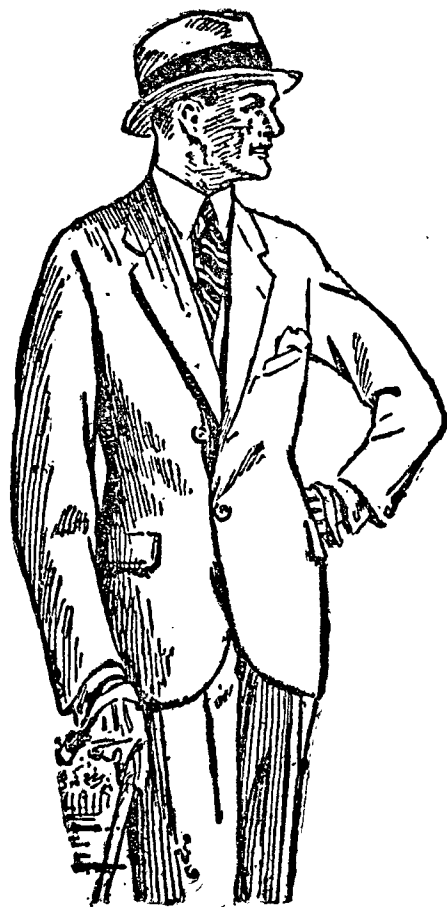
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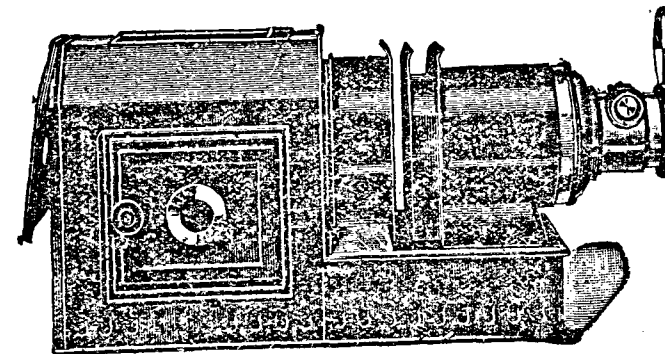
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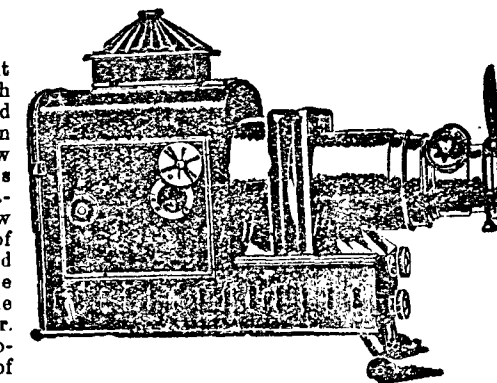
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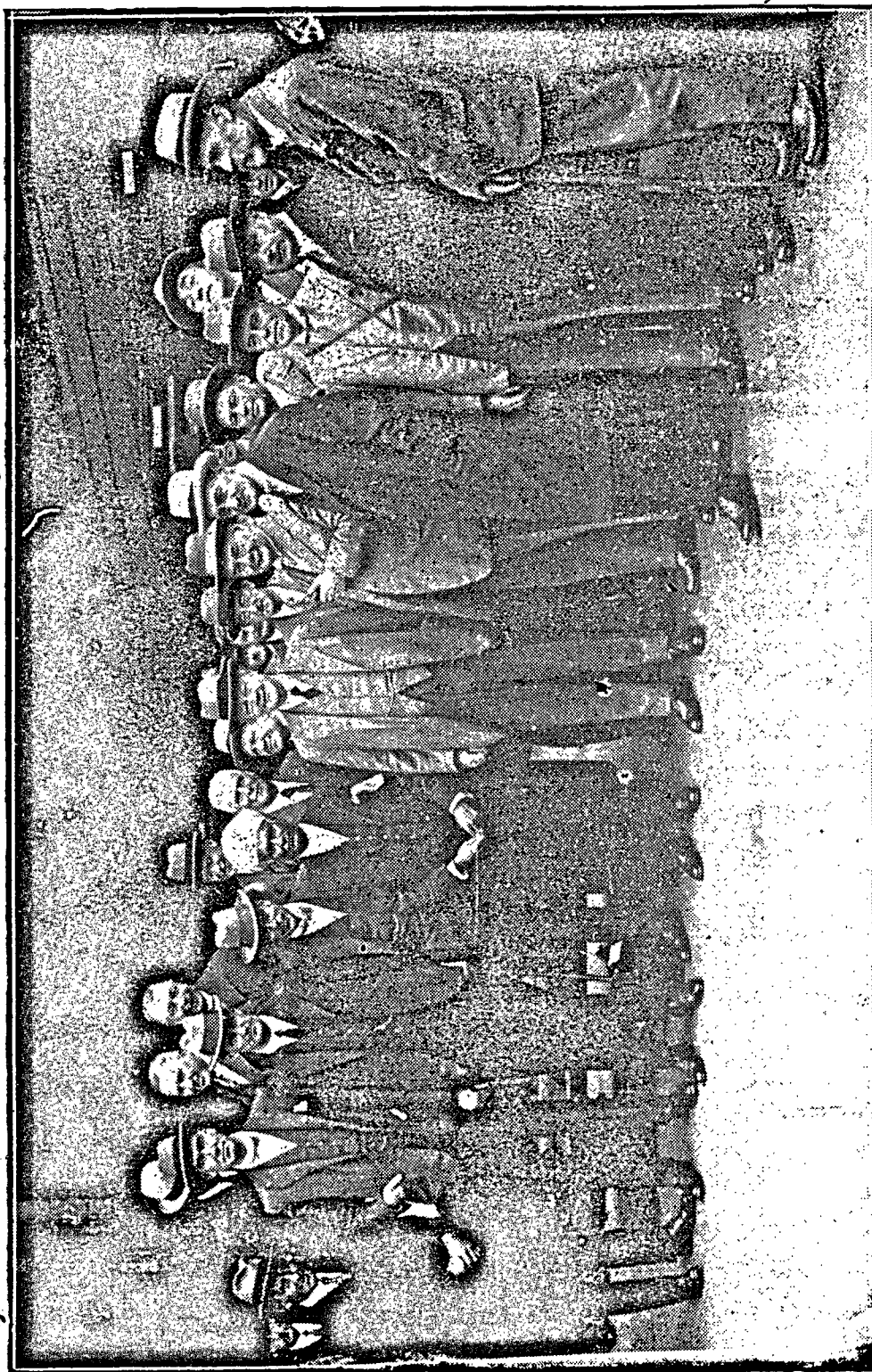
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A group photograph of the Empire Parliamentary Delegation leaving Southampton for Canada on the "Empress of France". The photo shows Lord Hailsham, Chancellor and Deputy Prime Minister standing with the delegates. The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, the Indian delegate, is seen on the left. By Courtesy of the "Indian Daily Mail".

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST
EDITED BY THE HON. MR. G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XXIX.]

OCTOBER 1928.

[No 10]

The Indian Question in Ceylon*

BY MR. ST. NIHAL SINGH.

CEYLON now has an Indian question. Certain recommendations made by the Donoughmore Commission on Ceylon constitutional reforms have given birth to it.



MR. ST. NIHAL SINGH.

Sinhalese politicians, almost without exception, decry the proposals, hedged about with restrictions even though they be, for the enfranchisement of Indians in the Island. A strong agitation to render those recommendations

nugatory has been set up from the platform and echoes in the columns of the Sinhalese-owned—especially the vernacular—Press.

The Ceylon National Congress, which though not fully representative of all the elements of the Ceylonese people, is the most powerful political organisation in the Island, passed, at the special session held on September 1st, a resolution which, in effect, will continue to deprive the greater bulk of Indians of the privilege of voting. That body has followed, in this matter, the lead given by one of the associations incorporated in it—the Lanka Maha Jana Sabha of Colombo. Several other organizations have recommended similar action.

The phraseology in which the resolution was passed at the Ceylon National Congress disguises the object behind it. It reads as if Indians were not going to be discriminated against. The continuance of the franchise "in the case of men" and its extension "to women under the existing qualifications" means, however, that in practice, while the bulk of the Britons sojourning in the Island will be given the vote, most of the Indians in Ceylon will remain political serfs: for the "existing qualification" is a "property qualification" which most of our people in Ceylon do not, and will not, for years and possibly for decades, possess. Only a small minority

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among the 900,000 Indians in this Island does, in fact, possess the vote.

In urging the Congress to prevent the enfranchisement of our people, a Sinhalese delegate (Mr. J. E. Gunasekara) is reported to have stated "that the Englishmen who came out to this land were intelligent men who could understand the aspirations of the Ceylonese and it was not on such people that they would place a ban." Their action, on the contrary, was directed against "the illiterate Indian cooly who came to the Island in thousands every year and who could possibly have no stake in the country." This speaker gave expression to the views entertained by many Sinhalese, who, however, did not possess the candour or the courage to state them.

Two motions at present stand on the agenda paper of the Ceylon Legislative Council which aim at preventing the enfranchisement of the bulk of the Indians in Ceylon. Both have been introduced by Sinhalese Buddhists—one of them a planter serving on the Ceylon Executive Council.

The effort to keep the bulk of our people in Ceylon in political serfdom is only part of the adverse action that is being taken against them. A Sinhalese politician (the Hon'ble Mr. Victor Corea) gave notice, sometime ago, of a motion asking, "in the interests of the indigenous population," that the Ceylon Government should "take immediate steps to restrict immigration into" the Island. This motion, in view of the general attitude of its author, has been interpreted as a move directed against our people, who alone came to the Island in any considerable numbers.

Developments of this kind are likely to perplex stay-at-home Indians who have not

closely followed the trend of political evolution in Ceylon. From our infancy, when we began to learn the episodes of the *Ramayana* at our mothers' knees, we have regarded Ceylon as bound to our Motherland by a thousand ties.

Some of the very Sinhalese who are at present taking a prominent part in the crusade against Indians, boast of their Aryan descent. Some of them take pride in being Buddhists as well. India, to them, is *dhamma-dvipa*, the land where their religion was founded. A few of them publicly protested, some years ago, against the treatment that some of the Dominions persisted in meting out to Indian immigrants. They are either blind to all the inconsistencies which are obvious even to Occidental on-lookers, or, prompted by the desire to let what they fancy is their interest over-ride all their better nature purposely shut their eyes to them.

The Ceylonese who have managed to acquire a thin veneer of Occidentalism pose as matter-of-fact people, and pretend that practical considerations, and not sentiment or geographic propinquity or even racial, religious or linguistic affinities, constitute the springs of their actions. The Sinhalese politicians, who, severally or jointly, are trying to hound Indians out of Ceylon, and to treat others as political serfs, pose as realists who insist upon placing material interest above bonds of blood and creed. As a consequence, they are proud, instead of being ashamed, of modelling their attitude toward Indians upon the British-Colonial pattern, and using British-Colonial arguments to justify their position.

The Sinhalese attitude toward Indians does not have the merit of even being straightfor-

ward. They all know that in certain respects they are abjectly dependent upon the Indians in their midst and that there would be consternation if there was the least likelihood that these Indians would leave the Island and India would refuse to permit others to come to take their place.

If the Indian sweepers, for instance, were to refuse their services, the streets of Colombo and other towns in Ceylon would go unswept; and conservancy would become a most perplexing problem in all urban areas. If the Indian labourers in Colombo harbour and Indian mechanics in workshops and Indian workers in domestic service chose to return to India, disorganization would result, at least for some time. The tea industry would come to a standstill if there were no Indian estate labourers. Much of the rubber industry would similarly be paralysed. The indigenous labour would be able to enforce a scale of wages that would create a domestic and social revolution.

The effect of such disorganization and paralysis would be felt even by those Sinhalese who are not directly dependent upon Indian labour. The shrinkage in the volume of money through the violent disturbance in the planting industries which would result from the suspension of Indian labour would have an important reaction in every home in the country.

The Indian contribution to the general prosperity of the Island is so important and the continued, uninterrupted supply of Indian labour is so vital to at least two among the most important industries, that the Ceylon Government is compelled to maintain a large and expensive department under the supervision of one of its cleverest (Irish) Civil servants

in Colombo; and a costly organization in South India under the superintendence of a British ex-planter. The propaganda that the latter organisation is supposed to carry on in India fails, of itself, to induce a sufficient number of Indian labourers to leave their Motherland to accept employment on Ceylon tea, rubber, cardamom and other plantations. Agents have actually to be sent from estates owned by sons and daughters of Ceylon, and not merely by Britons, to recruit workers. But for that system of recruitment many areas in the Island would still be covered with jungle instead of tea or rubber, or would soon revert to wilderness.

The greater bulk of the Indians in Ceylon are engaged in estate labour. Putting the dependents together with the workers, their number would not be far short of three quarters of a million persons.

If the Sinhalese who are agitating against Indians were at all honest, they would ask that all these Indian estate labourers be sent back to India, demand that the department maintained in Colombo and the wide-flung machinery set to work in India should be closed down, and the system of recruiting Indian labour in the Madras Presidency and contiguous Indian States should be forthwith discontinued. They know that such action would destroy the foundation upon which industrial and probably also domestic economy in the Island is based. Even the noisy, irresponsible politicians among them, therefore, do not urge that such steps be taken.

The agitation for the restriction of Indian immigration, it must be noted, is directed against the Indian non-estate workers—and not even against all the Indian non-

estate workers. I have never heard even the fire-eaters put forward the demand that the Indians who are engaged in doing their dirty work, for instance, be packed off to India and that their immigration authorities shut the door on the other Indians who were willing to engage in filthy occupations reserved for them by the Sinhalese, too proud to engage in them themselves. They ask the Government merely to put a stop to the entry of skilled and unskilled Indian workers who, in stamina, or skill, or both, are superior to the indigneous workers or at least are more hard-working and frugal in their habits.

While, however, the Sinhalese would let Indians continue to do their scavenging and also bear the brunt of producing tea and rubber, they insist upon these Indians continuing to live in conditions of political serfdom. At present, Indian estate labourers are tied down to the estates on which they are employed. They live, almost without exception, in cells set one against the other. These so-called "lines" are all situated on private property which outsiders can enter only at the risk of expulsion or even of being charged with trespass. These workers, to a unit, are denied the protection of suffrage, though persons who benefit from their labour, be they Sinhalese, or Burgher, or Tamil, or British, possess and exercise that privilege. The Sinhalese agitators would keep these labourers in that helpless plight.

The excuse urged is that, if enfranchised, the Indian estate workers, living, as they do, beyond the reach of Ceylonese politicians, would vote as their masters—the planters—order them to do; and since, in some parts of

the Island, the Indians out-number the Sinhalese, no son of the soil would be returned. The remedy, as I have pointed out again and again, lies not in keeping these Indians in political serfdom, but in insisting upon a constitutional safe-guard that would make their dwellings accessible, in the same manner and to the same degree, that the dwellings of other voters are, not only in Ceylon but in all lands.

It does not, however, suit the Ceylonese plutocrats dependent upon Indian toil for their prosperity to have their workers live in conditions of freedom. They wish to have in their employ Indians who dwell on their property, from which they can (and do) exclude outsiders—Indians who are politically dumb. Therein lies the crux of the Indian question in Ceylon.

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The British Point of View

By A. CHESSELL PIQUET

I have noticed that several of my friends of the different parties upon their return to India have expressed, with greater or smaller degree of emphasis, their disappointment, and even their disgust, at the indifference with which Indian affairs and Indian aspirations are regarded in England. They complain bitterly of the hostility they find fairly wide-spread towards the nationalist point of view. I think that there is considerable justification for this complaint in the existing situation, but I am not sure that I would go all the way with those that make it, nor would I attribute all the blame to the British people or their leaders. I have long held the view that, whilst the fundamental work of national organisation should proceed in India, it was a mistake to close down the Congress propaganda agency in London. In the absence of this agency, it was inevitable that propaganda would be left to voluntary agencies and to private initiative. The voluntary agencies have throughout been starved for funds, and effective workers and the individual efforts have compromised Indian interests, because of the private self-interest or the lack of balance of some of the individuals, or have otherwise done comparatively little to advance their interests in the case of others, because they have not been sure that their efforts would not be repudiated by those in India who were unfamiliar with the needs of the situation in England.

The only other help to the Indian cause that has been received here has been through the occasional visits of Indian leaders, most of whom have come here primarily on their private affairs, and have, therefore, not devoted

their whole-time energies to the advancement of that cause, with very rare exceptions.

In India there has been the spectacle of the collapse of the Non-co-operation movement as an effective weapon of political advancement, and the communal strife that has largely stultified all efforts at the establishment of national unity.

On the other hand, during these years there has been a growing impatience in England, as in other Western countries, with the clamour for self-determination, and a growing tendency towards a conservative handling of national as well as international affairs. The spectacle of political collapse and internal disunity, combined with the dread of the progress of communism in Eastern countries, has furnished ample material to enable the opponents of Indian nationalism to obtain support for the view that Indians are incompetent to manage their own affairs and that the Indian nationalist movement is, at bottom, anti-British and hostile to Western culture. Considerable funds, by contrast, have been at the disposal of these critics of the Indian nationalist movement, who have found a ready press wherein to ventilate these fears and opinions. The consequence has been, therefore, that whilst India has been lacking an agency for the purposes of nationalist propaganda here, by means of picked men able effectively, with knowledge, experience, and capacity, to understand and deal with the British psychology; whilst she has been generally neglectful of the value of creating goodwill and stimulating of a none too imaginative, but on the whole a practical people, there has been no lack of funds or of workers, on the other side.

On the one hand, again, there has been, if I may venture a criticism, the error of depending far too much upon the help of one or other political party, and, on the other hand, a tendency to unreasonable abuse of that party because it has not been able to see eye to eye with all the views of the political leaders in India, who themselves have only too often shifted their ground and failed to preserve a united front. I have again and again heard from prominent Labour men how impossible they find it, with all the best will in the world, to understand the Indian political situation in the absence of any well-formulated and clearly defined political policy or programme, which would carry the general support of India and would not be repudiated by considerable sections of Indian public opinion. In particular, the Labour Party very deeply resents the attack made upon its goodwill and sincerity in agreeing to participate in the Simon Commission. Whether or not it has made a mistake is quite another matter; but there is deep general resentment at the bitter attacks that have been made in India and by some of the Indian spokesmen here upon the *bonafides* of the party in the action that it has taken. The real fact, of course, is that there has for a long time been no efficient liaison between the progressive leaders here and in India. If delegations of public workers from India could not be sent here annually from Easter until the rising of Parliament in August (the only time in which public work may be adequately done here,) then some public worker should have been sent each year to maintain relations and explain the tendencies, some of them obscure, of the national movement. The Indian case has largely gone by default.

Perhaps the most fatal error that has been made of late is the reconstitution of the Congress Committee with the collaboration and membership of well-known Indian communists here. How it is supposed to be possible to engender confidence in such a body in any of the three parties, all of whom have definitely repudiated communism and all its

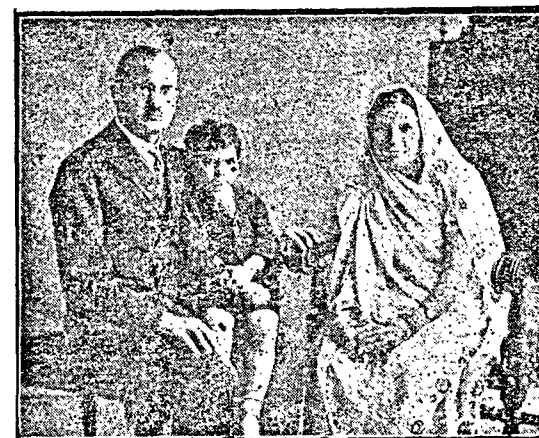
works, passes one's comprehension. To have the support of a few individual extremists, whether inside or out of Parliament, is very poor compensation for the political loss that has resulted from the appointment of the Congress Committee in London so constituted, and the sooner, to my mind, the Committee is re-organised by the elimination of its extremist element, the sooner will it be able to function usefully, since, for all practical purposes, it is already still born.

It is unfortunate that the news of the Report of the All-Parties Conference Committee and the details communicated of the draft Constitution and its adoption by the Conference, should have reached here during what is the holiday season, when no serious attention can possibly be given to the matter. In the result, and without any authoritative explanation here of its genesis, development and meaning, it is not to be wondered at that it has aroused no enthusiasm here, but has evoked much satirical criticism. How far the Report and the draft constitution really have the general backing of Indian opinion is a matter that will be carefully watched in various political quarters here: but it seems to me that if any endeavour is to be made to enlist British public opinion, then the earlier a well-organised homogeneous, and responsible Indian delegation comes to England next year, devoting its whole time to a thorough campaign in the right quarters on behalf of Indian national aspirations, the better. To wait until the Simon Commission reports, would, I venture to think, be a great mistake. It cannot be too firmly realised that nothing can possibly be gained by abstention from direct intercourse with the best minds in this country. Aloofness serves no purpose whatever and is bound to be misconstrued; and, after all, so long as the British connection is retained—i. e., so long as the goal is Dominion Status—Parliament is the only authority that can give legal effect to what India desires. It should, therefore, be the object of a united India to convert Parliament and to leave no constitutional stone unturned, with that object in view.

The International Labour Conference

BY MR. D. P. KAITAN

THE International Labour Conference is fast becoming the Chief Organisation for regulating the relationship between Labour



MR. D. P. KAITAN

and Capital and for harmonising the activities in the different countries in regard thereto. The European countries take the work of the International Labour Conference very seriously. Although its decision greatly affects the Economic situation in India, it is regrettable that the constitution and work of the Conference are not properly understood in this country.

It is well known that the International Labour Conference is an integral part of the League of Nations. Its constitution is to be found in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles which was signed to bring peace in the world after the big European War. In the Preamble to Part XIII of that Treaty, it is stated that, whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, it recognises that such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice,

The Preamble goes on to state as follows:—

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of the workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of vocational and technical education and other measures.

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.

The HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, moved by the sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:"

As a result, a permanent organisation is established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble. That organisation is known as the International Labour Conference, to which is attached an International Labour Office controlled by a Governing Body. The original members of the League of Nations are the original Members of this Organisation. India is an original Member of the League of Nations and, consequently, of this Organisation.

To the International Labour Conference, each of the Members, that is, each country, is allowed to send four representatives, of whom two are Government Delegates and two others are Delegates representing respectively the Employers and the Work people of each country. Each Delegate may be accompanied by Advisors, who cannot exceed two in number for each item on the Agenda of the meeting. When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, it is

provided that one at least of the Advisors should be a woman. The Government of each country has undertaken to nominate non-Government Delegates and Advisors chosen in agreement with the Industrial Organisations, if such Organisations exist, which are mostly representative of employers or work people, as the case may be, in their respective countries. It may here be pointed out that the word "industrial" has been held to have been used in a very wide sense. For instance, it has been expressly held by the Hague Tribunal that it includes agricultural. Moreover, the International Labour Conference has more than once passed Conventions, Recommendations, and resolutions affecting commercial employees as well. There can no doubt, therefore, be, that the word "industrial" includes all vocations, such as manufacturing, mining, agricultural and commercial. The Advisors are given very good status and powers and are allowed to become Members of the Committee and, with the permission of the Delegate, to take part in the Debate at the whole Conference.

The International Labour Conference usually meets once a year at Geneva, but in the year 1926, there were two meetings: one to deal with general subjects and the other specially with subjects of a maritime nature. It is similarly expected that in the year 1929, there will be two sittings of the Conference, one dealing with the general subjects and the other dealing with maritime questions.

Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles provides that, when the Conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the Agenda, it will rest with the Con-

ference to determine whether these proposals should take the form of

- (a) a recommendation to be submitted to the Members for consideration with a view to effect being given to it by national legislation or otherwise, or
- (b) a Draft International Convention for ratification by the Members.

In either case, a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present is necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the Recommendation or Draft Convention, as the case may be, by the Conference. It is further provided that in framing any Recommendation or Draft Convention of general application, the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation, or other special circumstances, make the industrial conditions substantially different, and will suggest modifications, if any, which, it considers, may be required to meet the case of such countries.

It does not follow that each country must act according to the recommendations or Conventions that have been passed by the Conference. The only thing that the Government of each country has undertaken is that it will, within the period of one year at most from the closing of the Session of the Conference, or if it is impossible owing to exceptional circumstances to do so within the period of one year, then at the earliest practicable moment, and in no case later than 18 months from the closing of the Session of the Conference, bring the Recommendation or Draft Convention before the Authority or Authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or

other action. It is expressly provided that if, on a Recommendation, no legislative or other action is taken to make a Recommendation effective, or if the Draft Convention fails to obtain the consent of the Authority or Authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the Member.

In addition to Recommendations and Conventions, Resolutions may also be moved by the Delegates or Advisors, of which at least a week's notice has to be given before date of opening of the Conference.

At the Conference, Representatives come from various countries and the official languages are English and French. Representatives may speak any other languages also and arrangements are made for a proper translation thereof into the official languages. Germany and Spain have almost succeeded in getting their languages recognised as official languages. Each speech is translated in at least two languages, namely, English and French. The Conference has very capable translators who do their work with admirable precision and quickness. In previous years, the translation used to be made immediately after a speech was delivered. The interpreters, however, have attained such marvellous skill that in 1928 a system of simultaneous translation was adopted and successfully practised. Under this system, if a speech is delivered e. g. in German, two interpreters simultaneously hear the speaker and translate the speech, which is conveyed to the Representatives through a telephonic system which is fixed at the seat of each Representative. This system resulted in the work of the Conference being expedited by at least four days.

As soon as the Conference meets, it elects a President and thereafter appoints a Selection Committee. The Selection Committee meets soon thereafter and decides upon the number of Committees that should be appointed to deal with the various works put on the Agenda of the Conference. Thereafter, the Conference divides itself into various Committees for dealing with the work. The most important work of the Conference is done in this Committee. The selections of the various Committees are almost formally brought before the first Conference because the various Groups, namely the Government Group, the Employers Group and the Workers Group meet separately, and each Group appoints its own Representatives on the various Committees. Even these Groups have non-official organisations working in connection with the Conference, and when the Group officially meets, it almost ratifies what has been done non-officially by the organisations set up. For example, to protect the interests of the employers, they have started an Organisation called the International Organisation of Industrial Employers with its head office at Brussels. Employers Organisations of the various countries contribute toward the expenses of this International Organisation, which works throughout the year in close touch with the Governing Body of the International Labour Conference. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce has in 1928 become a Member of this organisation, which is sometimes known as the I. O. I. E. and sometimes as the Brussels Organisation. This organisation keeps its Members duly informed of what the Governing Body does, influences the Employers Representatives on the Governing Body in regard to the views that they

should express, and arranges the work to be done by the Employers Group at the International Labour Conference. This non-official organisation divides itself into as many Committees called Technical Sections, as the Committees appointed by the Conference.

It will thus appear that, when the Conference does its work, there are three parallel streams flowing for each Representative; for instance, an Employers Representative finds himself in the non-official Organisation, the Official Group and the Committees of the whole Conference. A new person coming to the Conference for several days finds himself at sea to understand the intricate and unfamiliar procedure at the Conference and its ramifications. Various countries have, therefore, for several years, consistently followed the practice of maintaining a continuity in their Delegations, and it is those countries that really carry the work before them. If India is to seriously take up the work of the International Labour Conference, she will have to adopt the same course.

The work done by the International Labour Conference is of a very interesting nature, though the Representatives have to work very hard. It enables the Representatives to come into contact with picked men of the various countries of the World. They come into intimate social contact with each other at a large number of dinners, and lunches to which they invite each other. Such dinners and lunches have almost become a business proposition at the Conference. Everybody is in a mood to make the acquaintance of the others and at once becomes very friendly with them.

Of the work done by the International Labour Conference, in 1928, the subject of setting up a minimum wage fixing machinery

came up for final decision at the Conference. A Convention and two Recommendations were passed. Article 1 of the Convention provides as follows :—

"Each Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention undertakes to create or maintain machinery whereby minimum rates of wages can be fixed for workers employed in certain of the trades, or parts of trades (and, in particular, any home, working trade) in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise and wages are exceedingly low.

For the purpose of this Convention the term "trades" includes manufacture and commerce."

Article 2 is as follows :—

"Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall be free to decide, after consultation with the Organisations, if any, of workers and employers in the trade or part of trade concerned, in which trades or parts of trades, and in particular, in which home working trades or parts of such trades, the minimum wage fixing machinery referred to in Article 1 shall be applied."

The attitude of the Government of India on the Convention was of strict neutrality. Its representatives did not vote either way. On behalf of the Government of India it was stated that it had not made up its mind as to whether it would be able to ratify the Convention or not. It would appoint a Committee for the purpose of making full enquiry as to whether the Convention can be applied in practice to Indian conditions specially in view of the fact that, although Central Legislature had the right to pass relative Legislation, administration thereof would have to be carried on by the provincial Governments inasmuch as Industry is a transferred subject.

The other question that came up before the Conference for preliminary discussion was the Prevention of Industrial Accidents. The Conference decided to issue a Questionnaire to the various Governments and, after the replies are received, it is expected that it will come up for final decision next year.

Besides these two questions, a large number of Resolutions were passed by the Conference. In regard to the Resolutions, they have to be considered by the Governing Body as to whether they should be pursued further at the Conference or not.

One thing that strikes a man at the Conference is the great influence exercised by the Workers Delegates. The work of the Workers Delegates is the easiest at the Conference. They have only to put forward demands and are necessarily backed by considerations of Humanity. The Government Delegates were seen to be backing up the Workers Delegates and it was recognised on all hands that such an attitude on the part of

the Governing Delegates was largely the outcome of the growing influence of the workers in politics in all countries. The Employers Delegates usually find themselves in a peculiar position. They wanted to help the cause of Labour, but had also to seriously bear in mind the difficulties and handicaps experienced by them in keeping their industries alive or in a profitable way. It was, in such circumstances, interesting to observe how all Delegations were inspired by Humanitarian considerations to reconcile differences and overcome difficulties for the purpose of arriving at a practical formula which could be acceptable to all concerned.

The Heart of Hindu Philosophy

BY PROF. T. L. VASWANI

THE principle which lies at the very heart of Hindu religious philosophy may be stated thus :

God is the Atman, the self-revealing spirit. Not without reason is God referred to in the Chandogyopanishad as "the bridge" of the world-whole. So, too, we read in the Kathopanishad and, again, in the Mandokyopanishad that "all that is shines through His lustre." Again, in the Svarajyasiddhi, God is spoken of "as the self-illuminated inner self of all."

The view-point of the Upanishads may, I think, be expressed in brief thus : The Infinite is the immediate. The phenomenal or the sense-immediate is not the true immediate. No phenomenon is self-sustaining. It cannot explain itself. So the ancient thinkers spoke of it as *maya*. The finite is not self-explanatory. It does not satisfy thought. Neither does it satisfy feeling. Who has found ultimate

satisfaction in the finite? Browning's *Last Ride together* is a marvellous poem in which the lover is represented as riding with the finite and feeling it an oppressive burden. So it ever has been. The finite, the sense-given, the phenomenal, the pleasure of *sthula sarira*, the mass of sensations, has not satisfied the human heart. The singers of the Upanishads wished to break the tyranny of the senses: they felt that the earth's pleasures and honours lacked wholeness. They discerned the truth that the infinite is the immediate.

This brings us to the thought that the Eternal is the in-soul, the *Antaryamin* of all. The agnostic's "unknowable", an unrelated absolute standing aloof from the finite, is but a deification of negativity. Hamilton and Spencer erred in interpreting the absolute as the unrelated. Even Plato failed to rise to the full height of his conception of God as the

Good. Plato's Deity was still an eternal being "manifested as something without." The truth is, there is mystic mingling of the infinite and the finite. The Atman is not the cold barren being of abstract ontology or the static substance of mediæval theology. The absolute that is incapable of establishing relations with the finite is a poor, wooden being. God is the Atman—the self-revealing Reality—the timeless self in contact with the soul. So the Upanishads speak of God as "perfect self-consciousness," and, again, as the "spirit in the heart."

Religion, thus, is not a dogma but consciousness, not a creed imposed *ab extra*, but a personal, vital realization of the self. Mere concepts of God are unavailing. Religion without an Atman-consciousness becomes either legalism or rationalism. Nature-religions, too, are inadequate. Genuine religion involves an inward and personal factor; real religion is personal, not in the sense of being a private claim but in the sense that it is a realization by feeling, thought and will of our place in the Society of God.

This consciousness starts with a groping beyond sense and thought, a feeling of the other-than-I, and is consummated in consciousness of the immediate. It has intellectual contents. Ritschialism failed because it ignored this truth. It was anti-intellectualistic. To deny intellectual contents to life in the spirit is to reduce religion to pure subjectivity.

Spiritual experience involves (1) a cognition of an other-than-I, (2) an emotion of reverence, and (3) a volition of dependence on, and service of, the Divine. While saying,

then, that the basis of religion and religious philosophy is consciousness, I am anxious to repudiate individualism. Religion is an inner experience, and therefore, no interpretation of it is possible without some personal apprehension by one's entire nature. But this personal experience and apprehension must be supplemented by the religious experiences of the race. Hence the methods of personal meditation, contemplation, and cogitation must be supplemented by *sadh-sang*, of fellowship with great souls, of study of the lives of prophets, saints and inspired geniuses.

Let me, in this connection, say that the God-idea involved in the experience of the race must be interpreted by religious reason-by reason, *i.e.*, which may appreciate the spiritual values of life. Formal principles of theoretical reason may corroborate, but cannot by themselves establish the objective validity of the religious ideal. The logic of religion is personal apprehension by one's whole nature supplemented by the religious experience of the race.

It is necessary to add that this spiritual experience is a gradual progressive experience. For He reveals Himself as men are able to receive Him. God-experience is informed with reason, but is more than notional and more than a logical inference. Though rational, it is more than intellectual. It is a response to the life of the spirit. Not the intellect alone but the whole dynamic personality—reason, will, conscience, heart, must be active to assimilate the self-revelation of the *Atman*. Pragmatism has rendered one service. It has vindicated the life-value of truth. Conceptual flight is unavailing; "vital experience" is needed. This

is the truth emphasized by the school founded by James. Pragmatism has shown the error in Hegel's over-emphasis of the rationalistic aspects of experience to the entire neglect of the volitional and emotional factors in spiritual experience. Contact with God involves much more than the functioning of what, in Hindu psychology, is called the *Manas* (mind.) It demands prayer and meditation, fellowship with great souls, and obedience to the moral law and sacrificial love. Mind, conscience, heart, and will, must all be active, not the intellect alone, for a knowledge of the Atman. The Kathopanishad has well declared: "He is known through *life*." God, *i.e.*, is known not ontologically but dynamically.

This God-experience is, to my mind, the supreme fact in the religious history of the race. It becomes a perception of the infinite in the world's thinkers. It grows into the glory of God-vision in a Christ, a Krishna, a Chaitanya. It is not merely emotional; it is not void of cognitive consciousness. Neither is it merely intellectual. It is an experience of vital contact of the Atman with the universe. God has been pictured often in human (and animal) forms: the low anthropomorphic conception of God must give way to one based on a theomorphic view of human nature. Man is a symbol of God.

In several passages, the Upanishads speak of the Atman as the *Sachchidanandam*, the simple synthesis of existence, consciousness and bliss. We read in the *Atmabodha*: "As light belongs to the sun, and coldness to water, and heat to fire, so do existence, consciousness, bliss, eternity and holiness belong by nature to the Self." Mediæval *bhaktas* of India sang over and over

again of *prasad*, the love of God. Religion is often described as the striving of man for God: Man, it has been said, seeks God. Yes. But the *Puranas* teach the truth that God, also, seeks Man. In truth, Man would not seek God if God were not with him already. In Man's aspiration for the eternal is the stir of infinite love. So it is that Man does not acquiesce in a Godless world. There is in the heart of Man the presence of the Atman. The love of God flowing as a spiritual force into every soul is a fact to which the psychology of religion will, I believe, bear ample witness in the coming days. Creation is God's grace stooping to the plane of matter to raise each life's star—smothered in unconsciousness—to the status of the spirit. The very punishment which pursues the sinner is the persistence of a loving purpose. It is the reaction of His love against sin.

This idea of God, it will be seen, is more than metaphysical. Aristotle conceived of God as a self-sufficient contemplative Being. But love is more than contemplation. It is the Spirit of Love who, through the many discords of life, is working out the redemption of the universe. The Supreme Reality helps us in daily life; the real is revelational; the real is the good. The universe is the love-offering of the good; and love is God's own self. Man's life, conscious and sub-conscious, is in daily deepening contact with love. That love breathes benediction upon us and looks with saving sanctity at us to remould the man in each, and fashion into fairness every one as a child of light. And because we are built in the evolution of love, we know that we are immortal. Our spiritual heritage is a witness to the immortality of the soul.

Development of Mercantile Marine in Japan

By MR. J. M. GANGULI, M.Sc., LL.B.

THE interest which is at last being taken in India in the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine gives an added significance to an account of the remarkable development of the modern mercantile marine in Japan. Starting about the year 1873 when the Mitsu-Bishi Company, the only shipping firm of any note, commenced trading between Tokio, Osaka and Kochi, in competition with the Nippon-Yubin-Joki, having hardly a score of vessels at its service, the tonnage owned by Japan in the year 1927 was as high as 4,010,381 tons. Not only she has developed an efficient and sufficient mercantile marine for her coastal trade, Japan also owns several ocean lines extending to different parts of the world which compare favourably in service, efficiency and up-to-dateness with any other organisation of the world. The wonderful development of Japan's mercantile marine to its present extent in the course of half a century has been very closely associated with the romantic history of a particular private company, the Mitsu-Bishi, which was amalgamated with the Kiodo-Unyu in 1886 to form the Nippon-Yusen-Kaisha or the N. Y. K. as it is popularly known. It will not be out of place therefore in following the growth of the Japanese shipping to trace the development of the Mitsu-Bishi.

Two other young shipping companies having gone to ruin shortly before, the promoters of the Mitsu-Bishi cannot be said to have started very auspiciously and in bright circumstances when they formed their company out of, in fact, the very wreckage of the preceding ventures. But nothing daunted, the Mitsu-Bishi commenced with a fleet of about ten

vessels to trade between Tokio, Osaka and Kochi about the year 1873. After its initial period of struggle for a few years, came the Japanese expedition to Formosa in 1877, which was, so to say, like a godsend to the Mitsu-Bishi. The Company at once offered its entire fleet for use by the Government though it was hardly sufficient for the purpose. The Government which had been indifferent to the growth of a national mercantile marine was forced to buy thirteen foreign ships in addition for the transport of troops. Instead of suspending its activities, the Mitsu-Bishi also purchased ten other vessels, and, while offering them also to the Government, undertook to help the Government in manning its ships and otherwise. This expedition had opened the eyes of the Government to the necessity of encouraging the development of a mercantile marine and so, after the expedition was over, it decided to subsidise shipping companies. The Mitsu-Bishi also received subsidy and the Government also made a present to the Company of the thirteen steamers purchased by the Government for the purpose of the Formosan expedition in recognition of the valuable services of the Company during it. At this time, one shipping Company having failed, the Government transferred the twelve steamers owned by that Company to the Mitsu-Bishi which thus came to have thirty-five vessels towards the close of the year 1878. The success of the Mitsu-Bishi as also the prospects of getting Government subsidy encouraged the formation of several new companies though they all could not survive the mad competition in 1884 which followed a period of shipping boom in

the preceding year. But the efficiency of work and the determination to live which had characterised the Mitsu-Bishi enabled it to tide over the difficulty, and as a proof of its strength and stability, it can be added that in the following year it decided to liberate itself from Government interference in respect of finance and started paying back the Government loans. But, fortunately or unfortunately, its competition with a powerful rival company, the Kiodo-Unyu, became so severe and desperate now that it was apprehended that it might end by shaking the stability of Japanese shipping. The Government therefore decided to interfere and brought about a coalition of the two companies under the name of the Nippon-Yusen-Kaisha. The Government further resolved to retain the control of this new organisation, held one-fourth of its capital, appointed directors, and guaranteed a dividend of 8 per cent. per annum to the shareholders of the company which was transformed into a limited liability concern. The guarantee of dividend was, however, substituted by an annual subsidy shortly after in 1887, and, with the progress of the company, the necessity of retaining Government control also appeared to be little. In 1898, therefore, it became a public concern, the Government control being very much reduced.

During the Chinese War in 1894, most of the vessels of the company being taken over by the Government, the N. Y. K. had to charter thirty-three foreign vessels for maintaining its services. After the War, its position improved, and it owned a tonnage of 126,450 tons comprising 63 vessels by the end of 1896. With the help of Government subsidies it now opened new lines to foreign countries, and had

twenty-two lines running to India, Australia, Europe and along the coasts of Japan. It may be added that the first Indo-Japanese service, the Kobe-Bombay line, was started a little earlier in 1893 in co-operation with the Tata & Company of Bombay. By the end of 1903, the Company's tonnage had increased to 245,273 tons, its fleet strength being 76 vessels.

Then came the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, when almost the entire fleet of the Company was requisitioned by the Government causing a suspension of some of its lines in spite of its chartering foreign vessels for maintaining others. Since the conclusion of the War, the N. Y. K. has steadily developed, and it is to-day one of the most efficient, enterprising and powerful companies of the world. It has a fleet of 140 vessels, and it maintains fifteen different trade routes which serve eighty ports in twenty different countries. And for the operation of its big fleet, the Nippon-Yusen Kaisha maintains a world-wide organisation and is represented in all the principal cities of the world.

Besides the Nippon-Yusen-Kaisha, other companies like the Osaka-Shosen-Kaisha and the Toyo-Kaisen-Kaisha have also contributed to the development of the Japanese Mercantile Marine the need of which was pointedly felt by the Government at the time of the Chino-Japanese War in 1894. After the War, therefore, the Government passed the Ship-Building Encouragement Act in 1896 providing for subsidies to encourage the building of dockyards and ships. Under this Act, subsidies could be given to Japanese subjects who are engaged in the carrying of passengers and goods on vessels included in the Japanese Register. To encourage the building of new large and fast ships for modern requirements, the Ship-

Building Encouragement Act provided for subsidies to be given only to vessels of not less than 1,000 tons displacement, 10 knots speed and of not more than 15 years old. This Act was modified by the Ocean Lines Subsidy Law passed in 1910, according to which for a vessel to be eligible for subsidy, she should not be of less than 3000 tons, must not have a speed of less than 12 knots or be older than 15 years. Another important qualification was that she must have been built in some Japanese dock-yard and be not a foreign-built ship. Conditions regarding the taking on board of apprentices for training were not to be taken on the staff or in the offices without the previous sanction of the Government. Though subsequently subsidies for ships trading between foreign ports were discontinued, the system of subsidising coastal lines have still remained. Though previously there was no flag restriction in the Japanese coastal trade, in 1894 the Japanese Government, with a view to further encourage the Japanese shipping, decided on reserving the coastal trade only to vessels flying the national flag except for the carrying of passengers and cargo between Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama and Hakodate. In 1911, however, the policy of reservation was extended, and foreign vessels were altogether banned from trading between the Japanese ports unless they were conveying passengers and cargoes on a continuous voyage. It may be mentioned here that a similar policy of reservation is in force in some other countries, and that Mr. Sarabhai N. Haji, M. L. A., of Bombay has put forward a proposal for introducing it in India to encourage the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine. The Bill has been referred to a Select Committee of the Assembly.

For the training of men and officers for the Navy and for the Mercantile Marine, the Japanese Government maintains about ten up-to-date institutions; and subsidised coastal lines have to give facilities at their expense for the training of apprentices.

The remarkable development of the Japanese Mercantile Marine during the last thirty years is seen from the following figures:

Year	Tonnage	Number of Ships
1893	151,773	
1895	279,668	
1896	334,592	
1904	668,360	1757
1910	1,234,571	2132
1915	1,604,900	2931
1920	3,011,634	3049
1923	3,322,764	3187
1925	3,496,262	3561
1927	4,010,381	

A feature of the Japanese shipping has been that though in other countries with the advent of steamships the tonnage of sailing vessels has been steadily decreasing, in Japan it had been showing an increase, till but recently, along with the progressive development of the steamship tonnage. The number of sailing vessels, which was 4,958 with a tonnage of 390,796 in 1910, had become 8,656 with a tonnage of 542,579, and it was 14,902 with a tonnage of 899,233 in 1927.

With the development of the Mercantile Marine, the strength and the importance of the Japanese Navy have also been steadily increasing. The Japanese Navy ranks third to-day among the naval powers of the world, and it has been so recognised in the Washington Agreement. The replacement tonnage in capital ships of the Japanese Navy was fixed by the above Treaty at 315,000 tons, which is more than the strength allowed to France and Italy.

Japan has also not neglected the development of her ship-yards, and in 1926 she had 326 ship-yards, 76 docks and 3 floating docks. And with the spirit of enterprise and determination so characteristic of Japan, she has now succeeded in making herself independent of any foreign country for the building, arming or equipment of our war-ships.

What a nation armed with determination if not with anything else can accomplish even against heavy odds is remarkably shown by the romantic history of the Japanese Shipping and Navy. Provided with poor natural resources, frequently afflicted by seismic disasters, faced at every step with opposition from the strongly consolidated rival powers, and openly defied by colour prejudice, Japan had refused to submit to her lot, and fired by patriotic inspiration, she has forced out an exalted position for her among the great Powers of the world. Fallen and degenerated

India, which has so long been trained to look to the West for guidance and inspiration, should rather turn her face to the East and try to feel that what Japan has done she also could, and aye, to a much greater extent. "A country set like a pendant among the vast continents of the Old World," as Mr. Sarabhai N. Haji has said, "with a coast-line of over four thousand miles and with a productiveness of numerous articles of great use, unsurpassed elsewhere, is by nature meant to be a sea-faring country." But where does India actually stand to-day? Let every Indian think over it. There may be disadvantages, handicaps, difficulties and opposition in her shipping industry as in others—there may indeed be more of them than one is aware of, but when and where has a subject country found a path of roses for her to progress along? It is not in the discovery of her disadvantages but in her will to overcome them that her salvation has always lain.

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE

BY MR. A. RAMAIIYA, M.A., F.R. ECON. S.

Vakil, Madurai.

WITH a view to formulate a programme of reform on the general lines of Liberal policy, a group of men with experience in economics, politics and industry, started an inquiry into the condition of British industry and trade, and after spending more than a year in gathering material and taking evidence, have published the results of their investigation in the form of a book under the title "*Britain's Industrial Future*."* On the face of it, it does not appear to be part of an election programme, dominated by any

* "*Britain's Industrial Future*" being the Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry, published by Ernest Benn, Ltd. Price 2s. 6d.

political motive behind it. But the aim is unmistakable. The authors are certainly not in agreement with the principles of the Labour Party who are directly opposed to the Capitalist System, nor are they satisfied with the excessive caution and acquiescence in existing conditions which characterise the attitude of the Conservatives. They recognise that the industrial system has not yet attained an adequate standard either of justice or of efficiency, and that the present social order with its inequalities of wealth and status, denies a real liberty to a great proportion of the population; and they are also convinced that the end of all

economic and political action is the promotion of the welfare of the community, and that the essential purpose of Democracy is to create the conditions necessary for this purpose. But they are not for a change in the existing organisation of society and do not agree with the Labour Party slogan that the individualist system of capitalist production based on the private ownership and co-operative administration of land and capital has failed in the past to adequately utilise and organise the productive powers or provide the necessary standard of life for all. They are positively opposed to State control or nationalisation of industry for its own sake and not prepared to hold that it is the positive duty of the State to secure to every member of the community the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. They would at best impose only a negative duty on the State, "of securing that no member of the community shall be denied the opportunity to live a full and free life," the problem according to them, being only "how to cure what is unhealthy in the existing economic body without injuring the organs which are sound."

After a preliminary survey of the present condition of British industry, the results of their inquiry are brought together under four heads: (1) the Organisation of Business, (2) Industrial Relations, (3) National Development and (4) National Finance. Under the first head, there is an able and original analysis of the various forms of business organisation, and the conclusion is reached that under present conditions there is no scope for any further extension of State Control, but it is recognised that there is need for the consolidation and re-organisation of the existing field. The most

important constructive proposal that is offered is the constitution of a Board of National Investment for the purpose of concentrating and canalising in proper directions the stream of national investment which is at present chaotically controlled by a multiplicity of public authorities and private bodies. Another noteworthy suggestion is the establishment of an Economic General Staff for a continuous study of economic problems affecting national policy and the development of industry and commerce, and for advising Government in such matters, acting in close conjunction with a Standing Committee of the Cabinet to be known as the Committee of Economic Policy. Some minor suggestions are also made for improving economic information, by the co-ordination and rapid publication of all available statistical and other material and a continuous census of Production; for stimulating business efficiency by collaboration between industrialists, labour organizations and the State in the application of research to industry and in fostering standardisation, technical knowledge, vocational instruction and training; for effective control of Joint Stock Companies by stringent requirements as to their audit and publication of accounts and supervision by a Supervising Council; and for subjecting monopolistic and semi-monopolistic undertakings to strict scrutiny with regard to production and price-fixing in the public interest.

This next head dealing with Industrial Relations also contains a well-reasoned discussion of a complex situation. But one feels that there is here a tendency to over-emphasize the extent and bitterness of industrial strife in Britain—perhaps the political motive was

at work. For securing industrial peace and social justice, it is suggested that the establishment of a Ministry of Industry, taking over the work of the existing Ministries of Labour and Mines and the industrial work of the Home Office and the Board of Trade, is necessary, and that, associated with that Ministry, there should be a small Council of Industry to deal with industrial problems and supervise the work of Trade Associations. For improving workers' relations in general with their employers, the adoption of the German system of Works Councils is recommended, for drawing up works rules, and to deal with dismissals and receive information as to trading facts and prospects, and factory organization and proposed charges therein. By far the most important of the topics discussed under this section relates to the problem of improving the workers' status and tone of life. In the words of the Report, "the goal towards which the Committee aim is a society "in which everybody will be a capitalist and everybody a worker, as everybody is a citizen." For the attainment of this goal, it is suggested that there should be as wide a diffusion of the ownership of industry as possible among the industrial wage-earners, so that the existing distinction between the owning class and the working class may disappear. The road to this is pointed to lie in high wages, profit-sharing, the encouragement of savings among workers and facility for their wise investment, and through such other measures as may be practicable to secure a better distribution of inherited wealth without discouraging initiative and enterprise.

Next comes a programme of National Development. The first point dealt with in this connection is the problem of Unemployment.

With regard to unemployment due to cyclical or seasonal causes or caused by industrial improvement or change, the Report itself admits that it has no new or definite remedies to offer. The Committee therefore confine themselves to the problem of relieving unemployment due to abnormal causes, and they suggest that to the extent to which it cannot be relieved by the existing system of Unemployment Insurance, the State should assume direct responsibility and treat it as a national function and a charge on the national Treasury. It is surprising that the Report says not a word about the feasibility of nationalising and bringing under the control of a State Department as a Public concern, the entire system of industrial insurance itself for which there can be no objection on any conceivable economic grounds. The other portions of the book relating to the National Development take the character of an election programme and are intended *inter alia* to solve the problem of unemployment. They relate to a vigorous policy of national reconstruction embracing within its scope the rehabilitation of agriculture, an extensive programme of highway development, afforestation, reclamation and drainage, electrification, slum clearance and town-planning and the development of canals, docks and harbours. To formulate a consistent and comprehensive policy in this connection, the constitution of a committee on National Development is suggested, and all schemes which it puts forward are to be financed under the direction of the Board of National Investment, already referred to.

Lastly, we are taken to a critical study of the system of National Finance where many useful practical proposals are made. It is

pointed out that though in the opinion of the authors of the Report, nationalisation of the banking system of the country as a whole is undesirable and objectionable, the national character of the Bank of England should be emphasized by a permanent limitation of the dividend payable to the shareholders, all surplus profits being retained for national purposes. With regard to the Budget Statement and the Finance accounts, it is shown how improperly they have been manœuvred during the past two or three years under the Conservative *Regime*, and how necessary it is, if the House of Commons should have real control over national economy, that the Budget should clearly state the various kinds of revenue and the accounts draw a clear distinction between expenditures which are in the nature of investments or otherwise remunerative, and those that are dead-weight burdens. Unless the Budget is divided under the three heads, *Cash Account*, *Income Account*, and *Capital Account*, there is room for financial jugglery. How many Members of the House of Commons, for instance, realised that in 1925-1926, and 1926-1927, the Exchequer brought into account as current revenue receipts amounting to £87,000,000, that did not in any proper sense of the term belong to revenue levied or accrued in those years? Unless a reform of the National accounts is effected on the lines indicated in the Report, neither the House of Commons nor the public will be in a position to know the exact financial situation and advance intelligent criticism. The Committee is of opinion that the existing system of national taxation in Britain is well-conceived and has been of much service in the past in moderating economic inequali-

ties. They urge a reduction of the War Department expenditure, but do not desire any further extension of national taxation. But they strongly advocate a reform of the local rates which injuriously affect industry, by raising production costs and hitting heavily the more depressed industries and throwing a burden on the workmen out of all proportion to the burden on the wealthy. Financial reform in this respect is very urgent. In order to relieve the local rates, it is suggested that poor relief, so far as it relates to the able-bodied poor, should be transferred to the National Government where it may be co-ordinated with the existing machinery for administering Unemployment Insurance, that a substantial portion of the expenditure on roads may be transferred to a Road Fund under the control of the National Government and that the present system of grants-in-aid shall be extended.

Such in brief are the main suggestions embodied in the Report of the Liberal Industrial Enquiry. It is thoroughly an economist's report and not a politician's, political purpose being thrown to the background. Will this publication rally the Liberals of all shades of opinion and the moderate section of the Labour Party together against the Conservatives during the next general election and after, or will it divide further an already much-divided party? The question is difficult to answer. But most of the proposals for reform contained in the Report are such as to undoubtedly find favour with the Labour Party, even though the fundamental basis on which the Report proceeds, viz., the Capitalist System is opposed to Labour aims. Whether Capitalism or Socialism should ultimately prevail, the reforms for which the Liberals stand are certainly a great step towards the progress which either party would desire.

The Indian Delegation in Canada

In another page, an esteemed writer deploras the cessation of Congress work in England in pursuance of Non-co-operation, and puts in a vigorous and well-reasoned plea for the resumption of Indian propaganda abroad. That need seems more imperative now than ever to counteract the malicious writings of persons like Miss Mayo and the calculated mis-representations indulged in by many British newspapers. It is therefore a matter for gratification that some leading Indians are now abroad, doing, though unofficially, the good work of interpreting the needs and aspirations of India. The Indian Delegation to the Empire Parliamentary Association which met last month in Canada is a particularly strong contingent, composed of the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Messrs. T. C. Goswami, Dewan Chaman Lal and Sir Darcy Lindsay of the Central Legislature. The Delegation arrived at Quebec on the 25th of August, and spent over six weeks touring the Dominion from end to end. Canadian papers to hand give handsome accounts of the doings of the members of the Delegation. Apart from their work at the Conference of the Empire Delegations they seem to have taken the opportunity to dispel the illusions fostered by mischievous writings of interested persons. They have, in more than one interview with leading Canadian newspapers, upheld the honour of our country and vindicated her capacity for self-government. They have, with one voice, asserted with the Hon. Mr. Natesan "that public opinion in India is overwhelmingly in favour of Dominion status within the Empire" and issued a warning "that delay in granting this aspiration would seriously endanger the desire to remain in the Empire." "India is as fit as any country within the Empire for self-government," said Mr. Goswami; while Dewan Chaman Lal emphatically declared: "India wishes to remain within the Empire, but India must have Dominion status."

INDIAN delegates seem to have impressed the Canadian Press more favourably than others as we can see from the glowing accounts of the personnel of the delegation from India. Many papers give biographical details of the Indian delegates while some have picturesque descriptions of their appearance and their doings. The WINNIPEG FREE PRESS, describing the arrival of the delegation, says that though special interest attaches to the personnel of each delegation, "all the branches are particularly interested in the representatives from India." "The personnel of the Indian delegation is notable," continues the journal which explains how Pundit Motilal's place on the delegation is taken by "the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, a distinguished Indian, who is among the most distinguished journalists of the country." "Unlike Nehru, the Swarajist leader," the paper goes on to say, "Natesan belongs to the Liberal Federation, popularly known as the Moderate party. Nehru is a member of the Legislative Assembly, but Natesan sits in the Upper Chamber. They

differ as widely in their temperaments as in their methods of life and work. Nehru is a lawyer; Natesan, a journalist. Both, however, are of the Brahman, or the highest caste, but have risen superior to prejudices which interdict crossing the "black water", dining with people of other castes and religions and generally of different social relations."

Mr. Natesan, in his interview with the representative of MONTREAL GAZETTE, made it clear that the whole country, irrespective of political or communal bias, is intent on winning responsible government for India. He said:—

"Our demand is for the British model. Our plan makes it clear that we wish to remain members of the British Empire, but want the same status as the other parts. There are many people who would like to have communal representation in the Councils, but it would be a mistake to suppose they are in any way less ardent in their desire for self-government. We stand for good-will and peace between all classes and communities."

In this desire for Dominion status, Moderates, Extremists, and those who insist on separate electorates are of one mind. And Mr. Natesan instanced the success of the All-Parties Conference and the united demand for responsible government.

"The Liberal or Moderate Party, of which I am a member in the Council of State, stands for Dominion status. We want to be in our country what you in Canada are and what the Australians are in their country," said Mr. Natesan in an interview at the Chateau Frontenac to the representative of the QUEBEC CHRONICLE.

"Leaders of all parties met recently in Delhi," he continued, "and published a draft scheme urging self-government for India in which they insisted upon responsible government. Our demand is for the British model, and we want responsible government as it exists in Canada,

Australia and other Dominions. In this scheme, we make it clear that we wish to be members of the British Empire like the other Colonies and Dominions."

The Indian delegation in Canada has thus done excellent propaganda work on behalf of India. Scientists like Sir J. C. Bose, poets like Sir Rabindranath Tagore and philosophers like Prof. Radhakrishnan have carried the message of India abroad with credit and considerable advantage. Why should political work alone be in default? Is it too much to hope that batches of influential politicians who go abroad from time to time will avail themselves of the opportunity to do political propaganda on behalf of India? Indeed, we would urge that efforts should be made to organise delegations of Indian politicians to visit foreign countries year after year so that our political interests may not go amiss by neglect.

World Events

BY PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A., Ph.D.

September:

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY

THE month of September is becoming more and more recognised as the League of Nations month, and the meeting of the Parliament of the World. Beautiful Geneva with its lake and mountain scenery and historical associations, and the "Geneva atmosphere" giving privacy and dispensing hospitality to leaders of thought from all parts and countries of the world is an unique city to provide a meeting place for the nations. There has been not a little rivalry and competition between three centres—Brussels, The Hague and Geneva, for the position of hosts to international gatherings, but recently, many private institutions, and unofficial international bodies have moved their centres to Geneva, which is becoming the world's centre for international activities. Additional interest is added this September, because during the Assembly of the League, the foundation-

stones of the Rockefeller's Library and the new Palais des Nations are to be laid. The Library will greatly further the work of the League, because it will be open to all students of international problems.

Several things will make this meeting of the League unique if not historic; to some extent, the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact just before the meeting of the Assembly of the League has overshadowed the work of the League; then there is the absence through illness of Sir Austen Chamberlain of England and Dr. Stresemann of Germany, both strong supporters and very active in the work of the League; there is also for the first time a Dominion of Britain's Prime Minister present and taking part in the person of the Premier of Canada, and for the first time also the Nationalist Government of China is directly represented at the Assembly.

As one writer has put it, "a new world is being created through the instrumentality of the League."

The Pact is a gesture towards peace, but that is not enough. "We have to organise the world for peace as well as give it a right spirit. The power without the machine is just a waste gas; the machine without the power is waste iron." It is too early yet to discuss the business before the League's Assembly for this meeting, but that Asian Affairs will be reviewed is undoubtedly certain. Mr. Wang-King-Ky, the representative of the Chinese Nationalist Government, has been urging the need for adjustments in the economic and political relations of China to foreign nations if his country is to work whole-heartedly as a member of the League, and the Nawab of Palanpur from India has said how necessary it is for the League by definite acts to remove the impression in India that the League simply existed in order to perpetuate the power and authority of Western Powers over the people of Asia. The Secretary-General's report dealing with the Lithuania and Poland controversy will be awaited with much interest. There will be the report dealing with the making of model treaties laying down lines of judicial procedure and arbitration; the Economic Section will report their attempt at lowering the existing tariffs. Opium and the Traffic in Women and Children will again be reviewed. Finland, Poland and Sweden have a request that is bound to arouse much interest; they are asking the Assembly to appoint a Committee of Experts to make a scientific study of the effects of Alcoholism. We shall await with great interest an account of the proceedings of this year's Assembly of the League of Nations.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS

The 60th Congress of the British Trades Union was held recently at Swansea. There were 640 delegates present representing 3,874,800 members in the affiliated unions. The first important thing that was done was to expel the Seamen's Union from membership in the Conference on grounds of disloyalty; they refused to take part in the General Strike of 1926, and have

also abandoned political activities. Another significant outcome of the Conference was the break with the Extremists on the Left, who take their inspiration from the Soviet masters of Russia. The Congress showed an evident desire to co-operate with the Mond-Turner movement towards industrial peace. Mr. Ben Turner's Presidential Address made an impression when he demanded a Right to Work Bill.

One writer has described the recent Congress as a turning point in British industrial relations. There were three lines of policy represented at the Conference:

(1) There was the policy formerly practised of destroying the industrial machine in seeking to overthrow capitalism, but that policy is now declared as "futile, certain to fail, and sure to lead to bloodshed and misery";

(2) Indifference and lack of co-operation, the attitude of telling the employers to get on with their job in their own way, while the Congress members will deal with their peculiar problems. But that too has failed, for the watch-word to-day is co-operation.

(3) The third policy is the one which the Swansea Conference has adopted, and it marks a great step forward; it is a turning point, for it recognises the principle and urges its members to practise co-operation in the scientific re-organisation of industry, and thus enable the Congress leaders and members to play their part in the momentous changes that are taking place in the economic life of the country.

CANADIAN HARVESTERS

England's unemployment numbers do not seem to diminish; in fact, they have increased recently. The bad times in the coal industry have thrown out of work many miners; the situation is becoming desperate, and something has had to be done. A very promising help in the matter has been an interesting migration scheme sponsored by the Government of sending men and their families to work in the harvest fields of Canada,

Over 10,000 men have been assisted in going to Canada, and it is hoped that a great many of them will remain in the country after the harvest work is finished. There have been some malcontents and misfits among the men sent, but the great majority have made good, and the experiment has been a decided success.

The President of the Board of Trade gave some interesting emigration figures recently; he said that the total number of immigrants of British nationality to the British Empire overseas for the year ending June 30th was 180, 695, and to the United States 22, 773. The number of persons migrating within the British Empire who were granted free or assisted passage was 47, 892.

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR

Trade Unionism in Australia is exceedingly strong and well-organised. The Labour Party has supplied more than one State Government, and it has also been in power in the Federal Government of the whole country. But, instead of using their power and position for the common good, they have too frequently used it solely for party ends, and as a means of fighting capital and capitalists. Australian labour has been pampered; it demands high wages for little work, and to see the wharf labourers at work, one soon understands what the "go slow" policy means. Labour has a paradise in Australia, but the way labour is acting is ruinous to the country and the workers themselves.

Australia has an Arbitration Court where disputes concerning labour may be investigated and just awards made. But this provision at times fails, and the country is thrown into strike conditions, with all its attendant evils. Recently, Judge Beeby in the Commonwealth Arbitration Court gave a decision by which labour may be "picked up", that is, casual labour engaged to speed up the work of loading and unloading a ship, by the shipowners on the wharves twice a day instead of once as obtained formerly. This award did not satisfy the waterside workers, and consequently they refused to work.

The Dock Strike has completely tied up shipping in all the States. The Federal Government have the matter in hand and have enacted a law which compels all the dock workers to take out a license before they can work on the ships, then if they do not carry out their duties according to the law, their licenses will be taken from them, which will mean that they will forfeit their right to work. This is a drastic step, but it seems necessary in order to protect the interests of the shipping and the commerce of the country. Thousands of volunteers have come forward to help the country in this crisis, and their help is invaluable in breaking down this labour opposition to law and order. Riots and fighting and stoning have occurred in many ports, but the latest reports show that the strike is breaking up; the water-side workers are beginning to recognise the law and to abide by the decision of the Court. Mr. Butler, Premier of South Australia, speaking at Adelaide, said he believed that the strike had been deliberately planned to oppose the law. The Government would afford every protection to employers and also to all men prepared to work. No Government could stand idle when industries were threatened and many hundreds of men rendered workless.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
E. Oct. '29,

The Autumn Session

BY

"A STUDENT OF INDIAN POLITICS."

IF the autumn session of 1927 ended in smoke, its successor has ended in smoke screen. Rarely has such a lobby turmoil been witnessed in a previous session and yet no legislative achievement stands to its credit. The reason is not far to seek. Government, flushed with the enthusiasm gained of party strength, wished to ride roughshod over the wishes of the non-official House and stumbled. It was Government's own carelessness. But once it stumbled, it got so completely demoralized as to leave the field, vanquished, where all thought victory was in sight.

However unfair to the Opposition, Government kept its secret well. For, it was not till the end of August that it let be known to the world that it had all the time up its sleeves the Public Safety Bill and the Press Sedition Bill. The previous forecasts had indicated that as the Simon issue would not, under the rules, be re-opened for a year, the only legislative business of importance would be the Trades Disputes Bill. And, naturally, the Swarajist Party whips did not object to Mr. Goswami and Mr. Chamanlal proceeding overseas along with the Hon'ble Mr. G. A. Natesan and Sir Darcy Lindsay to represent India at the Empire Parliamentary Conference. And even those like Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and Mr. S. Chetty who had returned to India took it easy and did not rush up to Simla until urgent whips were issued.

Whether Government intended it so or not, its legislative programme would undoubtedly have taken an unfair advantage of the depleted ranks of the Opposition, by pushing the Public Safety Bill through at an early stage of the Session. So, left to his last resources, the Opposition Leader, Pundit Motilal Nehru, hit upon an unexplored part of the Standing Orders whose technical requirements were not fulfilled. The President upheld the objection and this gave the Opposition 3 days' recess to gather up their forces. Naturally, this

upset Government plans and there were not wanting enthusiasts in their ranks who even challenged the impartiality of the Chair. Two European Press correspondents, one, of the LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, and the other, of THE TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY, became their mouthpiece. This naturally aggravated the situation. Government, outwitted and outmanœuvred, felt inclined to take a soft view on the dignity of the Chair. Some of its officers even suggested that Pundit Motilal's points of order, both this and the one maintaining that the Assembly was barred by the Statute from undertaking any legislation which would compromise the allegiance of British subjects to their Crown, were "put-up-jobs". These accusations made the atmosphere in the lobby very electrical, and developments ensued which overshadowed for a time every other business of the House. Mr. Patel had previously intervened and arranged withdrawal of motions of adjournment and of questions bearing on his recent tour to the Provinces. He probably felt strong enough to look after himself. But these later attacks on his honesty and impartiality were held to be of a grave order threatening the very dignity of the Chamber. Feelings were running very high, and it was inevitable that this storm should burst.

In the meantime, Government was registering lobby successes. It received, no doubt, a bad start by losing the division on Mr. K. C. Roy's resolution exposing the scheme of Wireless Merger, and one of its creatures, Mr. Ghuznavi, had a bad defeat over the question of raising the salary of High Court Judges. But it was counting on successes on bigger issues. No amount of essay-eloquence had been spared by the Hon'ble Mr. Crerar to prove the urgency of his case over the Public Safety Bill. He was not, however, out to make converts, and that probably accounted for the lack of persuasiveness in his speeches.

His Whips had done their work. Patronage was there in abundance to be distributed. The Simon Committee was to be appointed and also some Members to be added to the Age of Consent Committee. And this tied to their chariot-wheel the Cenral Muslim Party *en bloc*, and the official net in the Independent waters also caught some valuable fishes there because of the negligence of their acting Leader, Sir Purshotamdas. It was openly said in the lobbies that this crisis wanted Mr. Jinnah's personality to keep his flock together, for it was suicidal to the popular interests to let youngsters like Mr. Fazal Rahimtoolah talk so high, and sing to the official tune. But whatever the basis for such a development, Mr. Crerar can claim as a Leader of the House, a record which none of his really illustrious predecessors could point to their credit. His initiation into Leadership of the House was marked by the development of a Government Party, numerically stronger than the Opposition, if weak parliamentarily. Previously, Government was always held in suspicion by all the non-official members till it convinced them of its *bona fides*, but this session the Government Party was prepared to back it through thick and thin.

Probably, this lobby strength had its disadvantage; for it made the Government spokesmen oblivious of the fact that their words would be weighed in the lobby before votes were cast either way. And in the end, it was the same false sense of security which made them slip down the precipice and lose a critical vote. The Public Safety Bill was sunk beyond hope of salvage! It is true the Viceroy's power of interference was very much alive and could be summoned to their rescue, but then they were on the eye of a political announcement and did not wish the atmosphere to be further over-charged by the constitutional conflict which the Viceroy's certificate would rouse on the eve of the arrival of the Simon Commission. So, the humble pie was eaten.

This, however, was not the only sphere in which Government defeat occurred. The Press Sedition

Bill was not handled beyond the stage of introduction and has been left to the mercy of the Delhi Session. Even the Trades Disputes Bill was left to drift. And over Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill, Government sustained the heaviest defeat of the Session. For on this issue, nationalist opinion is very uncompromising, the more so because the European vested interests are determined to oppose every such measure and take it to the Simon Commission as a case pointing danger to their capital investment in India justifying special provision in the Statute Book protecting them from such violence.

But perhaps the greatest interest centred round the personality of the Chair, and how by skilful handling of a most delicate situation, the President Mr. Patel brought the recalcitrants to book and made them confess and surrender. A weaker President would have either yielded to this constant persecution and become a puppet or withdrawn altogether from the Chair. But Mr. Patel is at his best in a fight. As the first Indian non-official President, he was out to uphold the dignity of the Chair, and when Pundit Motilal's motion voiced the feelings of the majority in the House, Mr. Patel looked to the Leader of the House to rise to the situation. But Mr. Crerar fumbled and swore neutrality and indifference. This was shocking, and as crisis after crisis was arising, Lord Irwin with his parliamentary instincts intervened and called a Conference. The result was Mr. Crerar's public apology on behalf both of himself and his two juniors, who, it was alleged, had taken a leading part in the campaign of vilification in the lobbies. This happy understanding was cemented towards the end of the Session, and Mr. Patel's luncheon to the Viceroy at the Cecil Hotel attended by all the officials was accordingly dubbed "a peace luncheon".

But what about the Press? Mr. Patel was reluctant to take any hasty action, though the support given to him by the seniormost European

and Indian Press men, Mr. E. J. Buck and Mr. K. C. Roy was sufficient to justify him in acting promptly. He waited to see if an apology came. But Mr. Byrt and Mr. Rice held out and the session ended with a statement which, besides proving most convincingly the usefulness of the President's tour to provinces, (which controversy was the origin of this campaign of vilification), ordered that Mr. Byrt and Mr. Rice shall cease to enjoy press privileges until they tendered an unqualified apology in the terms to be approved of by the Chair. It is said such a censure by the Speaker in London lowers beyond hope of redemption a journalist in his profession. In India, the reactionaries may raise a hallow of martyrdom round these two journalists, but the Assembly is determined to stand no such nonsense. But if it had so bitterly to say of these offenders, it was equally grateful to Press disclosures of lobby movements which really precipitated the issue and made the Viceroy's intervention possible.

Of the figures who moved prominently on the stage this session, it need only be said that all was not well with the Government side. Mr. Crerar may improve a lot next session for the experience of this session must have been very bitter and salutary. Sir George Rainy may prove an asset while Sir George Schuster may be a source of strength. But if last session the Government debating team was weak, their whipping was very effective, in spite of the fact that at the crisis they were caught napping. The Swarajists had their case mostly put by Pundit Motilal whose voice has deteriorated owing to illness but whose wisdom has continued to grow. Lala Lajpatrai made many remarkable contributions and upheld the reputation for parliamentary gifts of his Nationalist party. Sir Purushotamdas' intervention was every time feeble. Even his young follower, Mr. Fazal Rahimtoolah, did better for the opposite group. Sir Victor Sassoon was often in the arena, cleverly disguising his hands

in glove with Government. Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan and his party did not win any debating laurels but have annexed most of the trophies in the matter of benefits from official patronage. Of the nominated group, Colonel Gidney was not heard with much attention, while Mr. Joshi was quite often the butt for attack by the capitalists. He seemed anchorless. Mr. K. C. Roy made a very notable contribution on the question of wireless merger and the duty of press towards the Chair. He is generally acknowledged as the leader of the non party members as was shown by his nomination to the Conferences which sat over the question of the separation of the Assembly Office and the attacks on the President. This question of separation at the basis of much of the controversy that had grown in the Chamber and the Government's legal pundits were apparently pulling the wires from behind but found in Mr. Patel a Tartar. As to how far the Assembly's scheme will be accepted by Government remains to be seen. Trouble is in store for a short-sighted Government. Delhi will unfold the tale.

With the Assembly's poor legislative output, the Council of Elders, as a revising Chamber, had little to revise, but its main work was to elect three members for the Indian Parliamentary Committee (I am told Government has snubbed the Committee for naming itself Parliamentary Committee) to sit with the Simon Commission and the fact that its members have provided a Chairman for the Central Committee is another feather to their cap, though Sir Harisingh Gour has resented this bitterly.

The session has thus been one of sensations though of little constructive worth. But where Simla vacillated, Delhi will have to take courage and give a verdict either way on the contentious legislation that has been allowed to drift to the cold weather session.

The Hon. Mr. Natesan in Canada.

The Empire Parliamentary Delegation was entertained at a Dinner at Edmonton given by the Alberta Government on September 8. The Hon. Mr. Natesan made a great speech on the occasion. Replying to the suggestion of a certain Conservative Member of the British Delegation that self-government for India might be a poisoned cup if prematurely granted, Mr. Natesan emphatically declared that self-government was not demanded by Indians as a gift but as a right to which every nation in the Empire was entitled. "We do not ask it as a gift, but as something to which we are entitled, which is due to us, which, indeed, is long overdue," said Mr. Natesan. "It is our birthright. It is the birthright of every British subject. We ask for no favors. We ask what has long been promised to us by numbers of British statesmen and repeatedly ratified by proclamations." Mr. Natesan compared the status of India with that of the Dominion. Incognuity must, he said, be removed, not only for the sake of India but for the sake of the British Empire itself and for the sake of humanity. The following is the full text of the speech, a summary of which was cabled by Reuter to the Indian press at the time when the speech was delivered. [Ed. I. R.]

Mr. Premier, My Lords and Gentlemen,
I desire to avail myself of this public opportunity to convey to you, the citizens of Edmonton, and through you, to the citizens of the Dominion of Canada, how very much we appreciate the kindness with which we have really been overwhelmed. It is now sixteen days since we stepped on your shores and from the moment of our arrival till now we have been received everywhere with warmth and we have been throughout recipients of your boundless hospitality.

We have been daily feasting our eyes on your beautiful rivers, your fine lakes, your lovely mountains, your great monuments and your grand Parliamentary buildings; we have enjoyed with profit the excursions to your colleges and Universities, your agricultural, industrial and mining centres. When we witnessed the Niagara Falls—"a spectacle, sublime, awe-inspiring, bewildering,"—we were admiring too the marvellous machinery and structure you have put up to harness the water-power and thereby bring comfort to the homes of the rich and poor; when we went down in the lift 2150 feet in the Hollinger Gold mines, we realised the gigantic

character of your attempt to explore the mineral resources of your province and the careful arrangements you have made to ensure the comforts of the working men toiling below; we have been able to obtain from you at first-hand a detailed account of the origin and growth of your world-famed "Wheatpool," an experiment in co-operation which ought to be a great lesson to all who wish to help the farmers, rich and poor; after witnessing all these, one can really echo the words of one of your admirers "Nature here, indeed, has been lavish with her gifts, and man has seconded nature with a skill and ingenuity that is astonishing." But that is not all.

My fellow delegates from India and myself have witnessed with a glow of pride and satisfaction the remarkable amity that prevails among all the classes, communities and races that inhabit this vast Dominion of yours. Besides the French, the English, the Scotch, the Irish, the Welsh, you have here Italians, Finns, Ukrainians, Germans, Norwegians, Greeks, Jews, Poles, Swedes, Belgians, Hollanders and others. Verily, verily, you have in your land a brotherhood of internationalists, and you are giving the world a

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THE HON. MR. NATESAN IN CANADA

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lesson in true cosmopolitanism. Yours is the best example in the world of once-warring races and nations, living together in peace and harmony; tied by one bond, the love of the common country. Your strong devotion to your native land can be seen when one notices the fervour with which all the different races and nationalities join in singing with pride your national song "Oh Canada, Oh Canada".

If you will allow a personal note, I landed on the shores of Quebec on the 24th August, my 55th birthday. I regard it as the greatest good fortune of my life, that I have had the privilege of being your guest in this wonderful country. New hopes, new aspirations, have been roused in my bosom, and I shall return to my native land with renewed strength and faith in the destiny of my country. By the blood of your martyrs, the sufferings and privations which the Pioneers—men and women—have undergone and by the sweat of your brow and self-sacrificing labours, you have transformed what was once a vast area of forests and wild plains, into a prosperous and happy land. And you have achieved all this by working for only seven months in the year.

In return for your magnificent hospitality and the splendid opportunities you have afforded us to study your country, I desire to convey my gratitude in the time-honoured fashion of my country by uttering the three words "God bless Canada". I now turn to my country. Following the precedent set by others who have spoken about their country, I desire on this occasion to give you a few facts about our past, our present and our aspirations for the future. I feel this is necessary as I find there is a great deal of, I had almost said, profound ignorance about our country. I come from India—a land which one of the great Western savants described as "the cradle of humanity," a land which, as Lord Peel has told you already, has a great past and an ancient civilisation behind it. It is worth remembering too as our

good friend Roselyn Mitchell observed, that though for over a period of ten thousand years, conqueror after conqueror has contributed his share of destruction, yet until this day, it preserves its personality,—a unique personality indeed.

We are 320 millions, Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, and other martial races and though sometimes one has fought with the other, yet each has given unto the other something of its culture and thus jointly enriched the civilisation of the country.

We have had great rulers in the past, Chandragupta and Asoka, Akbar, the great Mussalman Emperor, whose beneficent rule and noble attempt to found a Universal Religion has formed the theme of one of the finest poems of Tennyson. We have had warrior-statesmen like Ranjit Singh and Sivaji, whose statue was not long ago unveiled by the Prince of Wales. The art of government has not been, and is not, unknown to us. The Dravidian, the Aryan and the Mussalman all alike have had their day, although each has its own chequered tale to tell. For a long time past and even at the present day, the great Native States, Indian States as they are called, and which comprise one-third of India, have been and are being administered by a number of able and distinguished Indians. It may interest you to know that the Prime Minister to His Exalted Highness the Nizam is a Hindu; that in Mysore, a province ruled by a Hindu, a young and patriotic Mussalman is the Dewan. I am mentioning some of these facts to you, because you hear so little about my country and what little news is given to you is about the ill-feeling that is said to permanently exist between Hindus and Muslims. It will interest you to know that among one of the great saints revered by the Hindus, is *Kabir*, a saint of Mussulman origin. In one of the mosques in the South from which I come, Hindus go on pilgrimage and offer their prayers. To go back to the subject, our capacity for administration. Within the last quarter of a century,

Indians drawn from all classes and creeds have been trusted with responsible posts in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and of those of the Governors of the various Provinces, and, according to all accounts, they have acquitted themselves very well.

In the sessions of the Imperial Conference and of the League of Nations, some of my countrymen have distinguished themselves to a remarkable degree, and one I may refer to by name, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, whose character, ability and remarkable power of eloquence have won for him the admiration of some of the best British statesmen, and to-day he is in South Africa, acting as an Ambassador of peace in handling the delicate and complicated question of the rights of the Indians domiciled there. In the Central Legislature, in the Municipal Corporations of our great cities and in the governing bodies of our Universities and in many other institutions—I speak from personal knowledge—Indians of all classes and creeds and Europeans have been working together, and one of them, Sir Darcy Lindsay is here. No doubt, we have our differences and our quarrels, but which institution is there in the world which is free from them? Indeed, these seem to be the common heritage of all mankind. In the world of letters and in the field of science, we can point with pride to Tagore, the poet, and Jagadish Chandra Bose, the scientist who has astonished the scientific world with his marvellous discoveries and researches in regard to plants.

But the activities of the nation have not stopped with these. For over half-a-century, several Protestant reformist movements and organizations like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Servants of India Society, the Seva Sadan, the Indian Social Reform Movement, and the Depressed Classes Mission have been each in its own way carrying on active propaganda and beneficent work. The one common aim, the com-

mon purpose underlying the work of all these movements and organisations, is the improvement of the condition of the people at large, the emancipation of the individual, however poor and humble he may be, so that he may be enabled, to rise to the full height of his manhood, and let me assure you that in this great and noble endeavour, men and women of the highest classes have thrown themselves heart and soul.

Let me at this stage state at once that my object is not to present the picture of the bright side only. I shall be false to myself and to you if I leave any such impression. No body is more keenly alive than myself to our many defects and shortcomings. We have done many things which we ought not to have done. We have not always been keenly alive to all our responsibilities. We realise fully that only 7 per cent. of our population is literate. In this and in some other respects the fault has not been entirely ours. I may mention one of the finest and noblest of our citizens, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, who urged Government to introduce free elementary education, died broken-hearted. I have within the time at my disposal endeavoured to tell you that with all our sins of omission and commission and despite the disadvantages and handicaps incidental to the rule of one people over another, we have done something to our credit. It is because we lack the opportunities and facilities which are necessary for our fuller growth, we have been claiming to become the masters of our own household. We have been in short demanding self-government. We want to be in our own country, what you Canadians are in yours and the people of other Colonies are in theirs. This cry for self-government, I assure you, is not a new cry. It is as old as half a century. We claim self-government, not as a gift of Britain, but one which we are entitled to, which is due to us, indeed long overdue. We claim it as our birthright, the birthright of every British subject. We have been,

A Frenchman's View of the Vedanta

BY DR. A. S. WOODBURN, M.A., PH.D.

HINDUISM has rather prided itself on its tolerance, and lack of dogmatism. But here is a presentation of probably the most subtle developments of Hindu thought, couched in the sheerest kind of dogmatism. M. Guenon* is not only quite sure that in Vedantism of the type of Sankara, we have the absolute truth, but he is apparently equally certain that his own version is the only one possible. He considered that he had no concern "with pleasing some or displeasing others, but just to say that which is, and to attribute to each thing the name and rank that normally pertains to it." For such a position, history is very immaterial. He has no conception of the way in which truths have been achieved in a process of struggle and through trial-and-error. The truth is bare. The limited and vulgar understanding of the masses is too narrow in scope to attain it. "It is for those who can to raise themselves to the comprehension of the doctrine in its integral purity, and it is only in this way that genuine intellectual *elite* can be formed." The *naivete* with which the author classifies himself and all those who agree with him as belonging to the "genuine intellectual *elite*" is amazing.

M. Guenon is apparently suffering from what the psycho-analysts would call 'a superiority complex.' The way in which he rails at the Orientalists is certainly indicative of an obsession. He begins in the opening sentence by giving us the startling information that the Vedanta "is neither a philosophy nor a religion, nor anything which partakes more or less of the one and of the other." Coming to his positive description, he states that we must recognize in the Vedanta a purely metaphysical doctrine. It is certainly news to be informed that metaphysics lies outside of both religion and philosophy. When it comes to the

particular Vedantic doctrines which he has to discuss, namely, the doctrine of Man and His Becoming, he cannot avoid discussions of primary psychological and theological concern. Yet he invariably takes or makes an opportunity to rap the Orientalists and Theosophists for their erroneous interpretations, assuming that he at least knows. The concept of personality is one to which psychology has contributed and is contributing greatly. The study of personality is surely within the field of psychology. But, no! We are dogmatically informed that "it cannot be considered except from the point of view of pure metaphysic." The criticisms of the psychologists lead one to suspect that he has deliberately chosen to misunderstand or misinterpret them for his own ends.

When it suits the purpose of the author, he simply shuts a problem out of his purview. Genuine metaphysics, in his view, is quite superior to all dualisms, and to such a dilemma as that between matter and spirit. It requires a good deal of ingenuity to argue away the dualistic conception of *purusha* and *prakriti* which most people can see in the Samkhya system.

It must be admitted that M. Guenon shows a considerable degree of erudition. He has read widely in the sources, and evidently has a good working knowledge of Sanskrit. Some of the descriptive portions are quite well done. It is a great pity that a man with so much knowledge should allow himself to become so intolerant of the opinions of others. He seems to treat the Upanishads as all on a level, and as teaching one doctrine only. Buddhism, which contributed so much to the doctrine under discussion, is dismissed as a heresy. Jainism is also heretical. In fact, one can see no way of escape for himself unless he follows the peculiarly Guenonian interpretation of the Vedanta. He out-Vedantizes the most ardent Vedantist.

* MAN AND HIS BECOMING ACCORDING TO THE VEDANTA. By Rene Guenon; translated from the French by Charles Whitby. Rider and Co., London.

in the gatherings of the Parliamentary Association, hearing almost incessantly that the British Empire stands for justice, equality and freedom for all. You, Mr. Premier, laid stress on the fact that the British can maintain their position only if they adhere to this ideal. I ask you to translate this into action in regard to my country. Remember, we ask for no favour but what is due to us and promised to us by a succession of great statesmen beginning from Malcolm and Elphinstone in the early part of the last century and repeatedly ratified by promises and proclamations. My Lord Peel, I am speaking about this with some warmth, because one of the members of our delegation went out of his way yesterday in his speech and declared that Great Britain would be glad to give India the gift of self-government, but she was staying her hand for our sake so that it may not prove to be the poisoned cup. You must not forget that when the Great War broke out, my country supplied nearly a million and a half for the fight, and some of them perished in fields thousands and thousands of miles away from the land of their birth. We contributed too from our impoverished exchequer two millions sterling. We did all this and more, because we thought it was a just war, a war fought for the overthrow of autocracies, a war fought for the liberation of small nationalities and States, a war fought for the right of "self-determination." Our ears are still ringing with the high-sounding declarations and proclamations of those days. Britishers who talk in these days of the gift of self-government for India and delaying it for our sake would do well to remember what Mr. Lloyd George said about the Irish demand for self-government. "It is something which has to do with the pride and self-respect of the people." The late Bonar Law made the following remarkable pronouncement in regard to the same question:—"I think very often, a bad form of government will work infinitely better than

a much better system without that consent and good will."

The truth of this was well recognised by one of your great Liberal statesmen, the late Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman when he proclaimed: "Good government could never be a substitute for self-government." You have seen the wisdom of this policy in relation to South Africa.

If you look at the constitution of the Empire Parliamentary Association, you will find it is composed of three classes of members:—

(1) those that have responsible government and Dominion status;

(2) those who have responsible government without Dominion status;

(3) those who have no responsible government, and this refers to India.

It is time, high time, this incongruity, this anomaly, is removed.

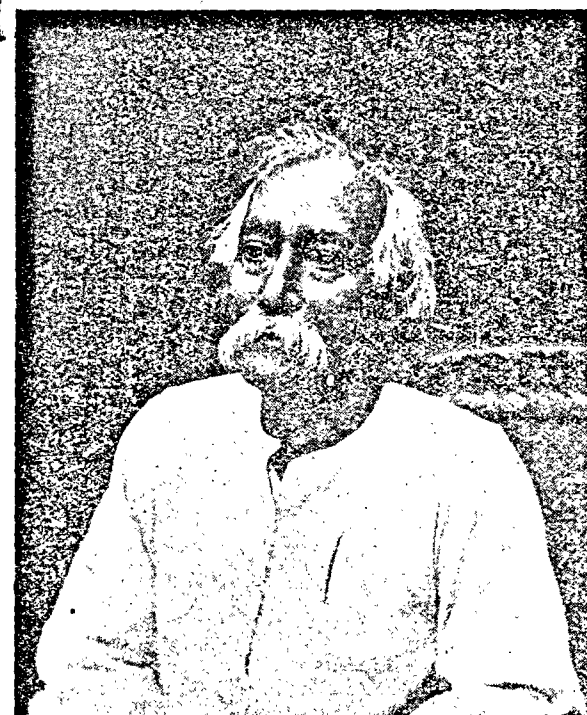
Remove it not only for our sake, but for the sake of the British Empire, and if I may add, for the sake of humanity as well. I say, humanity as well, for we believe that India has a mission to fulfil in this world. Remember in the morning of the world, before many of the present day powerful nations had not even been born, before any one talked of the League of Nations, World Peace and the Parliament of Man, it was the sages of my land, who sang in rapturous tones, in the beautiful hymn of the Upanishads, proclaiming, for all time to come, the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God.

India asks for nothing more, nothing less. We want the opportunity to work out our own destiny and to translate into practice the message of peace and goodwill to all proclaimed thousands and thousands of years ago."

Dr. Mahendralal Sircar *

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

PAIKPARA, a village situated in the outskirts of Howrah, is the birth-place of Dr. Mahendralal Sircar. Perhaps no other event associates this village with public memory.



DR. MAHENDRALAL SIRCAR.

Born on the 2nd day of November 1833, Sircar lost his father at the early age of five and his mother four years after. Thus he was left an orphan when he was hardly nine years old. He began to live under the roof of his maternal uncles at Nebutola in Calcutta where he was brought by his mother soon after the death and *Sradh* ceremony of his father at Paikpara. Throughout his life, he cherished with deep emotion this locality

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for a volume INDIAN SCIENTISTS—to be published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

endeared by the early associations of his boyhood.

EARLY EDUCATION

In accordance with the Hindu custom, the young lad was put under the care of a Guru Mahasay in a private school to learn the rudiments of Bengali. By diligent application, he soon began to improve in his studies with astonishing rapidity. He displayed such interest in his books that he attracted the attention of his guardians who were encouraged to give him the benefit of English education. The services of Babu Thakurnath Dey were solicited to teach him the alphabet of the English tongue. This circumstance was indeed a godsend.

He took possession of Sircar with great zeal as of a treasure over which he should exercise all the vigilance he could. He took such an interest in his pupil that he seemed to hope to enjoy the fruits of his efforts; and he looked upon the virtues he cultivated in his new charge as a store laid by for his old age. In a letter which Dr. Sircar wrote to the Calcutta JOURNAL OF MEDICINE, in the month of July 1902, when he was past sixty-nine and slowly sickening into the darkness of the grave, we find the following reference to his first teacher. He says: "My old master, the late Babu Thakurnath Dey, from whom I received the rudiments of my education, loved me as his own son." What more compliment is needed for a teacher? What greater reward for Thakurnath Dey?

AT THE HARE SCHOOL

Sircar passed twelve months with his beloved tutor. During this time, the pecuniary circumstances of his uncles underwent a change for the worse. The eldest of his uncles sought Government service as a travelling printer and left Calcutta. At that time, David Hare's School was a very popular institution. That great philanthropist was then admitting pupils free of any charge. Through the efforts of his youngest uncle, Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, Dr. Sircar was admitted into that school. The memory of David Hare made a very strong impression on the grateful heart of

Dr. Sircar. He always referred to him as the "father of education in Bengal". He tried even to perpetuate his memory by founding a Professorship in his name at the Science Association. Soon after the death of David Hare in 1842, Sircar fell ill and thus there was a small break in his school career. He was re-admitted by the kindness of Uma Charan Mitter, the then Headmaster of the Institution. The boy finished his school career in the year 1849 when he scored a junior scholarship and was promoted to the Hindu College.

AT THE HINDU COLLEGE

Mr. Sutcliffe was the Principal of the Hindu College and Professor of Mathematics. He was by nature very kind and amiable and felt instinctively drawn to his best students by the affection of a parent. He had a keen eye for the detection of genius in his pupils. His wide culture, thorough grasp of his subject, as well as his winning manners made him a very popular Head of the Institution. Such as he was, it happened before long that Dr. Sircar became his favourite pupil because he was the best student of his class. He also won the admiration and good-will of Mr. Jones by his close acquaintance with English Literature and Comparative Philosophy. This was the seed-time of Dr. Sircar's life. He devoured with cheerful enthusiasm and a freedom which had a charm of its own, all the master-pieces of English literature and the ever-glorious productions of English and European philosophers. He was indeed a voracious reader. This habit continued throughout his life. * * * In the midst of the galling duties which, later on, his profession and his public work imposed upon him, he always found some time every day for the study of such subjects as history, literature and philosophy which not only give polish to a man of science but also add grace and beauty to the general accomplishments of humanity. He had always kept himself in close touch with the literary and scientific movements of the world. * * *

During his later College days, Huxley and Mill were the favourite studies of Dr. Sircar.

He devoted long and laborious hours to the study of their works. This marked a turning point in his career. * * * Being naturally of a scientific bent, he was always searching for concrete truths in his studies. Hence what he used to call the vain and idle fancies of the poets and philosophers did not make any lasting impression upon him. So he soon began to be painfully aware of the unsubstantial nature of the general education which he had been receiving in the College. The more advanced writings of Mill and Huxley were not easily intelligible to him. He thought, he had not made a practical study of the sciences to be able to understand those two authors. So he longed with an anxious heart and a parched-up soul for the divine drink of scientific education.

When such was the change that was slowly creeping upon Dr. Sircar in the year 1854, the Hindu College became the Calcutta Presidency College and he was awarded the senior scholarship. But his fierce passion for science was not to be coaxed into submission by such gifts. He was on the look-out for an institution where his favourite subject was best taught.

The Calcutta Medical College was the only place in those days, where the students were given practical lessons in some of the more important sciences. He determined at once to leave the Presidency College where "the principal object of education was to teach the pupils how to read and write the English language." * * *

And the necessary permission was given to Sircar to join the Medical College in the year 1855.

AT THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

It was in the laboratories of the Medical College that the real genius of Dr. Sircar began to display itself. It seemed as if he had at last found his proper level. He appeared to have realised his own self. He became without any delay the pet of all the professors without a single exception. He obtained all the medals, scholarships and prizes in Botany, Physiology, Medicine, Surgery and even Midwifery. His career as a medical student was a brilliant one. A singular instance which occurred during the second year of his

stay at the Medical College will reveal many of those characteristics which were to glorify him in his later life. One day Dr. Sircar was taking a relation of his (a young boy) to the outdoor dispensary of the College, for an eye disease. Dr. Archer, who was Professor for the diseases of the eye, was in the habit of testing the knowledge of the V year students in his Clinic. He used to ask them rather difficult questions on the Anatomy and Physiology of the eye and on the laws of sight. It happened one day that one of the students could not answer a particular question about an obscure point in the anatomy of the eye. Dr. Sircar, who was at a distance taking medicine from the compounder, answered the question in a rather loud voice. "Who is that fellow?" asked Dr. Archer. Sircar was proclaimed. The Professor's surprise knew no bounds. He could not contemplate without mixed feelings of astonishment and admiration a second year boy answering "Dr. Archer's questions." The young prodigy was pushed into the Doctor's presence. Questions more difficult and not less comprehensive were showered upon him. The test satisfied the highest expectations of the examiner. The pupil at once became the favourite of the Professor for the diseases of the eye. He was asked to attend the Clinique every day to get into closer touch with the subject. Then at the request of the senior students and with the permission of the Principal and the Professors, he delivered a course of lectures on Optics in order to enable his fellow-students to understand the mechanism of the eye as an optical instrument. In the same year, he also delivered a lecture at the Bethune Society on "the adaptation of the human eye to distance". Dr. Sircar stayed for six years at the Medical College and passed the L. M. S. Examination in the year 1860. He lost his Gold Medal in Medical Jurisprudence for having stated in answer to a question that the lethal dose of arsenic was much larger than that stated in books and that men were known who had accustomed themselves to taking it in doses of more than a drachm without injury. This was looked upon by the examiner as a

gross mistake. The Professor had not evidently read the latest periodical of the time upon whose authority Sircar made his statement.

Dr. Sircar married in the year in which he entered the Medical College. His wife bore him his only son the late Dr. Amritlal Sircar, L. M. S., F. C. S., in the very year in which he had passed the L. M. S. Examination.

In the year 1863, Dr. Sircar appeared for the M. D. Examination and came out in the First Class.

DR. SIRCAR AND THE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Just about this time, the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association was established in Calcutta through the indefatigable energy and whole-hearted devotion of Dr. Chakrabarty. Dr. Sircar's brilliant career at the Medical College, and also the new Degree of M. D. that was conferred upon him, made him a prominent figure in the Medical World. He had already worked his way through the initial struggles of a new practitioner and was rapidly rising to the acme of popularity and fame. At the inaugural meeting of the Association held at the residence of Dr. Chakrabarty, on the 27th May 1863, Dr. Sircar made a most impressive speech denouncing Homœopathy with remarkable fury in the most contemptuous terms. He ascribed the rise and "temporary triumph of Homœopaths and other quacks and charlatans" to the indifference and rather wanton neglect of duty on the part of the Allopathic Practitioners. The speech was heard with great respect and deference. He was at once elected Secretary of the Association, and in 1866 he became one of its Vice-Presidents.

THE GREAT SACRIFICE

Now Dr. Sircar was past thirty years of age. He had won the highest honours in the Medical College and the best encomiums of the medical profession. He had a large and ever-growing practice and a popularity which made his name a household word in Calcutta. When Dr. Sircar made his speech at the Medical Association condemning Homœopathy, he knew nothing of the principles upon which that system of cure was based. He describes

himself thus: "I was equally with my professional brethren a hater and denouncer of Homœopathy and perhaps the most furious of them all. Like them, I had no knowledge of it, except from the caricatures of the orthodox opponents. This distorted knowledge derived from misrepresentation of the system, aided by the apparent absurdity of the 'Law of Similars' and the Infinitesimal Dose, was enough to justify my refusing to read the works on Homœopathy and Homœopaths."

Soon after, an event happened which changed almost the whole course of his life and career. One day, a friend handed over to him for review a copy of Morgan's Philosophy of Homœopathy. Dr. Sircar took up the work with great earnestness because he wanted to get a clearer idea of the therapeutics of Homœopathy so that he might condemn them in a scientific and authoritative spirit. As he began to read the book, he was taken a helpless captive by the convincing logic of Morgan, the eloquent appeal of Truth and the inevitable conclusions that forced themselves upon his mind with a talismanic charm which was all their own. At once, he determined to acquaint himself thoroughly with the entire theory and practice of Homœopathy. All the standard works on the subject were ordered and they began to pour into his library in a continuous stream from London and New York. He was reading them all with great attention and care. Having mastered the theory, he wanted to test in practice the validity of the principles which he had learnt from the books. He had not long to wait for it. A millionaire of Calcutta, Dr. Rajendralal Dutt, who was the first to introduce Homœopathy into Bengal, was rejoiced at the welcome opportunity of making a convert of the most renowned prince of Allopathic practitioners. He hastened to Dr. Sircar to explain to him the principles of his favourite system. There was no need for his explanations. Dr. Sircar only wanted to observe a few *test cases*, and when he saw the marvellous effects of the accurate treatment by Homœopathy of some apparently incurable cases, he had no hesitation in proclaiming to

the world *his conversion* to the doctrines of Hahnemann. Dr. Frayer dissuaded him from such a suicidal course. But the appeal of truth had a greater force with Dr. Sircar than all the weight of such a great personality as Dr. Frayer who had been his Professor and constant well-wisher. He did so by a speech which he delivered at the annual meeting of the Medical Association in Feb. 1867 "On the supposed uncertainty in Medical Science and the relation between Diseases and their Remedial Agents." The scene which followed at the close of his address may be more easily imagined than described. There was an uproar and confusion which was not congenial to any sober discussion. Dr. Sircar's merciless attacks on the empirical nature of the Allopathic system of treatment drove the members of the Association to their wit's end. Attempts were made to expel the offending member who, an hour before, was one of their Vice-Presidents. The conspiracy of the orthodox members won the day. Dr. Sircar became an out-cast. He had forfeited his claim to the membership of the Association on account of the Himalayan offence which he had committed by espousing an obnoxious system. He was a quack Homœopath.

A PERIOD OF TRIAL

The result of the foregoing events will be better described in the words of Dr. Sircar himself:

"An out-cast I actually became from the next day of the meeting. The rumour spread like wild fire that I had lost my reason, and given my adhesion to one of the worst and most absurd of quackeries that has ever come into existence; that I had forgotten my mathematics and now believe that a part was greater than the whole. My patients, and their number was not inconsiderable, who had perfect faith in me, regretted that I had given up my old convictions and one by one forsook me. The loss of my practice was sudden and complete. For six months I had scarcely a case to treat. Even those who received advice and medicine gratis came only to beg me to give the old and not the new medicine."

In the midst of such severe struggles, he heroically held up steadfast to truth. He did not budge an inch even on the advice of sincere friends and well-wishers. His usual reply to those who strongly persuaded him to retract was, "I would rather give up my profession and take to some other calling than disavow

truth. I am prepared to brave any contingency that may happen to me for my honest convictions; and to proclaim to the world to the utmost of my power what I believe to be the truth." Thus the 16th February, 1867, will ever remain memorable in the history of the Medical Profession in India. On that day, Dr. Sircar stood up for reform in Medicine. He was alone and single-handed. By his bold stand, he contributed to the growth of toleration and friendliness among the votaries of the different systems in this country.

Thus as it was, in the fitness of things, his practice soon began to look up. Again, his rooms began to get crowded with visitors and patients. People really do not care by what system they are treated provided they are healed and cured. Thus he was able to regain his old practice. Again he sat enthroned in his old position as the premier medical practitioner in Calcutta with the added fame and glory of a great votary of truth who had stood up with fearless courage for his convictions, under circumstances which would surely have frightened a weaker man into smothering them.

Dr. Sircar slowly developed into a propagandist of the new system. Before dealing with Dr. Sircar's greatest achievements, the establishment of a temple of science at Calcutta, we must briefly refer to his further services to the cause of Homœopathy. He had already become the most powerful exponent of its principles during his time. Dr. Sircar began to feel the necessity of a proper medium to ventilate his use. He describes his position thus:—

"It became but too evident that I must not content myself with merely practising the new system in which I had recognized the germ of a beneficent truth capable of indefinite development, but that I must help in that development and do all in my power to diffuse a knowledge of it among the profession and the public. I had no hopes of doing it through the medium of the *INDIAN MEDICAL GAZETTE*, the only orthodox journal in India, whose columns were shut against me even for reply to unfounded charges and slanderous accusations. I thought it not only inadequate but also undignified to do so through lay journals. I saw that I must have a journal of my own if I was to fulfil my mission at all. The attitude of the Press in India encouraged me to take the risk."

A journal with an unsectarian name, the *CALCUTTA JOURNAL OF MEDICINE*, was started from January 1868. The work which this journal had accomplished since its inception is fully borne out by the popularity of Homœopathy in Bengal, the disappearance of the spirit of intolerance and foolish orthodoxy from among the members of the healing profession and the importance that has come to be attached to the preventive side of Medicine.

DR. SIRCAR, THE GREAT ORGANIZER

The project of the Association was published to the world in December, 1869. It was followed, as Kristo Das Pal put it, by a most vigorous agitation, cogitation, and education of the mind. The organizing ability of Dr. Sircar became evident from the fact that he had been able to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of not only all sections of the public but also of the alien bureaucracy. No doubt it was a very happy moment, that a man of wide sympathies, deep culture and high education, Sir Richard Temple, happened to be the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. In his efforts, Dr. Sircar was associated with Prof. Lafont, the Astronomer and Scientist of St. Xavier's College. Dr. Sircar had a complete insight into human nature. He was well aware that official support was the only key to unloose the purse-strings of his wealthy countrymen. The greatness of the cause, the nobility of the enterprise and the immensities of public utility that would result therefrom were no doubt sufficient inducement to the educated and enlightened middle class. But the merchant princes and landed aristocrats, hungry for title and fame, would slavishly follow the foot-prints of the official head of the province. Dr. Sircar was right. After six years of restless propaganda, with the full support of the Government, he was able to see the inauguration of the Science Association under the auspices of the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on Saturday the 15th of January, 1876. That day should ever remain memorable in the history of India. It was a day of a great agreeable surprise to Dr. Sircar.

We cannot pass over this stage of Dr. Sircar's life without telling the reader that he was a born teacher. It is only necessary to read one of the lectures he delivered to his students at the Science Association to understand this point. He delivered his first lecture when the Association was first inaugurated. The audience consisted of some of the most distinguished people of the city. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple, was the President. Indeed, as it was said, Dr. Sircar was best fitted to be the head of a Training School of Science. Indeed, he was an excellent teacher and a very successful experimenter. He was invited by Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, to the Government House, to reproduce his experimental lecture on Crookes's Tubes and Radiometers. In its initial stages, the Science Association was not expected to be anything more than a Training School. It was hoped that it would help in the diffusion of scientific knowledge. It was expected to prepare a band of teachers who would go forth into the world as Missionaries of scientific truths. It would teach only the ascertained principles. Dr. Sircar was the organiser, founder, and Honorary Secretary of such an Institution. *

THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE

The ideal which Dr. Sircar placed before himself was the establishment of an institution like the British Association of Sir David Brewster. In order to work up his idea, he wanted *freedom* for his institution. He wanted freedom from the officious interference of the Government. He wanted it to be entirely under our own management and control. He insisted that there should be full scope for unbounded liberty of thought and judgment. The institution should be solely native and national. This was the ideal which he set himself to achieve. But in the initial stages it was not possible nor even desirable to restrict the teaching work only to Indian Professors and Lecturers. It was indeed the age which marked the beginnings of scientific education in India. It was a time when the average Indian, nay even the

average student, looked with astonishment at a piece of magnet or loadstone. Scientific enquiry was in its infant stage. It was confined to the Medical College. It did not extend in any appreciable degree to academic institutions even like the Presidency College. Such was the time when the Science Association was founded. Indeed, it was one of the fundamental objects of the founders that it should be solely under Indian management and control. *

THE GREAT CONTROVERSY

Just about the time of the founding of the Science Association, a group of enlightened gentlemen in Calcutta awoke one morning and found that India was entirely dependent upon other countries for many of her luxuries as well as necessities. It was thought that a lame or a blind man was not more dependent upon his friends or servants than the Indians upon the foreign manufacturers. It is felt as a standing reproach to the inheritors of a great civilization. So this circle of patriots, who could count among them some of the biggest names in the metropolis, deemed that the greatest need of the country was not science speculation but science application. In their opinion the speculative sciences and the glorious literature of Western countries were very good things for those who were rich and, having abundance at home, had no anxiety to provide for the morrow. Dr. Sircar's scheme of a Science Association appeared to them but a vague and metaphysical speculation. It was not the need of the hour. It was an imposition on the country. The country did not want such an institution. It might require it after fifty years. It was a useless waste of public money. Our wealthy villages and ancient towns presented a most desolate spectacle. High families were begging from door to door. So these enthusiasts argued, the most crying need of the country was the establishment of a college to impart scientific and mechanical education to the youths of India. They took full advantage of the long but thorough preparation made by Dr. Sircar. They fixed, indeed, upon the most psychological moment for the inauguration of

their institution. They wanted to commemorate the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, by founding an institution which would purge the country of all its manifold sufferings. They enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of Sir Richard Temple. They had started upon an active propaganda, which caused a Vesuvian outburst of criticism and condemnation of Dr. Sircar's Association. Malicious innuendos began to appear in public print. Sulphurous humour was the invariable characteristic of all references to the CALCUTTA HOMŒOPATHIST. The Indian League, which consisted of "earnest and well-meaning men who could pay sixteen annas to the rupee," had suddenly sprung into the forefront. Meetings were organised under the presidency of Sir Richard Temple and other great and distinguished personalities. It was advertised that within five days, over a lakh and forty thousand rupees were subscribed. All the local journals and publicists of any standing said with one voice, "This is business, indeed."

There is much truth in the Greek adage that an enemy in the disguise of a friend is most to be feared. Such were the members of the Indian League. When they found that Dr. Sircar commanded almost the veneration of the great intellectuals of the metropolis, they advertised that the object was not different from that of the Indian Science Association. When they say that the great Astronomer and Natural Philosopher, Father Lafont, would not countenance a rival association to Dr. Sircar's, they proclaimed themselves as friends and helpers of the great Doctor. They even invited Dr. Sircar to arrange for a union of the two institutions. They said that theory and practice were but the dual aspect of the same enterprise. The aims and objects of both were essentially the same. They both sought the regeneration of our poverty-stricken country. Theory or a knowledge of elementary principles was an indispensable prerequisite to all practical enterprises. Practice was in its own terms a useful process for the perfection of the theory. Thus it was fitting that they should amalgamate into each other and carry on the great work of Indian regeneration with redoub-

led efforts and augmented finances. Great names were introduced almost to coerce Dr. Sircar into submission. The great Doctor was not to fight his first battles. He was a veteran soldier. His courage had not forsaken him. He stood his ground and fought his enemies. It is now necessary to explain Dr. Sircar's position clearly. He was the first, in this country, to familiarize the idea of scientific education. He had ploughed the field and prepared the ground. Just at that time, the Indian Leaguers placed before the public their attractive proposition of adding to the wealth of India by the cultivation of the practical sciences. They did not consult Dr. Sircar about their proposal. They did not feel bound to invite him to their meeting, they had not the common courtesy of asking for the co-operation of the greatest apostle of scientific education in this country. Their meetings, indeed, had the appearance of secret conclaves of interested persons to rob the Doctor of the fruits of his life-long labours. They had not placed before the public any detailed scheme of their work. They had been trading on that attractive catch-word, "Practical." Certainly, Dr. Sircar, as the organizer and founder of the Indian Association for the cultivation of science, could not be expected to join hands with such "irresponsibles." He was invited by Sir Richard Temple to explain his position at a Conference of the two parties. Dr. Sircar said that it was not his contemplation to found a *college* where students could obtain tuition for a certain term. His ambition was to establish an institution where students after passing their state of pupilage, might have opportunities and means to prosecute life-long, or as long as they liked, some one or more branches of science. He had aimed at creating facilities for original researches in order to arrive at fresh discoveries. School-pupils could never be expected to rise to the manhood of original investigators of science. Referring to the proposed amalgamation, Dr. Sircar said that his scheme was no more than pure science-learning and science-teaching. He could not arrange in his scheme for any practical training in arts and

mechanics. He took of science a higher and nobler view than the narrow, utilitarian and Benthamite one which seemed to animate the Leaguers. His object was not to drill men in the arts which constitute the manual and the mechanical industries. Thus, to his mind, the aims of the two Associations were distinct and, on close examination, antagonistic. He held clearly that there could be no talk of amalgamation. He ended his eloquent speech with the pregnant remark that it was idle to waste time in conjectures and that the world was wide enough for both if they could work quietly and in peace. This controversy had revealed one of the greatest traits in the character of Dr. Sircar. He was most uncompromising in his convictions and policy. Indeed, this is the greatest lesson that rings out from every chapter of his life. Compromise is death. Compromise annihilates individuality, and then, what is there to survive? The Indian League dragged on a weary existence for a decade, and having done nothing that it had promised, ceased to exist. The Science Association with its modest beginnings has developed into a most potent centre of scientific research so that, as Dr. C. V. Raman has said, "a stream of new knowledge has flowed to every part of the world. It is now known wherever physical science is studied."

HONOURS AND DISTINCTIONS

In the fitness of things, Dr. Sircar's efforts did not fail to bring him public honours and distinctions. He had extorted the recognition of a reluctant Government. He won the unique distinction of being the greatest promoter of scientific enquiry in this country. Lord Curzon conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Law. He had already become sovereign in the realm of Homœopathy. His efforts for the prevention of disease, and his wide charities to the suffering in the city had endeared him to the citizens of Calcutta. He was elected a municipal councillor. He was appointed as an Honorary Presidency Magistrate, and a few years after, was made a C.I.E. His great sincerity and

wide acquaintance with the varied needs of the province was recognized by the Government when he was nominated as a member of the Bengal Council. He had taken a very active part in the administration of the Calcutta University, as a member of the Syndicate and as the President of the Faculty of Arts. The Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was proud to own him as one of its prominent members. He was a trustee of the Indian Museum and a life-member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Thus he was connected with every enlightened body in India and with many outside, either directly or indirectly. He had culled out his lessons for his countrymen from every progressive movement of the world. In the words of the late Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, Dr. Sircar lived to see the dream of his youth realised. At the time of his birth, his country was a silent, passive spectator of the achievements of Western Nations. At the time of his demise, India was an active participant in all the progressive movements of the world.

THE PASSING AWAY

Dr. Sircar had already reached the evening of his life. Though his unflagging zeal for the regeneration of India had made him capable of Herculean toil, yet it was clearly evident to every observer that Dr. Sircar had not long to live. The furrows of time were easily visible on his face. Though he had a stentorian voice, his lungs began to feel the strain of his long speeches. He seemed to have beheld a ray of the Divine in his own heart. He had an attack of influenza in 1891. It was the first time that that fell disease visited this country. Soon after, he suffered from malaria and asthma. He had a presentiment that he would die of malaria. This did not make him less attentive to his malaria patients. No doubt, the fear of contagion haunted him throughout his life. But even "malaria lost its dread when compassion knocked at the wide portals of his heart". One of his patients was a poor and helpless boy in Hooghly. The daily fee for out-stations was Rs. 100. He attended for nine days and came back without any fee, but an attack of malaria. The second

visit of this much-feared complaint was occasioned by his efforts to treat a patient at Punduah. This lasted for three years. He was slowly sickening into the grave. He was not able to digest food. He was compelled to reduce his diet considerably. The final stroke of Providence came in the cold November of 1896 when he was called upon to treat Prince Ferozh Shah. He was unwilling to undertake the treatment. The insistence of a friend proved the greatest persuasion. The reluctant physician was taken to the residence of the Prince at Ballygunj. The place was deadly malarious. The Doctor caught the infection. He never recovered from the grip of that dangerous disease. The rest of his life was only a prolonged death. He could not be said to have lived. He did not enjoy even a single day of perfect health, ever after. But day after day, month after month, and year after year, he continued to deliver his precious lectures at the Science Association. All his later speeches contained the same prefatory remarks. At the beginning of every speech, he pleaded inability on account of sickness. At the call of duty to nurse his *pet child*, he rose willingly from his sick-bed, to bear any arduous toil. One day, he was about to start for the Association Hall, to deliver his usual lecture to the students. The time advertised was 4 P. M. At about 3 in the afternoon, a professional call came to him. A handsome fee of Rs. 200 was offered. But Dr. Sircar refused the case, as it was very likely to engage him for a couple of hours. He would disappoint his anxious students. That should not be. Nothing should be allowed to interfere with his duty to the Association. He looked upon it as his greatest achievement. Under a most wasting disease, the great old man became thin, and lean and weak. He was seventy years old in 1903. A birth-day ceremony was organized by his loving son. Dr. Sircar felt that he was not to live even a twelve-month. But there was peace in his soul. He did not let his talents lie idle in him. He had used them to the best of his powers to glorify the Giver of all Gifts. There was great sorrow all around. The country was soon to lose a great man. He

called all his near and dear relations and friends to his bed-side. He called on them to believe in God and religion. This was rather a novel thing from a cold dry-as-dust scientist. "No," he said: "Believe in God and Religion." He called on them to realize that the religion of God was in the soul of man. He was indeed religious. He had great faith in God and in His Omnipotence. He wanted religion but not religiosity. He was a religious man but not a religionist. The last days of his life were indeed agonizing. But with a force of will, so characteristic of his early days, he recalled his mind from the terrestrial and the physical to concentrate it on the glory of God and the Majesty of the Creation. He bore his pains heroically. His last words were that every rational creature ought to thank the Creator every moment of his life for the continuance of his existence which he owes to Him and Him alone. Culture seemed widowed for the moment and a talented journalist of the day mourned the loss, in the words of Antony, "Here was a Cæsar! when comes such another?"

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UNDER THE GREAT MOGHULS

BY PROF. K. G. WARTY, M.A.

CHAPTER V.

ECONOMIC THEORIES IN OPERATION THE EFFECTS OF THE FAMINE

It is said that out of evil cometh good. The famine of 1630, that ravaged Gujrat and set at naught all the threads of the organisation of trade at Surat and other places in Northern India, was indeed a dreadful calamity to the people inhabiting those parts of the country. The crops having failed successively for two years, and the poor peasants being unable to exert themselves in producing their necessities of life, the prices of food-stuffs and consequently of other commodities rose abnormally high. The people, therefore, could not afford to purchase them at the forbidding prices. One of the writers on the subject has characterised this famine as one of the purchasing power rather than of food-stuffs. But whatever be the characterisation of the famines in India, they undoubtedly supply us with an illustration of the non-existence of the resisting power of the people at large against such calamities as famines. The loss of life consequent upon the hunger epidemic was enormous. It is said, and it is believed, with some exaggeration, that no less than 30,000 souls were lost in the town of Surat alone. The foreigners, the English and the Dutch in particular, were not free from the disastrous effects of this state of things. The loss to these foreigners, so far as the lives of the factors were concerned, was inconsiderable. But from the point of view of trade and commerce, they suffered heavily. The whole of the superstructure of trade organisation of the factories of the Dutch and the English came to the ground as a house of cards. The former, if compared to the latter, suffered more than the English, in that the superior organisation of the Dutch was now on the same level as that of the English who were only beginning to establish themselves on a firm basis. In spite of the heavy loss that the English Factory at Surat had sustained on account of the famine, they had now one advantage, that they, as well as the Dutch, their formidable and only rival in trade at

that time, had to begin afresh on the same footing; thus affording both the rivals in the competition that was to ensue, the same advantages and disadvantages and giving them both a fair trial to re-establish themselves in Indian trade. And the struggles that followed proved that the perseverance and industriousness of the English people won the race against the pompous show and greed of the Dutch.

THE INTERLOPERS

So the British factory at Surat began its operations in right earnest again with a view to put down the Dutch supremacy in Indian commerce and enjoy the monopoly of Eastern trade, and it did not take a very long time for the English to re-establish themselves well at Surat. They had in years past founded factories in some towns in Upper India, but as those factories did not yield much profit or advantage, they gave up the attempt of re-opening them. The only advantageous course for the English merchants at this time was to concentrate their attention on two things only, instead of trying to extend their trade relations in India on a wider scale. First, they had to take all possible care that they were not compelled by circumstances to recede and go back to the starting point again. Secondly, in order to secure future progress in their commerce, they had to adopt methods to eliminate all their rivals from the field of competition. For the first three or four years after the famines of Gujrat, the Dutch merchants were the only rivals to the English Company; and if these were once driven out of the field, the East India Company would be safe. This they did achieve in course of time by strenuous fights against them. But at this time, a more dangerous enemy was in the making in England herself. When the people saw that the India Company was able to build on the old ruins, some enthusiasts who were guided, without doubt, by the temptation of enormous profits more than by the motive of bringing ruin on the head of the original Company, entertained hopes of starting a new firm to trade with the East, and this hope was materialised in 1636 by starting

a company popularly known as the Courten's Association. The Association secured permission for this purpose from King Charles I, who had been "credibly informed that the East India Company had neglected to plant and settle trade in those parts, and had made no fortifications to encourage any in future times to adventure thither, contrary to the practice of the Dutch and the Portuguese." The English Sovereign believed that "this neglect has resulted in a loss of trade to His Majesty's subjects, as evidenced not only by the complaints of some of the adventurers, but especially by the decrease of the royal customs, which is due to the said Company's supine, neglected discovery of trade in divers places in those parts. Accordingly, the Courten's Association started factories in the first heat of enthusiasm at Karwar and Bhatkal on the west coast of India where they were allowed by the local Raja to trade in pepper. The new company was not the only rival to the old one; there were also those who called themselves Freemen, "that are pernicious in their actions to us (the East India Company), being companions to all such of our people as they find discontented, and not only inveigle them from your service but convey them to the Dutch or Moors as they find them most inclined.*" To the great satisfaction of the factors at Surat and other places in India and also of the Directors of the Company in England, these upstarts were destined to be short-lived. It being a very difficult task for the new comers to fight against the blows of time and adverse circumstances, the President of the Courten's Association was forced to abandon his efforts in this direction within a period of ten years. And slowly but surely other enterprises began to lose ground, and the East India Company alone was left in the end to rear up the seeds of a future Empire. The Company had a rival in trade from their own country, which proved a handicap to them to fight the growing power of the Dutch. The factory at Surat was put in an unsatisfactory condition, and the Directors of the Company could not secure as much

capital as they would have been able to do, had there been no rival Company. Then, again, the unanimous support of the people of England was divided into two, and even when the second Company was abolished, their supporters, being discontented with the little success in their enterprise, began to agitate against the Company, the results of which were to be seen in the last quarter of the century. The success, however, of the original Company was due primarily to the strict observance of the letter and spirit of the advice of Sir Thomas Roe, whose peaceful policy had been followed by the Directors even to the end of the seventeenth century. Besides the Courten's Association, there were more than one company to compete with the East India Company in the remaining half of the century; but the Company had little to fear, because they could not do much harm to the already established interests of the Company with which in the early years of the next century they were amalgamated.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADE

The English factory at Surat was undoubtedly crippled on account of the famine; but the factors being adept in trade matters did not take much time in re-establishing their trade relations in Gujrat. Within a period of a decade they could show a remarkable progress in their work when compared to the work achieved by the Dutch and the Portuguese. The principal articles of trade were cotton and indigo. The Surat district itself produced vast quantities of cotton manufactures known in those times as calicoe but the area under the cultivation of indigo was not at all considerable. These two commodities were originally shipped from the port of Surat; but the demand for them which was greater than the supply, and the consequent rise in the prices persuaded the factors at Surat to open smaller stations or factories in other parts of the country whence they could buy and store these commodities. The tract of land round about Surat was also fertile in producing "good wheat, rice and barley, besides many other sorts of grain of bread-corn which may be bought at easy rates." It is also observed that

*. English Factories, 1651-4, page 252.

of the wheat which was fuller and whiter than the European, the inhabitants baked "good and savoury bread upon the lid of a pot which hangs over the fire." * But these food-stuffs had not yet attracted the attention of the English factors at Surat, because England at that time was still an agricultural country which was able to produce the necessary food materials. Evidently, the cotton-manufactured articles were more in demand in England than the corn and hence the trade in cotton. The head quarters of the English were in Surat; and the cotton produced in that part could not meet the European demand. The factors, therefore, turned towards the Deccan which was rich and fertile for cotton crop. They very soon established new factories on the coast line of the Konkan, which provided good sea-ports at Dabhol, Rajapur and Karwar, that were the only exporting ports for the table-lands of the Deccan. During the first quarter of the century, Patna possessed an English factory opened as early as 1620, with Pipli in Orissa as its sea-port. The factories at both these places were continued again in the latter part of the century. Muslin of Dacca, silk of Cossimbazaar and Malda and saltpetre from Patna formed the staple articles in which the factory at Patna traded. As this trade in Bengal grew in size, Pipli was found to be an inefficient sea-port and Hugli was thought upon to furnish them a good port, though the Portuguese were supreme in that part of Bengal. A factory was established there in 1640, which in the course of the century, attained a very important position. It was in 1689 that Calcutta, which was destined to be the capital city of the British Empire, was settled. Hugli was not only a good port but a trading centre on account of many of the weavers of cotton cloth, Tesser or Herba of several sorts, living near by; and moreover, silk, sugar, opium, rice, wheat, oil, butter, coarse hemp, gunnies and many other commodities could be brought to that place with ease. Just about the same time, a factory at Musulipatam to trade in indigo and cotton of the Kistna delta and one at

* Quoted from Ogilby's 'Asia' in *India in the 17th Century*, page 75.

Calicut to continue their trade in spices and to a certain degree in saltpetre were established in the South by the English merchants. Thus the trade began to grow in volume by leaps and bounds. The English merchants, following again the advice of Sir Thomas Roe, did not restrict themselves to pepper and cotton, nor to India alone, but they extended their operations by dealing in all possible commodities and in other parts of Asia also. Trade had now gained the position of 'the lady which in this present age is more courted and celebrated than in any former'. And by the time of the Restoration, the traffic of the East had succeeded better than any Corporation preceding.

HOW TRADE WAS ORGANISED

It is indeed a matter to be wondered at how the English people, foreigners as they were, could establish their trade relations with the natives of India, whose habits and languages were quite unknown to these outsiders. The greatest difficulty was that of language in which the English had to speak in order to express their intentions and interests to the native merchants with whom they had to deal. But the tenacity and stick-to-it-ness of the English race could overcome this difficulty in a very short period. Some of the merchants began to learn and study the vernaculars of different provinces as many of the Portuguese and the Dutch did, thus removing the necessity of interpreters. But many of the dealings of the Company were transacted through interpreters and brokers. "For the buying and the more advantageous disposing of the Company's goods", says Ovington, "there are brokers appointed, skilled in the rates and value of all the commodities in India." Fryer, the traveller, has well described the practice of these brokers who used to throng about newcomers to India. He says: "As soon as you set your foot on shore, they crowd in their service, interposing between you and all civil respect, as if you had no other business but to be gulled; so that unless you have some to make your way through them, they will interrupt your going, and never leave till they have drawn out something for their advantage. At

this time of shipping, they present the Governor of Surat to license them to keep a mart there, which they make the Europeans pay dearly for; yet such is their policy, that without these, neither you nor the natives themselves shall do any business." These brokers, it is observed, used to receive two or three per cent. brokerage on transactions effected through them, and one feels doubtful whether they were quite satisfied with that allowance. These brokers again had in their turn their own agents or *gomastas* in different villages and such other places from which the commodities for export were gathered, these being engaged at monthly rates. The *gomasta* was personally visiting districts and manufacturing towns where the purchases were intended to be made, with the *parwana* or permit from the Governor of the province and asking the weavers and other artisans to meet at a particular place or *kachery* as they used to call it, where they were to sign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods at a certain time and price. There was also the practice of advancing money to those who signed the bonds. This practice is still in vogue in many parts of India and it is due to the utter helplessness and poverty of the people engaged in agriculture. Master describes the practice in Hugli in the following terms: About Hugli, there live many weavers who weave cotton cloth, and cotton and Tassar or Herba of several sorts, and from the parts thereabouts there is brought silk, sugar, opium, rice, wheat, oil, butter, coarse hemp, gunnies and many other commodities. The way of procuring these is to agree upon musters with the merchants of Hugli or to send Banians who can give security, to buy them on our accounts in the places where they are made or procurable at cheapest hands, and whether we use one way or other, we give passes in the English name for bringing these goods free of custom, and all those places have so great a convenience that most of the goods are brought by water, unless from the places near unto Hugli. The goods we sell in Hugli by merchants there are upon time, or ready money, but which way soever it is that we sell them, we give passes and

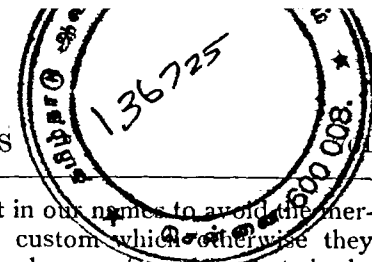
send them out in our names to avoid the merchants paying custom which otherwise they would not do and we are forced to abate in the price proportionate.

THE TRADE COMMODITIES

With such an organisation at its back, the Company prospered rapidly in its work. There was importing and exporting of articles on a larger scale in the years that followed the death of Charles II. It was one of the objects of the Directors of the Company to introduce English goods in India and try to secure good market for all English-made goods all over the Eastern world. The principal exports of the Company were usually tin, lead, copper, swords, cloth, quicksilver, vermilion and bullion. In spite of many strenuous efforts on the part of the English factors in India, there could be no appreciable change in the quantity of these exports. The obvious reason was, as we have observed in another place above, that the people in India did not seem to use these goods except on particular occasions. Otherwise, the people were quite self-supporting and self-contented. As regards cloth produced by the weavers of England, the Company left no stone unturned to increase its sale in India; but their efforts were not crowned with success. In the first place it was offered at a prohibitive price, and, secondly, the Indian workmen could not afford to buy it at that high price. Quite the contrary was the case with the export of bullion. It was now exported on an extensive scale, for, it supplied the East India merchants with the necessary purchasing power, so much so that the Company had soon to face a strong opposition against this export from the leading economists and merchants as well as from the artisans of England. For instance, Prince Butler in his tale has the following lines which complain of the export of Bullion. He says:—

This trade was drove on by such measures,
As soon exhausted much of our treasures.

This export of bullion and treasures to which we shall have to refer again in the course of this chapter was necessary in purchasing such of the goods as were in demand in England and which could be procured in India.



12.10.28
128.27.10

Among such articles of export from India were silk, raw and manufactured, calicoes, coffee, indigo, wool, saltpetre, pepper and spices and drugs. The adopted policy of the merchants was to encourage all manufactures that England wanted from abroad or that could be cheaply produced in India; for this policy of fostering Indian industries had resulted in an unusual increase in trade. There was a good supply of silk, a writer observes, "which was made into velvets, satins and taffeties, but the best of them were not so good as those made in Italy". All the same, that the commodity had a very heavy demand can be substantiated by the price of silk in those times which varied from 15 to 19 annas per half seer, of 70 tolas each. There was also another sort of silk which was considered to be a better quality than the ordinary silk, and which was not found in large quantity, and that was priced at Rs. 5 to 6 per seer. Evidently, the heavy demand and meagre supply was responsible for this rise in price. Similar was the state of cotton trade. In one of the letters, the Directors of the Company ask the factors "to encourage the Natives to plant indigo and cotton, to make saltpetre if there be any proper grounds for it near Chyrttegam (Chittagong) which we cannot doubt, as also the the planting of Mulberry trees for silk worms". The cotton manufactures of India had attained such a prominent position in the English market and also on the Continent that hardly a house could be found where calicoes were not used. It is also said that when Mary landed in England with her husband, William of Orange, to occupy the throne of Great Britain in 1688, she was mainly clothed in Indian silk. The silk manufactures of India were very popular with the rich people and especially with female members of the house, while the cheap cotton cloth was used by the poorer people and servants of the household of the rich. The price of long cloth rose even to 50s. per piece. Then there was also export from Indian ports of goats' wool to which the Directors refer in almost every dispatch to India; but the quantity was very limited. It seems indigo and coffee were

in no respect below in the estimation of the Directors, for they too could bring the Company considerable profit. In a dispatch sent out in December of 1686, the Directors state that "indigo and coffee are the most profitable bulky commodities you can send." As for trade in pepper and spices, it was not a promising concern though the Company was originally founded to trade mainly in those commodities. "The trade in spices might have flourished," says a writer, "if the Coromandel coast and other places in India had been suitable for their cultivation. This does not seem to have been the case. The pepper imported from the Coromandel coast appears to have been poor in quality and very dear in price."

WHY TRADE FLOURISHED

The vast extent and volume of the European trade in the 17th century would not have sustained itself had it not been for the wise policy of the Directors of the Stuart Kings. We have already noted incidentally that one of the important acts of policy on the part of the factors in India was the advance of money made to the workers for the purpose of either purchasing the necessary materials for the production of goods or to maintain themselves till the work in hand is finished. This policy was indeed very much liked by the poor people, and the European merchants on their part lost nothing but gained instead inasmuch as the goods could be had beforehand in the factories erected for storing them till the time of their shipment. The ships in the harbours had now not to wait till goods from different parts of the country arrived, as they used to do formerly, and so much time saved could increase their trade and consequently their profits. Another happy thing that the merchants did was to train Indians in industrial matters by means of importing expert weavers from England. The market in England and on the Continent varied from time to time. A pattern that was once very much liked by the people and was in extensive vogue and that once commanded a very good sale in European markets was out of fashion after a lapse of a few years;

and new designs had to be invented. The Company was ready to supply any new design to the people so long as they could secure profit therefrom. But Indians by themselves were not in a position to understand the actual needs of European markets. They had to be taught in those ways; and the dispatch of English weavers to teach Indians how to prepare goods for European consumption and also the mysteries of their craft was quite essential; and "several artificers were sent over to teach Indians how to manufacture goods for the European markets. After which began the great trade in manufactured goods from India". Another factor that tended to increase the trade and influence of the East India Company was the patronage of the English Sovereigns, especially the Stuarts whom the Company, time and again, had advanced loans. The Stuart Kings were in unceasing want of money which rich persons and Associations alone could lend. Then again there was a supremacy of mercantilists who believed that some sort of protection should be given to merchant adventurers who were calculated to increase the wealth of the nation. And it is no wonder that the sovereigns were influenced by the current economic thought. The grant of monopolies by James I. and Charles I., though primarily for the purpose of gaining money to carry on the Government of Great Britain, was to stimulate industry and business and improve articles. "It is a great part of our royal care" begins a proclamation to one of the Eastern Companies, "like as it was of our royal Father of blessed memory deceased, to maintain and increase the trade of our merchants, and the strength of our Navy, as principal veins and sinews for the wealth and strength of our kingdom". The parental interest taken by Cromwell in the affairs of the East is too well known to be re-stated here. The policy of patronising the Associations trading in foreign goods was continued till the Revolution of 1688 when the atmosphere of English political life wholly changed, and the

*. From a Proclamation to the East India Company. *Puritanism and Liberty*, Page 39.

economists and theorists supporting the cause of mercantilism were growing in number.

THE OPPOSITION AT WORK

The social condition of England did not play an insignificant part in the play. The woollen manufacture was growing slowly but surely, and the rivalry of Indian goods was keenly felt by the workers in England. The weavers of silk especially made a common cause with the economists, whose point of view was that the trade with the East "carried away large quantities of money which is not only the sinews of war, but medium of trade. For money in a body Politick is as the blood in the Body natural giving life to every part". They regarded the export of bullion to the east as a drain on the wealth of the nation, and they believed that it was the main, or perhaps, the only cause of impoverishment of the people. The amount of bullion exported to India was not less than £400,000 per annum. "The trade could be maintained only by the exportation of bullion, and as the trade increased, so did the amount of bullion. The amount exported by the Company during 1681—91 could hardly have been less than £400,000 a year. After 1691, the amount of bullion exported increased greatly. The average amount annually exported during the years 1697—1702 was hardly less than £800,000. There is reason to believe that during the years 1698—1700 not less than a million pounds was sent annually to the East."* While the theoretical economists traced the cause of poverty to the exportation of bullion and precious metals, the English merchants and weavers ascribed the misery, the poverty and the wretchedness of the poor, "not to the war, which was really one of the causes, but to the importation of Indian commodities into England." Mr. Khan observes: "The rapid strides made by the East India trade during the last ten years of the seventeenth century could hardly be ignored by the English weavers. The competition of Indian manufactures with English industries was, at first, hardly recog-

*S. A. Khan: *East India Trade in the 17th century*. Pages 269-70.

nisable. From 1675, however, the competition began to be seriously felt. By the end of the century, the English weavers had organised a systematic opposition to the importation of Indian calicoes and silks. The opposition ceased only with the utter defeat of the Company. The forces arrayed against it proved too strong. The chief English industries affected by the Indian manufactures were wool and silk. The exquisite workmanship of Indian weavers proved serious to the English silk weavers. It became popular in England, and was used by ladies of quality, by gallants and by the gentry. Of the serious injury inflicted on the silk industry there can be no doubt."

What the people wanted was the application of the principles emphasised by the events of the Revolution, in the establishment of the rights of the common people. The monopoly of the East India Company was considered by many of the leading people as a negation of the Revolutionary principles. They believed that the "freedom of trade is a fundamental part of English liberty," and consequently asserted that the Englishmen should never be deprived of the liberty of trading with any part of the known world.

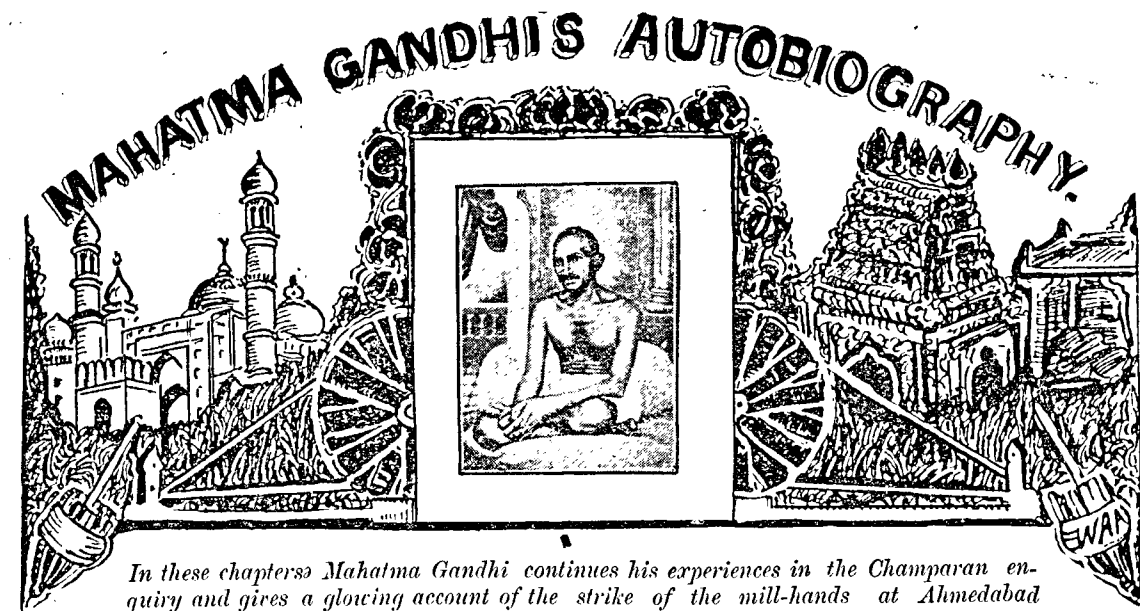
ACT OF 1700

The Directors of the Company were not sitting idle and had not shut their ears against these protests nor were they slow to put forth their points of view against the severe attacks of the bullionists and the merchants. The President of the Board was Sir Joshua Child, in whom the Company found an able administrator and a powerful writer. Indeed, during the early days of the Company it had to depend upon and support the Balance of Trade theory; but the abnormal growth of trade and the wide interests of the shareholders of the Company compelled as it were the Directors to advocate the principles of Free Trade even against the strong current of economic thought. Child on his part endeavoured his best to refute the arguments of his opponents in quite reasonable ways. In one of his pamphlets he says, "I am of opinion that Silver and Gold, coined or uncoined, though they are used for a measure of

all other things, are no less than Wine, Oil, Tobacco, Cloth or Goods; and may in many cases be exported as much to National advantage as any other commodity. The exportation of Gold is inevitable with the growth of Trade. No Nation, ever was, or will be, considerable in trade that prohibits the exportation of bullion". He also tried to prove that if the bullion is exported in an enormous quantity, the articles that the people of England receive in its stead were worth more than what they were paid for, and there was the profit arising out of trade carried on in other countries in Europe to boot, all of which was brought back in England, thus making the native country richer for the Eastern trade. The trade also increased the revenue of the State. But all his arguments, were destined to fall flat over the stubborn economists and irreconcilable weavers and uneducated workers.

And the result of all this was that a movement was set on foot to introduce a Bill in the Commons with a view to prohibit the wearing or consumption of the manufactured goods of India, the painted and stained calicoes and all handicraft wares in particular. The Bill actually passed through both the Houses; and had it not been for certain amendments inserted by the Lords but objected to by the Lower House, the Bill would have become a law. But the agitation for this Bill was not dropped though the Bill itself had to be dropped for the time being. The matter seemed to be urgent and had to be cropped up again within three years; and an Act was passed in 1700 which prohibited "all silks, and all calicoes, except such as are entirely white, as also almost the whole of China Trade" in Great Britain. "The Parliament could hardly avoid" observes a writer, "passing the law of 1700, for the destruction of some of the industries would have followed in the train of Indian imports, and it is as illogical to blame the Parliament for preserving what was deemed to be the life-blood of the nation, as it is foolish to expect it to remain impervious to the appeals of thousands of weavers and manufacturers."

(To be Concluded.)



PART V.—CHAPTER XIX.

Whilst on the one hand, social service work, of the kind I have described in the foregoing chapters, was being carried out, on the other, the work of recording statements of the raiyats' grievances was progressing apace. Thousands of such statements were taken and they could not but have their effect. The ever-growing number of raiyats coming to make their statements increased the planters' wrath and they moved heaven and earth to counteract my inquiry.

One day I received a letter from the Bihar Government to the following effect: 'Your inquiry has been sufficiently prolonged, and should you not now bring it to an end, and leave Bihar?' The letter was couched in polite language, but its meaning was obvious.

I wrote in reply that the inquiry was bound to be prolonged, and unless and until it resulted in bringing relief to the people, I had no intention of leaving Bihar. I pointed out that it was open to Government to terminate my inquiry by accepting the raiyats' grievances as genuine and redressing them, or by recognising that the raiyats had made out a *prima facie* case for an official inquiry which should be immediately instituted.

Sir Edward Gait, the Lieutenant-Governor, asked me to see him, expressed his willingness to appoint an inquiry and invited me to be a member of the Committee. I ascertained the names of the other members, and, after consultation with my co-workers, agreed to serve on the Committee, on condition that I should be free to confer with my co-workers during the progress of the inquiry, that Government should recognise, that by being a member of the Committee, I did not cease to be the raiyats' advocate, and that, in case the result of the inquiry failed to give me satisfaction, I should be free to guide and advise the raiyats as to what line of action they should take.

Sir Edward Gait accepted the condition as just and proper, and announced the inquiry. The late Sir Frank Sly was appointed Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee found in favour of the raiyats, and recommended that the planters should refund a portion of the exactions made by them which the Committee had found to be unlawful and that the *tinkathia* system should be abolished by law.

Sir Edward Gait had a large share in getting the Committee to make a unanimous report and in

getting the agrarian Bill passed in accordance with the Committee's recommendations. Had he not adopted a firm attitude, and had he not brought all his tact to bear on the subject, the report would not have been unanimous and the Agrarian Act would not have been passed. The planters wielded extraordinary power. They offered strenuous opposition to the Bill in spite of the report, but Sir Edward Gait remained firm up to the last and fully carried out the recommendation of the Committee.

The *tinkathia* system, which had been in existence for about a century, was thus abolished, and with it the planters' *raj* came to an end. The *raiya*s who had all along remained crushed now somewhat came to their own, and the superstition that the stain of indigo could never be washed out was exploded.

It was my desire to continue the constructive work for some years, to establish more schools and to penetrate the villages more effectively. The ground had been prepared, but it did not please God, as often before, to allow my plans to be fulfilled. Fate had decided otherwise and drove me to take up work elsewhere.

PART V.—CHAPTER XX

Whilst I was yet winding up my work on the Committee, I received a letter from Sjts. Mohanlal Pandya and Shankarlal Parikh telling me of the failure of crops in the Kheda district, and asking me to guide the peasants who were unable to pay the assessment. I had not the inclination, the ability or courage to advise without an enquiry on the spot.

At the same time, there came a letter from Shrimati Anasuyabai about the condition of labour in Ahmedabad. Wages were low, the labourers had long been agitating for an increment, and I had a desire to guide them if I could. But I had not the confidence to direct even the comparatively small affair from that long distance. So I

seized the first opportunity to go to Ahmedabad. I had hoped that I should be able to finish both those matters quickly and back to Champaran, with the result that the schools closed down one by one. My co-workers and I had built many castles in the air, but they all vanished for the time being.

One of these was cow protection work in Champaran, besides rural sanitation and education. I had seen in the course of my travels, that cow protection and Hindi propaganda had become the exclusive concern of the Marwadis. A Marwadi friend had sheltered me in the dharmashala whilst at Bettiah. Other Marwadis of the place had interested me in their 'goshala' (dairy). My ideas about cow protection had been definitely formed then, and my conception of the work was the same as it is to-day. Cow protection, in my opinion, included cattle-breeding, improvement of the stock, humane treatment of bullocks, formation of model dairies, etc. The Marwadi friends had promised full co-operation in this work, but as I could not fix myself up in Champaran, the scheme could not be carried on.

The 'goshala' in Bettiah is still there, but it has not become a model dairy, the Champaran bullock is still made to work beyond capacity, and the so-called Hindu still cruelly belabours the poor animal, and disgraces his religion.

That this work should have remained unrealized has been, for me, a continual regret, and whenever I go to Champaran and hear the gentle reproaches of the Marwadi and Bihari friends, I recall with a heavy sigh all those plans which I had to drop so abruptly.

The educational work in one way or another is going on in many places. But the cow protection work had not taken firm root, and so it has not progressed in the direction intended.

Whilst the Kheda peasants' question was still being discussed, in Ahmedabad I had already taken up the question of the mill hands,

I was in a most delicate situation. The mill-hands' case was strong. Shrimati Anasuyabai had to battle against her own brother Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai who led the fray on behalf of the mill-owners. My relations with them were friendly and that made fighting with them more difficult. I had consultations with them and requested them to refer the dispute to arbitration, but they refused to recognise the principle of arbitration.

I had therefore to advise the labourers to go on strike. Before I did so, I came in very close contact with them and their leaders and explained to them the conditions of a successful strike:

1. Never to resort to violence.
2. Never to molest blacklegs.
3. Never to depend upon alms.
4. To remain firm, no matter how long the strike continued, and to earn bread during the strike, by any other labour.

The leaders of the strike understood and accepted the conditions, and the labourers pledged themselves at a general meeting not to resume work until either their terms were accepted or the mill-owners agreed to refer the dispute to arbitration.

It was during this strike that I came to know intimately Sjts. Vallabhbhai Patel and Sabarmati. They attended the meeting in their thousands and I reminded them in my speeches of their pledge and of the duty to maintain peace and self-respect. They daily paraded the streets of the city in peaceful procession, carrying their banner bearing the inscription '*Ek Tek*' (Keep the pledge).

The strike went on for twenty-one days. During the continuance of the strike, I consulted the mill-owners from time to time and entertained them to do justice to the labourers. 'We have our pledge too' they used to say. 'Our relations with the labourers are those of parents and children. How can we brook the interference of a third party. Where is the room for arbitration?'

PART V.—CHAPTER XXI.

Before I proceed to describe the progress of the labour dispute, it is essential to have a peep into the Ashram. All the while I was in Champaran, the Ashram was never out of my mind, and some times I used to pay it flying visits.

At that time the Ashram was in Kochrab, a small village near Ahmedabad. Plague broke out in this village and I saw evident danger to the safety of the Ashram children. It was impossible to keep ourselves immune from the effects of the surrounding sanitation, however, scrupulously we might observe the rules of cleanliness within the Ashram walls. We were not then equal either to getting the Kochrab people to observe these rules or to serving the village otherwise.

Our ideal was to have the Ashram at a safe distance both from town and village, and yet at a manageable distance from either. And we were determined, one day, to settle on ground of our own.

The plague I felt was sufficient notice to quit Kochrab. Sjt. Punjabai Hirachand, a merchant in Ahmedabad, had come in close contact with the Ashram, and used to serve us in a number of matters with a pure and selfless spirit. He had a wide experience of things in Ahmedabad and he volunteered to procure us suitable land. I went about with him north and south of Kochrab in search of land and then suggested to him to find out a piece of land three or four miles to the north. He hit upon the present site. Its vicinity to the Sabarmati Central Jail was for me a special attraction. As jail-going was understood to be the normal lot of Satyagrahis, I liked this position. And I knew that the sites selected for jails have generally clean surroundings.

In about eight days, the sale was executed. There was no building on the land and no tree. But its situation on the bank of the river and its solitude were great advantages.

We decided to start by living under canvas, and having a tin shed for a kitchen, till permanent houses were built.

The Ashram had been slowly growing. We were now over forty souls, men, women and children; having our meals at common, the whole conception about the removal was mine, the execution was as usual left to Maganlal.

Our difficulties, before we had permanent living accommodation, were great. The rains were impending and the provisions had to be got from the town four miles away. The ground which had been a waste was infested with snakes, and it was no small risk to live with little children under such conditions. The general rule was not to kill the snakes, though I confess none of us had shed the fear of these reptiles, nor have we even now.

The rule of not killing venomous reptiles has been practised for the most part at Phoenix, Tolstoy Farm and Sabarmati. At each of the places we had to settle on waste lands. We have had, however, no loss of life occasioned by snake-bite. I see with the eye of faith in this circumstance the hand of the God of Mercy. Let no one cavil at this saying that God can never be partial and that He had no time to meddle with the humdrum affairs of men. I have no other language to express the fact of the matter to describe this uniform experience of mine. Human language can but imperfectly describe God's ways. I am sensible of the fact that they are indescribable and inscrutable. But if mortal man will dare to describe them, he has no better medium than his own in articulate speech. Even if it be a superstition to believe that complete immunity from harm for 25 years in spite of a fairly regular practice of non-killing is not a fortuitous accident but a grace of God, I should still hug that superstition.

During the strike of the mill hands in Ahmedabad, the foundation of the Ashram weaving shed was being laid. For the principal activity of the Ashram was then weaving. Spinning had not so far been possible for us.

PART V.—CHAPTER XXII.

THE FAST

For the first two weeks, the mill-hands exhibited great courage and self-restraint, and daily held monster meetings. On these occasions, I used to remind them of their pledge and they would rather die than break their word.

But at last, they began to show signs of flagging. Just as physical weakness in men manifests itself in irascibility, their attitude towards the blacklegs became more and more menacing as the strike seemed to weaken, and I began to fear an outbreak of rowdiness on their part. The attendance at their daily meetings also began to dwindle by degrees, and despondency and despair were "written large" on the faces of those who did attend. Finally, the information was brought to me that the strikers had begun to totter. I felt deeply troubled and set to thinking furiously as to what my duty was in the circumstances. I had had experience of a gigantic strike in South Africa but the situation that confronted me here was different. The mill-hands had taken the pledge at my suggestion. They had repeated it before me day after day and the very idea that they might now go back upon it was to me inconceivable. Was it pride or was it my love for the labourers and my passionate regard for truth that was at the back of this feeling,—who can say?

One morning,—it was at a millhand's meeting—while I was still groping and unable to see my way clearly, the light came to me. Unbidden, and all by themselves, the words came to my lips: "Unless the strikers rally." I declared to the meeting, "and continue the strike till a settlement is reached, or till they leave the mills altogether, I will not touch any food."

The labourers were thunderstruck. Tears began to course down Anasuyabai's cheeks. The labourers broke out, "Not you, but we shall fast. It would be monstrous if you were to fast. Please

forgive us for our lapse, we will now remain faithful to our pledge to the end."

"There is no need for you to fast," I replied: "It would be enough if you could remain true to your pledge. As you know, we are without funds and we do not want to continue our strike by living on public charity. You should therefore try to eke out a bare existence by some kind of labour unconcerned no matter how long the strike may continue. As for my fast, it will be broken only after the strike is settled."

In the meantime, Vallabhai was trying to find some employment for the strikers under the Municipality, but there was not much hope of success there. Maganlal Gandhi suggested that as we needed sand for filling the foundation of our weaving school in the Ashram, a number of them might be employed for that purpose. The labourers welcomed the proposal. Anasuyabai led the way with a basket on her head, and soon an endless stream of labourers carrying baskets of sand on their heads could be seen issuing out of the hollow of the river-bed. It was a sight worth seeing. The labourers felt themselves infused with a new strength and it became difficult to cope with the task of paying out wages to them.

My fast was not free from a grave defect. For, as I have already mentioned in a previous chapter, I enjoyed very close and cordial relations with the mill-owners, and my fast could not but affect their decision. As a Satyagrahi, I knew that I might not fast against them but ought to leave them free to be influenced by 'the mill-hands' strike alone. My fast was not undertaken on account of any lapse of the mill-owners, but that of the labourers in which, as their representative, I felt I had a share. With the mill-owners, I could only plead; to fast against them would amount to coercion. Yet in spite of my knowledge that my fast was bound to, as in fact it did, put pressure upon them, I felt I could not help it. The duty to undertake it seemed to me to be clear.

I tried to set the mill-owners at ease. "There is not the slightest necessity for you to withdraw from your position," I said to them. But they received my words coldly and even flung keen, delicate bits of sarcasm at me as indeed they had a perfect right to do.

The principal man at the back of the mill-owners' unbending attitude towards the strike was Sheth Ambalal. His resolute will and transparent sincerity were wonderful and captured my heart. It was a pleasure to be pitched against him. The strain produced by my fast upon the opposition of which he was the head cut me therefore to the quick. And then, Saraladevi, his wife, was attached to me with the affection of a blood-sister and I could not bear to see her anguish on account of my action.

Anasuyabai and a number of other friends and labourers shared the fast with me on the first day. But after some difficulty, I was able to dissuade them from continuing it further.

The net result of it all was that an atmosphere of good will was created all round. The hearts of the mill-owners were touched, and they set about discovering some means for a settlement. Anasuyabai's house became the venue of their discussions. Sjt. Anandshankar Dhruva intervened and was in the end appointed as arbitrator, and the strike was called off after I had fasted only for three days. The mill-owners commemorated the event by distributing sweets among the labourers, and thus a settlement was reached after 21 days' strike.

At the meeting held to celebrate the settlement, both the mill-owners and the Commissioner were present. The advice which the latter gave to the mill-hands on this occasion was: "You should always act as Mr. Gandhi advises you." Almost immediately after these events, I had to engage in a tussle with this very gentleman. But circumstances were changed and he had changed with the circumstances. He now set about warning

the Patidars of Kheda against following my advice!

I must not close this chapter without noting here an incident, as amusing as it was pathetic. It happened in connection with the distribution of sweets. The mill-owners had ordered a very large quantity, and it was a problem how to distribute it among the thousands of labourers. It was decided that it would be the fittest thing to distribute it in the open beneath the very tree under which the pledge had been taken, especially as it would have been extremely inconvenient to assemble them all together in any other place.

In my simplicity I had taken it for granted that the men who had observed strict discipline for full 21 days would, without any difficulty, be able to remain standing in an orderly manner while the sweets were being distributed, and not make an impatient scramble for them. But when it came to the test, all the methods that were tried for making the distribution failed. Again and again, their ranks would break into confusion after distribution had proceeded for a couple of minutes. The leaders of the mill-hands tried their best to restore order but in vain. The

confusion, the crush and the scramble at last became so great that quite an amount of the sweets was spoiled by being trampled under foot and the attempt to distribute them in the open had finally to be given up. With difficulty we succeeded in taking away the remaining sweets to Sheth Ambalal's bungalow in Mirzapur. The sweets were distributed comfortably the next day within the compound of that bungalow.

The comic side of this incident is obvious, but the pathetic side bears mention. Subsequent inquiry revealed the fact that the beggar population of Ahmedabad, having got scent of the sweets that were to be distributed under the Ek-Tek tree, had repaired thither in large numbers, and it was their hungry scramble for the sweets that had created all the confusion and disorder.

The grinding poverty and starvation with which our country is afflicted is such that it drives more and more men every year into the ranks of the beggars whose desperate struggle for bread renders them insensible to all feelings of decency and self-respect. And our philanthropists, instead of providing work for them, and insisting on their working for bread, gave them alms. (To be continued.)

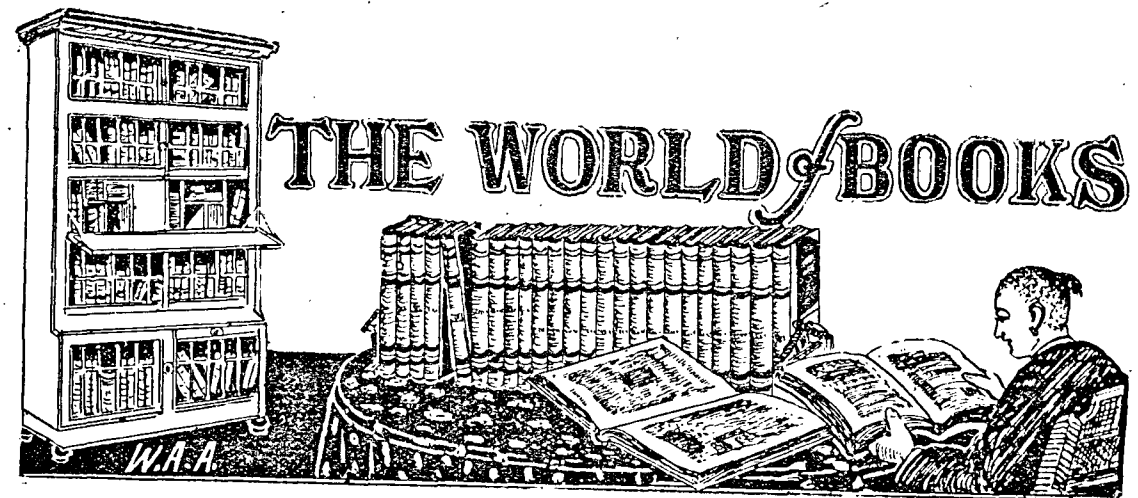
WHEN I AM DEAD

BY MR. LELAND J. BERRY.

When I am dead, sing no sad song for me,
Weep that we should part, and then
Sit often where I lie, beneath the cedar-tree
And thank God that I lived, a man with men.

Pray thou for me, that I shall ever know
Thy soul is pledged to mine for aye,
That when on Heaven's long bright road I go
Thy prayers shall cheer me on my way.

My soul shall watch from realms of light
That swoon ethereal up above,
Be true in death...my heart would break
To know you had another love.



MODERN JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS. By G. C. Allen—George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

The phenomenal rise of Japan has been the theme of countless books dealing with the growth and development of Japan, from its insignificant position to its present influence as one of the great Powers of the world. We cannot now attempt a detailed study of the various aspects of Japanese culture and civilization and her recent achievements in the arts of peace and war. But an interpretation of Japanese civilization and the character and genius of the Japanese people from the pen of one who was for many years a lecturer in a Government College in Japan cannot fail to interest us. Mr. Allen describes the novel problems and phenomena which have been created by the attempt of the Japanese to graft the political, economic, and educational institutions of the West on to their Oriental social organization. He deals with the influence of the West on the different phases of the national life, and with the attitude of the Japanese to Europe and America. Particular attention is given to industrial and financial development and to contemporary economic problems.

The chapters on the political, social and educational systems of Japan, as well as the author's study of the population problem, will be read with particular interest in India,

WESTERN WORLD TRAVELS. By L. N. Karna, Lawyer, Larkana, Sind.

This record of the impressions of an Indian lawyer of his tour through Europe and America makes interesting reading. Cultured Indians travelling to the West are to-day doing much to teach the peoples of the world that Indians are a civilised nation. Mr. Karna gives a number of hints which tourists will find useful. But that which strikes us most is what he tells us about the appalling ignorance about India which obtains everywhere. Irishmen seem to understand our difficulties best, for the reason that they are (or have been) fellow-sufferers. These studies do much to promote our understanding of the conditions of India.

INDIA: ITS CHARACTER: A Reply to MOTHER INDIA. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Yet another reply to Miss Mayo's MOTHER INDIA by a writer whose knowledge of, and intimacy with, Indian life and thought are unmistakable. Mr. Chapman happily does not seek to controvert Miss Mayo, fact for fact. He gives us a series of vivid pen pictures with uncommon knowledge and generous enthusiasm for all things lovely in Indian life and character. His estimate of Mahadev Ranade and his renderings from the poems of Ramprasad Sen are particularly happy. We commend the book as an excellent antidote to the nauseous nonsense of Miss Mayo's,

HAZRAT AMIR KHUSRAU OF DELHI. By Prof. Muhammad Habib, Aligarh University Publication. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is the second biographical monograph of Prof. Habib, and is an interesting study of the place and achievements of a great literary figure of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Amir Khushrau (1254 to 1325 A.D.), born of a noble Turkish family, settled at Patiali, grew to be a poet, courtier and half-mystic, with a reputation, popularity and enjoyment of patronage unaffected by the constant political revolutions of the age. Master of prose and verse alike in all their varieties, and, in turn, the *protege* of Malik Chajju, nephew of Balban, and Prince Muhammad, the Sultan's noble son, and later, the poet-laureate of the Khiljis and the first Tughlaq Sultan, the Poet was a close friend of the reputed Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya by whom he was greatly influenced, and wrote as extensively in Hindi as he did in Persian. His historical works are particularly interesting; especially the *Tughlaq Namah*, an admiring account of his last royal patron and the *Khazainul Futuh*, an official account of Ala-ud-din's campaigns, are valuable. Mr. Habib interprets the poet as he was portrayed by the contemporary historian, Barani, and by the great Urdu writer, Maulana Shibli, and gives a short, but critical estimate of his voluminous literary output.

SHIVAJI AT PRATAPGARH. By Mr. S. K. Deva-sikhamani, Christian Literature Society for India, Park Town, Madras.

The author's narrative of Shivaji's life in Tamil is highly interesting. He has, with great profit, utilised the vast materials rendered available by research scholars like Ranade, Sircar, Rawlinson and Kincaid. The chief object of this small book, as the author avers, is to disprove the old wrong notion that Shivaji was the murderer of Afzul Khan. We recommend that the book can be usefully prescribed for non-detailed study for the High School students.

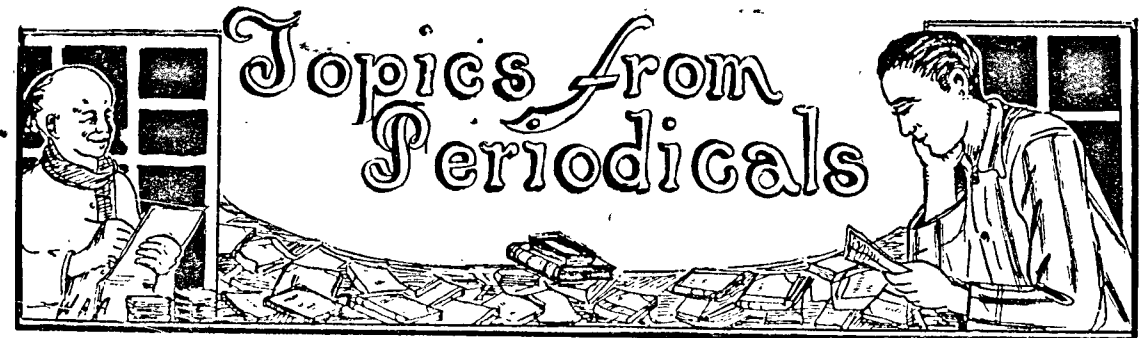
SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA. By M. K. Gandhi. Translated by Valji Govindji Desai. Published by S. Ganesan, Madras. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 4-8-0.)

The efficacy of Satyagraha and its propriety in political affairs have alike been questioned, but no one can read these pages without being deeply moved. As the author and originator of the movement in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi can write with authority on the subject, and doubtless he records his experiences with thrilling interest. Mahatmaji's simple narrative of the main incidents of the movement in South Africa, his historic defiance, the great march and the wonderful hold he had on the lives and fortunes of his compatriots are of absorbing interest. The epic grandeur of the story and the lessons that Mahatmaji draws from his varied experiences, seem well nigh irresistible. And, yet, opinion is strongly divided, and there is no use mincing it, that Satyagraha is not the sole or sovereign remedy at any rate in India, and that the perils of the movement far outweigh its advantages. But it is not our purpose here to judge Satyagraha as a political or spiritual weapon. Suffice it to say that the treatment of the subject from the pen of Mahatmaji is at once adequate and complete, and no student of Indian politics can afford to ignore it.

The book is in a sense supplementary to Mahatmaji's Autobiography, as it deals vividly with that part of Mahatmaji's life which is perhaps the most vital and formative part of his extraordinary career.

THE PHARMACEUTICAL POCKET BOOK. The Pharmaceutical Press, 17, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. 1.

This book, which is now in its eleventh edition, is a work of reference extremely useful to medical practitioners and students. A deal of information is packed in 440 pages of close print which can be carried in one's pocket.



DIARCHY OR AUTOCRACY ?

Dewan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliar, Ex-Minister of Madras Government, contributes to the SEARCH-LIGHT ANNIVERSARY NUMBER an interesting article under the above title. In giving an account of the Governor's powers now claimed and exercised by the Governor under the Reforms, the ex-Minister says that they include the following :

(1) To veto any case (administrative or financial) and pass orders otherwise than as advised by his Ministers; (2) to veto any appointment or posting in the Services; (3) to veto any proposals for nominations or membership of local boards and municipalities, committees, etc.; (4) to dismiss his Ministers at any time or retain them even against an adverse vote of the Legislative Council; (5) to make all nominations to the Legislative Council; (6) to disallow any proposed resolutions, motions or questions in the Legislative Council on the ground of their affecting "public interests"; (7) to dissolve the Legislative Council at any time; (8) to refuse sanction to any Bill on the ground of its affecting the safety or tranquillity of the Province; (9) to certify any Bill pertaining to the Reserved Departments; and (10) to restore any grant disallowed by the Legislative Council.

"If we compare these powers with those enjoyed by autocrats of pre-War Europe," continues Mr. Mudaliar, "it will be obvious that Provincial Governors in India claim larger powers than these, and while some Governors may not use them, the power to do so is there, and has always been utilised whenever necessary." He concludes :

While a section of people of the radical school of political thought refused to have anything to do with the new Reforms, the bulk of the Moderate elements in the country rallied to the support of the Government, determined to give the new scheme a chance of functioning. But now, what do we find? The whole country is united in condemning the present system, as it stands in actual practice, not because honest Dyarchy is unworkable but because the bureaucracy has, by its rules and regulations under the powers delegated to it, so altered the vital elements of the scheme, as to convert it into a real autocracy invested with powers for making mere puppets of the

Ministers. The working of this system has resulted in the wide-spread prevalence of a feeling of distrust and despair. Instead of rallying to itself the soberest and the most trustworthy elements in the country, consisting of men who are not afraid of speaking the truth and upholding every demand of justice and fair play, Government can to-day command only the support of those who look to it for offices and pecuniary advantages or are afraid of bureaucratic power, elements on which no sensible or self-respecting Government ought to depend. Is it honest to say that India is not fit for 'Self-Government' at once, and that this must come, by gradual stages, when you would not allow the provinces to have even Diarchy? You cannot go on making promises and breaking them, and yet expect trust and confidence from the people. But it is never too late to mend. The extensive manifestation of distrust and opposition to the Simon Commission is a warning to Government; but will it profit by it?

The writer hopes that something tangible will be done at once to re-establish confidence between the people and the Government and suggests that the Government in England should make at once an authoritative pronouncement concerning the grant of Dominion status to India, the limitations to be placed for the present being obvious, *viz.*, with reference to the Army and Navy and Foreign Relations just as in the case of the other Dominions.

CIVICS AND POLITICS

Confusion is generally made between Civics and Politics, says a writer in the PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

"How to make the State *self-efficient* is taught to us by the study of Political Science. How to make the State *more useful* is taught to us by Civics. We thus find that Civics and Political Science are very much allied, but they are not the same. The study of both the subjects is necessary for one who wants to take part in the development of his nation, social as well as political."

INDIA AND MODERN THOUGHT

Almost the last article from the pen of Lord Haldane has appeared in the inaugural number of the NEW ERA of Madras. Lord Haldane whose contribution is appropriately given the place of honour, in the first number, pleads for greater intellectual co-operation among the component parts of the Empire.

The dominions generally have shown that they attach importance for themselves to remaining within the Empire on terms of complete liberty of action. Not only is this important to them from the point of view of wealth and trade and commerce as well as of defence. It is important to them in another respect, which is each year growing more apparent that the Empire is consolidating itself in another fashion. Each year sees more of the best teachers of standpoints held in common going out to continue their work in the dominions overseas and more of the best teachers in these dominions are coming to Great Britain to teach our students, and to work co-operatively in the advancement of learning generally. The Empire is in short being unified intellectually.

Of late, there has been some reciprocal study of Western and Indian thought. In fact, the highest quality in Indian thought has considerably influenced Western ideals. Says Lord Haldane :—

There has been study of Indian reflection in its various stages of development not only in Britain but in America and Germany and France, but this study has been confined to the few, and its results have not penetrated widely. In India, on the other hand, there has been study of European thought at least as keen. There too the study has been in few hands. But the hands are those of highly competent philosophers who have examined and mastered the idealism of the West more thoroughly than we have that of the East. The names of such Indian thinkers as Radhakrishna, Das Gupta and Haldar are associated for us with penetrative insight into our idealism in the West and the mastery of its standpoint. It is but rarely that we find much insight of the same metaphysical quality over here.

What is needed is this. West and East should grasp the level to which each has attained in its own form and in its own language.

In fact, Lord Haldane clearly realises the identity of thought in the best minds of Europe as well as Asia. After comparing the doctrines of the Vedanta and the teachings of Gouthama with the philosophic reflections of Bradley and Hegel, he points out that the identity is even greater than is popularly supposed. The analogy in the higher spheres of philosophic thought is more and more complete.

It is impossible not to be struck by the close resemblance in the teaching given with an interval of centuries between. The analogy is even greater than that between the Hegelian principle and the Philosophy of the Greeks. The concluding part of the "Philosophie des Geistes" brings this out.

It is therefore the duty of modern thinkers, says Lord Haldane, to examine these resemblances more closely than has so far been done. For they indicate that the ultimate conceptions of metaphysics in all its greatest forms have much that is identical in them.

However East and West have come to diverge over details, the essence of their final doctrines is not divergent. If this be so, it opens up a new avenue for hope in the quest after final truth. Much of the work has yet to be done, but the thinkers of India have, in the recent works to which I have referred, made a handsome contribution to it. If less has been accomplished over here, it is perhaps because our people are less attracted by metaphysics.

Lord Haldane then quotes a passage from Prof. Radhakrishnan's book on "The Hindu View of Life" and points out how Indian thinkers have always been aware of this analogy. Lord Haldane pleads for closer study of Indian religion and philosophy, for the task is to discover whether there is not a basis fundamental in common to the spirit in both cases.

MORALS OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

Lord Birkenhead, in an article in the NASH'S MAGAZINE discusses the question whether the morals of the English people are changing. Loveless marriages and unmarried loves exist to-day, as they always have existed, but the stern social morality which forbids the surrender to sudden temptation, and punishes, by one means or another, those who succumb to it, has re-established its supremacy.

It is arguable, none the less, that, in one way or another, the social code, or rather the sexual code, is altering. We may, perhaps, still be too close to the change, too unconscious of it, or too mistaken in our view of it, to realise its exact nature. Yet, human nature alters very little. The proportion of frail to virtuous women is probably constant throughout the ages in any civilisation. It is true that at certain periods the opportunities for illicit amours are greater: the risk of detection less; the fear of social ostracism smaller. This is, perhaps, the key to the position to-day. We have not yet fully settled down from the War. Family life has not yet wholly reasserted its dominance over individual caprice. Until it does, we must be prepared to face an apparent laxity of sexual morals.

As for so-called social experiments such as trial marriages, Lord Birkenhead brushes them aside with contempt. He says :—

The trial marriage is a disgusting perversion of human emotions, suitable only for a monkey-house supervised by professional eugenis. There spring up nowadays from time to time colonies of long-haired men and short-haired women who claim to be devoting themselves to the simple sexual life. These loathsome apparitions are not more common to-day than they were before the War, and I cannot admit them as evidence of a changing state of morals. They also appear to me as human monkey-houses, but without eugenic excuse. To-day, as yesterday, they never survive long. Nature always reasserts herself. It is only too true that in this world, one gets nothing for nothing, and "free love" is a contradiction in terms.

Lord Birkenhead concludes :—

It is, of course, possible—is it probable?—that we are entering an era where the fundamental facts of family relationship will be inverted. Will our homes be like hives, with woman supreme and man relegated to the baser duties of domestic life? Those, of course, are wild ravings. Morality is still based in our Western civilisation on family life; and in a family, which is a social unit, the scope for change is inconceivably small. Either our family relationships will remain fundamentally as they are to-day, or the paradoxical reverse which I have indicated above must happen. I do not think the second alternative conceivable. There remains equality, as between husband and wife, and this seems to me even more fantastic. Therefore, since I am convinced that the family, as we know it, will survive as the social unit, I argue that in the main, our morals have not changed, are not changing, and will not change.

MAHATMA GANDHI : AN AMERICAN VIEW

Though Mahatma Gandhi has ceased to take an active part in public life, he is still the most interesting personality in Indian politics. European visitors to the Asram have described Mahatma Gandhi and his surroundings in picturesque detail and have spoken in admiring terms of the simplicity and charm of his home life. A writer in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Mr. William W. Hall, who had the privilege of seeing the Mahatma at his own quarters in Ahmedabad, gives a delightful account of his interview. He was agreeably surprised to find in the "diminutive emaciated, half-naked," "gnarled creature," "a mind and heart of incomparable strength and beauty."

"He spoke with the greatest ease and fluency, in low but clear tones, expressing his thoughts in terse, cogent words, seeking always to define the terms before presenting his views."

Mr. Hall then tells how he presented a series of questions to Mr. Gandhi, the first of which referred

to "the choice of a life career" which would "make the greatest contribution to society." On this point, Mr. Gandhi said :—

"The vital consideration is not so much the choice of one or another profession as the achieving of self-realisation. . . . In facing the problem of a career, a man should emphasise, above all else, the spiritual aspects of life. With this uppermost in his thoughts, he should test his own potentialities, discover how he can best meet the peculiar needs of the local community in which he finds himself, and apply himself to meeting those needs to the utmost of his ability."

What relation, asked Mr. Hall, should religion and character bear to education in our present-day programmes? Mr. Gandhi's answer was definite :—

"Education, character and religion should be regarded as convertible terms. There is no true education which does not tend to produce character, and there is no true religion which does not determine character. Education should contemplate the whole life. More memorising and book-learning is not education. I have no faith in the so-called systems of education which produce men of learning without the backbone of character."

Mr. Hall continued : "What fitting substitute can the Western nations find for militarism?" to which Gandhi answered unhesitatingly.

Militarism is essentially self-assertion. I should therefore substitute for self-assertion self-abnegation."

"But what is meant by the term 'self-abnegation'? Gandhi answered in the language of the Bible which a Christian could easily understand.

"The sense in which Christ understood it," replied Gandhi smiling, "He who loseth his life shall find it."

Mr. Hall then asked Mr. Gandhi, "What is the way out of the present seemingly hopeless antagonism between religious factions in all parts of the world?" Mr. Gandhi replied :—

"Charity. We must learn toleration and respect for others. Every religion in some measure satisfies the spiritual needs of men. If a religious act, such as toasting, annoys me, I should not try to have it prohibited, but should realise that it ministers to other people's needs, and remove myself from the scene of disturbance."

"I have ceased to declare myself publicly on this issue. My views are well known. As the French proverb has it, 'He who excuses himself accuses himself.' I believe that by maintaining silence, my message is more forcibly conveyed than by constant admonition. There is, however, no need of despairing of this or any other issue where the right is involved. The world is moving on the right course. When you consider that our mortal lives are mere specks in relation to the whole of time, you may appreciate that the world may be progressing, even when progress is not apparent. I am supremely hopeful."

DYARCHY FOR CEYLON

In the current issue of the MODERN REVIEW, Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes a very trenchant criticism of the Donoughmore Report. He says that two separate streams run through its pages—"profession" and 'performance'—but "they never mingle."

The good intentions expressed by the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues do them credit. But they are not meant to be translated into action.

They profess to give the Ceylonese virtually all the powers of responsible Government "the responsibility of managing their own internal affairs, subject only to certain safe-guards in the background", as they say. They tell them that they do not propose to reserve any subjects of administration, or to divide the Budget into compartments. They are not enamoured of the Indian device of dyarchy, which, Mr. Lionel Curtis claims, was invented by Sir William Duke of the Indian Civil Service, and later, of the India Office, but which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer declares, is as old as Rome. Neither the Chairman nor his colleagues, would in any case, touch it with a ten-foot pole. (So they say.) Subject to a few constitutional safe-guards and some reserve power to be used by the Governor in critical moments, they propose to make the Ceylonese supreme in the managements of their own affairs. These are indeed sentiments worthy of respect.

Admirable as these sentiments are from the standpoint of the Ceylon Home Ruler, what do they mean in the actual scheme proposed for the benefit of the Ceylonese? A searching examination of the recommendations reveals the fact that the Donoughmore dyarchy is even more complete than the Montagu dyarchy.

Such an analysis shows that both in respect of composition and functions, the Commissioners have recommended the creation of a system which, if it comes into being, should become known as the "Donoughmore dyarchy." Their proposals, if adopted as they stand, would abridge the legislative powers enjoyed by the Ceylonese under the present Constitution in many matters, instead of giving them new powers. They would particularly make it impossible for any Ceylonese to exercise any control whatever over the Executive, and if the Ceylonese, who, under the Donoughmore dispensation, are called to office or become members of the projected State Council, show any spark of manhood, administrative complexities and crises would be inevitable.

In fact Mr. Nihal Singh avers that nothing can be more dyarchical than the scheme recommended by the Commission. No amount of smooth words nor persuasive rhetoric could hide its inherent

weakness, and Mr. Nihal Singh warns the people of Ceylon that the arrangements proposed by the Commission will, in the long run, prove worse than the present system.

—First, as to the Donoughmore dyarchy: The organ of Government that the Commissioners propose to set up in Ceylon will consist of two separate elements. One will be white, the other will be brown. The differentiation in colour and race would hardly matter if the white section were recruited from the permanent population of the Island and were it not there merely for a time for gainful purposes.

The two sections will be different in other respects as well. A part of the governing body will neither be appointed by, nor will it be answerable to, any authority in Ceylon. Even the emoluments of the members composing it will be outside the control of the legislature, which in fact, will not be able to enforce its will upon them. Persons composing the other section will, on the other hand, have their roots sunk in Ceylon's soil and their tenure of office will depend entirely upon the pleasure of the State Council as the new legislature is to be called.

If these arrangements are not of a dyarchic character, "I should like to know," he says, "what a dyarchical institution really is."

In this connection, it is interesting to read what the ROUND TABLE has to say of the Donoughmore Report. The September Number of "The ROUND TABLE" in concluding a lengthy review of the problems facing the Simon Commission in India refers to the Donoughmore Commission Report and the influence it is likely to have on the solution of the Constitutional problem in that country.

The writer of the article expresses the opinion that the Donoughmore Report "is likely to remain a landmark in the history of constructive politics" and states that, though Ceylon was formally outside the scope of the pronouncement made in August 1917, defining responsible Government as the goal of British Policy in India, it is clear from every page of their report that the Special Commission read that pronouncement as determining the policy in Ceylon too.

"The Donoughmore Commission have faced the problem squarely" sums up the writer:

"of finding by trial and failure how in Asia and Africa, public opinion can be brought into being a form capable of controlling public policy," which is, "in fact the major problem of the British Commonwealth, and indeed of the world, in the epoch opened by the Great War."

THE INDIAN PRINCES' OFFER

H. H. Bhupender Singh, Maharajadhiraj of Patiala and Chancellor in India of the Chamber of Princes, contributes an article to the September Number of the EMPIRE REVIEW. He says that the Princes are not only willing to co-operate with Britain and British India, but are also anxious to enter into arrangements that will make such co-operation really effective. Touching on the immediate needs of the Princes, His Highness says:—

"We want three things, without which we consider neither our obligations to the Crown nor the Crown's obligations to us can be effectually discharged. We want our relations with the Crown as paramount power to be conducted by machinery quite separate from the machinery which governs British India. We want an arrangement by which three parties interested—Great Britain, British India, and the Indian States—can get together in a union council to discuss and settle questions which affect the whole of India. Finally, we want a union supreme court to decide, in all justiciable disputes, where the rights of the three parties begin and where they end."

After giving a glowing account of the loyalty of the Indian Princes in the past, the Maharaja stresses the fact that the Princes have rights guaranteed by the plighted faith of the British Crown and that they have a great stake in India as well as a profound attachment to the Empire. The Maharaja continues:—

"But we do ask Great Britain to see that we are put in a position to enjoy the rights which constitutionally belong to us. We do not ask for more; we feel we ought not to be content with less. These rights should be authoritatively defined. We view the situation with anxiety, for we foresee a real risk lest the States should be so weakened by this gradual encroachment as almost to disappear as political forces. We believe this would be a calamity, especially at the present juncture,

when British-Indian politics are displaying so marked a tendency to swing to the Left. We do not wish to remain aloof in selfish isolation; we are quite ready to play our part in the development of India as a whole and to make such sacrifices as the position may demand."

ON CO-EDUCATION

"The folly of the prevailing system in neglecting all that one sex needs for co-operation with the other will have more disastrous effects in the future than it has had in the past," write Rev. C. Grant and V. Boyce, under joint authorship in the pages of the newly started Quarterly, THE LITERARY REVIEW. The writers say:—

It is being realised that education must begin in the cradle and be carried on without a break; that the numbers in a school must not be more than one headmaster or headmistress can know intimately; and that religion is a vital part of every educational system. It is above all becoming clear that true education requires the right environment, that the function of the teacher is not so much to impart knowledge to the pupil as to ensure that he has what he requires for the full development of all his faculties.

It is easily conceived how co-education is more adapted to meet these modern demands than the old system. The more natural environment which it provides for the boy and girl has two obvious advantages. From the teacher's point of view, it is the most favourable field for observation and therefore the best preparation for teaching even in a segregated school. Then the pupil is brought into contact with elements of experience which, though present-day social conditions are making them hourly more necessary in education, must be entirely lacking under any other method of education.

As regards the actual working of a co-educational school, those who have had experience in the old type of school will testify to the super-moral tone and the ease of discipline in a school where children of both sexes and all ages are living together. The authors conclude:—

Mingling of the sexes in one corporate life does not eliminate sex differences any more than it does in after life; They are, in fact, more fully prepared to live together, and have not to start life in the face of serious dangers brought about by ignorant misconceptions. The co-educational environment also proves very favourable to intellectual development, while there are no signs of overstrain due to competition between the sexes which so many detractors have feared. The new method has, in short, been found to possess all the advantages of the old, and many in addition that the old both does not, and by its very nature cannot, possess.

MAYA, THE MOTHER OF BUDDHA

There is an interesting account of Maya, the mother of the Bodhisatwa in the current number of the *BUDDHIST REVIEW*. The writer, Miss Muni Thakun Sakyavandyan, says that of all mothers where names have become famous as the bearer of heroic sons the most perfect is Maya, the mother of the Bodhisatwa.

The classical literature of the East has produced many women who were learned, chaste or noble-hearted; but Maya stands as an unchallenged figure in the list of world's mothers for her purity, moral character, beauty, and reverence felt for her by one-third of the human race. In Buddhist literature, both in the Pali and Sanskrit scriptures, there is absolutely no woman more important, being the mother of the Buddha and more praiseworthy as a modal lady of peerless beauty and immaculate conduct. When the Bodhisattva being re-minded of the mission of humanity by the celestial being, looked down upon the mortal world as to the family and the women. He discerned by His power of divine insight that there was in the State of Kapilavastu a lady who possessed all the characteristics of a perfect mother in whose womb the Buddha-to-be could pass the stage of human conception.

Queen Maya, the daughter of Supra-Buddha had all the thirty-two characteristics of an ideal lady. It is unnecessary to mention them as they comprise almost all the virtues and some of the gifts of exceptional women. Of the circumstances connected with the birth of the Buddha, we can only say that it is difficult at this distance of time to separate history from legend. They are so inextricably yet so beautifully blended that it would be a sacrilege to attempt to dissect the fascinating picture of the traditions. It has supplied a fit theme for poetry of no mean order in many a language. Of Buddha's regard for his holy mother we read that

as soon as He attained Supreme Enlightenment and had returned to Kapilavastu, the first thing the Buddha did was to pay a visit to the Aryamata or the Blessed Mother in the Heaven of thirty-three Gons. The site where He came down on the ladder is still marked at Sankissa (now Bhongwan). Even in the Vamsavali or the History of Nepal, it is recorded, how after His historic visit to His mother it is said Buddha preached the Abhidharma Pitaka before His mother and the assembly of gods. This shews His great regard for the Blessed Mother who since has become an object of much regard amongst the millions of the Buddhist world. The latter took particular note of this by symbolising her in her superhuman aspect as Tathagatajanani or the Mother of Buddha.

In Mahayana Buddhism the Aryamata, the mother of the Buddha is given a place higher

even than that assigned to the Enlightened One. She is the chief object of veneration amongst the Buddhist mothers the Sakya ladies of Nepal.

She finds a place in the Buddhist monasteries of Nepal and on the second day of the Samyakdana or Buddhist chaitya festival, the sacred book Pragnaparamita, one of the nine holy Buddhist Scriptures of Nepal, is carried in a procession accompanied by music of various sorts and followed by a band of Sakyavandyanis or the ladies who now form the members of the Bhikshuni Sangha. She is the Aryamata, rather Ajima a local term, to the people. Thus the position of a Buddha-mother stands high in Mahayana Buddhism which alone has enabled the Buddhists to make an exhaustive, philosophical study of the Mother aspect of Wisdom. The leaders of the Adikarmika school of Buddhism have symbolised her as an ideal, divine figure which forms an interesting topic in the study of Buddhist Iconography.

The Tantric and Vajrayanic schools of Buddhism have elaborately carried far the significance of a Mother. To the adherents or to those initiated in the Tantric and Vajrayanic, also Sahajia mystic cycles, it is a common thing to represent the Mother in union with her son.

There the son or the Buddha represents the Upaya or the Effort and the Mother represents the Pragna or Wisdom. There is one man who aspires for Buddhahood, and coming under the influence of Wisdom, the Mother, he becomes the Perfectly Initiated and rescues mankind. The symbolic representation of the Mother in union with the Son represents therefore the union or full identification of upaya with Pragna, resulting in the Maha Sunya or the Great Consummation.

Thus definite mother cult has grown up in Nepal. And it has developed to such an extent that there is a special day reserved for the veneration of the mother.

Every house observes this festival and every daughter who may or may not be betrothed, prepares special food and visits the mother even at a great distance. If the mother be dead, she offers a special worship in memory of the mother at home. There is a special spot at Matatirtha to which all those who have lost their mothers resort, and offer worship. A fair is held there every year in the first bright day of Chaitra. It is a national day when Buddhists and others observe the Mother's Day.

The Life and Teachings of Buddha. By the Anagarika Dharmapala. This is a clear and concise account of the Life and Teachings of Lord Buddha written by a well-known Buddhist authority and in a style specially intended for non-Buddhists. The book is bound to be widely read and appreciated. The author culls freely from the authentic life and sayings of the Buddha in Pali. Appendix: Buddha's Renunciation. (Extracts from "The Life of Buddha" by Asvaghosha Bodhisatva.) Price Rs. 12. To Subscribers of the Indian Review. Rs. 8.

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EDUCATION VS. PROPAGANDA

There is nothing essentially wrong about propaganda, says Principal Jenkins in the October Number of the *YOUNG MEN OF INDIA*, but it is a feeble instrument with which to undertake a great mission. Both have their uses, and indeed propaganda is education of a sort. But it is good to realise the limitations of propaganda, and Principal Jenkins contrasts true education with mere propaganda. He says:—

"Propaganda is a process through which a few direct the learning of many in such a way that the learners think and act in accordance with the purposes of the few who direct them. One example of this would be the cultivation of a spirit of nationalistic pride and a disposition toward war, which is still seen in some nations. On a tiny scale, it is an attempt to sell a particular brand of tooth-paste."

Both processes are essentially the same, namely, that the education of the learner is directed to a selected mass of information rather than being exposed to all aspects of a subject.

"Education starts from a different point and ends with a far sounder conclusion. Education is a process through which the learner is given an opportunity to judge for himself as to the course of action to be pursued. All the facts available are given to him and the teacher is more concerned about his freedom of choice than about the particular choice which he makes. By this process, the learner grows as an individual. He is able to think for himself. This is slower but it is surer than propaganda. It results in a company of people who can go on indefinitely to greater and greater achievement."

"Propaganda, even at its best, is a decision of a few wise people over the destinies of many. Education at its best is the decision of the many at the expense of the few."

THE PROGRESS OF BOLSHEVISM

"Ten years of Bolshevism" is the subject of an interesting article in *THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS* by M. Boris Bakhmeteff, the ex-Russian Ambassador at Washington. M. Bakhmeteff is of opinion that the banishment of Trotsky marks a crisis in Russia analogous to that which followed the execution of Danton during the French Revolution. The writer says:—

Let us glance at the picture of Communist Russia as it stands to-day after the banishment of the "Opposition." Not a man is left of international fame: scarcely any of the cosmopolitan revolutionary type who were reared in underground *emigre* quarters and combined fanatical conviction with learning and intellectual versatility. At the helm of affairs are men mostly of Russian origin, thrust to the front from out of the ranks. As a matter of fact, in the Russian upheaval, just as in other revolutions there have come forward scores of "common men." Yesterday, they were ruthless revolutionists, drunk with the slogan of the hour. To-day, thousands of them fill various government offices, dealing with the manifold practical problems of every-day life. Who knows what thought and deed will be theirs by to-morrow? The remnant of a revolutionary dictatorship is a frail thing. In the winter of 1794-95 the Jacobins Club of Paris, the very name of which was whispered with horror a few months before, was raided by a group of dudes (*jeunesse doree*) who, with whips and insults, dispersed the former masters of France.

The Communist regime in Russia may last for a few years. And it may go, unexpectedly, at any hour. The object of this study is only to suggest the meaning of present facts in the light of history, to indicate the direction and character of the evolution now in course. The strength of a revolutionary dictatorship lies in fanatical unity. Unity springs from faith, *moral*. Once *moral* and faith are gone, once the source of fanaticism is exhausted, decay follows with astounding rapidity. There have been no organised enemies to challenge the Communist Government.

The Bolsheviks have had to yield to the forces of life; but the concessions were gradual, and in their retreat, the Communists have kept up spirit and form. Now, however, the time has come when Communist fanaticism must face its inevitable foe—a foe invisible, which cannot be fought by terror or by any of the weapons of arbitrary authority. This foe is disintegration from within, a foe which history teaches has been the Nemesis of all revolutionary dictatorships and has dealt the fatal blow.

THE INDIAN STATES

"It must be admitted that from the Western point of view, the standard of administration in most of the Indian States is lower than that of British India," writes Sir Walter Lawrence in a recent issue of the EDINBURGH REVIEW. But from the Indian point of view, opines Sir Walter, the standard of administration in British territory is too high—inconveniently, uncomfortably high. It was tremendously efficient, working with the rythmical monotony of a mighty engine. The knight continues:—

Over the border, in the Indian State, there is no sound of the machine, though the villages look the same. The people are much the same but there is a difference. They walk as though the country belonged to them; they carry themselves more proudly, and often carry arms. There are not perhaps the same excellent roads, the marvellous canals for irrigation, the same ugly masonry buildings which house the Indian officials, the police, the schools and the dispensaries, as are found in British territory. But in spite of the absence of the outward signs of regulation, the people seem bright, alert and independent, and where the soil is good, they look just as prosperous as their brethren over the boundary. They have something which their brothers in British India lack. They have a personal ruler, a human providence, one whom they know, as they knew his father; and indeed some of the grey beards in the village can remember his grandfather, and the wise words he said and the good deeds he did. They not only know him, but they can see him, when they feel so inclined; for the capital and the palace and the hall of audience are within reach.

Writing incidentally about the struggle of Indians in British India for self-Government, Sir Walter writes:—

The world must be convinced that the Indians can manage their own affairs safely and securely. The world will want to see national leaders of India, and it is here suggested that these leaders are to be found in India, men who are to the manner born, who have ruled and maintained order and discipline with perhaps a lighter hand and an easier touch than their colleagues in Empire in British territory. It is suggested that the Rajas of India are in the first instance the most obvious and suitable of Indians to blaze the way for all India into the comity of nations.

And, lastly it may be suggested that if it is decided that democratic institutions will not succeed in a land which has always been aristocratic in temperament and outlook and also that the present bureaucratic administration is out of date, then the experiment might be tried of establishing a limited monarchy in one of the provinces of British India. There is ample room in vast India for many such experiments, and one of the causes of the present discontent is the drab monotony which runs through every province, blurring the bright colours of a land which longs for many hues.

MARRIAGES FOR WOMEN

"The modern world is full of false ideas, crystallised into axioms", says a writer in the NINETEENTH CENTURY upsetting certain popular preconceptions. It is those conglomerations of error which, more than anything else, frustrate the problem of the modern girl and her relations to society.

The moment one opens a discussion of this burning question, one is met with the argument that England now contains an immense excess of women over men (largely a result of the War), and that, in consequence, it has become necessary to train the girls in the mass for independent careers. It is surprising how few people possess even the remotest knowledge of the actual statistical position. The excess of women over men in the European lands is now much smaller than it was at almost any period during the last 500 or 600 years.

The really decisive matter is not the ratio of men and women in the whole population, but the ratio during the marriageable ages. Consider the following figures for England and Wales (1926): Women of marriageable age (twenty to forty-five), about 7,900,000; men of marriageable age (twenty to fifty), about 8,000,000.

It is, of course, necessary to remember that men may, and often do, marry at a somewhat later age than women. In looking for a wife, a man is practically confined to the age groups between twenty and forty (although, since a certain proportion of women over forty do marry, I have taken the groups up to forty-five into account); but a woman may very easily find a husband anywhere between twenty and fifty.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the general tendency of the present-day education of girls is solely responsible for the large number of unmarried women in England,

A machine, which grinds out year by year hundreds of thousands of young women equipped solely with a view to competing with men in industry and business, must of necessity create social conditions highly unfavourable to marriage and home life. The struggle to earn a family wage or salary is thus made far more difficult for the average man. It would be impossible to form an estimate of the exact number of men who have been prevented from establishing homes of their own as a result of the competition of women, but it must be very large indeed.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

INDIA AND NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTS. By Pundit Jwaharlal Nehru. ["The New Era, October 1928".]

THE INDIAN STATES ENQUIRY. By Mr. A. Ramayya, M. A., F. R. E. S. ["The Modern Review, October 1928".]

THE RELATION BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND THE UPANISHADS. By Prof A. K. Sharma. ["The Vedanta Kesari, October 1922".]

Questions of Importance

INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

In reply to Sir John Simon's letter to the Viceroy (which was challenged by prominent Members of the Central Legislature), the Viceroy telegraphed as follows:—

"I have to inform you that the Council of State has elected Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Arthur Froom and Raja Nawab Ali Khan as its representatives, and that I have invited the following gentlemen also to serve on the Committee who have intimated their willingness to do so: Sardar Shivdev Singh Uberoi, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Mr. Kikabhai Premchand and Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah. I have thought it right to adhere, as nearly as circumstances permit, to the original plan of a committee composed of members of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature, and, accordingly, in completing the composing of the committee, I have confined my choice to members of the Legislature who are desirous of co-operating in your enquiry. I have invited Sir Sankaran Nair to act as Chairman of the Committee."

Sir Sankaran Nair's Committee has since joined the Royal Commission at Poona.

THE SIMLA SESSION

The Simla Session of the Assembly has been adjourned *sine die*. The Home Member declared that the Government proposed to hold over Sir Denys Bray's Press Bill till February next.

Before adjourning the session of the Assembly, the Hon. Mr. Patel made a comprehensive statement on the purposes of his provincial tours, and announced his decision to cancel the press passes of Mr. Burt and Mr. Rice, the Simla Correspondents of the TIMES OF INDIA and the DAILY TELEGRAPH, London, until an unqualified apology in the terms approved by the Chair be tendered by the Correspondents concerned.

The vindication of the honour of the House against malignant press attacks, Mr. Crerar's

unqualified apology, Government's surrender over the question of the separation of the Assembly Office and the decent burial of a obnoxious measure like the Public Safety Bill by the casting vote of the President, will make the session one of historic interest.

As the curtain drops, the Hon. Mr. Patel stands thoroughly vindicated and remains a victor whose bold stand has shaken to its foundation the whole of the reactionary Secretariat machinery.

MADRAS ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE

The Madras Session of the All-Parties Conference has achieved great success in popularising the Lucknow decisions by justifying them to the people of the province. Dr. Besant as President pointed out that the Nehru Report was an acceptance of the challenge of Lord Birkenhead; she gave it as her opinion, with which Indian political opinion will have no difficulty in agreeing, that the Constitution contained in the Report was a very careful draft. Mr. Yakub Hasan, while moving a resolution to accord cordial support to the decisions of the Lucknow Conference, said that India did not desire a Muslim Ulster or a Hindu Ulster either in every province, and declared communalism to be inconsistent with Indian nationhood. Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar said he believed that the Lucknow resolution was the best solution of the Hindu-Muslim issue. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru sounded a note of warning against continuing the divisions which had kept them apart for ten years and sounding a note of discord when unity was in sight. For the assurance of the States, Sir Tej Bahadur repudiated on behalf of the framers of the Nehru Report any intention to dominate them. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer declared provincial autonomy without changes in the Central Government to be perfectly valueless, and rejoiced over the demand of the Nehru Report for complete responsibility in the Central sphere.

Utterances of the Day

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN ON BRITISH STATESMANSHIP

A writer in the *EMPIRE REVIEW* quotes a fine passage from a speech of Sir Austen Chamberlain's delivered at the moment when the Coalition



SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

Government was negotiating with the Sinn Fein leaders for a settlement of the Irish question. Sir Austen's observations are as true of India to-day as of South Africa in the nineties. Will the Government, of which Sir Austen is such a prominent member, deal with India in the same spirit of magnanimity and statesmanship that inspired Sir Campbell Bannerman? Then the Indian problem will have been as happily solved as the South African problem. Sir Austen said:—

Our object was to find, at this great crisis, at this hour, after so many failures, some solid foundation on which to build once again a national policy, to find some policy from which no British Government could, or would, depart, and once

again to remove the Irish question from the scene of party conflict, where it followed our fortunes, and was itself the shuttlecock tossed from battledore to battledore.

* * * * *

The South African War was a just and necessary war. But for the issues then fought out and settled, there could have been no lasting peace in that country. But, though peace was signed, though allegiance was sworn, reconciliation lagged behind. Then came a change of Government, and with the new Government, a new policy. By a great act of daring faith, they conferred upon our recent enemies in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, on the morrow of our victory, full self-government.

I voted against them. I thought it a rash and wicked thing to do. If we could have seen farther into the future, if I could have voted in that division with the knowledge I have to-day, I should have known that that great act of faith was not, as I thought it, the destruction of our policy, but its completion and its fulfilment.

That is the vote that I would undo if I could undo a vote once given. That great act, that daring act of faith, led directly to the reconciliation of the races in South Africa; it led to the Union of South Africa; it brought South Africa into the war with us; added German East Africa and German South-West Africa to British territory.

Now and again in the affairs of men, there comes a moment when courage is safer than prudence, when some great act of faith, touching the hearts and stirring the emotions of men, achieves the miracle that no arts of statesmanship can compass. Such a moment may be passing before our eyes now as we meet here. I pray to God with all my heart and soul that to each of us to whom responsibility is brought, there may be given vision to see, faith to act, and courage to persevere.

Indian States

LEGAL STATUS OF THE STATES

THE *DAILY TELEGRAPH* publishes the following additional points in the finding of a number of well-known lawyers headed by Sir Leslie Scott, regarding the legal status of Indian States:

(1) The States possess all original Sovereign powers except so far as they have been transferred to the Crown.

(2) Such transfer has been effected by the consent of the States and in no other way.

(3) A State's consent to such a transfer is individual to the State. The actual agreement must be investigated in order to see what right and obligations have been created.

(4) Such an agreement appears normally in the Treaty, but is capable of being made informally. In such cases the onus of proof is on the Crown.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES

His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner made an important pronouncement regarding the future of Indian States with particular reference to the decision of the All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow, at a dinner given in honour of Sir Manubhai at Bikaner. His Highness said that the decisions of the Lucknow Conference were likely to meet with cold reception in the Indian States for reasons explained by him. At the outset, His Highness removed "honest and genuine misunderstandings and misapprehensions as regards the aims and claims of the States", and the Princes who are not "tools of the British Government to act in an unpatriotic and dishonourable manner, are not hatching any conspiracy against the advance of British India towards full Nationhood under the regis of the British Crown" and "are asking only for a full, effective and true recognition of all the existing rights of the States upon which depend their future preservation and very existence." The Princes, His Highness declared, are ensuring that "nothing is officially said or done in the name, or

on behalf, of the Chamber of Princes or its Standing Committee, or indeed on behalf of the Princes of India as a body, which might justly be deemed as placing "barriers" against the efforts of British India to attain Self-Government."

THE STATES AND BRITISH INDIA

Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, President of the All-India States Peoples Conference, has



DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

sailed for England. The object of the deputation, said Mr. Ramachandra Rao, was to survey the situation in England created by Princes' propaganda eighteen months ago. He suggested that a Conference between the rulers and the peoples of Indian States and the British Indian leaders should be held without delay.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In an interview with a Press representative at Johannesburg, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri said: "By the acceptance of the Condonation Scheme, Indians in South Africa will help to remove one of the greatest difficulties in the way of a better understanding between themselves and the Europeans. I am informed that the Condonation Scheme is now proving more acceptable to Indians in the Transvaal. From this Province, I anticipated the greatest trouble; but, if my information is correct, the problem is well on its way to solution."

"In Natal," continued Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, "it has already been accepted after a little trouble, but, in the Cape, some difficulty is being experienced. It is difficult to say whether the whole mass of the Indian community in the Cape or a few hot-heads are responsible for the opposition to the acceptance, probably the latter, who do not understand, and therefore suspect a trap. I have been trying to show them that there is no trap, and that by their non-acceptance, their own positions may be jeopardised."

"The purpose of my present visit is to meet as many people as possible, and I hope to be able to have the opportunity of persuading them to accept the scheme, which terminates in September. In Natal, I had a very fine reception, and my visit was most successful. After the completion of my Transvaal visit, I intend going down to Capetown. But by then the Condonation offer will be no longer in force. I am anxious that my people should accept it."

Asked whether his visit to South Africa had been worth while, Mr. Sastri replied: "Emphatically worth while. I was most agreeably surprised at the relationship between Europeans and Indians. My relations with the Union Government have been most satisfactory."

INDIA AND EAST AFRICA

The Managing Director of THE KENYA DAILY MAIL writes:—

THE KENYA DAILY MAIL desires to encourage visits by Indian gentlemen occupying posts as prominent political leaders and editors of Daily and Weekly newspapers, throughout India during 1929, with a view to studying conditions in these territories, and, on their return, to serve the interests of these countries whenever opportunity occurs. THE KENYA DAILY MAIL will defray the cost of a certain number of passages from Bombay to Mombassa and back, first or second class, according to the status of the visitors, and will place at their disposal on their arrival here its whole organisation and facilities for becoming familiar with all sections of the community and the study of East African problems.

THE KENYA DAILY MAIL accordingly invites correspondence from those in India desirous of availing themselves of this opportunity. Correspondents should afford full details of their profession and activities, and should state clearly the degree of their association with public or political life. The selection will be in the hands of the Proprietors of the paper and will be announced in due course in its columns. Correspondence should be received here not later than December 31st, 1928, and an intimation should be given as to the most convenient time for the visit to be made and its proposed duration.

INDIANS IN ENGLAND

Sir Abbas Ali Baig, at the annual banquet at the Indian Social Club, proposing the toast of the Club, strongly complained against Public School Headmasters in England, and accused them of racial discrimination. He said that India spent more money on the education of English boys and girls than her own children, and there was no reciprocity of treatment to Indian boys in England.

STEEL INDUSTRY LOSS

That the Indian steel industry has sustained a loss of nearly rupees one crore as the result of the Jamshedpur labour dead-lock was revealed in the course of the speech delivered by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., at the annual general meeting of the company. "During August," the Chairman said, "we made it known that the loss incurred by the company between April 1 and July 31, owing to the strike, was about Rs. 66 lakhs. We have not been able to bring our accounts up to date, but we estimate that the total loss (including loss of estimated profits and compensation to the men reduced) will be a little over one crore of rupees, without taking account of loss of profit during the period which must elapse before normal production is reached. In spite of these depressing features, the Chairman was not pessimistic of the future."

INDIA AS BRITAIN'S MARKET

Speaking at Cutler's Feast at Sheffield, Sir Frederick Sykes, the newly appointed Governor of Bombay, deplored that they were little more than holding their pre-War empire trade, while in the most valuable market, namely India, the British proportion of imports had dropped after the War by one-third. Nevertheless, he pointed out that great projects in India gave promise of increased purchasing power and more settled marketing conditions.

Sir Frederick added that "the rising standard of living in India itself converts what have hitherto been luxuries into necessities and brings a demand for new luxury supplies." He drew attention to the requirement in machinery plant, mechanical transport and semi-finished metal products as the result of local industrialisation, while, if soundly based, Indian industries increased the demand by increased population and higher standards to which they led.

ALL-INDIA CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE

The All-India Conference of provincial co-operative institutes was held at Gorton Castle, Simla, on Sept. 25. The Hon'ble Ramdas Pantulu in welcoming the delegates suggested the formation of an All-India Co-operative Federation with a view to enable fuller appreciation of the progress of co-operative movement throughout India, and he incidentally suggested the starting of a co-operative journal to record progress throughout India.

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, who presided, said in the course of his speech, that the most important task before the conference of co-operative unions and institutes was to enable those connected with their activities to appreciate their true role in the movement and to strengthen the sense of solidarity both within the province and among different provinces and to transform the co-operative organisation in India into a truly national movement.

The speaker said that there are provincial federations, unions, organisation societies, institutes or councils of co-operators constituted in almost every province in British India. It was their own fault if critics, both Indian and foreign, complained that they find the national impulse lacking in the movement.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

The co-operative movement in India has made a remarkable progress during the past 20 years, and statistics just issued show that there are in existence 89,071 societies with a membership of 3,422,000 and capital amounting to Rs. 67,94,00,000.

According to the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, capital is increasing faster than membership, being now nearly Rs. 199 per member: the average membership per society is 39. the capital is Rs. 7,627 per society. Bengal claims 33.0 societies per 100,000 inhabitants compared with 26.4 for Bombay, and 31.6 for Madras.

AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION

In the Council of State, the Hon. Sir P. C. Sethna moved on September 17:—

That this Council recommends the Governor-General-in-Council to expedite the consideration of the Report of the Agricultural Commission, and to take such steps as may be necessary to give prompt effect to its recommendations, particularly to those which have a direct and intimate bearing of the uplift of the agricultural population.

Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu moved an amendment urging that effect be given to measures relating to the establishment of the Central Land Mortgage Banks, for the issue of debentures.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah, in the course of a sympathetic speech, welcomed the desire manifested by the Council for expediting the recommendations. After some discussion, the amended resolution was adopted.

SIMLA AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

Lord Irwin, opening the Agricultural Conference at Simla on Oct. 1, welcomed the presence of representatives of several Indian States, described the Linlithgow Commission's report as representing the most complete and creative document affecting the welfare of the Agricultural population, and spoke of the broad unity of outlook, which was an outstanding feature of the report. Co-ordination of effort offered the magic key to success in achieving their common object, and while much of the work must fall directly upon local Governments, the Government of India would willingly give whatever assistance it could. Scientific research was the life-blood of economic progress just as it had proved in Java and other progressive countries.

Agricultural research therefore offered a sphere in which the Central Government could help the Provinces through the existing agencies, and if the Provinces were willing to co-operate in the manner recommended by the Commission. The Govern-

ment of India were of opinion that some such organisation as a Central Council of Agricultural Research recommended by the Commission should be established and, subject to the approval of the Assembly, would endeavour to provide any organisation that might be set up with such funds as their resources would permit. Such a Central organisation would not, in any way, curtail or restrict the freedom which the provinces enjoyed in agricultural administration.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah, addressing the Conference, suggested that the Conference should examine the recommendations of the Commission



SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH

and classify them according to the order of urgency and financial feasibility. They should also endeavour to define the authority, Central or Provincial or both, on which the responsibility for action should rest.

The Conference lasted for a week, at the end of which Sir Muhammad Habibullah announced the Government of India's proposal in connection with the Linlithgow Commission's recommendation to establish a Central Research Council.

LAUGH AND LIVE LONG

Do we laugh because we are happy, or are we happy because we laugh?—Both. Laughter quickly comes to the surface when it starts from within, and quickly starts in when it comes from without, writes John Harvey Kellogg in the 'HEALTH.'

No matter how it starts, laughter is always a mental and physical uplift. Laughter opens the windows of the soul and lets in sunshine to dissipate the mirk and shadows which fear and worry cultivate. Fear, anger, worry, dry up the springs of life; the saliva ceases to flow, the parched tongue cleaves to the roof of the mouth: the liver, stomach, every vital organ slows down its work or stops altogether. But laughter sets all the wheels agoing with a merry hum, and sends the blood coursing through the veins and arteries with a new impetus. The vocal outburst—ha! ha! ha! makes the diaphragm hop up and down on the stomach and liver, giving these faithful body servants a hearty nudge which aids digestion, squares the bile out of gall bladder, and starts peristaltic waves all along the food canal. Laughter is a stimulant, a tonic, a great life booster.

Start every day with a hearty laugh.

If you have the blues laugh and forget them.

Be a millionaire of good cheer.

SIR R. ROSS ON MALARIA

"As long as I live, I will weep fussing with them; I want to see malaria under control throughout the Empire," vehemently declared Sir Ronald Ross in an interview to the OBSERVER. He said that the whole problem of prevention of malaria was one for the Colonies themselves, and until they take it up, little progress could be made in any way. It was a curse. We did not have a serious malaria problem in England. If we had, the Government might be induced to move,

MEDICAL ADVICE BY RADIO

Twelve hundred miles out, the surgeons of the Cunard liner "Berengaria," which arrived at Southampton, wirelessly to New York asking for advice on the treatment of a passenger. The reply was received within seven minutes.

The passenger was Dr. M. Shiffman, a New York surgeon, who was taking a crate of ten snakes, including two rattlesnakes and two copperheads, to Vienna for laboratory purposes. While taking out a snake which had died, he was bitten on the finger by a copperhead. His arm immediately swelled, and his condition became critical.

He was attended to by the liner's surgeons, but since they were not certain whether they were applying the right treatment, the message to New York was sent. The reply showed their treatment was correct, and when Dr. Shiffman disembarked at Cherbourg, he had nearly recovered.

ABNORMAL APPETITE

An almost incredible tale of the abnormal appetite of an insane Canadian woman appears in THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN [New York]:

"Two Canadian physicians have just made available the report of an insane woman who had developed the habit of swallowing foreign substances. In May 1926, an X-ray examination revealed safety-pins, wires and buttons passing through her intestinal tract. However, she had no trouble getting rid of these objects, and no attempt was made at operation. One year later, she developed severe pain, and an X-ray picture showed the stomach completely clogged with foreign materials. When this was removed, it was found to contain 2,533 different pieces, including 947 bent pins, 865 pieces of bent wire, 191 pieces of glass, 176 parts of safety-pins, 58 tacks, 54 parts of corset-steels, 28 parts of garter-fasteners, and other miscellaneous objects, such as screw, beads, washers, nuts, broken keys, money, cuff-links, and pen-points."

SIR J. C. BOSE'S RETURN

Sir Jagadish Bose returned to Bombay on Sept. 28, from Europe and Egypt where he created a stir among the scientific circles by the results of his latest researches into plant and animal life. He was accorded a hearty welcome on landing from *S. S. "Macedonia"* by his admirers chiefly students. The enthusiasm caused in Europe by his tour reached its zenith at Vienna, where the University, in recognition of his discoveries in advancing knowledge of plant physiology, conferred on him the unique honour of electing him a member of the Academy of Science.

A CHALLENGE

This universal acclamation was marred by a little rift, soon after Sir Bose's arrival in India. Sir Bose's conclusions were challenged by one Mr. Dastur, Professor of Botany of the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay, who said in a public lecture :

"No scientific man accepts Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose's views and sentimental writings about plant-life. His theory that plants have nerve mechanisms similar to those of animals is inaccurate.

"The world-reputed scientist's experiments are magnificent, but his interpretations of them are unacceptable to science", said Mr. Dastur in an interview with the representative of a contemporary.

BOSE'S REPLY

"The greatest scientists in the world have accepted my theory, and I cannot condescend to enter into a controversy with a novice in science." This declaration was made by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose to an ENGLISHMAN representative with reference to Prof. Dastur's contradiction of his plant-life discoveries.

My object, he said, is to bring the science of the East and the West into closer affinity for the benefit of humanity. "I think the real and independent spirit of science in India has produced some very important work."

PROF. RAMAN'S DISCOVERY

The current issue of the Scientific periodical, *DIE NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN* of Berlin, contains an interesting leading article on Professor Raman's recent discovery. Professor Peter Pringsheim, the writer of the article, holds the Chair of Physics in the Berlin University and is a leading authority on radiation phenomena. The article has for its title "The Raman-effect," and is a masterly survey of the history and significance of the new discovery.

From the report, it appears that as soon as the discovery was announced from Calcutta, many Physicists in Europe set to work to verify Prof. Raman's result, and their researches have afforded complete confirmation of the discovery and of its explanation given by Prof. Raman. Prof. Pringsheim himself, with his students, has been investigating the Raman-effect, and his report, therefore, carries great weight. The article introduces several new words, such as "Raman-spectra" and "Raman-lines", as very convenient for use in describing the results in this new field of research. Prof. Pringsheim's report concludes with the significant passage:—"Upon one point, no doubt can exist, that through his discovery, Raman has opened up a great and completely new region in Spectroscopy."

A specially valuable part of Prof. Pringsheim's report is that in which he emphasises the fundamental analogy between the behaviour of electrons and light quanta when they collide with atoms and molecules, which is established by the discovery of the Raman-effect. The different lines in the Raman-spectra correspond to three different kinds of collision. We have the ordinary or elastic collisions in which the nature of light is unchanged, the inelastic collisions, in which they gain energy from the molecules, and thus give new lines in the spectrum. Prof. Pringsheim also points out that the relative intensity of the different kinds of Raman-lines cannot be reconciled with the wave-mechanics of Schrodinger as generally accepted at present,

THE BUNYAN TRICENTENARY

The tricentenary of JOHN BUNYAN, the author of *PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*, has been celebrated in various parts of the world during the past three months. His humble beginnings, his long imprisonment, and his great allegory have made a profound impression upon people during three centuries. The outburst of interest this year in Bunyan has shown that he still lives, and the influence of his life and work still continues.

THE HINDU'S GOLDEN JUBILEE

Under the auspices of the HINDU Golden Jubilee Celebration Committee, a public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held at the Gokhale Hall on Oct. 7, when the busts of the late Mr. Subramania Iyer and the late Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar were unveiled by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and a public address was presented to the proprietors, the editor and the staff of the HINDU.

A PRESS FOR DE VALERA

A company has been formed to start a daily paper for Mr. De Valera. The share capital is £200,000 of which £100,000 comes from America. 70,000 are guaranteed in Ireland. The subscriptions for the remaining £30,000 are invited. £80,000 is the estimated cost of the machinery. 20,000 is for the site and £9,000 for preliminary expenses, and the balance for working capital. Mr. De Valera is the controlling Director. The fortunes of the Republican Party are bound up with this new Venture.

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) Rs. 7-8.

ANCIENT INDIA. By Upendranath Ball, M.A., —Sudha Bindu Biswas, Calcutta. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.) Price Rs. 2-8-0.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BIHAR UNDER BRITISH RULE. By Rai Bahadur Bhagavati Sahay—The United Press, Ltd., Bhagalpur.

THE WISDOM OF THE RISHIS. By T. L. Vaswani—T. P. H., Adyar—Madras.

MAYA MAYO IN TAMIL. Vaswani's Bookshop—Madras. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.) Price Rs. 2-0-0.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF UNION BY DEVOTION. By Swami Nityapadananda Abadhut, Mahanirban Math, Calcutta.

THE MALAY STATES DESK DIRECTORY, 1928. S. C. Colomb, F. M. S.

KARMA YOGA. By Yogi Bikshuyogi Publication Society, Chicago.

LAW APPLICABLE TO CHRISTIANS. By Paul Appaswami, M.A., L.L.B., C. L. S., Madras.

INDIGENOUS INDIAN BANKING. By M. S. M. Gubbay, Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

THE THEORY OF POLARITY. By Geoffrey Saintsbury, G. P. Putnam Sons, London.

JOURNALISM IN INDIA. By Pat Lovett. Banna Publishing Co., Calcutta.

THE DOMICILED AND ANGLO-INDIAN RACE OF INDIA. By M. B. Wilson, 20, Langford Road, Bangalore.

BOOKS ON MODERN WARFARE

We have received the following books from Messrs. Gale & Polden, Ltd. 2, Amen Corner, Paternoster Row, London:—

AIDS TO SCOUTING FOR N. C. O.'S AND MEN. By Sir Robert Baden-Powell.

THE CYCLIST SCOUT. By "Gilwheel."

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AIR WARFARE. By Squadron Leader.

TACTICAL SCHEMES. (From Platoons to Brigades with solutions and notes). By A. Keersay, D. S. O., O. B. E.

MILITARY ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION. By Lt.-Col. W. G. Lindsell.

A & Q OR MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN WAR. By Lt.-Col. W. G. Lindsell.

SIMPLIFIED ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION. By Capt. R. H. D. Bolton.

BENGAL STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

Opening the All-Bengal Students' Conference, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Dr. W. S. Urquhart, declared that no University should stifle the discussion of public affairs by students. He hoped, in framing their business for the conference, they would be loyal to the spirit of the University. He, however, warned them against rushing to action.

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, presiding, said he believed they should be trained to free their country from the insolent and alien rule. He considered the British imperialism to be a grave menace to internationalism. In his opinion, the future of modern States lay along the path of socialism. He did not believe in communism as an ideal of society. England would be welcomed if she entered the real world federation.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

"The Hindu University which I visited not long ago," writes Dr. Sundhindra Bose, "is an eloquent refutation of the charge that all Indians lack administrative abilities. This great educational enterprise at Benares, which marked an epoch in the history of Indian education, was organized by Indians and administered by Indians. It shows what Indians are capable of doing when they have half a chance."

The Benares Hindu University is an all-India institution; but like the great University of Notre Dame in the United States which specializes in Catholic religion and culture, the Hindu University at Benares has thrown its doors open to all, irrespective of race, creed, or colour. It is becoming more and more Indian first, and Hindu afterwards. Its contributions to the making of modern India are unique.

I was, however, pained to hear that the University has run into a debt of fifteen lacs of rupees, and that for want of accommodation, it has to turn down nearly a thousand students a year. This should not be,

The high standard it has maintained in applied Science—Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Mining and Industrial Chemistry demands special recognition.

The laboratories, workshops and colleges, particularly the new Women's College, which are doing such a vast amount of good to bring India in line with the rest of the progressive world, should not be crippled for lack of sufficient funds.

I. C. S. PROBATIONERS.

The table of results of final examinations of one year and two years' Indian Civil Service probationers, held last month, shows that no candidate received four-fifths of the possible total of marks in any subject. The performance of 57 one year and two years' probationers is declared satisfactory by the Civil Service Commissioners. Only one candidate in the one year's list has failed to qualify.

Among the 18 Indians on both lists, 3 are Mohammedans, 14 Hindus, 1 Indian Christian from the United Provinces, and also 2 Burmese.

THE ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

The Madras Council has passed into law the Annamalai University Bill on the motion of the Chief Minister. Mr. Satyamurthi, member for the University, seconding, thanked Sir Annamalai Chetty for his magnificent donation, and the Madras Government for their generous grant. He hoped that Chidambaram would prove to be the Oxford of South India.

Mr. T. E. Moir, Finance Member, pointed out that the constitution of the University was democratic, as it conferred benefits on all classes.

The Rajah of Panagal said that the scheme was an epoch-making one, and a magnificent instance of what could be done by private enterprise. If others followed Sir Annamalai's example, India could lift her head among the nations.

THE LATE SIR LAWRENCE JENKINS

Sir Lawrence Jenkins, whose death is reported, was Chief Justice, first of the Bombay High Court, and then of the Calcutta High Court. In the latter capacity, he had tried several sedition cases. In the famous COMRADE case, he subjected the Press Act to a scathing criticism. He was very popular with the Indian public. In his "Recollections," Lord Morley pays a great tribute to his ability and his knowledge of law. "Sir L. Jenkins has been of immense value to me about Reforms" writes Morley, "and a more willing, ready and resourceful man in the legal and legislative line, it has never been my fortune to meet."

A POINT OF ORDER

In the Legislative Assembly when the Hon'ble Mr. Crerar began to move for consideration of the Public Safety Bill, Pundit Motilal Nehru raised an interesting point of order, that the Indian Legislature had no power to enact a law which affected the allegiance of a British subject to the Crown, by depriving him of the rights granted to him by various charters, and that Parliament had definitely excluded, under section 65 of the Government of India Act, this "subordinate legislature" undertaking that question.

At a subsequent sitting, it will be remembered, that the motion was lost by the casting vote of the President.

BRITISH LAWYERS ON INDIAN STATES.

The Swarajist claim that under self-Government the Indian States must be directly controlled by the Government of India is unsound according to five eminent counsels who are advising the Princes regarding their constitutional position, namely, Sir Leslie Scott, Mr. Bevan, Mr. Wilfred Greene, Mr. Valentine Holmes and Mr. Donald Somervell.

They declare that the Crown cannot require the States to transfer their loyalty to any third party, nor can it without their consent hand over to persons, independent of control of the Crown, the

conduct of foreign relations of the States nor the maintenance of their external and internal security.

They declare that there is no legal or constitutional power in the Government of India and its officers or the Viceroy or the Political Department to insist on any agreement being entered into by the State, nor is there any legal basis for the claim that any State is compelled to co-operate in matters outside the paramountcy of British India.

The converse is equally true, namely, that outside matters covered by paramountcy, and in the absence of special agreement, no State is entitled to demand co-operation of British India in the performance of those acts which the States consider desirable from their view-point.—

SEX IN HINDU LAW.

Sir Sankaran Nair, in the Council of State, moved consideration of the Bill to alter the order in which heirs of a deceased Hindu dying intestate, are entitled to succeed to his estate.

On the motion of Mr. Ramdas, it was referred to a Select Committee.

MISS SEETA DEVA DOSS

She is the daughter of the Hon'ble Mr. M. D. Deva Doss of the Madras High Court. She was



MISS SEETA DEVA DOSS

called to the Inner Temple in London, has returned to Madras and has begun practice.

THE HON. MR. G. A. NATESAN

The London Correspondent of the INDIAN DAILY MAIL writing under date Sept. 27, says:—

The Hon. Mr. Natesan will have a hearty welcome from the many friends that he made before he left with the Empire Parliamentary delegation on the Canadian tour, which, I understand, has been a very successful one, from the point of view of sight-seeing. Mr. Natesan had two things in mind when he went to the Dominion. The one was to impress upon his colleagues and the people of Canada the importance of the Swaraj movement in India and the determination of his countrymen not to rest satisfied until Indians in India enjoyed the same rights, responsibilities, and status as Canadians did in Canada. The second was to ensure the grant of full and equal citizenship rights upon his compatriots who had entered or might, in the future, lawfully enter Canada. As to the latter, Mr. Natesan had the opportunity, together with his Indian colleagues on the delegation, of being entertained by the Indian community of Vancouver, with whom he was able to discuss the disabilities still maintained against the 1,100 Indians in British Columbia. Mr. Natesan's past services to the cause of Indians overseas were, I am glad to learn, generously referred to, and I have reason to believe that the grievances complained of are likely, in the near future, to come up for consideration. * * The GLOBE, Toronto, speaks in appreciative terms of Mr. Natesan's eloquent appeal for the removal of Indian disabilities in Canada, and describes him as one of the outstanding delegates at the conferences that have been held in different parts of Canada.

MR. NATESAN HITS BACK

Though Reuter has maintained a discreet silence on the subject—as that agency not infrequently does in matters of diplomatic delicacy—Major Kindersley, M. P., one of the Conservative delegates on the Empire Parliamentary Associ-

ation delegation, rather put his foot in it, when he deemed it his duty to refer to Indian affairs in one of his speeches, when he remarked that self-government was to be a gift to India, but that it was being delayed for the sake of Indians themselves, that it might not prove a poison-cup. Mr. Natesan, accordingly, took occasion at Edmonton, in the Canadian Middle-West, to make a spirited reply. At the official dinner given to the delegation by the Alberta Government, Mr. Natesan said: "All that India asks is to be mistress in her own household. She wants self-government. This is no new cry. It is not a new demand. It dates back for half a century, when English education began in India. We do not ask it as a gift, but as something to which we are entitled, which is due to us, which, indeed, is long overdue. It is our birthright. It is the birthright of every British subject. We ask for no favours. We ask what has long been promised to us by numbers of British statesmen and repeatedly ratified by proclamations." (The full text of the speech appears elsewhere in this issue), Mr. Natesan compared the status of India with that of the Dominions. Incongruity must, he said, be removed, not only for the sake of India but for the sake of the British Empire itself and for the sake of humanity. It is interesting to note that, in an interview given at Quebec, Mr. Natesan, who referred to the result of the labours of the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, denied that those who were anxious for special communal representation were any the less ardent in their desire for self-government for India. These views were corroborated by Dewan Chamman Lall and Mr. T. C. Goswami. The former pointed out that "in the eyes of those who did not want to grant self-government, no part of the British Empire could be said to be fit for self-government when it was granted." Dewan Chamman Lal concluded a reasoned criticism of the Simon Commission with the remark: "India wishes to remain within the Empire, but India must have Dominion Status."

NEW ITALIAN CONSTITUTION

Vital changes have been made in Italian Constitutional Government as the result of a new measure adopted by the Fascist Grand Council, defining its attributes and responsibilities.

The measure lays down that the Grand Council is the supreme organ of Government, and its duty is to co-ordinate all acts and activities of the Fascist regime. Its functions are deliberative, and it will be the final court of appeal on all questions of interpretation of the law, and will express an opinion on all questions submitted to it by the Government.

The Head of the Government will be the President of the Grand Council which will comprise the Presidents of both Houses of Parliament, Ministers and Under-Secretaries or the Prime Minister, Ministers of the Interior and Foreign Affairs and Corporations, the Chief of the General Staff of the Fascist Militia, Secretary and Under Secretaries of the Fascist Party, the Presidents of the syndicalist confederations of labour, agriculture and industry, and the principal co-operation societies and ex-Secretaries of the Fascist Party.

The Head of the Government may invite others to join the deliberations.

No member of the Grand Council may be arrested or be subject to criminal or police proceedings unless sanctioned by the Grand Council. The Council will examine lists of deputies and discuss the regulations of the Fascist Party as regards the appointment and dismissal of Secretaries and members of the Directorate.

The Council shall be consulted on all constitutional questions, namely, those concerning the royal succession, the King's powers, the composition or attributes of the Senate and the Chamber, the powers of the Head of the Government, the relation between the State and the Catholic Church, and international treaties involving modification of national territory.

The Council may draft a list of names for submission to the Crown for the post of Head of the Government and other important State offices. The Secretary of the Fascist Party may be invited to attend Cabinet meetings. Sitzings of the Grand Council will be secret, and members will not be paid and the Public Treasury will not be involved in any expense in connection with its workings. The above-named measure was adopted after six hours' deliberation at a meeting which broke up at midnight amidst cheers for Mussolini.

SIR JOHN SIMON'S COMPLACENCY

Speaking at a farewell luncheon in London, Sir John Simon expressed himself as completely satisfied with the evidence of co-operation in India, as seen in the formation of Provincial Committees in Provinces which had originally boycotted the Commission, and the five hundred memoranda he had received from all quarters.

He paid a tribute to the Nehru Report, which, he said, was admirably written, and copies of which he got by telegram, and descanted on the Commission's responsible task, which he described as "weaving together the warp and woof of the East and West".

NO CONFIDENCE IN U. P. MINISTER

By the casting vote of the President, the non-confidence motion of Mr. Chintamani was carried against Raja Jaganath Baksingh (Education Minister), 57 votes were cast on either side. At division time, in giving his casting vote, the President said he regarded with grave consideration as a custodian of freedom and liberty of members that, had the Minister not cast his vote in his own favour, the verdict of the House would have been fifty-seven against him and fifty-six for. (The Raja previously belonged to the Nationalist party favouring the boycott of the Simon Commission.) He was the deputy leader of the Nationalist party which he resigned towards the end of March and accepted office as Minister early in June, actively supporting the Commission.

TILDEN AND SUZANNE

Tilden after all is banned from playing in tournament tennis in America. The American authorities have definitely said so, and he was not included in the East team. This is presumably the end of the incident which caused such a sensation recently and Tilden will in future be classified as a professional tennis player. And he could, if he liked, make a lot of money out of it if he undertook a world tour. If he joined up with Suzanne, what an attraction the pair would make. Hunter, Tilden's close friend, has refused to play as a protest against the suspension of "Big Bill."

EXERCISE

One requires a certain amount of physical exercise daily in order to preserve one's health. About three miles per day is a minimum for a healthy adult. Half a mile smart walking is worth double the distance slouched along. When you go out for a walk, always have an object in view. Don't hamper yourself with heavy clothes, mufflers, etc., you need not fear getting wet if you keep walking, and change your clothes immediately on your return. Always breathe through your nose. This both filters and warms the air before it reaches the lungs.

BLOOD SPORTS

Probably one of the most significant happenings in the Humanitarian Movement recently is the unanimous decision of the Manchester and Salford Branch of the R.S.P.C.A., that "*the time has come*" when the Council of the Royal Society should "*take steps to put a stop to blood sports.*"

We need hardly say that we warmly welcome this splendid advance and hope that other leading branches of the parent Animals' Society will promptly follow suit, and so help us to present a strong and united front to a form of cruelty which is the most humiliating of all forms of cruelty to animals inasmuch as it is indulged in for "pleasure". Any sport which involves gross

cruelty to highly sentient animals has a debasing effect on the community.

This involves an issue which hunting people should recognise before it is too late; for they may be quite sure that the country will not tolerate any system of *organised, legalized, privileged cruelty for pleasure*, when it realises the facts, but will demand one law for the wild as for the domestic animal, with equal punishment to all offenders.

THE CRAZE FOR SPORT

"Some of the mining areas of Great Britain are suffering great distress and the men are without work and wages. Hard luck! But there is always greyhound racing and the chance of winning a prize in the Derby sweep-stake," adds Sir Philip Gibbs in the NEW YORK TIMES, and, after giving a list of national heroes, he goes on:—

"Is not this age of ours careless of intellectual achievements while it gives too much hero worship to motor experts who risk their lives on long-distance flights; to plump ladies who grease their bodies and swim an awfully long way; to chunk-headed lads who can hit a ball further than most others, or give a quick upper cut to the jaw of a pugilist; to any tennis champion who calls himself an amateur but devotes the hours of sunlight to a game which was once played more prettily by ladies in bustles, and to record-breakers of all kinds who have some special quality of nerve, or wind, or muscle, or cardiac action? . . . That's the most unpopular question that any writer could ask in cold print."

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI AT TENNIS

Among Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's recent social duties has been his opening of a tennis court belonging to the Ozone Club, and situated on the heights of Durban North, overlooking the Indian Ocean. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who struck the first ball, said that he was once a keen player himself. He remembered being so keen that he was seen playing at 11 o'clock in the morning in the tropical heat of Madras.

THE INDIAN QUESTION ABROAD

MR. NATESAN'S VIEWS

Interviewed by Reuter, in London, regarding the part played by the Indian Members of the Empire Parliamentary Delegation at its meetings in Canada, Mr. G. A. Natesan said that opportunities for discussion of the Indian questions had been very few, but the Indians have taken advantage of them to the utmost.

He and his colleagues had been everywhere received and treated with courtesy, but they had not been able to help feeling the subordinate position occupied by India as a dependency.

The Empire Parliamentary Conference had throughout concentrated on problems of migration and the marketing of Empire products. Mr. Natesan said that the Indian delegates had profited by the discussion on the question of migration, at Ottawa, and drawn attention to the grievances of Indians overseas emphasising that the treatment accorded to them was inconsistent with the profession of equality of British citizens, and declaring that the Government of India was in complete accord with the feelings of the people on this question.

INDIA'S RIGHT TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

Mr. Natesan said that the Conservative Member of the British Delegation once stated that self-Government was a product of the West, the gift of which to India had been delayed for her own sake in order that it might not prove a poisoned cup. Mr. Natesan, in the course of a subsequent public speech, challenged this view and pointed out that the art of Government was in no way unknown to Indians who were in many ways qualified for self-Government which they claimed as a right, not as a gift.

Not only in Canada but in New York, which the Indian delegates visited, and even among the British Parliamentary delegates, considerable ignorance about India was noticeable.

Mr. Natesan concluded, "My visit to Canada

has made me more hopeful about the destiny of India. If Canada, with many nationalities and races, once warring with each other, can, within a short time after obtaining responsible government, make such rapid and marvellous progress, India, if given a fair chance, can lay claim to a brighter future."

Mr. Natesan, when at New York, at a luncheon at which he was entertained, delivered an address on India's progress towards self-Government, advocating Dominion Status, and said that India would be content with self-Government within the Empire.

Mr. Natesan spent four days in New York. He was entertained at other functions also and interviewed leading editors.

THE FAILURE OF DYARCHY

In discussing the reports on the working of the Reforms Act prepared by the various local Governments, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, ex-Law Member and Vice-President of the Executive Council, Government of Madras, has some harsh things to say against the system of Dyarchy to an Associated Press representative.

"One of the obstacles," the Ex-Law Member observes, "to the successful working of dyarchy has been the divided allegiance of the services," and another "consisting in the anomalous position and jurisdiction of the Governor as the head at the same time of the Executive Council and as not only as the adviser but the dominant partner of the Ministry."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, with his inside knowledge of the working of Dyarchy, obtained as a member of the Government, answers the criticisms of the Provincial Governments with regard to the working of the Reforms, and comes to the conclusion that the Governments' reports contain "no more serious objections to the bestowal of self-government and not less material for the argument in favour of a full measure of political advance than Lord Durham's report, on the basis of which Canada obtained Dominion Status."

Diary of the Month

- Sept. 12. Mrs. Sarojini leaves Bombay for America.
- Sept. 13. Public Safety Bill comes up for discussion in the Assembly.
- Sept. 14. Select Committee on Child Marriage Bill submit report.
- Sept. 15. Lady Irwin launches the "*Viceroy of India*" at Glasgow.
- Sept. 16. Assembly refers Public Safety Bill to Select Committee.
- Sept. 17. Hurricane in the West Indies.
- Sept. 18. Council of State elects three members to co-operate with the Simon Commission.
- Sept. 19. Lord Birkenhead hands the Sultan of Muscat the insignia of K. C. I. E.
- Sept. 20. Congress removes ban on levees.
- Sept. 21. Ahmedabad Municipality presents address to Mr. V. J. Patel.
- Sept. 22. Oswald Mosley, Labour M. P., succeeds to Baronetcy of his father who is dead.
- Sept. 23. U. P. Council passes no-confidence motion against Rajah Jagannath Singh, Minister.
- Sept. 24. Sarwat Pasha is dead.
- Sept. 25. Assembly rejects Public Safety Bill by the casting vote of the President.
- Sept. 26. The Assembly meeting of the League of Nations concludes.
- Sept. 27. Sir John Simon leaves for India.
- Sept. 28. Mr. Cornelius Homan, M. P. resigns.
- Sept. 29. Punjab Political Conference supports Nehru Report.
- Sept. 30. Sir Kynaston Studd becomes Lord Mayor of London.
- Oct. 1. H. E. the Viceroy opens the Agricultural Conference in Simla.
- Oct. 2. The accused in the Belur train disaster have been discharged.
- Oct. 3. Japan adopts the Jury system.
- Oct. 4. Lord Strathclyde is dead.
- Oct. 5. British Labour Conference decides against general disarmament.
- Oct. 6. The Madras All Parties Conference meets under the presidency of Dr. Besant.
- Oct. 7. THE HINDU celebrates the Golden Jubilee.
- Oct. 8. Ras Tafari succeeds to the throne of Abyssinia.
- Oct. 9. Chiang Kai-Shek becomes President of the Chinese Government Council.
- Oct. 10. Viscount Reading entertains Sir Frederick Sykes, Governor-Designate of Bombay.
- Oct. 11. Sir Philip Chetwode leaves for India.
- Oct. 12. The Simon Commission arrive in Bombay.
- Oct. 13. The Rajah of Muhmudabad and Dr. Ansari appeal for support to Lucknow Pact.
- Oct. 14. Lord Birkenhead resigns the Secretaryship of State for India.



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A CIVIL SURGEON writes:—"I have never for a moment regretted taking my course of Pelmanism. It has taught me much. Auto-suggestion, concentration, recollection and enthusiasm in all matters, a greater interest in life in general, and in my profession in particular, are among the benefits I can attribute to my course, and if I have any regrets, it is that the course has now come to a close."

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A LABORATORY ASSISTANT writes:—"Pelmanism has been for me a remarkable method of individual unfoldment, bringing out abilities I

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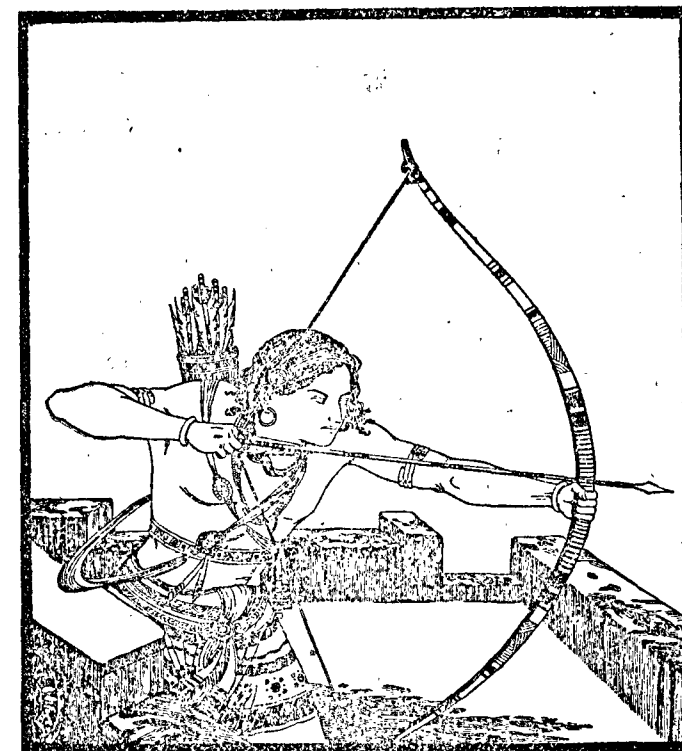


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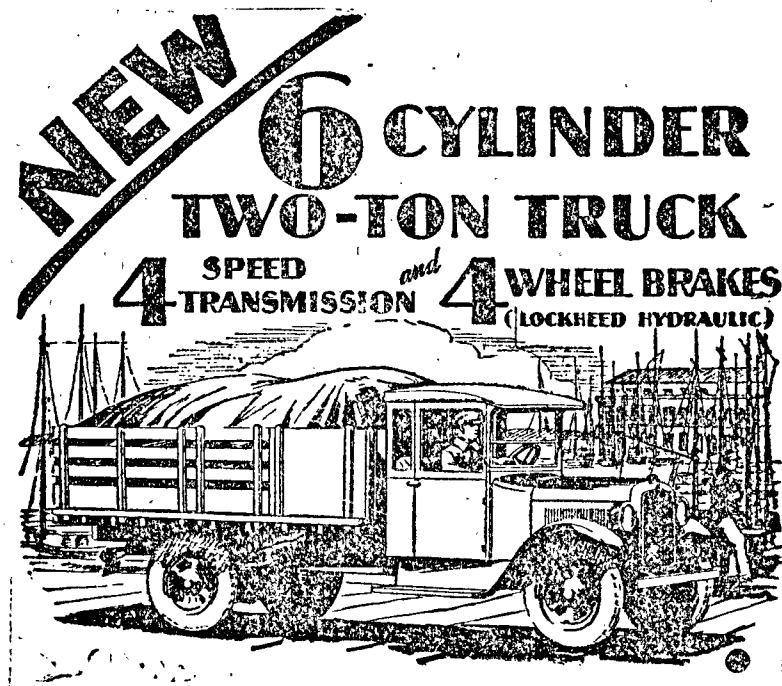
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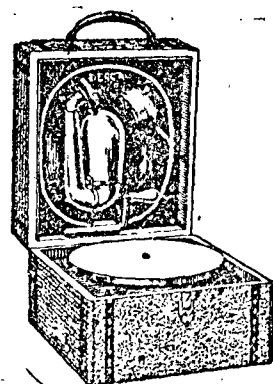
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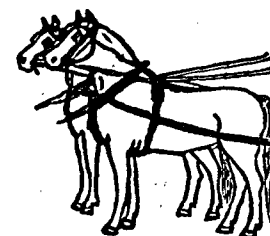
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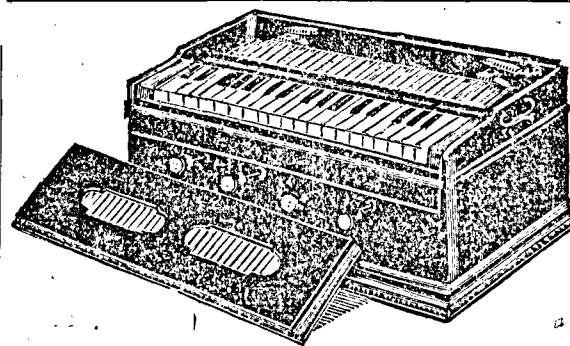
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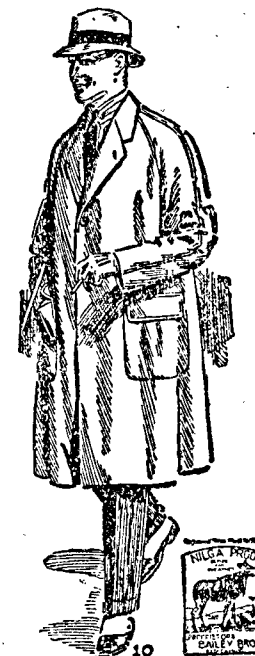
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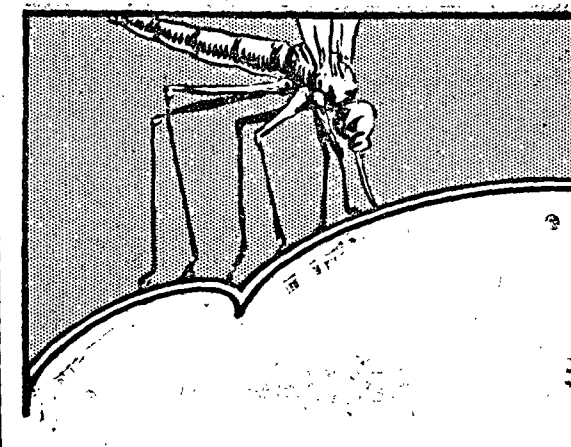
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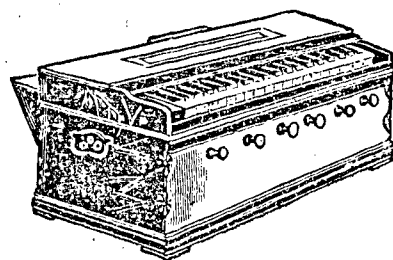
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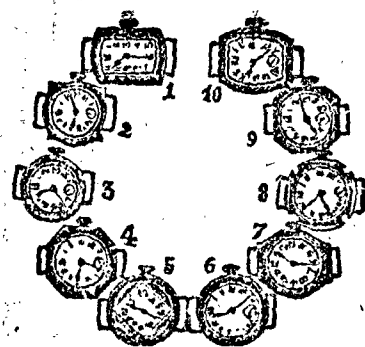
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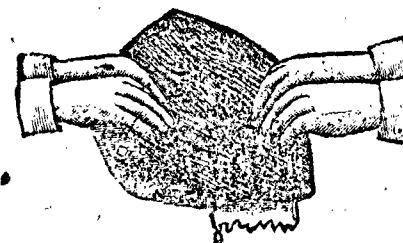
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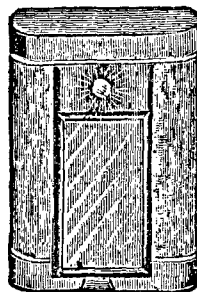
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" " Razmak "	10,602	27th do. "	" " Ranpura "	16,601	1st Dec. "
" " Rajputana "	16,568	3rd Nov. "	" " Maloja "	20,887	8th " "
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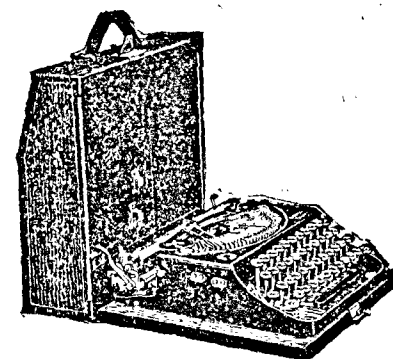
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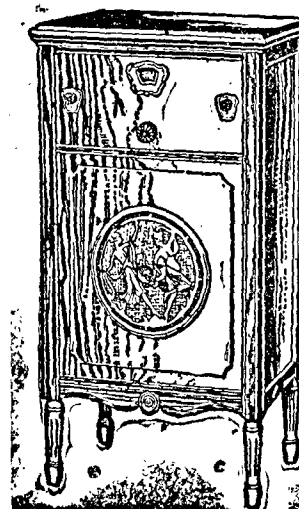
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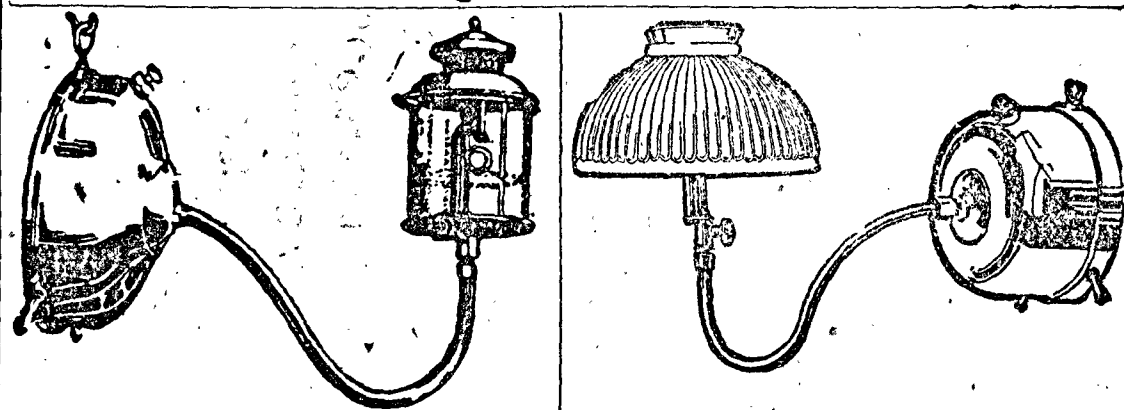
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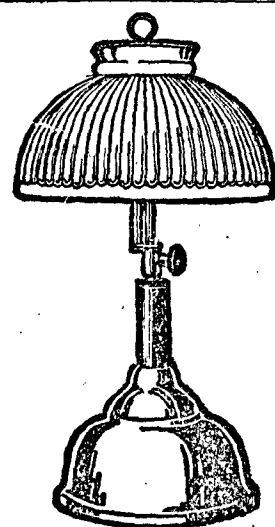
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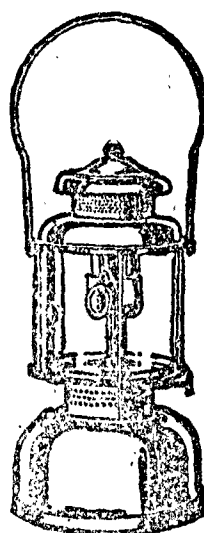
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