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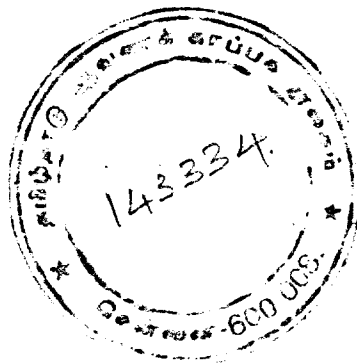
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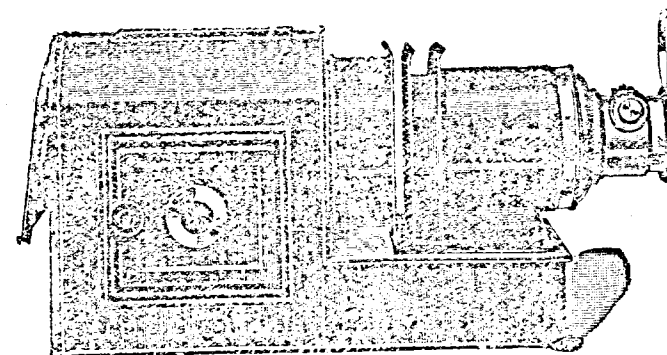
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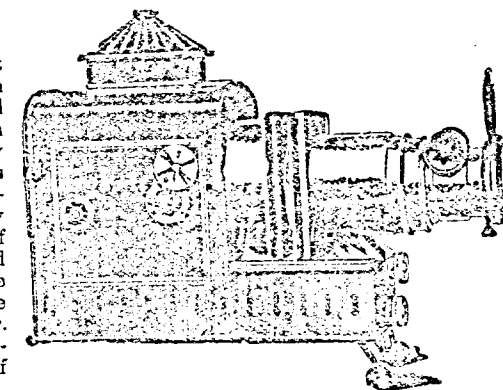
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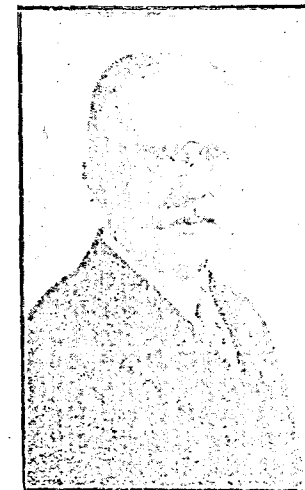
A WORD TO INDIA

By MR. OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD,

Editor, "The Nation", New York.

I am glad of the opportunity to send a word to THE INDIAN REVIEW. The friends of

put any obstacles in the way of the aspirations of the Indian people.

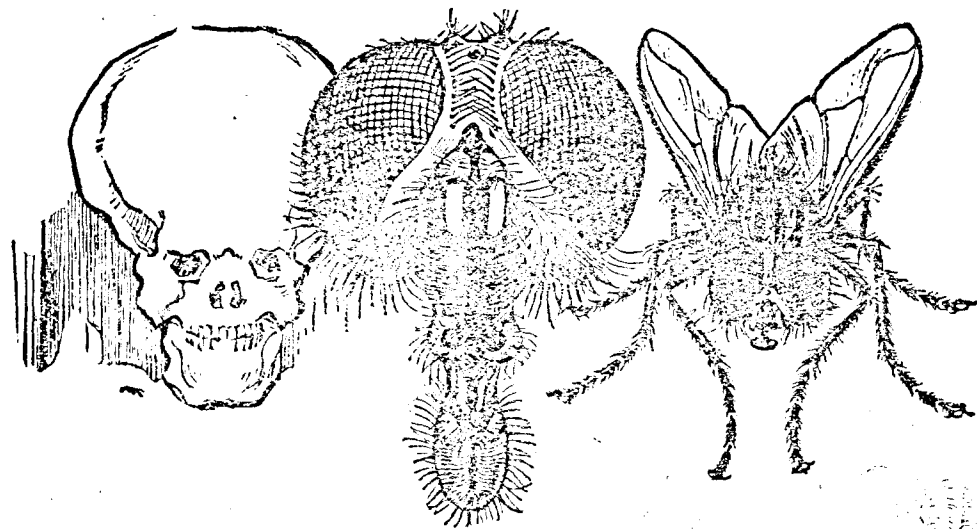


Mr. OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

India in America feel very deeply concerned as to what the coming year will bring forth in India. We are doubly anxious because we are most of us believers in the Labour Government in England, and we do not wish to see it make any fatal mistakes in the handling of the Indian situation which might disrupt its own Party and bring about its downfall in Parliament. Again, we do not feel it should

We therefore hope there may be such friendly offers of goodwill and aid from the MacDonald Government as to convince all the Indian leaders that it really means and intends to set India far along the road toward self-Government. If that could be made convincing, we over here would hope that there would be a corresponding readiness on the part of the Indians to keep their radicals in check and to move slowly.

I am not of those who believe that India is not capable of self-Government, but I do know that the task of re-organizing a nation, and establishing a new Government under new leaders is an enormous one which cannot be undertaken or put through over night. It requires years and years of careful planning and training of the men who are to step into the higher positions now held by others. I do not by that mean to advocate a policy of compromise and of that delay which maketh the heart sick. I believe in complete self-Government for India, and I am sure I shall live to



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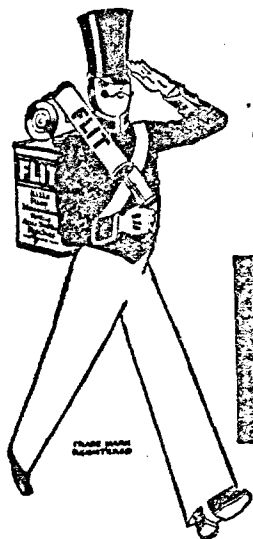
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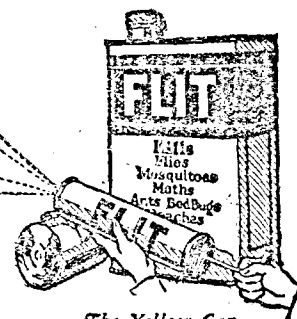
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The Yellow Can with the Black Band

see it established. But I had rather it came with due deliberation than too rapidly, as the result of a violent convulsion.

Finally, as one devoutly in sympathy with the non-resistance of Gandhi, may I strongly urge all who may see these lines to use their influence against any form of violence? If violence, let it be on the other side and let it be received upon non-resisting bodies. There is no greater weapon than that, none surer, none more certain to win in the long run, if only there can be adequate endurance. It is only a few years since I heard an American Minister to China declare that the foreign problem there was most difficult because, so he said to an audience of American newspapermen, "the Chinese have got hold of the most dangerous weapon in the world—non-resistance, and you can't beat that." This was

just after he had said that as far as the shells of our gun-boats could reach, we should inflict our wills on the Chinese, whether they liked it or no!

There is a great reservoir of goodwill for India here, though we have also many sympathizers with British imperialism and many believers that the white race is justified in imposing its will upon coloured people wherever it finds them, whether at home or abroad. But the reservoir of goodwill will be largely unavailable if force should be used by the Indians. I hope therefore that whatever else happens in India after January, there will be no overt acts. You may be sure that those of us who are sympathetic with your aspirations will await the coming of that day with profoundest anxiety and with deepest sympathy for all concerned.

The Constitutional Deadlock in Ceylon

BY MR. ST. NIHAL SINGH

THE latest developments in the constitutional situation in Ceylon are charged with dynamic possibilities. At the suggestion of the Governor—Sir Herbert Stanley—the Secretary of State for the Colonies—Lord Passfield, better known to us as Mr. Sydney Webb—has refused most of the demands made by the unofficial Members of the Ceylon Legislative Council for the revision of the Donoughmore Commission scheme. With certain modifications emanating from the "man on the spot", he gives the legislators the option of taking it as it now stands or leaving it.

Sir Herbert Stanley, it must be conceded, has scored heavily. The unofficial Members will be courageous and clever indeed if they

succeed in scrambling out of their awkward position with dignity.

When the conflict over constitutional reform began last year, the advantage lay with the legislators. They subjected the Donoughmore Commission scheme to a critical analysis, and mercilessly expunged all proposals that they regarded as retrogressive.

His Excellency watched these proceedings from Queen's (Government) House just across the road from the legislative chamber. Not a word did he publicly utter in expostulation or warning, or even indicative of his feelings. Under instructions from him, the official *bloc* sat mute in the House, except now and again when the Colonial Secretary or one of his colleagues gave an explanation of a pro-

nature or rebutted a charge reflecting on the bureaucracy.

Some seven thousand miles away, however, the Secretary of State for the Colonies—the redoubtable Colonel Amery—fumed and fretted. (The Conservatives then dominated Britain and the dependent parts of the Empire). The unofficials had not gone very far with the work of deleting important proposals when they heard Colonel Amery's thunder across the seas. He had the Governor tell them in plain and unmistakable language that he would not submit to the devitalisation of the scheme. Such a process he regarded as amounting to a categorical rejection of it.

His Excellency, in the goodness of his heart, proffered his services as a mediator: but without saying so much as "thank you," the legislators continued their work of making the scheme innocuous, as they put it. They took several weeks more to make a thorough job of it.

When at long last the hacking process was finished, the Governor, putting his pride in his pocket, opened up fresh conversations. We have it on his own authority that unofficial Members met him individually and in "several groups," in order to "explore, in the atmosphere of a confidential and non-committal exchange of views, any avenue which might be opened towards a greater common measure of agreement than had as yet been attained." These *pourparlers* left His Excellency, however, "without hope of being able to claim the support of any large majority of the unofficial Members for any concrete proposals which he might put forward." He would have believed that he felt, nevertheless, rewarded for his trouble, since the conversa-

tions had given him "a clearer understanding than" he "might otherwise have been able to gain of the difficulties felt on one side or another."

This is a diplomat's way of describing defeat. Sir Herbert Stanley, I might add, spent his early official years in the British chancelleries on the continent of Europe.

The failure to induce the unofficial Members of the Legislative Council to favour any line of action that would commend itself to Colonel Amery did not, however, make the Governor feel down-hearted. After cudgelling his brains for six months or so, he managed to evolve a plan that, he had good cause to anticipate, would please his chief at the Colonial Office and at the same time put the M.L.C.'s in the wrong, whether they accepted or rejected it.

Sir Herbert Stanley's despatch is an interesting document. Its diction is elegant. The tactical moves that it recommends the Colonial Office to make are masterly.

Used though I am to analysing such documents, I find it difficult to resist the hypnotic effect of the passages in which His Excellency counsels the Ceylonese to subject themselves to constitutional experimentation against which their best judgment rebels; to submit to being shorn of legislative powers and privileges that they now possess and exercise; and unhesitatingly to entrust to him (and his successors in office during an indefinite period) formidable legislative and executive powers. In this matter, he has, probably unconsciously, imitated the author (or authors) of the Donoughmore Commission report, though, at least in my judgment, his effort falls

143 334

51
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somewhat short of the unprecedentedly high standard set by that report.

If I had the space, I should much like to examine at some length the arguments put forward by Sir Herbert Stanley to induce the unofficial M.L.C.'s to eat their own words. As an exercise in verbal agility, it would, I am sure, be valuable to our people in India. It could, however, serve no practical purpose. It is far better to examine the nature of the resolutions passed by the Ceylon Legislative Council that he recommended Colonel Amery to reject and that Lord Passfield, who has for some months filled the seat vacated by the Conservative Secretary of State for the Colonies, in fact, disallowed.

These resolutions fall broadly into two categories, namely :

(1) those which were passed in an effort to prevent the abridgment of financial and legislative powers at present possessed and exercised by the Council; and

(2) those which were designed to avert the dangers that Ceylon would face if effect were given to the Donoughmore Commission's recommendation to take her off the high road leading to Dominionhood and direct her footsteps into a constitutional bog.

In addition to these resolutions, there was one, imposing the literary test as a qualification for franchise. This reactionary proposal was adopted only because it was supported by the M.L.C.'s desiring the "immediate exclusion of the Indians from the territorial franchise." The number of Members who genuinely believed in it, or at any rate who dared to exhibit such belief, was small. If it had been voted upon on its merits, it would, I am sure, have met hardly any better fate

than did the motion asking for the limitation of franchise to a few women. That particular resolution was countenanced by no one save its mover—the Hon'ble Mr. W. Duraiswami—who, I must hasten to add, showed himself to be a progressive of progressives in other respects.

I have not the space nor is it necessary for me to deal individually with the resolutions that, at the Governor's suggestions, have been disallowed by the Secretary of State. It is quite sufficient for my purpose to present a condensed statement.

The unofficial Members sought to pass on to the State Council—the future legislature—the control which they at present possess and exercise over the officials, without abridgment in any manner or to any degree. The Governor does not appear to be enamoured of the Donoughmore Commission recommendation designed to take away that power. He, however, revives a proposal put forward with the same object that was dismissed by the Commissioners as faulty and mischievous. Whichever course may be adopted, the effect will be the same, that is to say, public servants will become a law unto themselves.

The Governor has scored equal success in countering the efforts made by the legislature to prevent legislation relating to a number of important subjects from being placed in what may be termed the "reserved" list. He insists also upon being armed with "additional powers" which the unofficial Members refused to give him; and in this matter, as all the others, the Secretary of State has thrown his weight on the side of the "man on the spot."

Sir Herbert Stanley has also persuaded the Colonial Office to reject the resolution passed by the unofficial Members against the adoption

of the so-called committee system. As he himself states, the councillors, as also publicists outside the Council, took "exception to it either as unworkable or as likely to cause undue delay in the transaction of business, or as derogatory to the status and incompatible with the proper functions of a Minister, or as embarrassing to Heads of Departments in the discharge of their duty and in their relations with Ministers, or as conducive to the substitution of compromise and bargains, for a clearly defined policy, or as unjustifiably expensive, or as a check upon the development of a full sense of responsibility, or as an impediment to further constitutional evolution towards the desired goal." That goal, he it added, is the Dominion Status, for which the Ceylonese desire has been greatly whetted by the recent Irwin-Benn Pronouncement.

I have examined with great care the arguments adduced by His Excellency to induce the Ceylonese to drop their opposition to the system of imposing mandatory (and not merely advisory) committees on the Ministers. They leave me cold. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if the Ceylonese were given the option of continuing on the road that led the Dominions to their status of equality with Britain, or adopting this new-fangled system, they would unhesitatingly elect to remain on the beaten track. Sir Herbert Stanley, indeed, as much as admits this, but nevertheless recommends that the legislature be overruled in this as in the other matters.

Having thus negatived practically every effort that the unofficial Members had made to free the Donoughmore Commission scheme of its "poison"—to use the powerful phraseology of one of them, the Hon'ble Mr. E. W.

Pereira—Sir Herbert Stanley nevertheless entertains and even expresses the belief that they would accept that scheme if "the franchise proposals were made acceptable to a majority of the Unofficial Members." His Excellency must, of course, have taken the measure of his Councillors: but it seems very strange to an on-looker like myself that he should expect them to swallow all the "poison" provided he alters the basis upon which the vote is to be granted.

The franchise proposals recommended by the Governor have not even the merit of being new. They were put forward, in the first place, to prescribe duality of treatment for the Ceylonese and the British non-Ceylonese, with the unmistakable intention of discriminating against Ceylon Indians. The majority of the unofficial members refused to be party to such differentiation. They, instead, passed a resolution imposing a literacy test which was to be applied to the Ceylonese and the non-Ceylonese British subjects alike.

The Governor has induced the Colonial Office to disallow the resolution. That, in itself, is a commendable action. He does not, however, stop there, but revives the proposals rejected by the legislators—proposals that have already been condemned by some of them as unfair to the Ceylon Indians. I shall examine the proposals in the barest outline, for, as I have already noted, they are not new.

One of them is designed avowedly for all British non-Ceylonese, but in operation, it will not benefit more than a minute fraction of the Ceylon Indians. The test to be imposed consists of residence *plus* property and literacy, or *plus* income and literacy. It will,

enable every British adult who has spent six months in Ceylon to become enfranchised while, on the other hand, it will exclude practically every Indian in the Island because few can fulfil the double qualification.

The alternative proposal makes domicile the test for franchise. It will involve the surrender of Indian citizenship and any rights that may appertain to such citizenship. The conditions attached to obtaining the certificate of domicile and the registration of voters are such that, in practice, few Ceylon Indians, in view of the peculiar disabilities from which they suffer, will be able to obtain the vote, even if willing to surrender their Indian citizenship. It is furthermore to be noted that the provision under which practically every British adult will be able to qualify for the franchise does not require the kind of sacrifice that is being demanded from the majority of Ceylon Indians.

Sir Herbert Stanley justifies the imposition of conditions so obviously unfair to our people in Ceylon on the plea that the "communal balance" can be maintained only in that way. Indian labourers, he says, are concentrated in certain up-country districts. If they were to be enfranchised "under the qualification recommended by the Commissioners", those constituencies could not be classified as Sinhalese." He makes no secret of his intention that his proposals are designed to keep these constituencies Sinhalese, not by letting the system of import, but by politically handicapping the Indians who are there or who may be brought there.

Whether by thus capitulating to the demands of the Sinhalese determined to exclude Indians from the polling booths, the Governor has succeeded in making the scheme

of constitutional reform acceptable will depend largely upon whether the Ceylonese are more anxious to keep Indians in semi-slavery than they are to achieve freedom for themselves. The issue has been somewhat complicated by the inducement that the Governor has given to the minority communities by securing the consent of the Colonial Office to his proposal to make nominated Members competent to become Ministers. The Ministers, be it added, will receive a high salary. The Governor does not consider Rs 27,000 per annum to be "excessive."

At His Excellency's suggestion, Lord Passfield has ordered that if the unofficial Members refuse to accept the scheme without reservation or amendment, the Council must be dissolved and fresh elections held early next year on the basis of the existing electoral registers. I have little doubt that some of the M.L.C.'s fear that if they were to obey the behest of their manhood, they would be traduced before their constituents as being actuated by base motives.

The grant of adult suffrage, the abolition of communal representation and the devolution of executive powers upon the Ceylonese for the first time, have been integrated with proposals for the abridgment of legislative powers and for the setting up of the Services as a state within a state and of the Government as a dictator. The sympathies of the people can be easily aroused by talk of rejecting adult franchise and administrative opportunities, while, on the other hand, only educated persons can grasp the vital importance of the powers and privileges for which the Councillors have been fighting.

Therein lies the cleverness of the move that the Colonial Office has made at the Governor of Ceylon's suggestion.

The Statement and After

THE Parliamentary debates on the Viceroy's Statement have naturally attracted considerable attention in India. It would appear that while there is consensus of opinion in favour of the Round Table Conference, there has been acute controversy over what are known as "conditions precedent." Some of the responsible leaders, both of the Congress and the All-Parties' Conference, while convinced of the vital need to create the necessary atmosphere for the success of the proposed Conference, would rather not insist on them as "conditions." They fear such insistence on "conditions" would jeopardise the prospects of the Round Table Conference and thus add to the difficulties of the Labour Government. So the Working Committee of the Congress which met at Allahabad on the 17th passed a cautious resolution based on Mr. Gandhi's draft:—

Having regard to the Viceregal pronouncement of the 1st November the Delhi Manifesto bearing the signatures of Congress members and members belonging to other political parties in the country and the events that have subsequently happened and having regard to the opinions of friends that response from the British Government to the Delhi Manifesto should be further awaited before the policy laid down therein is revised, the Working Committee confirms the action taken by Congress men at Delhi, it being clearly understood that this confirmation is constitutionally limited to the date of holding of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress.

The signatories of the Delhi manifesto also met at Allahabad on the 18th, under the presidentship of Pundit Nehru. Dr. Sapru spoke persuasively advising the Conference to reiterate the Delhi manifesto and not complicate the situation by declaring the fulfilment of conditions as prerequisite to the Round Table Conference. After considerable discussion the Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

This Conference has viewed with misgiving and dissatisfaction the recent debates in Parliament in regard to the Viceroy's Declaration. This Conference however decides to stand by the Delhi Manifesto and hopes that full and early response will be made to it.

The issue before the country is quite clear; and the time seems to be propitious. We have in Lord Irwin, a high-minded Viceroy whose sincerity is universally recognised. The Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, is an old friend of India, and is reputed alike for his sympathy with nationalist aspirations and his acknowledged statesmanship. It would appear to be just the time when our claims have the greatest chance of being considered with sympathy and understanding. Labour leaders have always been sympathetic to our aspirations and the present Government should therefore be helped to carry out its good intentions. Its Indian policy has enemies enough in England. We hope Labour can, as in the case of Egypt, do a good turn to India, in spite of Liberal and Conservative opposition. It would therefore be folly, to add to its difficulties by our dissensions.

Tactical exigencies might stand in the way of some members of the Labour Cabinet from expressing themselves as strongly and definitely as we might desire. But Mr. Benn's speech is a clear and unequivocal lead. We must recognise the limitations of British constitutional procedure and recognise the value of compromise. Gandhi once said that Swaraj is hastening to us and that we should not run away from it! And so, much depends on the strength and unanimity of public support to Labour policy in India. We trust we shall be united in giving Labour a fair chance to vindicate its generous intentions.

THE SPIRIT OF NATURE

BY

PADMINI SATTHIANADHAN

My Spirit wanders to and fro,
High and low.
The Universe is mine;
I'm Nature's soul, and I'm Divine.

On mountain peaks in pensive mood,
I often brood;
And with a silver cloud,
The purple heights in splendour shroud.

At times, within a sun-beam bright,
I alight;
And dance upon a stream,
Shining like a gem a gleam.

I dwell amidst the fragrant flowers
In garden bowers;
In a forest glade;
And in the sunshine and the shade.

I live in water, earth and air;
And my lair,
May be in lightning flash;
Or the echoes of a thunder clash.

My voice in raging storm is heard;
In song of bird;
In the gurgling of a brook;
Or a cricket chirping from a nook.

The all-pervading Spirit am I;
I'll never die.
The Universe is mine;
I'm Nature's soul, and I'm Divine.

A Plea for Uni-Cameral Legislature

BY

THE HON. MR. KUMAR SANKAR ROY CHOUDHURI.

—:o:—

NOW that the constitution of the Government in India is in the melting pot, I propose in the present article to deal with the question of the Second Chamber. Apart from France and England, with which I shall deal later on, where the unitary form of Government prevails, most other countries in Europe, the United States, Canada, South Africa and Australia, were formed out of the federation of different States and a bi-cameral form of legislature had to be adopted in them for the purpose of safe-guarding the jealously guarded interests of states which had been in conflict with one another before the federation. In England, the Upper House has a historical foundation and was the first to wrest some powers from the monarch and has retained them till 1911. As regards France this is what Lord Bryce in his MODERN DEMOCRACIES, (Vol. I, pp. 240-241 and 261) says:—

After Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had been taken prisoner by the German army, the third Republic was hastily proclaimed by the legislative body then in existence. The majority in the Assembly was still monarchist. Everyone felt that a permanent constitution ought to be enacted, but the division of opinion offered great obstacles.

Among the monarchists, there were three parties. Accordingly, the republicans prevailed through the dissension of their adversaries and a republican constitution was adopted in 1875, the decisive vote being carried by a majority of one. (Vol. 1 pages 240-241).

When the constitution was being framed, the more advanced republicans preferred a single chamber system. But the monarchist section, who were in the majority, and most of the moderate republicans, insisted on having a body calculated to give stability and would hardly have accepted universal suffrage without the check of another

chamber. Gambetta, eager to have a republic, at once acquiesced.

The existence of the Second Chamber in all countries where the dual system prevails has been sought to be justified on the ground of the necessity of creating a legislative authority whose function it should be to review measures passed by the Popular House in such a way as to prevent its becoming law in undue haste. Let us see how far this object has been achieved in different countries where a Second Chamber exists. In France, according to Bryce:—

While feeling the natural and inevitable jealousy of a second Chamber towards a first Chamber, it recognises its inferiority, and seldom challenges its rival to a duel. In Switzerland, the powers of the two Houses are equal, and the smaller House which represents the Cantons is in practice rather the weaker of the two. Men of energy and ambition prefer to sit in the National Council. There is no provision for deciding an issue on which the Houses may differ, but differences are neither frequent nor serious.

In Canada, says Sir John Marriot, in his "Second Chamber" (at page 101):—

"That it would impose delays upon ill-conceived legislative projects, that it would give time to the electorate for sober second thought, that it would secure the country against political surprises and would circumvent unscrupulous party stratagems, the Senate has in every respect disappointed the hopes of its sponsors."

Speaking about Australia, G. B. Roberts, in his FUNCTIONS OF AN ENGLISH SECOND CHAMBER* at page 152, observes:—

"The Senate has failed to perform both its special functions and what is considered to be the main function

* **The Functions of an English Second Chamber** By G. B. Roberts, LL.B. The aim of this book is to prove the case for the Second Chamber so far as Great Britain is concerned. Two chapters are devoted to the Second Chambers of Australia, Canada and Norway. The author shows that there are certain functions which can only or be best performed only by a Second Chamber. Rs. 6-10.

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

of the Second Chamber, the function of protecting the electorate from legislation of an advanced type."

Speaking of Canada again, Marriot, in his **MECHANISM OF MODERN STATES**, remarks:—

"The Canadian Senate affords little encouragement to the advocate of bi-cameralism from the point of view of composition, procedure or powers."

Woodrow Wilson, in his **CONGRESSIONAL GOVERNMENT** at page viii of the Preface, speaks as follows about the American Senate:—

"It is to be doubted whether I could say quite so confidently now as I said in 1884 that the Senate of the United States faithfully represents the several elements of the Nation's make-up and furnishes me with a prudent and normally constituted moderating and revising chamber."

The French and American Senates are no doubt more powerful but that is because they have greater powers in certain respects than the First House. The Senate in France has the exclusive power of impeaching the President. It shares with the Chamber of Deputies in the treaty-making power, and with the President, the right of dissolving the Lower House. The superiority of the United States Senate is however really due not to the mode of choice but to the fact of its longer term of service, its continuity and its wider powers. It has the right of considering and confirming nominations to offices made by the President and of approving, by a two-thirds majority, treaties made by him. It also sits as a court of justice to try impeachments of the President, Judges and other officials. Even yet, the Senate "has never been, and is certainly not now, an assembly of sages. Jealous of its power, it often allows that power to be misused by Senators who care more for the interests or demands of their own States than they do for the common good". (Bryce). Then comes the difficulty of selecting a method of composing the Second

House. This is what Bryce says in Volume II of his book at pages 442-444:—

None of the systems enumerated has altogether approved itself. Direct election inevitably creates a competitive claim to equal authority. It has another fault, if the two houses are elected at the same time they are likely to be controlled by the same political party and no new element of knowledge or wisdom is brought in to serve the nation. The plan of nomination by the executive is even less to be commended because members seem to be usually selected for party reasons. Election on a restricted franchise exposes the chamber to the charge of being a class body habitually opposed to the popular will. Election by colleges drawn from local authorities has brought party politics into the popular elections of those authorities themselves. Thus every method of choice has proved to have its defects.

Apart from all this, there is the difficulty of finding proper candidates with regard to which Bryce says at p. 367, Volume 2, "the best citizens are less disposed to enter the chambers." Again at page 373, he goes on, "It is clear that nowhere does enough of that which is best in the character and talent of the nation find its way into these assemblies," and he ascribes this tendency to the "issues of policy which now occupy legislatures being more complex and difficult than those of half a century ago. The strife of classes and formation of class parties were not foreseen, nor the vast scale on which economic problems would present themselves, nor the constant additions to the functions of governments". Accordingly, the most advanced theorists of our time seek to destroy second chambers altogether. Thus Walter Bagehot in his **ENGLISH CONSTITUTION**:

With a perfect lower house, it is certain that an upper house would be scarcely of any value. If we had an ideal House of Commons perfectly representing the nation, always moderate, never passionate, abounding in men of leisure, never omitting the slow and steady forms necessary for good consideration, it is certain that we should not need a higher chamber. The work would be done so well that we should not want anyone to look over or revise it. And whatever is unnecessary in Government is pernicious. Human life makes so much complexity necessary that an artificial addition is sure to do harm. You cannot tell where the needless bit of machinery will catch and clog the hundred needful wheels, but the

chances are conclusive that it will impede them somewhere.

J. A. Spender in his **PUBLIC LIFE*** (1925) Vol. 1, page 170, observes:

It is impossible that a great electorate, conscious of its power, will ever again give either the hereditary peers or any body of men elected by fancy franchise the power of veto over its own decisions.

Confronted with all these difficulties, England has not yet been able to frame any constitution for its second chamber while she has in 1911 deprived it of all power over money bills and put an end to their co-ordinate authority in matters of ordinary legislation by leaving to them only a two years' suspensive veto and the modern constitutions of the States of Greece, Bulgaria, Finland, Esthonia, Jugoslavia, Latvia and Lithuania have adopted the uni-cameral type. This was also the type adopted by the Greeks in ancient times. Instead of creating a two-legged body, one leg tending to go forward and the other trying to pull it back, restraints may also be put on hasty legislation by imposing checks on the uni-cameral body by way of providing dilatory procedure and vesting the executive with the right of veto or dissolution a limited extent. This system is open however to the objection that rules prescribed by the legislature can be, if a sovereign body, repealed at its pleasure destroying thereby the security they seemed to promise. But these safe-guards can be made effective by

placing them out of the reach of ordinary legislation and including them in a constitutional instrument which the legislature cannot easily alter, as has been done in the United States and other countries following her example.

Coming now to India, as we cannot expect the Indian States to give up their sovereign rights, a confederacy of States and not a federation is the only possible solution. A Council of States ought, as in the case of the old German Diet and the present Reichsrat, therefore, to be constituted for India not of members selected by the people of the different States and British India, but by the Governments of the States themselves and the various provincial Governments and the Central Government in British India, so that they will be able to represent the States fully and with authority to bind them. If such a Council be constituted, it will have to deal with many of the subjects which fall particularly within the domain of the Central Legislature, and a bi-cameral legislature for the Central Government will be hardly necessary.

As regards the Provincial Governments, the tendency in most countries now is to adopt the uni-cameral system confined as their activities are to a limited circle.

Moreover, if the Legislatures are constituted on economic basis filling them half with capitalists and half with labour out of the various sections of society, the details of which I propose to deal with in a subsequent article, they will serve the purpose of rolling up the two Chambers into one and render the creation of two separate Chambers not at all necessary.

* The Public Life

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The Way of First Editions

BY MR. J. H. GRUBB

I. THE AESTHETIC MEANING

IT is never easy to discover in our mind just when interest in books began to make itself felt in our life. We were always more or less attracted to such things, like most other people: but when it comes to decide at what time of our life that interest began, we cannot find any definite indication of it.

That is the way with books. In their gentleness, they steal upon us unawares. There is no arrogance or noise about them. If there were, I do not suppose, for a moment, that they would have so deep an appeal for everyone. It speaks so much for the beauteousness of books, that almost everyone is always ready to protest their interest and love for them. Dustman and plumber, king and pauper: all will tell you, if they have the chance, what books have meant to them. I have met a King and shaken his hand; but there was no opportunity to ask him if he loved books. But I know he does. The dustman and the plumber, and the pauper, have all told me in language simple and sincere, how much joy they find in books. That is the cosmopolitan wonder of books: they cherish the rich no more than the ragged. Their virtues are for all: a true and ungarnished socialism that may not be matched by any state or hemisphere. Books start upon us, out of the quiet horizon of life's morning, and ere we have progressed far upon the day, we are captured in a silken net of delectability, from which we have no desire to escape.

When the holy ghost of book-desire descends upon us, who is there among us who

can resist its pursuing beauty, or who ever has a leaning towards the wish to do so? I daresay none. On the contrary, there is born in us a new life, a longing to wend our way with books, down through the pleasant glades of affairs from which they come. When this spirit is bursting from our inner consciousness, the remnants of materialism pass back to their allotted and obscure place in the soul of our mind. It is where such things belong. There is no place for them in the new banqueting room. There are always lumber rooms in the household, and there is a lumber room, an attic so to speak, in the household of our soul. To this place we will relegate the mundane things, so that our love of the inestimable book may have a broad and noble space in which to reign supreme, and in which to exercise its golden dignity.

Comes this stage in our monarchy, and we begin upon the most lovely part of our life with books... *Let it be whispered*: we begin to gather books. There is magic in that. Our beginnings may be simple and humble, but yet, in the courts of the lord of our life, they are as gold and frankincense and myrrh. There is no earthly diadem to match the scintillating joy of it. Our gatherings may be in measures of farthings. We may not call to our shelves many books in these early years, and they may be poor things of seemingly no account. And yet, and yet they are gems of the first water. Our library—and it is a library though we possess but a dozen or so volumes—will be an altar at which we shall worship day by day. No book-lover may live evilly, for

NOVEMBER 1929]

THE WAY OF FIRST EDITIONS

725

his books are sacraments that keep us to the road of the virtues. As maturity begins to grow within us, so there comes a new note in our regard for books. It is the way—the only way.

Presently; the meaning of this first part of my essay will be clear. In no walk of life can we attain excellence without the serving of years of apprenticeship. Not much score is paid to apprenticeship in these rushing days. I would that it were otherwise. We must surely learn, and having learned, we proceed to be an improver, and then in due course we reach the out-of-our-time stage. Then we begin to sail the high seas of determination and endeavour. Those earlier years are the overture. And we of the music world love an overture, and respect a recitative. We know both proceed to the main theme and the aria. Such is the object of this first part. There can be no perfect way to the marvellous pleasure that comes from the collecting of books; especially first editions. Years and years of meanderings and explorings must be our happy lot. The business side must be reached by way of the aesthetic. There can never be any expertness within us until we know that way, or at least until we have gone down it.

When we have had those delightful early years of trafficking in the matter of book-gathering, another stage is reached. We have been capturing knowledge. But something else as well: an indefinable something. It is the atmosphere. Give it a description I cannot. We book-lovers know it—worship it. When it came, we cannot say. It may be yours, if you endure and are faithful. And

then—ah then comes the first letter of our collecting, our real book-loving alphabet. We arrive at some sense of selection. Without which there is no real life among books. Until then, we have only knocked at the door. Some day it comes. We have been heard, and the porter at the door lets us in. I envy the man or woman who has still to experience this emotion.

Then the pursuit begins!

Nothing will dismay us. We are out in this new world where there are to be found things of which we never dreamed. There is no avarice in these dreams. We have been washed in Jordan, and there is book-love in our veins. We think in terms of books, we live among them, when the world is as cruel as a despot, when it is cold and unrelenting, there are our books to comfort, to give us tender sympathy, to crush the evilness of the soulless. Even a woman can do no more than this.

Life has a new colour when books have a home in our mind. No dullness or ennui belong to us then. It is the new era in our way to the matter of finding the first editions. Until now, we have been learning to settle down; and now we've begun to do it. Oddly enough, as this understanding begins to develop in us, when we really begin to grasp the idea, we become charged with an amazing energy. We are out of our time. We are going out into the world, after those books we so much, so richly, and so righteously covet. It is a noble pursuit; it is almost a holy pursuit. Almost next to the pursuit of the holy grail. For in books and their meaning, there is a sweet influence that matches only the meaning and motives of the angels

To-morrow we will go out gaily upon the new road for those cherished books of which we have been learning. We go as justified appraisers of their value to-day, and of their greatness in the future.

II. THE BUSINESS ASPECT

And now we come to the part that we, who kneel on the steps of the throne, think it is the least important. And yet, I wonder. Just because we—the elect by reason of our own election—think that collecting books for their own choice possession, is the one and only aspect of book-collecting, surely we are a little encumbered and encompassed if we limit the largess of our mind when we regard those other who collect books for their monetary value.

As a matter of fact, I really hold the unswerving opinion that no man may collect books only with a view to one's selfish æsthetic enjoyment, ignoring that other part which may be described as the economic one. Truth to tell, your buyer of books, who buys them like unto a man who buys a side of bacon, for retailment at a profit, sometimes becomes a more than perfect lover of books. You see, if he arrives at such a high state of bibliographic ecstasy, he is so much more valuable in his own sight, and in the sight of others, if he has a full knowledge, as he must have, of market values.

I would advise, with some urgency, that the book-lover who has been a-gathering of his precious things for years, that it is time that he turned his shrewd appreciation of books towards their monetary values. This way he will learn, as far as it is humanly practicable, the real art of collecting first editions of

modern books. It is a complex business, and needs a broad and tolerant mind. A balanced understanding—that is a love of books and a knowledge of the polemics of them—is bound to provide an expertness that no biased view can possibly give any one.

But there will be snags. In his enthusiasm, the collector who has proceeded to learn the devious ways of collecting, will buy many a book which has little value. Soon, however, he will discover his own folly. The drawback in the mind of the purely commercial collector is the fact that he merely knows the values of books from the facts about them. You merely need a good memory for this aspect of the business. What he can't do, is to evaluate the fine but unknown writers of to-day whose books will become the sought-afters of to-morrow. That is the hardest task of all. But those who have first learned to estimate the value of a book can, anyhow to some extent, judge those who will be worth while collecting some day. So he lays down his cellar of them, and as time passes, the vintage improves. That is not quite correct. The vintage is always good. But good wine does improve as the years pass. Once I urged some readers of mine—I think it was an earlier article in CHAMBERS'S JOURNAL to collect the books of H. M. Tomlinson. In those days, you could buy his first book—it is almost a classic, and will be some day (it is for me)—“Sea and the Jungle” for less than a pound. A month or so since, a copy was sold at auction for £31.

I could give you many instances like this, and some day I will devote an entire article to books that have started out upon their life, unknown and almost unwelcomed, which it had been possible to buy for a shilling or two,

and which have slowly come to be appreciated and slowly to appreciate in monetary value. Yesterday, I came across the first volume of Hardy's “Dynasts” published in 1903 at 4/6d, marked in an antiquarian bookshop for £275. It would have been worth while, wouldn't it, to have invested in a copy. Only that was one of a few copies with a particular feature in it. What could have been done a few years since in regard to Tomlinson, we can do to-day with many of the more modern. Don't you believe it, say some of my friends: there are no good writers in these times. Oh well, let these literary jeremiahs have their gloomy way. There are as good writers to-day as there were 20 years ago. When you come to think of it, we are all a little shortsighted in that we cannot believe there are writers of importance to-day. It means, if we have definitely come to this conclusion, that our literary insight is very faulty, limited, and not to be relied upon. What it means is, really we are too close to the writers to-day. If that be so, why should we rise and damn them? That is what I mean by having a limited view.

Go back to the first part of my article again, and you will see what I mean. If you follow my way—if I may say so without immodesty—you are bound to *begin*, sooner or later, to discover whom you think will be the ones to buy. It will come to you like the bursting sun in the morning. But there must be years of quiet but unremitting study.

Even so, while you are picking your way through the labyrinth of first edition collecting, you may, in your wisdom and long-headedness, buy the books of those authors who are on the rise. You will have two com-

forts. One will be your possession of a book that is of great financial worth. There you have a double insurance: one, an insurance of the mind's happiness, and the other, in this world's goods.

Should the world treat you well—and there are few book-lovers who are treated badly?—you will have no need to sell your beloved possessions. They have come to you by devious ways, but there has been no ungrudging in their coming. You beckoned, and they hastened to you. Could you, would you, of your love and sympathy, drive them from their own? I think it is a grievous sin to turn a book away from you, as it would be to drive the dog you love away from you. You could not do that. It would break your dog's heart. Even a book has a heart, although some would deny it.

It's this way that the library grows—and grows. You see the pleasant things gradually coming to you, embracing you—even loving you. There are no hearts hard enough among real book-collectors to drive a much-cherished possession from the place that has become its home. They know that—they rely upon that—they believe in you.

But, here is the tragedy and the value.

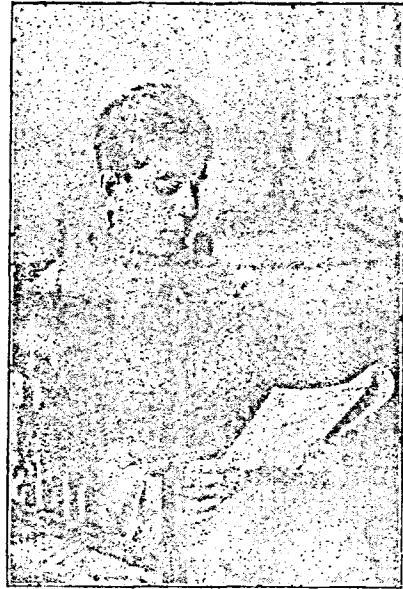
If you are down on your luck, though your heart will miss many beats in the days before you,—there are your books that, out of your love and your knowledge, you have bought and kept and revered. They will gladly go their way to help you out of your embarrassment, to be gathered again, perhaps, when the sun shines upon you once more.

Books will always hold in fief their allegiance to a soul that regards them.

A POET'S LETTERS

BY PROF. DEWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

"LETTERS to a Friend"* by Rabindranath Tagore is a wonderful medley of autobiography, literary criticism, descriptions of man and nature and comments on the



PROF. DIWANCHAND SHARMA

events of the day. Though all these things are given in the form of letters, they lack that ease and informality which should characterise letters. The book is, in fact, a studied chronicle of the various moods, aspirations, disappointments, ambitions and thoughts of the Poet, expressed in his delicate, chiselled and well-modulated prose. All the aspirations of the Poet: his desire to bring about union between the East and the West and to found an International University which should be a sort of a clearing house of international culture, and his sadness at seeing the cramping influence of nationalism on Western nations are

* Tagore's "Letters to a Friend". Edited by C. F. Andrews. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. London.) Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5-10.

recorded with such emphasis that they go home. But the book is most valuable for the occasional gleams of light it throws on the Poet himself as distinguished from his mission. The Poet is not the self-satisfied and self-confident creature that many people make him out to be. He is an extremely sensitive, solitary and sad person. He has many fits of dejection, when the worship of the crowd and the fame of the *salon* cease to please him. He thinks that he is too much the slave of customs, creeds and conventions, and therefore wants to be alone, to live far from the madding crowd. He also feels that the poet in him is being swamped by the prophet, the missionary, the ideologist and the man of the world. He, therefore, longs for the fine carelessness of youth, the delicious freedom from anxiety which he enjoyed when he roamed free on the banks of the Padma. He says:

"Who is there to save a poet from disaster? Can anybody give me back my good-for nothingness? Can anyone restore to me the provision with which I began life's journey to the realm of inutility? One day I shall have to fight my way out of my reputation; for the call of my Padma river still comes to me through this huge and growing barrier. It says to me, 'Poet, where are you?' And all my heart and soul try to seek out the poet. It has become difficult to find him. For the great multitude of men have heaped honours on him, and he cannot be extricated from under them."

So his utmost desire is not to lose the poet in him; and in this he is most wise, for it is as a poet that he fulfils his highest destiny. The book is, therefore, most commendable, because it gives us an insight into the life of the Poet Tagore, and is very useful for those who wish to understand the real significance of his life and works. We are, indeed, thankful to Mr. Andrews for drawing the Poet out in this way. None else probably could have done it,

Political Moods in India

BY MR. J. N. BASU

SINCE the beginning of the twentieth century, the Indian mind has been exercised over the question of the political status of Indians in their own country and abroad. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the dissatisfaction with the conditions under which they lived was to a great extent counterbalanced by the expectation that Britain would at an early date carry out the pledges contained in Royal Proclamations and in the declarations of British statesmen and administrators. But with the opening years of the present century, the belief began to spread that Indians had not during the previous century made the progress that they might have made under different political conditions. The rate of progress, if any, was negligible. They felt that they were not moving forward with the current of general world-progress and were being made to stay in stagnant backwaters. The people were conscious that with the resources that India possessed and with the capacities of her people, she might, under more favourable conditions, have occupied a much more advanced position in political status and influence and in material prosperity. The idea spread rapidly that the people of India were being kept back. The example of Japan aroused self-consciousness in the people, and inspired them with the spirit of self-confidence and self-endeavour. The State was unresponsive to the throb of the awakened impulses that animated Indian life. The State was a thing apart from the people. It had no organic connection with the people. It was like a super-imposed burden limiting the scope of their ideas and stifling their normal activities.

There is a general tendency in ruling classes to belittle the self-governing capacity of the people under them. There is, on the other hand, a tendency in people who are not ruled by themselves but by others to think that they are not being ruled for their benefit or progress, but that the primary and most potent interest directing such rule is the benefit of the ruling classes.

The Minto-Morley Reforms were admittedly a temporary measure. They failed to satisfy or benefit the people. They introduced not only communal representation, but communal electorates. These features of the Minto-Morley Reforms were to many an attempt to divide the people, taking advantage of the want of literacy and education amongst them. Then came the War and the Declaration of 1917 which was a gesture pregnant with hope for the people of India.

The events in the Punjab and the Non-co-operation movement obliterated the effect of the gesture. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms fell flat. Those that welcomed those reforms and expressed their willingness to work them were small in number. The bulk of the people were either passively or actively hostile.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were based on the idea that it was either not safe or prudent to vest the people at once with the power of rule, or that the people were not sufficiently trained to be vested with such power. It was also the idea that progress in responsible government must be by stages. It was found difficult to translate the idea into practice. Mr. Lionel Curtis suggested a

solution. He evolved out of his mind the system of dyarchy. The Reforms conceded partial responsible government to the Provinces. The Central Government continued to be autocratic with the ultimate power centred in the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India.

It was the expectation of Mr. Montagu that the reform would be worked in a spirit of good will and toleration, and that conventions would be established expanding and strengthening popular control, so that the goal of full responsible government might be reached not by a revolution, but by gradually widening the application of the principles of self-rule, as such widening became necessary in practice.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been worked for nearly ten years. They have failed in their object. Dyarchy has been found to fall short of even partial responsibility. But the ruling authority and the

people have acted in many instances in mutual distrust of each other, and the reforms as worked by them have left a trail of futility and dissatisfaction behind.

The ruling moods both on the part of Britain and India towards each other have been of mutual distrust and suspicion.

If a change is to be brought about, the initiative must come from Britain.* Delay is leading to greater distrust on both sides. In the case of some of the Dominions, Britain did not fail to act with promptness and courage. The result is now a matter of history. It is to be hoped that before feelings are further embittered, Britain will give a new orientation to her policy towards India so that the relationship between her and India may be established on the basis of mutual trust and good-will.

* H. E. the Viceroy has since issued the much expected statement on Indian Reforms.

CHARACTEROLOGY

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

THE name 'characterology' cannot exactly be called a euphemism. Yet it is expressive of a scientific attempt at the study of human character. The earlier editions of Herr Klages' work bore the title *THE PRINCIPLES OF CHARACTEROLOGY*. Possibly it is due to the sparing use of the word by ethical writers, and to the awkwardness of it that the title is changed in the later editions.* In any case, the study is devoted to an examination of the habits and predilections

of individuals which are the determinants of their behaviour. Morality itself is concerned with human behaviour from the standpoint of judging it to be right or wrong. But the springs of human conduct are to be found in the deep-seated impulses and driving forces of the organism. Consequently, a study of this type is bound to be psychological.

Klages thinks that the tendency of modern psychology has been to be too limited in its scope and use of material. It has confined itself too much to inner phases of life, the introspective elements of life. It is his opinion that the time has come for it to enlarge its

boundaries. We are reminded of the well-known remark that has been made with reference to the changing definition of psychology, that first it lost its soul, and then it lost its mind, and then it lost consciousness, and now it has nothing left but behaviour. There is a vigorous movement among German psychologists to-day to re-introduce the concept of soul. Certainly there is no escaping the necessity of explaining the fundamentally integral character of life. It does not seem to matter very much whether that be called personality or soul or character, so long as we do not allow our conception of the meaning of the word to be unscientifically determined. The word 'soul' was rejected in the first instance because of its theological associations; the word 'mind' because of its metaphysical implications. But we have travelled a long way towards freedom in theology and in metaphysics since those days. And even some psychologists are recognizing that metaphysics cannot be easily dispensed with. Our author uses the word 'soul' to mean 'the substratum of certain processes of the inner life,' and he insists that this inner life is somewhat deeper than much modern psychology has been willing to admit. Modern psychology needs seriously to tackle the task of laying the foundations for a science of the spirit.

The discovery of character involves the completest possible characterization of individual selves. But selves are not selves in isolation. Every individual owes much of what he is to the external world by which he is environed. It determines the manner of his appearance as a personality. We must agree with Klages

that this phase of his problem is one to which the scientific method can be applied with good advantage. One of the best studies of that type is John Dewey's *HUMAN NATURE AND CONDUCT*. It is a book to which our author makes no reference, although it ought to be a valuable help to him. Certainly, the discovery of character cannot be made apart from such investigation, and although our author acknowledges the part the external world has to play in character building, he gives us a very inadequate treatment of it.

Klages concerns himself chiefly with the individual factors in the making of character. For one thing, he examines the element of will, and faces the problem of what are the chief differences in will, or in the capacity for willing among different people. Introspection discloses to us that we are aware of more volition when there is an increase of effort on our part, and *vice versa*. But energy is not the only factor. There is the factor of power also. Force of will is obviously related to force of action, and the latter element depends upon more than energy alone. The author suggests that the difference can be accounted for by what he calls will-feelings, *i. e.*, characteristic feelings that determine the form and force of our resolutions. Perhaps his other phrase, 'the will capacity of feelings' is a happier phrase, and explains to no small extent the difference that we understand to exist between 'men of action' and 'men of feeling.' It is quite true that the volitional element that characterizes the self-control of a Yogi is quite different from that which marks a Napoleon. Nevertheless, there is a similarity too that is patent. We need more studies that will investigate the factors that are alike, and

* *THE SCIENCE OF CHARACTER*. By Ludwig Klages. English Translation by W. H. Johnston from the fifth and sixth German editions. London: George Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.

those that are different in people of various vocations and different environments. Herr Klages is quite right in pointing out the need for more precision among psychologists in regard to their interpretation of terms that are used as descriptive of character. He might have said that ethical writers need to clarify their meanings too, and that they must depend a good deal on psychologists to enable them to find ways and means of attaining their end.

There is one chapter in this book, entitled 'The Structure of Character.' It is a bit risky to attempt a structural treatment of character. It needs great caution. Someone has remarked that psychology is possible because people are so much alike, and worth while because they are so different. If there were no element of permanence in human nature, we could not have any psychological science. If we desire to treat this permanent element as structural, we may do so, within limits. But we must exercise due caution against seeming to imply that human nature as such is amenable to such treatment. In the present discussion, Klages deals with temperament. According to a very ancient classification, temperaments may be classified into four types:—melancholic, choleric, phlegmatic and sanguine. This classification is not accurate for present-day usage, for a number of reasons. One is that there are different types within the four classes. But more important is the fact that we usually speak of temperaments more individually than heretofore. We speak of *the* temperament of a man rather than of the four temperaments. The development of individual psychology has shown clearly that the stimulation of will and of feelings cannot be anticipated in the

same person even under the same signs. Our author propounds a theory that what used to be characterized as different types are really explicable in terms of differences in stimulation. When the capacity for stimulation is increased and combined with great impressionability, we have a temperament of the sanguine type. There is another type—a type of persons who are stimulated without any need, a type of persons who take everything ultra-seriously. He is 'sensitive.' This is a distinct type, though not one of the classical four. Another element calls for consideration. In addition to stimulation, there is the capacity for self-expression, a most important element in the determination of temperament.

Are there fundamental differences of character by which we can distinguish men from women? This is an interesting, if somewhat hackneyed question. Klages offers some interesting suggestions which challenge because they are different from the popular point of view. He tells us that women form more objective opinions of other people than do men, that they are much less subject to illusions than men. On the other hand, he supports the common view that men are more capable of abstract thinking than women, while the intelligence of women is more concrete than that of men. Women are more devoted to their personal interests than men, whereas men are more likely to be interested in facts. This is his reason for supporting the view of feminine intelligence as concrete and of masculine as abstract.

Herr Klages undertakes an analysis of the driving forces of personality that are operative in the building of character. There are three groups in his analysis: spiritual, personal, and sensuous. These again are subjected to much analysis in the characteristic fashion that illustrates the German love of organization. The analysis is useful, if a bit overdone.

Some Causes of Labour Inefficiency in India

By

MR. V. VISHANSINGH PHILLIPS, M.A.,

M.A. Ed. (Columbia), F. R. Econ. S. (London).

ONE of the most important phases of India's labour problems is found in the standard of living of her labour population. The standard of living in any country has always played an important part in the upliftment of its economic status. It is dependent on many factors, the most important of which are: (1) education; (2) social and political life; (3) trades and vocations. In India, the largest percentage of the people forming the agriculturists live characteristically as cheap as they can afford. Wages, however, differ from province to province in India on account of the vastness of the country, trades and vocations and the social condition of the people. The highest wages are paid in the industrial and manufacturing towns and the lowest in purely agricultural districts where there are no alternative employments. In one important respect, the Indian agricultural labourer differs from the European labourer. In India, the labourer has his own interests in the land besides being a wage-earner. Hence the percentage of purely agricultural labour is much lower than it is in England and other European countries where the rural population is drifting to towns. In England, this problem has been acute long before the World War. But now conditions in India as regards the position of the labourer are being changed, as industries are being modernised and the rural population is drifting to towns. Most of the labourers who leave their farms are those who are heavily in debt or have mortgaged their farms and have thus become proletariats. Yet, on comparison, the percentage of purely agricultural labourers of the proletariat class is much lower than that which exists in England and other European countries. In England, this problem was so acute even before the War, say

Rowntree and Kendall in *HOW THE LABOURER LIVES* in 1913, "Whereas 60 years ago, the population of England and Wales was evenly divided between town and country dwellers, now four out of every five persons are living in the towns and only one out of five in the country."

Comparing the wage paid to labour of all kinds in India with the Western standards, it is exceedingly low. 30 years ago, the wages of a field labourer amounted to about 2½d. a day, and according to the village custom, these wages were paid partly in cash and partly in kind. Since then, wages have risen a great deal. The rates of agricultural wages in U. P. and in the Punjab, investigated in 1906 and 1909 respectively, showed that there was great disparity in rates from district to district, yet they averaged from 2½d. in the former to 4d. in the latter. No comparison whatever with this can be made with the rate that prevailed in England for the same kind of labour in 1907 which averaged 17s. 6d. a week. The situation in the Indian labour is that the rise in the Indian rate has been very slow and is still going on. In rural areas, the real wages of both agricultural labourers and village artisans rose in 1912 to about 30% above the general level in 1899-1900 and in 1921 the wages of an ordinary unskilled labourer ranged from one shilling to 10d per diem.

There has been some increase in wages in factory labour in India though the increase was not so rapid as in the rural areas. With reference to the prevailing rates of factory wages, Mr. B. P. Wadia says:

It may be contended that living in India is cheap, but when the rise in the prices of food-stuffs and

clothing material is taken into account, when a personal enquiry into the lives of the workmen is made, and when we see the hovels they live in, the food they eat, the clothes they wear and remember that they are always in debt, which is ever increasing, we cannot but come to the inevitable conclusion that the scale of wages is scandalously low and is absolutely inadequate to meet the demands of sheer existence at the present time." He continues, "The wage now allowed to the Indian labourer leads to malnutrition.....Though he may be addicted to cheap living, the most frugal temperament would not choose malnutrition and its consequences for the sake of cheap living," and concludes with the quotation that "Labour may be cheap, but life is not."

The average increase in the wages of general labourers within the municipal limits for the entire Presidency was recorded at 82% in 1922, according to the Government Labour Gazette. In the Northern Division, the rise of wages of general labourers in urban areas was found remarkable. The general average indicated that the rise had been the greatest in urban areas with the exception of the Central Division and the lowest in the rural areas with the exception of the Northern Division. Similarly, with the exception in the Northern Division, the rise in wages of artisans within the municipal limits was much greater than the rise in rates of wages of skilled labourer in urban and rural areas and the average rise in the first two classes was the same. The enquiry showed that roughly speaking, the increase in the wages of domestic servants' general average for the entire Presidency was 78%.

The worst condition exists among the labouring classes in plantations in India. An investigation made by Dr. K. L. Datta in 1913 shows that their real wages have fallen 5% below the level in 1890-4. The same thing is true of the plantation coolie in South India who receives an average wage of only six pence a day.

In this connection, it is necessary to remember that labour is generally divided into two classes, productive and non-productive. Productive labour may further be divided into two classes: First, Autonomous, or that class of labour which works for no other person, but who themselves perform the labour upon their product and who thus own

the whole product and receive the entire use or value of it, without sharing with any other person. Of this class are the farmer, the artist and all others who furnish their own means for working and who perform the whole or part of the work upon such capital which results in the finished product, whatever it may be. This class of labourers is much larger than is generally assumed, and no controversies can arise as to the value of the labour of this class of workers. The other class of productive labour is that which is not interested in its product but which sells its ability and power to labour to another person, an employer, who thus furnishes the capital, the tools, the place and all other means, which are necessary for production by the workmen. This kind of production comprises practically all the labour required in the preparation and manufacture of the countless number of articles and materials used by modern society as well as in the building of railroads, public roads, buildings of all kinds, and all other labour not included in the autonomous and non-productive class. Non-productive labour is that which adds nothing to production; it might with a fair degree of accuracy be defined as that labour, which is employed by society in the administration of the government, or in serving society either in general, such as operation of railroads, electric lighting, electric railroads, and in works of a similar nature, or it may be employed in the personal service of individual members of society, such as household work, butlers, valets, chauffeurs and numerous other works personal to the employers. This class of labour, which is quite large, is a consumer pure and simple.

Productive labour must produce enough to provide non-productive labour with the means of existence, whether that means is furnished directly, either in whole or in part, by the employer, or whether it is furnished indirectly through the means of wages; in either case, non-productive

labour is ultimately provided with the means of support and existence by productive labour. It must not be supposed by the term non-productive labour that it is not useful to society. On the contrary, it is one of the most useful classes of labour, and it may be unhesitatingly stated that it furnishes society with many comforts, convenience and enjoyments at such a low figure, as to make the cost to the individual members of society merely nominal. But it is productive labour which plays an important part in the law of fixing wages. As the difficulty of production increases in direct ratio with the skill required, it is evident that the production of those articles requiring greater ability is limited, and therefore, that the selling price of such articles is proportionately higher than articles which are easier of production, so the doctrine holds true that the selling price of the product fixes the basis of the money value of labour. The claim may be made that the price is regulated by the law of demand and supply. This is a specious claim, because if the standard of price were due to this cause, it is evident that the supply would quickly follow the increased price, that is, if the ability to produce existed. The fact is, that the wants of society are regulated by a natural law of production, which, under normal conditions, is self-adjustable. A study of the customs, habits, rate of wages, modes of living of the various nations and people of the earth, cannot help but convince us of the substantial accuracy of this general proposition. It will also convince us of the fact that the higher the civilization, and the higher the standard of general education, the higher is the average standard of life and also that this higher standard of life increases the producing power of the people.

It must be admitted that the production throughout India has considerably increased since the World War, as is clearly evidenced by statistics carefully preserved. From 1910 to 1919, the number of factories increased from 2,359 to 3,640

and the average daily number of operatives from 792,511 to 1,171,513. An immediate effect of the War was a tremendous increase in industrial activity, and the number of factories and persons employed rose by about 25% in 1914-19. The enormous profits made by some concerns both foreign and Indian, and the establishment of numerous factories, is a visible proof of increased production throughout the country on an exceedingly large scale. The foreign trusts and capitalists made huge profits but did not give to the Indian labour its proper share in proportion to the increased production during and after the War. The visible increase in wages as recorded by the Bureau of Labour exists mostly in non-productive labour. Productive labour which is the backbone of economic life is left unattended to in India. Hence the present misery, unemployment, poverty and unrest throughout the labour population of the country. On the other hand, increase in prices since the War are still going on. Dr. P. P. Pillai says in his *Economic Conditions in India*:

The best method of ascertaining the adequacy of wages is to compare them with the amount required to keep an average working class family, consisting of the worker, his wife and two children in physical efficiency for a given period. From careful investigations in Madras in the two years 1917 and 1920 made by Dr. Gilbert Slater and the Rev. D. G. M. Leith, respectively, the following figures of necessary expenditure per mensem were obtained:

Items.	1917	1920	Percentage of rise.
Food ...	14-0	17-0	25
Rent ...	1-0	1-8	50
Clothing ...	0-8	1-4	150
Fuel ...	1-0	1-6	37
Miscellaneous	0-8	0-12	50
Total ...	17-0	22-8	32

"Accepting these figures as substantially accurate, it must be admitted that a large percentage of workmen is living on less than the minimum income required to prevent physical deterioration."

HIGHER WAGES ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY

Higher wages are therefore absolutely necessary for the efficiency of labour in India. It is only then that a higher standard of living and education

could be maintained. Experience shows that such a change cannot be effected by letting old customs and traditional laws prevail among modern systems of business and industrial organisations. The greatest need in bringing about improved social conditions in India's labour population exists to-day in having the Minimum Wage Law introduced immediately in all Legislative Councils in India, and Government should support this measure to see that Indian economic conditions are improved by a better standard of life among the labouring classes. In 1921, Mr. K. C. R. Choudhri brought forward a resolution in the Bengal Legislative Council to establish Industrial Boards for the determination of a minimum wage for each industry in Bengal. The Government declined to accept the resolution on the ground that wages in industries in India are regulated by agricultural wages, and industrial concerns, in order to attract the labourer, must offer higher wages than he gets in his own village. The Government reply stated, "Even if we could fix a minimum wage that would be accepted by all as fair and reasonable, we have not got the staffs to go round and see that these minimum wages are paid." If once the minimum wages legislation is passed, it will have an automatic rapidity of circulation from village to village as all labour laws do in a country where labour population is anxious to get the most for their means of subsistence. The old traditional systems must be broken down immediately to insure an efficient economic productivity for the future labour power of India.

It must be admitted that the present labour problems in India are the results of modern industrialisation, and the investment of British and Indian capital in Indian industries demands modern improvements and efficient production. Yet if the regulation of wages is left to the old traditional customs, and the employers encouraged to exploit the ignorant and helpless labourers, Government is not encouraging the future

efficiency of production in India. As the total productivity in India has considerably increased since the last fifteen years, it is necessary that wages must increase in proportion to the increased productivity. If the progressive countries of Europe and America realise the necessity of higher wages as measured by prices and productivity, much more should it be in countries where social and economic progress could largely be effected by higher wages of their labouring classes. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, says in the *American Federationist* of July 1927:

The American Federation of Labour now strives for wages which increase as measured by prices and productivity, having won its campaigns for higher 'money' wages and higher 'real' wages or wages that 'would buy more.'

Very obvious changes in productivity of labour to-day induce organised labour again to widen its wage policy. Higher money wages, from the economic point of view, do not improve the situation of the worker if productivity increases more than real wages.

For higher productivity without corresponding increase of real wages means that the additional product has to be bought by persons other than the wage-earner. This means that the social position of the wage-earner in relation to other consumers becomes worse because his standards of living will not advance proportionately with those of other groups.

It is the deteriorating social position, that is, declining purchasing power of the mass of the wage-earners in relation to the national product which has a pernicious effect on the wage-earning classes, and as Mr. Green says, that "brings about industrial instability which will develop into industrial crisis." The Industrial Society in India has been hindered greatly in its progress mainly because the wage-earner has not been able to raise his standard of living. Productive labour has been exploited, both by the foreign and Indian capitalists, as well as by prosperous landlords, in not receiving due wages to raise their social and economic position and this has caused and will continue to cause prolonged delay in labour and industrial efficiency in India.

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AVIMARAKA

BY

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AVIMARAKA is one of the two extant plays of Bhasa which have an original plot, the other being his *Charudatta*, which, in an amplified form, has come down to us as the *Mricchakatika* of the poet Sudraka. Instead of going in for legendary or mythological stories, Bhasa has evidently invented his plot in both these cases, and, in consequence, these plays must possess a peculiar interest to all, as throwing light on the social, political, moral and intellectual conditions of his time. As a social drama, *Charudatta* will easily hold its own against any drama, ancient or modern. The plot of *Avimaraka* is, however, one of romance and love, and the actions of the hero, who is endowed with rare physical strength and courage, have a peculiar fascination for the reader. There is a departure from the commonplace conceptions of love and romance, and the story presents many new features.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KUNTHIBHOJA—King of Vairanthya.

BHUTHIKA—Minister of Kunthibhoja.

SOWVIRARAJA or King of Sowvira.

AVIMARAKA alias VISHNUSENA—

Son of Sowviraraja.

THE KING OF BENARES.

JAYAVARMA—Son of the King of Benares.

NARADA

A SAGE

MEGHANADA—A Vidyadhara.

QUEEN OF KUNTHIBHOJA.

SUDARSANA—Queen of Benares.

SULOCHANA—Queen of Sowviraraja.

KURANGI—Daughter of Kunthibhoja.

SUMATHI—Younger daughter of Kunthibhoja.

SUDAMINI—Wife of the Vidyadhara.

THE NURSE OF KURANGI.

NALINIKA—The nurse's daughter.

ATTENDANTS.

In the kingdom of Sowvira, there once lived a king, who had a son named Vishnusena, a very handsome and precocious youth who, even as a boy, displayed unique courage and heroism. While he was still in his adolescence, a blood-thirsty fiend made an irruption into his father's kingdom and began to spread death and terror everywhere. No one could be found to cope with the menace and end the wild orgy of blood. Every day, the woes of the people increased and the king was in a fix, unable to devise any means of countering this menace. The young boy Vishnusena came to know of this, and one day, giving the slip to the Palace-sentry, secretly left for the demon's abode. The demon, mightily pleased at the voluntary advent of such an elegant morsel, commenced his nefarious operations against him. But Vishnusena, laughing a contemptuous laugh, wrestled with the demon (who had taken the form of a goat), threw him down and slew him with ease. Hence he became known as Avimaraka or Goat-slayer.

Some years later, while Sowviraraja was out hunting in his forests, he chanced to come upon a sage who was crying over the corpse of his disciple, who had been mauled and slain by a tiger. At the sight of the king, the grief of the sage became transformed into indignation at the inability of the king to protect his subjects from the molestations of wild animals, and he began to abuse him in strong language, without mentioning the cause of his outburst. Ignorant of the cause of the disciple's death and innocent of having given any offence to the sage, the king tried unsuccessfully to get in a word with him. But when the sage continued his imprecations without intermission and without heeding his expostulations, the king lost his temper and retorted that a person who was capable of such unreasoning anger was not worthy to be a sage, and that, in the guise of a Brah-

man sage, he was in reality a panchama. Stung to the quick by the reproach, the sage cursed him that he should become a panchama with his wife and son. The king immediately became contrite and entreated the sage to recall his words. For a long time the sage remained adamant but finally he relented so far as to absolve him from the effects of his curse, after he had lived in disguise for one year. The sage then restored his disciple to life and departed with him for another kingdom immediately. The king promptly returned to his palace, handed over the reins of Government to his ministers, and, without informing any one of his movements or destination, left the kingdom with his wife and son, and took his residence in the city of Vairanthya, where his sister's husband, Kunthibhoja, was ruler, intending to spend the year of curse there in concealment.

King Kunthibhoja had a beautiful daughter named Kurangi, who, at the time when Sowviraraja settled down in Vairanthya, had attained an age when her matrimony had become a matter of serious consideration and some anxiety to her parents. Kunthibhoja had no troubles of any kind in his kingdom and yet he had no peace of mind; for "a girl's father has many things to exercise his mind." He was unable to come to a quick decision about it. There were ever so many matters to be considered before the irrevocable step could be taken. "A daughter, who is given in marriage by a father without regard to the status of the son-in-law, wrecks both the families by her waywardness, as the muddy waters of a river in floods breach both its banks." Of the many suitors to Kurangi's hand, only two were considered most eligible—Avimaraka, the son of Sowviraraja and Jayavarma, the son of the king of Benares. Both of them were sisters' sons of Kunthibhoja, while Sowviraraja was further related to him as his wife's brother. A year before, Sowviraraja had proposed an alliance between his son and Kurangi, but he was then put off on the ground that Kurangi had not come of sufficient age for marriage. Now, however, Sowviraraja was a voluntary exile

in his kingdom, living in concealment. But Kunthibhoja, not aware of this, was wondering why the proposal had not been renewed by Sowviraraja, while the King of Benares had sent emissaries to conclude an alliance and was pressing for an answer. The Queen of Kunthibhoja was anxious to give her daughter to her brother's son and it was only after it had become known that Sowviraraja had mysteriously disappeared from his kingdom and that his whereabouts were unknown that she consented to entertain the suit of Jayavarma of Benares. Accordingly a mission headed by Bhuthika, Minister of Kunthibhoja, left for Benares for inviting the bridegroom and his party for marriage.

Just at that time an event occurred which was to exercise a profound influence on the future course of events. One morning, while the Princess Kurangi was returning to the palace after playing in the garden, the palace elephant suddenly got wild and, after killing the mahout, began to run amok. Raising dense clouds of dust, it rushed wildly hither and thither, carrying everything before it. All who were in the way were destroyed, people fled in all directions, and women raised an uproar with their screams and yells. Nothing could withstand the furious onslaught of the elephant. Presently, it made its way to Kurangi's palanquin. Her fate seemed to be sealed. But just then appeared on the scene one who, as the minister described him later to Kunthibhoja, "though good-looking, was without conceit, though young, was without egotism, though strong, was considerate, though delicately made, was strong" and gave the protection which at that moment was hard to obtain. He went fearlessly for the elephant and dealt him some blows and diverted his attention from Kurangi. Soon she was rescued and taken to the palace. The elephant turned fiercely on the audacious intruder intending to despatch him. But the stranger, nothing daunted, played with the animal as with a friend, till his fury gradually abated and then, as if ashamed of his display of valour, hastily made for his residence with bowed head, avoiding the plaudits of the

multitude. The elephant was then secured with the aid of female elephants and prevented from further mischief.

Intelligence of this incident quickly reached Kunthibhoja, who desired to know to whom he owed his daughter's deliverance. His ministers described him as godly in appearance, Brahmanical in speech and Kshatriya-like in prowess. But about his birth they just hesitated a doubt—he appeared to belong to the panchama caste. The King enquired about his father and the same baffling contradiction appeared even there. So Kunthibhoja asked his ministers to make further investigation about them; and the matter was dropped there for the time being.

It did not, however, drop there for Avimaraka and Kurangi. From the moment of their first meeting, they had begun to love each other and the peculiar circumstances of their first meeting gave a touch of romance to their love. The recollection of that incident conjured up associations in their minds which intensified their yearning to behold each other again. There was not a moment when Avimaraka was without thinking of her, and gradually he became pale and emaciated. All his attempts to stem the surging tide of passion proved unavailing and LOVE at last conquered him. So he ceased to struggle against it and gave himself up to communing in solitude about her.

Similar was the condition of Kurangi. She had no taste for ornaments or flowers; had lost her appetite for food; avoided company; frequently lapsed into brown study; gave incongruous replies; did not remember what she said; and was becoming reduced and pale. But she did not open her heart to any one and kept her own counsel. Her nurse had, however, guessed how it stood with her and noticed her uncomplainingly languish and pine away. Unable to bear the sight of her suffering, she resolved at all costs to bring about the consummation of her innermost wishes and set out with her daughter Nalinika for Avimaraka's abode. But they were still apprehensive about his birth and rank. What if it should turn out that he was low-born? While they were

debating this question, a voice from the air removed their doubts about his birth and assured them that all would be well. So without more hesitation they entered the residence of Avimaraka. He was just then in one of his reveries and the greetings of the nurse consequently fell on deaf ears. He was contemplating the enchanting loveliness of his sweetheart. "If even under stress of fear, her form should be so lovely, how much more lovely should it be while in her lover's arms," said he, thinking aloud. The nurse who was hearing the remark was, thus, at the very outset assured of his intense love for the princess; and her task was now easy. She roused him from his reverie and asked him what he was ruminating about. Ashamed to confess the truth, he tried to camouflage and replied that he was contemplating "Yoga Sastra". The nurse smiled and observed jestingly that there was another person in the palace who was thinking of "Yoga" more ardently and that he would do well to go there. Avimaraka was profoundly thankful to the nurse for the communication and felt as if new life had been breathed into him. He next learnt from her the topography of the palace and the best place of access to the apartments of the princess and promised her that he would be there by midnight.

Night came, after having been long eagerly waited upon. Avimaraka was all expectant and impatient to start on the adventure. It was nearing midnight when he issued out of his residence dressed like a burglar, with a strong rope in his hand and a sword by his side. The prospect of adventure and risk always appealed to him; and he was in his element, now that he was starting on a romantic love adventure.

For the most part, the great city had gone to slumber. Night had effected a great change in the appearance of the city. In the "darkness visible" in which the whole city was enveloped, all land-marks had been obliterated. Here and there an occasional cry from a bird or muffled sounds from houses were all that disturbed the halcyon repose of the night and gave evidence of life buried within the "dead

vast" of night. Avimaraka proceeded through the deserted thoroughfares, hearing occasional sounds and making running comments on what he saw and heard. Now it was the strains of music filtering through the top-floor of a high mansion. "The vibrations of the *veena* must be produced by a masculine hand," thought Avimaraka. "Else the strains would not come so clearly through the closed windows. But the voice is clearly that of a lady, for the intonation is nasal and the beating of time is accompanied by the jingling of bangles." "But who is this, trying to appease his enraged wife?", he exclaimed as he proceeded further. "Grave indeed must be his offence that at this hour of night she does not relent. Or, her opposition is perhaps only factitious. For it is woman's nature to make a show of resistance, even while yielding."

Now it was the screeching of an owl that rent the solemn silence of the night. Now it was two lovers talking in whispers, the man bidding adieu again and again, obviously reluctant to part from his love. Further on, it was a thief prowling about. Avimaraka hastily avoided him in disgust. Then it was a city watchman going his rounds. Avimaraka hid himself and allowed him to pass. He then emerged from his hiding place and proceeded onward, till at last he stood before the royal palace. He looked up for a gargoyle and tying one end of his rope into a loop threw it up against the figure. At the first throw the loop caught against the gargoyle and fastened itself tight to it. He ascended quickly up the rope and there was a gorgeous spectacle of the palace awaiting him. He admired the superb majesty of the illumined palace; but that was not the place best suited for his purpose. He would meet with many obstacles if he entered from that side. So he swiftly descended and taking the rope with him explored the other parts of the palace, till at last he knew, from the description given by the nurse, that he was before the princess's apartments. He ascended without delay and opened the windows gently. He was looking into

Kurangi's apartments. He immediately discarded his guise and made his appearance in her room.

Kurangi had, throughout that afternoon, been in low spirits and having a miserable time. Nothing interested her. Her misery was further heightened by the intelligence that her hand had been promised to Jayavarma of Benares and that the minister Bhuthika had started for Benares to bring the bride-groom and his party to the palace. On receipt of this information she said to herself "It is false. I will be mistress of myself." But she could get no comfort from her position. Nalinika, the nurse's daughter, came at night-fall and secretly conveyed to her the success of her mission. Kurangi's heart leapt with joy on receipt of the news and her exhausted frame soon found rest in sleep. When Avimaraka entered she was still asleep. Nalinika observed his arrival and was pleased for the sake of her mistress. She asked him if she might wake her up, but he forbade her saying that he must feast his eyes on her. In due course Kurangi awoke and great was her joy at seeing Avimaraka; but she was also tremulous at her first meeting. Soon she overcame her timidity and was locked in embrace with her lover. She was thereafter unwilling to lose him even for a moment and so, it was arranged with the connivance of all the ladies of her apartments that he should reside with her secretly in her apartments, without the matter reaching the ears of the royal couple or any of the palace officials.

For a whole year the love affairs of Avimaraka and Kurangi ran in smooth channels. Such was the love and loyalty of the attendants for Kurangi that the matter was kept an absolute secret among them. But with so many persons in the confidence it was hardly to be expected that the truth could have been hidden for all time. It began to be talked about in whispers and in course of time vague rumours reached the king's ears. He immediately ordered an investigation and Avimaraka was placed in great jeopardy. It was not for his life that he was afraid; but his

exposure meant not only his own disgrace but tarnishing of Kurangi's name. But he somehow escaped from the palace miraculously and the affair blew off without anything of consequence being discovered. But thenceforth the apartments of Kurangi were more vigilantly guarded, barring all possibility of clandestine entrance.

Once out of the palace, Avimaraka became the victim of melancholy and dejection. His outlook on life became one of extreme disgust. Separated from his love, life had suddenly become "stale, flat and unprofitable"; and the thought of Kurangi's love-lorn condition gave added poignancy to his grief. He wandered aimlessly across the country in a burning sun and found himself in the middle of a forest. There was no shade anywhere near, and the heat was intense. Forest fires were blazing all round. Unable to endure the scorching heat, the wild animals yelled and the air was filled with their shrieks. A fierce sirocco was blowing and fiery sand particles were flying in all directions. Still, still, Avimaraka went on, with no other thought but of his love. The idea of escaping from the terrible surroundings never entered his head. But overwhelmed by the intolerable heat, he fainted and fell down. When he recovered consciousness, the sun had been intercepted by clouds and the heat was less insufferable. But the internal torments of separation were as great as ever. "What is the wonder that clouds driven by winds thwart the sun's heat. If they could thwart the heat within me, it would be a matter for surprise. Why should I prolong this death-in-life", thought Avimaraka; and he resolved to put an end to his misery by courting death. He saw a bush-fire at some distance and proceeded to the spot; and praying to the God of Fire that his darling might be united to him even in the next world, plunged into the fire. But lo! he was unscathed. Fire had no effect on him. The trees were falling everywhere burnt by the leaping flames but those very flames were as cool to him as sandal-wood smearings. "Verily," he cried in amazement "the God of fire takes

pity on my love-stricken condition and joyously embraces me as a father would his son."

Though frustrated in his attempt, he did not relinquish his design. He bethought himself of falling from a hill-top and observing in the vicinity a mountain with cloud-capped peaks, directed his steps towards it. He ascended to the top and noticing a pool of clear water there, bathed in it and sat down to say his prayers, before throwing himself down.

While he was thus engaged, a Vidyadhara and his wife came flying over the mountain in a *Vimana*. They were proceeding to the Malaya hills to attend a gathering of Vidyadharas to render homage to their Guru and spiritual head Agastya. Fascinating was the panorama of the earth seen from a high altitude and the Vidyadhara was struck by the diminutive appearance of every object on the face of the earth. "The mountains look like young elephants, the seas resemble tanks, the trees appear like grass and the surface of the earth is even, without revealing any ups and downs. Rivers look like hair-partings on the head and even extensive mansions appear like dots."

Just as they were flying over the hill where Avimaraka was praying, the lady, being tired, wished to rest awhile before proceeding on the journey. Accordingly, the Vidyadhara decided to alight on the top of that very hill. The *Vimana* was till then flying above the cloud region and now it began to descend swiftly towards the hill-top. During the descent, the objects which had appeared in miniature to them from that height, began quickly to assume their normal aspect. It was wonderful to behold the phenomena of the forest of clouds that seemed to move rapidly away from them during their descent, of the earth that seemed to rise quickly up towards them as if to meet them and of the mountains that, like the clouds of the rainy season, burst into view, and began to loom large and swell into huge proportions.

Then they alighted at the hill-top and began culling flowers by way of diversion. Presently

the Vidyadhara noticed Avimaraka sitting alone and, struck by his prepossessing mien approached him. Avimaraka had just finished his prayers and was about to throw himself down when looking round he perceived a stranger standing near him. For a minute he could not believe his eyes. "Who can this be?" he thought. "Or, am I perhaps dreaming? No, I am not asleep. Or it may be what people see when nearing death." But even that explanation did not satisfy him and so he decided to accost him and asked him who he was. The Vidyadhara informed him that his name was Meghanada and that he was proceeding with his spouse Soudamini to the Malaya Hills. Pressed by Meghanada, Avimaraka mentioned his name but was ashamed to confess the purpose which took him there. Meghanada thereupon invoked his gift of divination, and with its aid discovered the tragic plight of Avimaraka. Commiserating with him he resolved to help him out of his difficulties and gave him a magic ring, by virtue of which a person would become invisible if he wore it on his left finger. So long as he remained invisible every person or object he touched also became invisible; and by wearing it on the right finger the person became visible again. Immensely pleased with the gift, Avimaraka tested it on his own person and was amazed to find that he did not even cast a shadow and that even the sword in his hand became invisible. Full of gratitude, he swore eternal friendship to Meghanada who, in turn, assured him of his friendship and unfailing assistance whenever he required it. After a hearty leave-taking, Meghanada resumed his journey with his spouse, and Avimaraka hastened downhill, eager to be in the palace without the least delay. He soon reached the palace preserving his invisibility.

In the palace Kurangi was having a wretched time ever since Avimaraka's departure. The *Joie de vivre* had completely left her. Everything that reminded her of Avimaraka now caused only pain to her. Life had become a burden to her. Company was distasteful and she tried to hide her misery by

seeking solitude. On entering the palace Avimaraka observed her languor but could not approach her, as there were numerous persons about her. Kurangi at last managed to escape from the company and accompanied only by Nalinika went to the terrace and beguiled herself by observing the huge, dark clouds which had drifted into the skies, intercepting the sun. Still invisible, Avimaraka followed her to the terrace. The idea of putting an end to her existence began to take strong hold on her and, with a view to get Nalinika out of her way, she bade her go and give orders for preparing her bath. Suspecting that she was intending to get rid of her, Nalinika declined to leave her alone. But when another attendant came from the Queen inquiring about her head-ache, Kurangi detained her and sent Nalinika away on her errand, after embracing her. She then dismissed the other servant with the reply that her head-ache was completely relieved and that her mother might be informed accordingly.

Having got all the attendants out of the way, Kurangi bolted the passage-door on her side and began to prepare for her death. Avimaraka was till then a silent spectator of all her actions. But when a huge thunder-clap came and she involuntarily shuddered and cried for help, he could remain invisible no longer. Shifting the magic ring on to his right finger he manifested himself before her. Kurangi could not contain herself for joy; and soon the lovers were clasped in embrace. All Kurangi's internal torments had vanished in an instant. While they were in their new-found happiness, Nalinika returned to announce that the bath was ready, but grew alarmed at finding the door bolted outside. When the door was opened in response to her cries she realised what had happened. Soon the news of Avimaraka's re-appearance and the magic ring that conferred invisibility became the common property of all who were formerly Kurangi's confidantes in her secret. Happiness once more reigned in the Princess's apartments and Avimaraka continued to live as before without fear of detec-

tion. All seemed to have ended satisfactorily for the lovers.

But not for long could things go on thus. The mission of the minister Bhuthika returned in due course bringing the bridegroom Jayavarma and his mother Sudarsana to the palace and the marriage between Kurangi and Jayavarma was soon to be celebrated. Such a development would not square with the plans of the lovers. No doubt the Queen was still persisting that she must have definite tidings of her brother before finally consenting to her daughter's marriage with Jayavarma. But unless they heard from him in a short time she would be obliged to temporise and consent to a marriage with Jayavarma. Kunthibhoja was also perplexed at the absence of any news of Sowviraraja. At last a ray of light seemed to illumine the position, when a message came from the ministers of Sowviraraja that they had received definite information that their king was living with his family in concealment at Kunthibhoja's capital. Kunthibhoja repaired without delay to his abode and brought him to the palace.

In due course Sowviraraja related the strange incidents which had forced him to live as an exile from his kingdom; and it was with no small gratification that Kunthibhoja learned that the year of curse had expired. But there was still a greater grief that weighed heavily on the mind of Sowviraraja, namely, the disappearance of his son Avimaraka. For a whole year he had not been heard of, and the paternal anxiety increased every day. Not merely Sowviraraja, but the entire household of Kunthibhoja was plunged in grief at his absence. Besides, Kunthibhoja's perplexity increased, now that Sowviraraja had been discovered and no trace of his son could be found. Affairs seemed to have drifted into an unsatisfactory stale-mate.

At this juncture the Sage Narada entered the palace and stood before Kunthibhoja and Sowviraraja. His advent was always regarded as a happy augury of the future. Both the kings hastened to pay their obeisance to him and do honour to their revered guest.

After receiving the homage so dutifully paid, Narada removed a great weight off their mind by assuring them that Avimaraka was alive and happy. Though relieved of their anxiety about his existence, they were curious to know more in detail about him. So Narada sent for Sudarsana, Kunthibhoja's sister and queen of Benares, so that the explanations might take place in her hearing. Then the following conversation took place.

KUNTHIBHOJA : Oh Sage! Does Sowviraraja's son live?

NARADA : Yes.

SOWVIRARAJA : Why does he not appear?

NARADA : Because he is pre-occupied with matrimony.

SOWVIRARAJA : Has he married?

KUNTHIBHOJA : In what place?

NARADA : In the city of Vairanthya.

KUNTHIBHOJA : There is a city called Vairanthya? Be it so; whose son-in-law has he become?

NARADA : Of Kunthibhoja.

KUNTHIBHOJA : Who is he?

NARADA : Thou art that Kunthibhoja, the father of Kurangi, King, Lord of Vairanthya and son of Duryodhana.

The mystery deepened. Kunthibhoja could not understand how Avimaraka could have become his son-in-law. So Narada narrated to him the whole story of Avimaraka from the moment of his seeing Kurangi when she was pursued by the elephant to his entering the palace invisibly with the aid of the magic ring. Avimaraka had married Kurangi in the *Gandharva* form, said the Sage. Kunthibhoja wished to have the marriage solemnised with vedic rituals before the holy fires.

At the same time Kunthibhoja was at his wit's end as to how to break off with his sister Sudarsana, who had come with her son Jayavarma at his express invitation. So Narada came to his rescue and recalled to her that Avimaraka was her own son, born to her

by propitiating God Agni (Fire). That was the reason why the child Vishnusena was from his birth very fair-looking, brave and intelligent and endowed with superhuman strength. His father God Agni was protecting him throughout and when he threw himself into the flames, saved him from death. It was further mentioned by Narada that both Sudarsana and her sister Sulochana—the Queen of Sowviraraja—were *Enceinte* simultaneously; and that, the child of Sulochana having died immediately on its birth, Sudarsana secretly handed over her child Avimaraka to her. That was how Avimaraka came to be brought

up as the son of Sowviraraja and Sulochana. As it was to her own eldest son, that Kurangi was married, Sudarsana had no cause to feel aggrieved. As for Jayavarma, Narada suggested that Kurangi's sister Sumathi might be given in marriage to him. Sudarsana was perfectly satisfied with the arrangements and gave her willing approval to Narada's suggestions. Then Avimaraka and Kurangi were brought before the assembled party dressed as bridegroom and bride and benedictions showered on them. In due course, the marriages were celebrated in great *eclat*.

The Call of the Gita

BY PROF. T. L. VASWANI

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THE Bhagavad Gita is one of the Great Dialogues in literature. The word "Gita" reminds one of the word in the Avesta-Gitta, Gatha, which also means "song." And "Bhagavan" means "the Lord," "the Blessed One." The "Bhagavad Gita" has been translated to mean "The Song Celestial," "The Song of the Lord," "The Song of the Blessed One." I prefer to translate the title as "The Song of the Saviour." The Gita represents God as not merely the Great Law of the Universe, the Great Mind of the Cosmos, not merely the Holiest in the Highest, but also, the Saviour of Humanity.

The Plan of spiritual evolution is set forth in the Gita briefly but beautifully:—the Gita is a scripture of Yoga. And the Science of Yoga is not for those who would not exercise self-control. Aristotle said his "Ethics" was meant for the continent, not for the young who had passions. Every passion is a distraction. Not numbers but quality is what the ancient teachers emphasised. They realised that the individual was the key to life's problem. Decadence is setting in because we emphasise quantity, mass rather than the individual. Not a little of modern restlessness is a sign of disintegration rather than of life. And

disintegration is a result of spiritual decadence. Modern India suffers from the illusion of numbers. In ancient India the *asramas* aimed at training select individuals. Regeneration of nations and communities is through *individuals*; for not in surface extension but in depths of the soul is the secret of regeneration. Sri Krishna taught the wisdom of the Gita to Arjuna, a great individual,—a young man of culture and character, of *shakti* and *bhakti*. The Gita will not do good to men who choose to stick to *Rajas* and *tamas*. There must be some *satvic* aspiration.

The call of the Gita is a call to dedicated life. It is the life of *arpanam*,—of self-surrender to the Divine. He who would live the dedicated life has the aspiration to take Refuge in the Lord. It is a Triple Refuge. For to take refuge in the Lord is, also, to take refuge in the Law. To abide in Him is to do His will in daily life. The Refuge is in (1) the Lord and (2) His Law and (3) His saints and *bhaktas*. For the Lord is not alone: the Lord is with His *bhaktas*. The man of *bhakti* has reverence for all saints and prophets,—all Teachers alike of East and West,

Dominion Status for India

I. VICEROY'S STATEMENT ON REFORMS

The expected statement on Indian Reforms was issued by His Excellency Lord Irwin in the form of a "Gazette of India Extraordinary" on November 1. His Excellency states that after prolonged consultations with His Majesty's Government in England, the latter have decided to invite representatives of British India and Indian States to meet them separately or together "for the purpose of a Conference and discussion in regard both to the British Indian and All-Indian problems." In this connection, Lord Irwin observes that he is authorised, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to state clearly that, in their judgment, it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

I have just returned from England where I have had the opportunity of a prolonged consultation with His Majesty's Government. Before I left this country, I said publicly that, as the King-Emperor's representative in India, I should hold myself bound to tell my fellow countrymen as faithfully as I might, of India's feelings, anxieties and aspirations. In my endeavour to discharge that undertaking, I was assisted by finding, as I had expected, a generous and sincere desire not only on the part of His Majesty's Government but on that of all persons and parties in Great Britain to hear and to appreciate everything that it was my duty to represent.

These are critical days, when matters by which men are deeply touched are in issue and when, therefore, it is inevitable that political feeling should run high and that misunderstandings, which would scarcely arise in conditions of political tranquillity, should obtain a firm foothold in men's minds. I have nevertheless not faltered in my belief that behind all the disquieting tendencies of the time, there lay the great mass of Indian opinion overflowing all divisions of race, religion or political thought fundamentally loyal to the King-Emperor and, whether consciously or not, only wanting to understand and to be understood. On the other side, I have never felt any doubt that opinion in Great Britain, puzzled as it might be by events in India, or only perhaps partially informed as to their true significance,

was unshaken in its determination that Great Britain should redeem to the full the pledges she has given for India's future. On both countries, the times have laid a heavy and, in some ways, a unique responsibility, for the influence on the world of a perfect understanding between Great Britain and India might surely be so great that no scales can give us the measure either of the prize of success or the price of failure in our attempts to reach it.

In my discussions with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State, it was inevitable that the principal topic should have been the course of events in India. It is not profitable on the other side to discuss to what extent or with what justification the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission two years ago has affected the general trend of Indian thought and action. Practical men must take facts and situations as they are and not as they would have them to be.

SIMON COMMISSION

Sir John Simon's Commission, assisted as it has been by the Indian Central Committee, is now at work on its report, and until that report is laid before Parliament, it is impossible, and even if it were possible, it would, in the view of His Majesty's Government, clearly be improper, to forecast the nature of any constitutional changes that may subsequently be proposed. In this respect, every British party is bound to preserve

to itself complete freedom of action. But what must constantly engage our attention, and is a matter of deep concern to His Majesty's Government, is the discovery of the means by which, when the Commission has reported, the broad question of British Indian constitutional advance may be approached in co-operation with all those who can speak authoritatively for opinion in British India.

I would venture to recall some words which I used in addressing the Assembly eight months ago on a reference to the then existing political situation. On the one side, I said it is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India. We shall surely stray from the path at the end of which lies achievement if we let go either one or the other of these two main guiding principles of political action.

INDIAN STATES

But there has lately emerged from a totally different angle another set of considerations which is very relevant to what I have just stated on this matter to be the desire of His Majesty's Government. The Chairman of the Commission has pointed out in correspondence with the Prime Minister, which, I understand, is being published in England, that as their investigation has proceeded, he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed in considering the direction which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may at some future time develop between British India and the Indian States. In his judgment, it is essential that the methods by which this future relationship between these two constituent parts of greater India may be adjusted should be fully examined. He has further

expressed the opinion that if the Commission's report and the proposals subsequently to be framed by the Government take this wider range it would appear necessary for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure as at present proposed. He suggested that what might be required after the reports of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee have been made, considered and published but before the stage is reached of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, would be the setting up of a conference in which His Majesty's Government should meet representatives both of British India and of the States for the purpose of seeking greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament. The procedure by Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with delegations from Indian Legislature and other bodies which was previously contemplated and is referred to in Sir John Simon's letter to myself of 6th February 1928 would still be appropriate for the examination of the Bill, when it is subsequently placed before Parliament, but would, in the opinion of the Commission, obviously have to be preceded by some such conference as they have suggested. With these views, I understand that His Majesty's Government are in complete accord, for while they will greatly desire when the time comes to be able to deal with the question of British Indian political development under conditions the most favourable to its successful treatment, they are with the Commission deeply sensible of the importance of bringing under comprehensive review the whole problem of the relations of British India and the Indian States. Indeed, an adjustment of these interests, in their view, is essential for the complete fulfilment of what they consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy, whatever may be the method for its furtherance which Parliament may decide to adopt.

1917 DECLARATION

The goal of British policy was stated in the Declaration of August 1917 to be that of providing for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. As I recently pointed out, my own Instrument of Instructions from the King-Emperor expressly states that it is His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among his Dominions. The Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have more than once publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fulness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions. But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the statute of 1919, I am authorised, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to state clearly that in their judgment, it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

In the full realization of this policy, it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place and, even if we cannot, at present, exactly foresee on what lines this development may be shaped, it is from every point of view desirable that, whatever can be done, should be done to ensure that action taken now is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those, whether in British India or the States, who look forward to some unity of all India, have in view. His Majesty's Government consider that both these objects, namely, that of finding the best approach to the British Indian side of the pro-

blem, and secondly of ensuring that in this process the wider question of closer relations in the future between the two parts of greater India is not overlooked, can best be achieved by the adoption of procedure such as the Commission has outlined. When, therefore, the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports and these have been published, and when His Majesty's Government have been able in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together; as circumstances may demand, for the purpose of a conference and discussion in regard both to the British Indian and the All-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that, by these means, it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent.

It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India, and I believe that all, who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to break through the webs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain.

I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health and is the method by which we may best hope to handle these high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship.

II. THE LEADERS' STATEMENT

[A Conference of prominent politicians of different parties met at Delhi to confer on the Viceregal Statement. Mr. Gandhi's draft was made the basis for discussion and was amended to incorporate Sir Sapru's draft on the subject of grant of amnesty to political prisoners. The statement issued by the leaders who include Congressmen like Messrs. Gandhi, Pundit Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar, and Jawahar Lal, Liberals like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Dr. Besant, and Mr. G. A. Natesan, leading Mussalmans like Dr. Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Sherwani, and others appreciate the Viceroy's services and the desire of the British Government to placate Indian opinion and urges that for co-operation to be full and hearty in response to the Viceroy's appeal, and for the success of the proposed Conference, it is vital that Government should do certain things such as amnesty to political prisoners, and make the personnel of the Conference properly representative of Congress and progressive political opinion. Some of the Bombay leaders including Sir Chimanlal Setalval, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jayakar, and Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas, welcome the Viceregal announcement and suggest that the invitation to the Round Table Conference should be responded to without any conditions.]

WE the undersigned have read with careful consideration the Viceregal pronouncement on the question of India's future status among the nations of the world.

We appreciate the sincerity underlying the declarations as also the desire of British Government to placate Indian opinion. We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion constitution suitable for India's needs, but we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of the principal political organisations in the country.

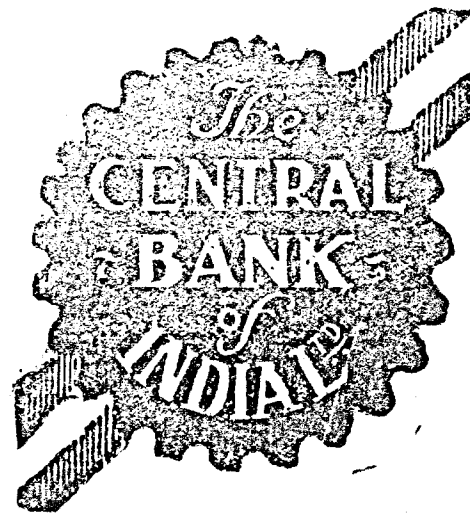
We consider it vital for the success of the proposed conference that (a) a policy of general conciliation should be definitely adopted to induce a calmer atmosphere; (b) political prisoners should be granted a general amnesty; (c) the representation of progressive political organisations should be effectively secured and that the Indian National Congress, as the largest among them, should have predominant representations.

Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraph in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand however that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in

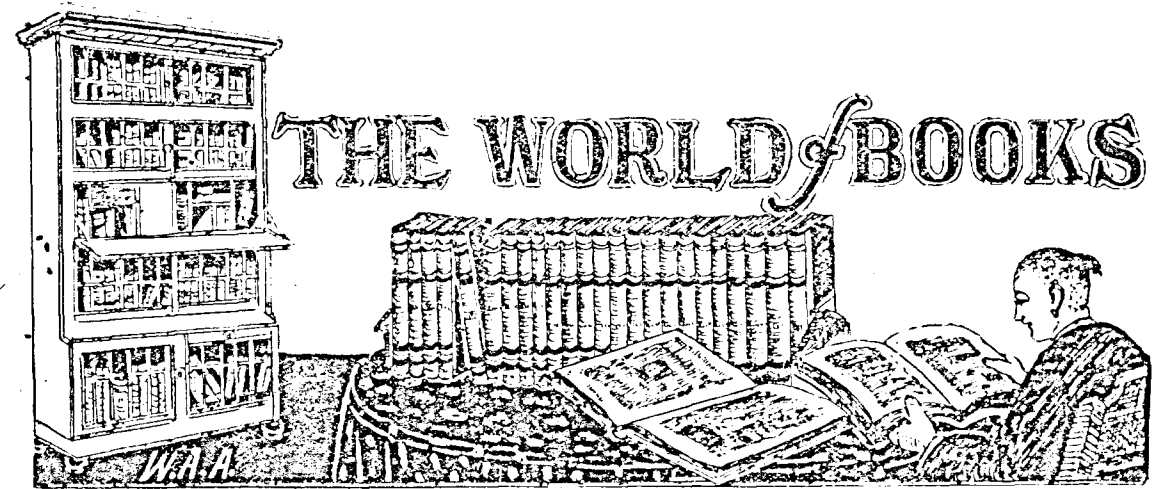
thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of H. E. the Viceroy.

Until the new constitution comes into existence, we think it necessary that a more liberal spirit should be infused in the Government of the country, that relations of the executive and legislature should be brought more in harmony with the object of the proposed conference, and that greater regard should be paid to constitutional methods and practices.

We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced from to-day and that the new constitution is to be but a register to that fact. Lastly, we deem it as an essential factor for the success of the Conference that it should be convened as expeditiously as possible.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
E. Sept. '30.



SOCRATES IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE. By F. L. Brayne, M.C., I.C.S., Oxford University Press.

This is a very interesting book. The object of the author is, in his own words, "to make the villagers think" of the conditions under which they live, and convince them that they alone are responsible for their poverty and their misery. The author prescribes one effective medicine for all their ills, and that medicine is self-help. The book records imaginary conversations between Socrates and the villagers. Socrates is able to convince the villagers without any difficulty that they are in the wrong, and after a few minutes of conversation, the villagers are obliged to confess "Yes, Socrates, we plead guilty"; "your charges are only too true, old man".

Socrates is no doubt the Englishman who came down to India to improve the condition of the masses. He has at last to say Good-bye, and the last chapter of the book is 'Good-bye'. On the last day, Socrates tells the villagers "I am a sad man to-day, Villagers, I must say Good-Bye, and leave you." The villagers ask him, "Why, old man". Socrates replies: "Well, I have children of my own and must take them to their home and put them to school and see my native land again. I love you and your village and am very loath to leave you, but go I must and I cannot wait any more". The villagers exclaim "what shall we do when you are gone? We shall slip back into

the old dirty wasteful ways". Socrates consoles them; "You won't. You have learnt that cleanliness means health and wealth, that waste brings want and that a cultured wife means a happy home and bonny children". Socrates bids Good-bye to the villagers and apologises in these words: "My tongue has been sharp at times, but I love you and am sorry to go". The villagers gratefully reply, "Socrates, you have changed us and turned us into happy, healthy and comfortable human beings. May God bless you and bring you back quick". The author attempts to convince the villagers that, under their present conditions, the Englishman is a necessity for their progress. His Excellency Lord Irwin has blessed this book with a foreword from his pen.

To the Indian readers, this book teaches many lessons. Socrates looks at the village life from the Englishman's point of view which, in many respects, is rational. In the form of simple conversations, the author lays bare the many weak spots in the Indian village life, to which the average leader of Indian public opinion does not pay any attention. To the ignorant villager, the book is an eye-opener of the many irrational customs under which he lives, and it tells him how easily he could improve himself and the village if only he realised the need of improvements and is bold enough to leave time-honoured practices.

FEDERAL FINANCE. By K. T. Shah, Professor of Economics, University of Bombay. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 6. Few will agree with Prof. K. T. Shah that the present Indian financial system has so far advanced as to justify the appellation *Federal Finance*. Indeed, the financial resources of the provincial governments have been separated from those of the Government of India, and separate financial departments have been established in all the major provinces, but the right of the latter to the revenues obtained by them is by no means like the right of a State in the U.S.A or a Canton in Switzerland. The Moghul system of centralization still continues to be the corner-stone of the administrative edifice of British India, and until the provincial legislatures get full control of their finances, the term federal finance will have little meaning with reference to India.

Prof. Shah is well known for his fearless attack of in-equities and injustices, whether political or economic, but he has little to say of the admitted in-equities in the distribution of financial burdens as between provinces and social groups in India. The unjust system, which has placed higher burdens on the owner cultivators of ryotwari tracts than on the rich landlords of Bengal and other permanently settled tracts, justly provokes his ire; but he has little to say on the inequitable way in which the agricultural provinces (chiefly Madras and the United Provinces) have been treated as milch cows of the Empire for many generations. Nay, he even attempts to justify the inequitable system by drawing up a table containing the gross revenue receipts in various provinces, without even cautioning the inexperienced reader that all the customs collections and income-tax receipts accruing in Bombay and Calcutta do not fall exclusively on the people of Bombay and Bengal respectively.

Obviously, the book under review is topical; and the overwhelming financial topic of the hour

is the revision of the Meston Settlement, which is the groundwork of "Federal Finance" in India and which has been assailed from many quarters. Indeed, the public revenue and expenditure of the central and provincial Governments and even of Indian States are dealt with in some detail, and, in fact, this makes up the body of the book; but this is merely a summary of the author's earlier work, SIXTY YEARS OF INDIAN FINANCE, which students of economics will do well to consult.

Prof. Shah also prescribes standard expenditure for the provinces and even for the Indian States. In one final paragraph, he suggests that direct taxes should all go to the provinces leaving the indirect taxes to the Central Government, and that all income-tax should be provincialized and all excise centralized.

THINGS SEEN IN CEYLON. By Clare Rettie. Seeley Service & Co., London.

We reviewed in these pages sometime ago the handy little book "Things seen in Northern India." Another welcome addition to "The Things Seen" series is the one on "Ceylon" just received. Ceylon, with its ancient history, its surroundings and its beautiful scenery, has always had its charm not only to European travellers but to Indians as well. To all alike, the subtle charm of the "Island of Jewels" has always had a special attraction. In the volume before us, we have an excellent description of the beautiful island and its people. We have well-written accounts of the three Ceylons, the one which consists of towns with modern buildings, palatial hotels; the other with its well-ordered tea, rubber, and kindred estates with trim bungalows and factories, and the last and the most interesting—the real Ceylon, the land "where every prospect pleases", full of wild beauty, history and romance.

THYRZA. By George Gissing. Nash and Grayson, London. Price 7sh. 6d.

George Gissing, one of the most sensitive, observant and quietly attractive of English novelists, is again gradually coming into his own after the inevitable reaction against everything in Art and Literature which was comprehensively dubbed Victorian. Gissing as a novelist has none of that snug certitude of easy moralising which is the bane of Victorianism. Life dealt harshly by him for he was a Hellenic born out of his time, but though it crushed his spirit, it could not extinguish its fragrance quite. Wistful idealist as he was, he wrote some of the most bitterly realistic pages in the fiction of the nineteenth century. He was the not unworthy successor of Dickens. He was constitutionally the more serious and his hold on life was more tenuous than that of his great exemplar. But he caught at times much more effectively the subtle inflections in the rhythm of life, and his prose is marked by the loving solicitude of an artist in words.

His imaginative work falls into two parts. The first comprises "Born in Exile", "Demos", "The Nether World", etc, which portrayed fruitfully if with too great an emphasis on the tragic and sordid aspects of the working class life in big cities like London. In the other category fall the "Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft" which is autobiographical, and "Thyrza". The iron had entered his soul far too deeply for Gissing ever to be happy as it is given to some to be. But these books are not only the mature products of his pen but their atmosphere is far more serene than that of the other works. He was, as his friend Mr. Morley Roberts observes in the understanding introduction he has contributed to the volume under review, as happy when he wrote these books as he was ever likely to be. This accounts for the peculiar charm of "Thyrza", his idealised portrait of a London working girl. It is on a spacious canvas that he paints. But this is made

necessary by the fact that the portrait, like the work of the Flemish painters, is gradually built by an infinity of little touches. Thyrza herself, her sister Lydia, her lover Gilbert Grail, strong and earnest workman who passionately yearns for a life of culture, and Walter Egremont, the aristocratic young man of progressive youth, one of the most subtle of Gissing's characters with whom she falls in love,—all these are depicted with consummate power and a breadth of sympathy which comes naturally only to the creative artist and not to the propagandist, however much endowed with talents. It is, as Mr. Roberts says, a sad book as all Gissing's books are, but the reader of it experiences something of that purging of emotion which is the hall-mark of all great tragedy.

CONQUEST OF BENGAL. By Basanta Coommar Bose, M. A., B.L. Messrs. Bannerjee, Chatterji & Co., Publishers, Calcutta.

There is a feeling that there are various inaccuracies of Indian historical facts and figures in books on Indian history written by foreigners. Scholars are working to get at the truth of things. This neat and interesting little book is the result of the researches of one of them. The book must prove useful to advanced students of Indian History.

THE MEETING POOL: A Tale of Borneo. By Mervyn Skipper. Elkin Mathews & Marrot Limited, London.

It is a delightful children's book of animal stories. Written originally for the author's own daughter, a wider circle will surely enjoy these tales. The illustrative Woodcuts, and attractive get-up render the thin volume adapted for a gift.

POEMS. By H. W. B. Moreno, Calcutta.

This is a slender volume gathering together in book form, for the first time, the scattered poetical works of a well-known Anglo-Indian. Some of the verses indicate considerable poetic merit.

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INVESTIGATIONS IN OCCULTISM. Showing its practical value in daily life, based upon the lectures of Rudolph Steiner. G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.

This excellent little volume has been compiled from Steiner's works, and re-edited with an Introduction by Mr. H. Collison. It will be found to be very helpful to all interested in occultism, as it supplies, in small compass, a careful presentation of the general features of the three worlds revealed in occult experience. The attitude of the versatile German occultist is a strictly scientific one, and there is throughout an attempt at clearness of exposition, and accuracy of statement, avoiding the vagueness and looseness too often associated with mystic writings.

We think, however, that in writings of this kind, the basic occult facts, set forth, should as far as possible be shown to conform to the records contained in ancient sacred writings, e. g., the Vedas. This would give them the requisite authority, and would carry conviction to the uninitiated reader. However, the confusion in Chapter XVI between Asana and 'Nyama' (—Niyama), would seem to indicate that Dr. Steiner is not familiar with Sanskrit or the Vedas, and should not be expected to estimate properly the Oriental methods of Yogic discipline. This matter apart, we congratulate Mr. Collison on the useful little volume which he has brought out.

THE SCANDAL OF CHRISTIANITY. By Peter Ainslie. Willett, Clark & Colby, New York.

An impassioned outburst against the sectarian tendencies of modern Christianity. The object of the writer is thus stated:—"Denominationalism is another phase of the War and its abolition among churches is as urgent as is the abolition of war among nations." And again:—"social justice is sometimes regarded with grave suspicion because denominational Christianity is incapable of moulding a social conscience."

KALIDASA—A study of Kalidasa's age and his works. By Sri Aurobindo. Published by Rameshwar, Calcutta.

This purports to be a study of Kalidasa's aesthetic genius in relation to India's cultural life. The author Sri Aurobindo is well known as a first-rate writer and he has acquitted himself very well in the task which he has imposed upon himself. The ages of Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa have beautifully been explained as three different periods in the evolution of India's social and cultural life. The author has tried to explain how the Sankhya ideas of Purusha and Prakriti materialised themselves in works of the Poet Kalidasa. The admirable feature of the book is the comparative study of the three authors Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa.

The author has laid much stress upon 'The Seasons' of Kalidasa more than anything else. He has tried to identify the beginnings of Kalidasa's mature genius in this work, but Kalidasa's authorship of the work itself is still a subject of much controversy.

GLIMPSES OF LIGHT. By Swami Dhirananda. Los Angeles.

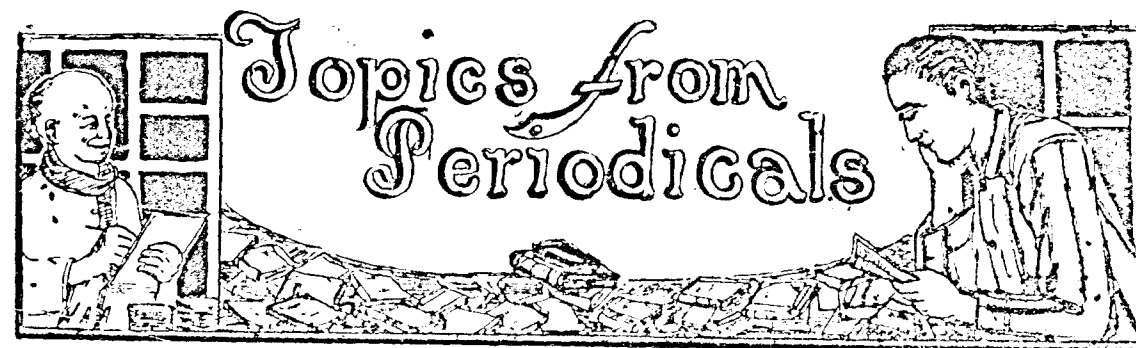
A volume of selected passages from the writings and speeches of the Swami.

THE MAIDS OF THE HILL. By Innocent Santa. A. H. Stockwell, London.

A poem of life among the Catholics who now live in old Goa. The tale is redolent of all the local colour that makes Goa so loved of Catholics.

CIMMERII ? or Eurasians & their Future. By Cedric Dover. Modern Art Press, Calcutta. Re. 1-8-0.

Three hundred thousand Eurasians are citizens of the British Empire according to Mr. Dover, and he sets their case in clear and temperate terms.



THE MIND OF MODERN INDIA

Sir Phiroze Sethna contributes a very thoughtful article on "The Mind and Soul of Modern India," to the **NEAR EAST AND INDIA**. He says that modern India begins with the advent of British rule and the introduction of Western education in India. Sir Phiroze says that before the birth of nationalism in modern India, India resembled Europe of the Middle Ages, before the formation of the national States.

Europe then was not national, but European or international, that is, she thought in terms of the Empire or the Papacy. India had a provincial, communal, religious or caste sense, but no national sense, and along with the provincial, communal, religious or caste sense, she had the international sense, or rather the sense of internationalism. She was absolutely free from religious or racial prejudice. Her civilisation and culture were humanitarian, the unity of humanity, indeed, of all creation, with its potential divinity, was a cardinal doctrine of her philosophy, and some of her best and noblest sons made it their goal to realise this unity in their lives. It is this international or human sense that made the Hindus give a ready welcome to all foreigners; this sense prevented them from developing that sharp edge of the spirit of resistance, without which it is difficult to roll back the tide of foreign aggression. The international or human element was thus already a part and parcel of the content of Hindu or Indian mind.

What have British rule and Western education contributed to the formation and development of the Indian mind? In order to understand those contributions, let us first bear in mind "that India has had a long and chequered history, that she had already developed a peculiar and unique civilisation before she came under British rule, and Western influences began to act on her in full force."

Though split up into numerous kingdoms, great and small, which only twice were consolidated into a vast almost All-India Empire—once under the great Buddhist Monarch Asoka in the 4th century B. C. and again under Chandragupta in the 4th century A. D.—India enjoyed independence till the establishment of Muhammadan domination in the 13th century A. D. During the long period of Hindu rule, Hindu civilisation itself had undergone many phases, some most brilliant and progressive, others marked by decline and disintegration. The two centuries before the Muhammadan invasions constituted the darkest period of ancient India, her Middle Ages. But before the shades of this period began to fall on her, her life had been marked by harmony between thought and action, by a happy blend of the material and spiritual sides of civilisation. But this harmony was subsequently broken. Life came to be realised as an evil and an illusion, fatalism ran rampant, men began to wrap themselves up in the barren spirit of dreaminess and mysticism; and their interests became co-terminous with those of bread-and-butter and of the petty concerns of caste. And the material standard itself declined, and no incentive was felt to maintain a high level of economic existence.

British rule has been on the whole an enlightened and progressive force, whatever sins of commission and omission it may have been guilty of, and whatever criticisms may justly be passed upon it. Some Indians decry Western education, but there is no doubt whatever that it has exercised a tremendous and far-reaching effect upon the Indian mind. Racial or national mentality is supposed to be immutable and fixed, incapable of being modified—radically modified—by the operation of new forces. This notion is wrong and can be easily disproved by historical instances.

Modern India wishes to be not only a politically great nation, but also to create a sound and healthy social system. Her national pride would naturally resent any false or misleading features of her social condition or any sinister or dishonest attempt to run her down. But she is fully alive to the necessity of purifying and improving her social system. Caste is doomed, the emancipation of woman has already made great advance. The social conscience is fully awakened, and every social evil is sought to be remedied and every social wrong to be redressed. Liberty, equality and fraternity are the watchwords of modern India in the social, no less than in the political sphere.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A PERIODICAL

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

Arthur Waugh of Chapman and Hall Ltd. is in a happy reminiscent mood in the pages of the FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW for October. In the office room where he has worked for eight and twenty years, there stands on the book-shelves "a long array of tomes, half bound in red morocco." It is the file of THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW issued under the auspices of the same publishing house for just upon sixty-five years.

The sight of this "regiment of volumes" naturally inspires him to pay a tribute of respect and admiration to those who founded the REVIEW on Mayday, 1865, and to those illustrious writers who have contributed to its pages and continued the traditions established by the founders. "Open them where you will, and start to read; in tone, in temper, in sound judicial argument, the same atmosphere of culture and persuasiveness is perpetually recurrent."

The FORTNIGHTLY began as a rebel and struck at the two most cherished standards of mid-Victorian journalism: a definite public policy and rigid anonymity in authorship. But the little group of men who launched THE REVIEW in 1865 took it upon themselves "to further the cause of progress by illumination from many minds" and every contributor was asked "to say what he really thought, and say it on his own responsibility". The REVIEW has not only survived the ridicule that this policy provoked at the time but other journals soon followed the lead and even the stately Quarterlies vied with the monthlies and weeklies in adopting it.

The FORTNIGHTLY was fairly established in reputation in the first two years under the editorship of George Henry Lewes, and when John Morley took charge of it in 1867, it was a Monthly "unstable financially and uncertain in its policy". But during his fifteen years' editorship, it became "firmly established in pocket

and repute" alike. All the leading figures in Literature and Science began to appear in its pages and it was decidedly a mark of distinction to be invited to write to the REVIEW. It was indeed a brilliant company that Morley "assembled beneath his flowing standard."

Huxley's scientific dogmatism scared the Evangelicals out of their wits; Frederic Harrison's defence of Trades Unions set greybeards wagging in the club windows of Pall Mall; and Morley's own articles on National Education aroused the fury of headmasters, as "indicating a deliberate plot for suppressing the Scriptures." Still THE FORTNIGHTLY kept firmly on its way. There was Bagehot, calm and sceptical about political improvement, whose "good-natured ironies put his more ardent friends on their mettle;" John Stuart Mill, with "his rare union of moral ardour with a calm and settled mind;" and, invaluable lieutenant to an inspiring captain, that inexhaustibly energetic young man, W. K. Clifford, who would sit up all night to finish an article, and who astonished even those who knew him best by "the curious audacity with which he proclaimed at the pitch of his voice on the house-tops religious opinions that had hitherto been kept among the family secrets of the *domus Socratica*."

It was hardly possible with such a virile individualist as Morley not to impress himself with a definite principle and policy; for the groups that gathered round him were mainly Rationalists, Liberals and Comtists. The next most recent fruitful period was the eight years under the charge of Frank Harris under whom it blossomed into a brilliant sheaf of critical and creative literature. Meredith and Kipling and Patmore wrote to it.

It is not too much to say that practically every representative English critic of the day was numbered among his contributors. Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, Edward Dowden, Henry James, Edmund Gosse, Walter Pater, Andrew Lang, H. D. Traill, Leslie Stephen, Sir James Frazer, and Professor Saintsbury,—where could one find a more notable and arresting company?

The next Editor was W. L. Courtney, who held the post for an unprecedentedly long period of thirty-four years. He was emphatically a safe man whose judgment could always be relied on by the proprietors. Courtney was a versatile man.

He kept his post at the TELEGRAPH until he was past seventy-five years old, and was still Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY, when he died a few weeks before his seventy-ninth birthday.

Adaptability was the key-note of Courtney's temperament and his handling of the FORTNIGHTLY proved its advantage.

The Fleet Street doctrine that the article which invites comment is the article that is worth while, was never long absent from Courtney's mind. He always consulted the press opinions, no less than his personal letter-box, to discover what authors attracted attention, and those were the authors to receive a second and a third invitation. From an editor's, and a publisher's standpoint, he was absolutely right; THE FORTNIGHTLY flourished financially as well as reputably, under his command.

And so we reach the end of our survey, and arrive at the opening of a new epoch, rich in promise, and richer still, let us hope, in achievement.

In its sixty-five years of honourable existence, THE FORTNIGHTLY has seen innumerable changes,—in manners, in conveniences, in tastes, and in ideals,—and something of every change remains reflected in its pages.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW

What has been said of the FORTNIGHTLY holds good with the EDINBURGH, which, after a hundred years of notable service, has now ceased. For, a hundred years ago, a young writer who gained the entree to THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, said Sir George Trevelyan, had found "the shortest road to influence and celebrity". When Macaulay's first essay, the one on Milton, appeared, "the family breakfast table in Bloomsbury was covered with cards of invitation to dinner from every quarter of London." That was in 1825. In October, 1929, the famous quarterly has come to an end, and—such is the brevity of life and fame—a modern reader could confess ignorance of "the blue and yellow" quarterly without losing caste.

In 1802, the advent of the EDINBURGH was a resounding event. Within ten years it had attained the astonishing circulation of 12,000. The most eminent authors were proud to write for it, and the most ambitious youth could look no higher. THE EDINBURGH was welded by Sydney Smith, Francis Jeffrey, and Brougham. By the time Macaulay came in, THE REVIEW was very near the height of power; it was Macaulay who carried it to the height. The rule of anony-

mity was rigidly maintained, but every body in England who mattered knew the authorship of the principal articles. Macaulay was not the only writer of the time whose stamp was upon every paragraph that came from his pen. It was the QUARTERLY which first broke the tradition by admitting a signed article from Swinburne twenty years ago. THE EDINBURGH had to follow; when Mr. Harold Cox became editor in 1912, the list of names became as full and regular as in a monthly.

PRINCIPLES OF LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY

Under the above heading, Prof. Khaganendranath Mitra contributes an article to the latest Number of the MODERN REVIEW. He says that philosophy and life march together in the onward path of progress. Philosophy is the interpretation, evolution and criticism of life. When it is divorced from all touch with life, it becomes useless. The quarrel between Science and Philosophy can be set at rest for ever only when the two are looked upon as varied interpretations of life.

Some of the problems can be set apart and called by a particular name. But this does not mean that there is any fundamental difference between one set of problems and another. Truth is not something eternally fixed and immovable. It is not a fixed dogma settled once for all, but rather an hypothesis that has constantly to be defined and modified in the light of the growing needs of life. The goal of philosophy is at once a goal and a starting-point. The essence consists in a striving to grasp the truth and its reach always exceeds its grasp. It is sometimes made a complaint against philosophy that there is no finality in its conclusions. This complaint loses its force as soon as we realize that life itself has no finality. As life is an eternal striving to be better and fuller and more perfect, philosophy also struggles to throw off its fetters and frets to make itself more and more free, more and more complete and harmonious. If life is a continuous adjustment of organism environment, philosophy is also a continuous adjustment of ideas to the cosmic process. If there is a creative evolution in life, there is a creative evolution in philosophy. If life seeks to reproduce itself, philosophy also tries to diffuse itself till its echoes roll from soul to soul. A philosophy which does not awaken any response in men's minds is no philosophy at all. A philosopher who is unable to create a following can hardly claim that title. Struggle or striving and propagation are the essential characteristics of life and my contention is that they are the central features of philosophy too.

KARMA FROM AN EASTERN OUTLOOK

A comparison between the Eastern and Western way of regarding Karma has seldom been drawn. Mr. M. R. St. John, writing in the November THEOSOPHIST, shows the subtle difference in the two ways of interpreting this universal principle. He has lived in Burma for six and twenty years, and is thoroughly conversant with the doctrines of Buddhism which is the religion of the people there. Thus from first-hand knowledge of the people and their religion, he explains their attitude to suffering in a very convincing manner. He says:

Now, while we in the West hold that the making of what is termed bad karma is much to be deprecated, we maintain that it is eminently desirable to take advantage of every opportunity for doing good (making good karma), but the Burmese believe that all actions which make for good as well as bad karma may necessitate return to earth life, unless the former are undertaken entirely with an impersonal and from a general point of view and, under no circumstances, from a personal or particular one. This is why the Eastern is so often accredited with callous indifference to, and lack of sympathy with, the misfortunes of others. Yet withal, charity is the dominant virtue of the Burmese, and no one would be permitted to starve or suffer unduly through lack of means. But these most charitable people in the world are not in the habit of being influenced by personal motives in respect to the recipients of relief for such would forge a karmic link and entail another incarnation. They do not think it advisable to interfere in any way with the karma of another, even if such interference might ameliorate it, and they argue in this way: It is the karma of that person to suffer; who am I that I should attempt to thwart the eternal law? The sufferer is working off a bad debt in this life and, if I prevent him from paying it now, he will have to come back to earth in order to repay it in another.

This is fatalism in such reasoning, and it is not easy to reconcile this with the happy, joyous and kindly people. But "as death means to them a temporary release, this realisation is doubtless responsible for their indifferent attitude to physical life and its ills".

We, Westerners, when seeing anyone undergoing karmic suffering, invariably consider it a duty to do all we can to assuage it; our compassion is aroused and "non-interference" would be considered, not only out of the question, but an infraction of the law of universal brotherhood. The Burmese always consider that works of general merit and utility are compatible to a large credit entry in the karmic ledger.

BRITISH YOUTH AND POLITICS

YOUTH, the organ of the British Youth Council, in a recent issue, comments on the interesting activity of the young people in British politics. They list Jennie Lee, Labor M.P., age 25; J. F. Owen, Liberal M.P., Viscount Elmley, Liberal, age 26; Miss Megan Lloyd George, age 27; Malcolm MacDonald, 28; and Oliver Baldwin, 30; Miss Lloyd George and Mr. MacDonald following the political faiths of their parents, and Mr. Baldwin deserting his father's party for the ranks of Labour. An analysis made by this publication from a very careful estimate of the voting strength of the young people, and checked so far as possible by various statistical methods, shows the following probable percentage of the vote cast by the 5,000,000 young voters of Britain: Conservatives, 12%; Liberals, 31%; Labour, 54%; Independents, etc., 3%.

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THE TASK OF THE OPPOSITION

Mr. Robert Boothby, writing in the October Number of the ENGLISH REVIEW as a Conservative, criticises the doings of the Labour Government. Dilating on the work before the Opposition, he says:—

Not the least of the duties imposed upon an opposition is the evolution of a policy and a programme to put into operation, if and when it is returned to power. Those who are responsible for framing our industrial policy will have to take care that a natural reaction against the economic idiocies of Socialism does not lead them into the barren by-paths of *laissez faire*—which never has been, and it is to be hoped never will be, the policy of the Tory Party. It has to be remembered that we are to-day in the throes of a second industrial revolution at least as momentous and far-reaching as the first. Mr. Baldwin has referred to it in practically every speech he has made during the past five years, but, like all lasting revolutions, it is proceeding to a large extent unobserved by the ordinary citizen. It is difficult to discern the ultimate forms of industrial organization in the midst of the present chaos, but the trend of events becomes clearer every day, and about the future, two things may be said with certainty. The first is that Socialism, as it is understood in this country, is not only out-of-date, but its application to productive industry would be a retrograde step, checking the forces of progress. Indeed, some of our more advanced Socialists have already recognized this fact. The second is that a new phase of capitalism is opening which will tend to become increasingly international in character, and in which Governments have a vital part to play.

The writer is of opinion that, in the matter of industrial organisation, England is far behind the U. S. A. and Germany. The following are the four most urgent problems, according to Mr. Boothby, that call for immediate redress:

- (1) Our present system of education is inadequate for the requirements of a fully enfranchised democracy: common prudence dictates its improvement.
- (2) Our slums are a disgrace to modern civilization.
- (3) Our Empire is underdeveloped, and commercially unorganized: its industries ought to be "rationalized" on an Imperial basis, and this can be achieved without the imposition of a single tariff.
- (4) The industrial status of our workers is far below their political status; and considerably below their educational status; and until greater equilibrium is established between the three, discontent and uneasiness will persist.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE WORLD UNITY Magazine for October contains an article on "the Quest of World Peace" by Prof. Dexter Perkins. The writer reviews the work done by the League of Nations for the last ten years towards outlawry of war:—

"The fears of many persons in 1919 and 1920 that a dangerous sort of super-state would come into existence at Geneva, have also been refuted by the actual course of events. The constitution of the League, the famous Covenant, provided explicitly at the outset that decisions on all important questions, barring matters of procedure, should be taken by unanimity. This important principle effectually prevents any very marked tendency toward centralization. While, no doubt, in many instances, minorities may yield to majorities in order to bring about the necessary accord, it is possible for any state, should it deem its vital interests concerned, to prevent an agreement from being reached. The notion that an instrument of tyranny or domination might be forged from the Covenant has been proven to be fantastically untrue. The League does not impose its decisions, after the manner of a political state; it attains its results through co-operation, through moral pressure, and through the appeal to public opinion. The bringing about of common accord, not the enforcement of the decisions of a group of influential members, has been the method of its political action."

THE BOLSHEVISM OF LINCOLN

If there is a group of our citizens itching for a revolution, says Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, in THE FORUM for May, I'd much rather have them talk about it than arm secretly. I should much prefer to have them adopt the theory of Abraham Lincoln, who said, in his second inaugural, that this country belongs to the people who inhabit it and that whoever grows weary of existing institutions may exercise his constitutional right to amend them, or his revolutionary right to overthrow them.

IS INDIA A NATION?

There is no question more frequently asked about India than the above: nor is there any which has caused greater difference of opinion among politicians and scholars whether in India or outside. Prof. P. J. Thomas, writing in the November number of the *NEW ERA*, says that India is veritably a museum of colours, creeds, races, culture, social types: in short, India is almost an epitome of the whole world:—

There are also within India many distinct peoples, who, in many respects, are like the nationalities of Europe. Such are the Bengalees, the Marathas, the Punjabees, the Hindustanees, the Andhras, the Tamils, the Malayalees and the Karnatakas. Each of these peoples is bound together by a common language, a common culture and common neighbourhood interests, and although in the matter of religion and social systems, there may be much difference between the several members of the same group, each nationality stands apart, and passively, if not actively, militates against the unity of India at work.

Religion is perhaps the strongest separatist influence in India. A Bengali Mussulman may find more in common with a Punjabi Mussulman than with his next-door Hindu neighbour. No doubt a common system of education and common local interests have lately weakened this religious bond and may further weaken it; yet interested political manipulators often cry 'religion in danger' to gain their non-religious ends and keep alive the separatist influences. And so long as the members of the different religious groups do not intermarry and do not mix socially, a united Indian nationality could not come into being.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SANKARA

In the course of an article on "the Advaita Philosophy of Sankara" in the November number of the *VEDANTA KESARI*, Swami Samvidananda says that in order to understand the philosophy of Advaita, we have first to understand and impress in our mind the idea that we see this universe because we cannot but look through Time, Space and Causation, which form integral parts of our mental constitution; and also that Time, Space and Causation cannot exist without relation to one another as well as to some other thing.

Neither Time, Space nor Causation has any independent existence, nor even the combination of these three has any independent and ultimate existence. Yet they are not non-existent, because it is through them that we perceive or conceive of the universe. One can compare here Kant's analysis of Time, Space and Causation as "modes of thought," which is the same as what the

great Advaitist Sri Sankara rationalised ages ago and called Maya. Their existence is like the glow around a light, which we cannot catch apart from what we call the light; yet it is the glow that gives us the knowledge of the light. They sometimes exist and sometimes vanish. A very familiar illustration of this dual nature of Maya is supplied by the waves in an ocean. We see a wave in the sea, as something beside the sea, but can we separate the wave from the sea? Certainly not. Rather we seem to feel sure that the wave is the same as the sea. Yet we see the wave as something different from the sea. Now, what is it that causes this difference? It is the *name* and the *form*. That is to say, "the idea in the mind" plus the "external something". But still we cannot think of a wave-form absolutely apart from what we call the sea: it must always be associated with the idea of the sea. And when the wave subsides and the form is no more there, what remains is nothing but the sea. Yet the wave was certainly *not a delusion*. So long as the wave existed and the form was there, we could not but see the wave. This apparent now-existing, now-vanishing aspect of manifestation is what is meant by Maya of Advaita philosophy.

This conception of *maya* is unique, and is a marked departure from that of the Buddhist and other idealists, and gives Sankara's Philosophy an entirely original colour.

ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN

Professor P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, writing in *THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH*, traces the various metamorphoses that the meanings of these words have undergone, particularly at the hands of European scholars. The evidence of the Vedic mantras conclusively proves that the term Arya was a cult name, denoting a follower of the Indra-Agni Cult. The term Dasa, as opposed to Arya, was regarded as denoting a man whose cult was different; and no difference of race between the Aryas and the Dasas was postulated by the Veda, or even by Sayana, the great commentator. Both the *Manu Smriti* and the *Mahabharata* describe the Dasas as men who gave up the Aryan rites and lived away from Brahmanas. European scholars have turned the Dasas into the aboriginal race and the Aryas into a foreign race possessing peculiar racial characteristics. The legitimate alterations in the meaning of the word Arya (=noble or great e.g., Arya satyani of the Buddha) and the prakrita and Tamil and other forms of the word, like Ajja, Ayya, Aiyar and Ayyangar are noted. The writer points out how the term Aiyar

meant Brahmans in early Tamil literature and Ariyam meant Sanskrit. He maintains that the word Dravida is a Sanskritised form of Tamil; and he points out the consequent absurdity of using the word to denote a supposed different race and group of languages. He also explains the origin of the terms Pancha Dravidas and Pancha Gaudas, and how the former is a legitimate extension of the meaning of the use of the word, Dravida. The anthropological and linguistic significances given to the terms are wholly confusing and incapable of intelligent explanation.

THE LITERATURE AND ART OF INDIA

INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, the Journal of the India Society, opens with a striking paper on the Literature and Art of India by the Marquess of Zetland published by arrangement with the British Broadcasting Corporation. The Marquess briefly traces the development of Indian culture from the beginnings of Indo-Aryan history and rapidly surveys its progress through the centuries. After dealing with the contribution of Islam to Indian art and architecture, he points out the influence of another and more recent incursion—that of Great Britain. He confines himself practically to its influence in Bengal and says: that the realization of the literary possibilities of the vernacular is not the least of the influences of Western thought in India.

As a result of the labours of a band of Indian scholars, the Bengali language gradually succeeded in combining the grace and dignity of Sanskrit with the directness and vigour of English and in becoming a live and artistic medium of expression. The result of this development was the appearance of a whole galaxy of modern Indian writers, including poets, dramatists and novelists. It may seem invidious to mention by name any one of the many who are already famous in the history of modern Indian literature. Yet, among the pioneers of the nineteenth century, the name of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the novelist, described by his admirers as the Walter Scott of India, stands out. While among living Indian writers the name of Rabindranath Tagore, winner of the Nobel prize for literature, at once occurs to one as a poet and writer of outstanding eminence, whose command of English is so great that his works, brilliant though they are in their original language, lose little of their quality when uttered by him in the English tongue. Here, then, we have a new milestone on the long road of Indian literature and art—one which marks an epoch.

THE SENSE OF HUMOUR

Count Hermann Keyserling, in his article on 'Genius Loci' in the September *ATLANTIC MONTHLY*, explains precisely what he means by the term "sense of humour." He says:—

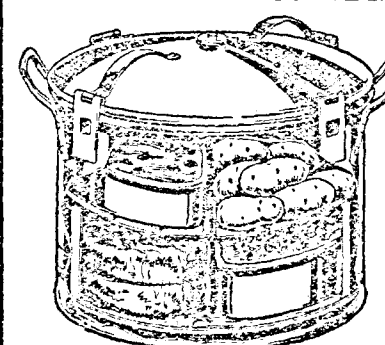
"He only has humour in the real sense who knows how to give expression to a profound and even tragic opposition from the point of view of a benevolent and serene mind. He is the quality of divine laughter of the man inwardly superior to those things ordinary people take with such fear-some seriousness.

"Accordingly, there can be no high quality of humour unless intellectual understanding acts as the key-note. This is why ancient Chinese humour must be appraised as the highest mankind has yet produced. This is why real humour is not merely a sense of proportion as such, as the English would have it—it is a sense of proportion ruled from within by a keen appreciation of spiritual and intellectual values."

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OUTLAWRY OF WAR

Never before in the history of the world were men so anxious and so determined to get rid of war than at present. Either we must end war or war will end us. This is the view expressed by Mr. G. P. Wishard who contributes an article on this subject to the latest number of the *YOUNG MEN OF INDIA*. He says:

The abolition of the war is not merely desirable, it has become an absolute necessity. The greatest strength of the treaty lies in the fact that we must get rid of war if Western civilization is to survive. The Peace Pact does the only thing which ~~we~~ ^{it} ~~has~~ ^{there is} ~~done~~ ^{an idea whose} ~~and~~ ^{is} ~~surely~~ ^{is} ~~this is it.~~ ^{is} When all is said and done, the real strength of the Pact is its potential strength. It is the kind of agreement which is as strong as the honour of those who are parties to it and no stronger. Everything depends upon whether the nations keep their pledged word. That in turn depends largely upon public opinion. When the man in the street realizes what has been done, when he stops thinking in terms of war and begins to think only in terms of peace, when he has become convinced that for his country to go to war would be a national dishonour, then there will be good reason to believe that the Pact will be kept. Public opinion can force parliaments to declare war or to maintain peace. The Peace Pact paves the way, it gives public opinion a lead, a challenge, a slogan. War is outlawed, war is dishonourable, war has been condemned and renounced.

ON GOOD CONVERSATION

"It is in the philosophical outlook that we find an essential factor in good conversation", writes Mr. James Truslowe Adams in the *FORUM*. It cannot be sustained long on mere facts. "The philosophy need not—indeed, should not—be technical, but there must be a philosophical attitude, an ability and willingness to see all round a subject and to trace its implications. Talk, in fact, should never be exclusively technical, any more than it should deal solely in facts."

"What I mean is that good conversation is something quite different from obtaining verbal instruction. We may get an amazing amount of interesting information from a specialist discoursing on his subject, but so can we from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Good talk affords, perhaps, the best instruction in the world, but it is not the instruction of a text-book."

REVOLT OF EASTERN WOMEN

"The spread of Western education in Eastern lands has made women conscious of what they have lost, and they are asserting their rights again," writes Mr. V. B. Metta in the pages of the *EMPIRE REVIEW*. Mr. Metta gives a history of the women's movement in five of the leading Asiatic countries—Turkey, Persia, Japan, China and India. In the first three countries, progress has been phenomenal. Tracing the Indian women's movement, the writer says:—

By the end of the last century, Indian women had made considerable progress socially. Many had cast off the veil and gone out with their husbands to public functions. In 1906, when Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal, the women of that province joined men in the agitation against the partition. During the European War, when the British Government interned Mrs. Besant for sedition, Indian women all over the country called public meetings to protest against the internment. Soon after, the non-co-operation movement started, and women threw themselves heart and soul into it, many giving up wearing jewels and dressing in *Khadar*. In 1917, when Mr. Montagu visited India, a deputation of women waited on him for enfranchisement. But the Reforms Act of 1919 did not give them the vote. Nothing daunted by their failure, they continued to agitate until, in 1924, they received the right to vote for the municipality and the Legislative Council. Last year the right of voting as well as of standing for the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State was conferred on women. A Hindu woman has already taken her seat in the Madras Legislative Council and several women in Bombay and Madras have become municipal corporators. The progress of Indian women is not confined to British India. The Indian States have been equally chivalrous to them. In Travancore, Cochin, Mysore, and Jhalawar, women can stand for the Legislative Council. In fact, in Travancore, a woman has been already appointed Minister for Health. A society called "The Women's Indian National Association" has been formed to work for the further emancipation of women.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

PROGRESS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. By the Hon. Sir Jogendra Singh. ["The Asiatic Review," October, 1929].

RANJIT SINGH AND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROBLEM. By Prof. Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A. ["The Indian Historical Quarterly," September, 1929].

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S COLLEGE. By Ramananda Chatterjee, ["The Modern Review," November, 1929].

THE CHALLENGE OF THE SOUTH INDIA [CHURCH] UNION PROPOSALS. By K. T. Paul. ["The Young Men of India," November, 1929].

THE PREMIER AND SIR JOHN SIMON

Sir John Simon, in the course of a letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on October 16, wrote as follows:—

As our investigation has proceeded, we have become more and more impressed, in considering the direction which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take, with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may develop between British India and the Indian States.

We are not at present in a position to forecast the report which we shall hope in due course to present to Parliament. It is, however, already evident to us that whatever may be the scheme which Parliament will ultimately approve for the future constitution and governance of British India, it is essential that the methods by which the future relationship between these two constituent parts of Greater India may be adjusted should be fully examined.

We have carefully considered the report of the Butler Committee, but the terms of reference to that body did not cover the whole ground to be surveyed. So far as these relations are concerned, our own recommendations, if we were to exclude from our purview the wider problem which we have indicated, would, we feel, be unduly restricted, and we therefore wish, before going further, to ascertain whether we should have the approval of His Majesty's Government in giving this possibly extended interpretation to our own terms of reference.

It is not our purpose to seek to explore the field already traversed by the Butler Committee, but it seems clear that we cannot afford to ignore the reactions of the presence of the States on the problem we are studying in British India, or the possible repercussions on the former of any recommendations we might frame regarding the latter. At certain points, an inevitable contact takes place.

We venture to point out that if the report we are preparing and the proposals to be subsequently framed by the Government take this wider range, it would appear necessary, because of the need for consulting the States, for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure to be followed after these proposals are made known.

It seems to us that what would be required would be the setting up of some sort of conference after the report of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee have been made, considered and published, and their work has been completed, and that in this conference, His Majesty's Government, would meet both representatives of British India and representatives of the States, not necessarily always together, for the purpose of seeking the greatest measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament.

The procedure by the Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with delegations from the Indian Legislature and other bodies, which was previously contemplated and is referred to in my letter to the Viceroy of February 6, 1928, would still be appropriate for the examination of the bill when it is subsequently placed before Parliament, but would, we think, obviously have to be preceded by some such conference as we have indicated. We realise that it is not for the Statutory Commission to devise this subsequent procedure in detail, for the task will be discharged when we have reported, but we feel that it is desirable to obtain an assurance from

His Majesty's Government that we shall not in their view be travelling beyond the terms of reference approved by Parliament if we pursue what seems to us an integral element in our investigation.

We have also thought it right to make plain to His Majesty's Government the consequence that such an assurance from His Majesty's Government is likely ultimately to involve in order that the future course of procedure may be so shaped as to provide means for consulting with the Indian States and to promote the full co-operation of all parties and interests in the solution of the Indian problem as a whole.

PREMIER'S REPLY

The Premier, replying on October 25, said:—

Your letter on behalf of the Statutory Commission raises issues of such importance that I have thought right, before answering it, to consult the leaders of other parties. I have now been able to ascertain their views and they have been good enough to concur in the terms of my reply.

His Majesty's Government welcome the intimation that your letter affords of the Statutory Commission's desire to deal in its report with the wider aspects of the subject to which your letter directs attention.

It appears to His Majesty's Government as it does to those on behalf of whom you write, that your work would necessarily be rendered more complete if it included a careful examination of the methods by which the future relationship of British India and the Indian States may be adjusted.

His Majesty's Government have given full consideration to what you have said in your letter concerning the consequential necessity of some revision of the later procedure as at present contemplated, and I am glad to be able to inform you that they concur in the view that you have expressed.

His Majesty's Government are with you deeply sensible of the importance of thus bringing the whole problem under comprehensive review and that under conditions which may promise to secure as great a degree of unanimity as may be practicable.

His Majesty's Government are also greatly concerned to find means by which they may approach the treatment of the broad question of British Indian constitutional advance in co-operation with all those who can authoritatively speak for British Indian political opinion.

It seems to them that both these objects can best be achieved by the adoption of a procedure that will permit the free representation of all points of view in advance of the stage at which His Majesty's Government will lay any proposals before Parliament, which may be expected later, as you point out, to form the subject of examination by a Joint Parliamentary Committee.

When, therefore, your Commission has submitted its report and His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of the different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together as circumstances may demand for the purpose of the conference and discussion.

In regard both to the British Indian and all Indian problems, it will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible, on these grave issues, to submit definite proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent.

MR. BENN'S SPEECH IN THE COMMONS

A historic debate took place in the House of Commons on the 6th November on the Viceroy's Declaration. The debate was marked by a brilliant speech from the Secretary of State for India whose smashing reply to Mr. Lloyd George's provocative speech and whose well-merited snub to Lord Birkenhead was highly effective. It was also noteworthy for a judicious pronouncement from Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Benn, pleading for a change of spirit, said in the course of his speech:

A CHANGE OF SPIRIT

"The first change has been a change in spirit. We have got rid of the Birkenhead tone, and also as the people of India do not always understand exactly what values are in this country, I will just remark, in the hope that my words may be passed on, that Lord Birkenhead occupies no official position whatever in the Government of this country, and I understand that he desires to be regarded as completely detached from British politics. I learn, though I know nothing about it, that he is engaged in some endeavour in the way of trade and commerce.

A CHANGE IN POLICY

"The first change that is made is a change of spirit, but the second change is far more important. It is a change in policy, which, in reality, is the central object of interest in Indian opinion, and that is the Conference. We have appointed our own Statutory Commission, and we all await its report with eagerness, naturally its report will carry vast authority. We await also the Report of the Indian Central Committee, prepared by Sir Sankaran Nair and his colleagues, who came forward at a time of enormous difficulty, to assist the Commission. They came forward and undertook a task of great unpopularity among some of their friends, and I should like to bear testimony, if I might, to the work that they did, and when I informed them of the desire of the Chairman

of the Commission that this Conference was to take place, they went further and said, "We are willing to do our best, when our Report is finished, to make the further effort of co-operation as represented by the Conference a success." I am grateful to them for that, very grateful. The real interest in India is in this Conference.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

"The Rt. Hon. gentleman opposite asked questions about the Conference, and I should like to use careful words because it is extremely important. Representative Indians will now have the opportunity of coming forward and expounding their views, and pressing their solutions, supported by all the arguments and all the conviction which they can bring to bear. They will have direct access, and their views will be heard and considered, not at some remote stage, when the opinion of the Cabinet is already declared, but at a stage when everything they say will be heard with an open mind."

MR. MACDONALD ON INDIA

Referring to India as probably the most important issue in the Empire in the Lord Mayor's Banquet in London, Mr. MacDonald said that there had been enough discussions and disputation in speech and writing in the last few days. He felt that *the path of wisdom was to say not a word that would revive matters of controversy.* Mr. MacDonald continued that His Majesty's Government have the fullest confidence in the Viceroy. The sole purpose underlying the Viceroy's action, which has provoked all this discussion, was in no way to alter our existing policy or to anticipate the findings of the Commission, but to revive and foster that spirit of trust, co-operation and mutual understanding which is an essential condition to the attainment of the acknowledged goal.

BIKANER'S APPEAL

The supreme need of a real and abiding understanding between the Indian Princes and British Indians was emphasised by His Highness the



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER
Maharajah of Bikaner on the occasion of his birthday celebration on October 17. He referred to the Round Table Conference that is likely to be convened shortly for settling India's future, pleading for co-operation and fraternal spirit.

He reiterated the Princes' sympathy with British Indians' aspirations, but declared that two essential conditions would have to be satisfied before any reforms were introduced in British India, namely, a fair and honourable settlement of the position of the States in the future, and an undertaking that India should continue to be within the Empire.

His Highness emphatically repudiated the charge that the Indian rulers were attempting to

perpetuate autocracy, absolutism and misrule, and warned the State subjects against the activities of certain so-called patriots who sought to annihilate the States.

The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, in an interview, has also reiterated the sympathy of the Princes with the aspirations of British India. He was sure, he said, that at the proposed Round Table Conference, some solution, honourable to both parties, would be arrived at.

INDIAN STATES' PLEA

Dr. Rushbrook Williams, addressing the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce, said the time had come when the importance of Indian States resulting from their political stability and unique relations with the British Crown should be adequately recognised.

Many people believed the eventual solution would lie along the lines of a Federation in which both British India and the Indian States could play their part.

Such a Federation would seem to make the ideal of Dominion Status, now enthusiastically accepted by a large majority of politically-minded Indians in British India, a feasible proposal, the States being themselves autonomous.

They welcomed the attainment by British India of its legitimate aspiration, but were anxious to ensure that any constitutional changes, which might be introduced in the near future, were planned with an eye to the political and economic advantage of India as a whole, and of the Empire rather than of British India alone.

In the adjustment of relations between England and India, every opportunity should be given to the States to put forward their own point of view.

He hoped it would be possible to invite a representative deputation from the Chamber of Princes to visit England next year so that the particular views and interests of the States might be adequately appreciated at a time when decisions, affecting so vitally the connexion between Britain and India, were to be taken.

BRITISH POLICY IN E. AFRICA

According to newspapers, Lord Passfield has drafted his policy regarding the future Government of East Africa and recommends the appointment of a strong Colonial Administrator to be High Commissioner of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, ranking senior to the three Governors.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN says he has not yet found a man strong enough to devise and carry out the policy which will assist in developing the three territories while safeguarding Native and Indian rights.

It is authoritatively declared, however, that Lord Passfield has not completed his proposals for the future Government of East Africa, and statements in papers regarding that are premature, and the whole question is still being considered.

Mr. Lunn said in the Commons that the whole question of the future Government of East Africa was receiving the most serious consideration of Lord Passfield. He hoped to make a statement on the Government proposals next month.

When the Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament meets to consider the future policy in the East African territories, the Government will lay before it the draft proposal, which, for sometime, has been under consideration by the Colonial Office. Within the past year, reports on the subject had been furnished first by the Hilton-Young Commission and later by Sir Samuel Wilson, Permanent Under-Secretary of Colonies, who, during his visit to East Africa, was engaged in a study of the practical problems connected with measures for securing closer union and more effective co-operation between the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

THE FIJI ELECTIONS

The elections in Fiji are over, and three Indians have been elected members of the Legislative Council. This event has naturally caused considerable satisfaction in the Colony.

INDIAN LABOURERS IN CEYLON

"Despite the important political phase through which Ceylon is at present passing, the Island's main problem is the question of the Indian labourer," according to Mr. C. P. S. Menon, the new Government of India's Agent in Ceylon, who, addressing the Central Provinces Indian Association at Kandy recently, said that problems which had been tackled in India in the last three years were very different from the problems in Ceylon. The Indian labourer did not believe in sending in petitions.

Mr. Menon thought that "we could all take our cue from the immigrant labourer and concentrate on work and not on words."

THE SASTRI COLLEGE, DURBAN

The following is from the INDIAN OPINION of Natal, of October 18:—

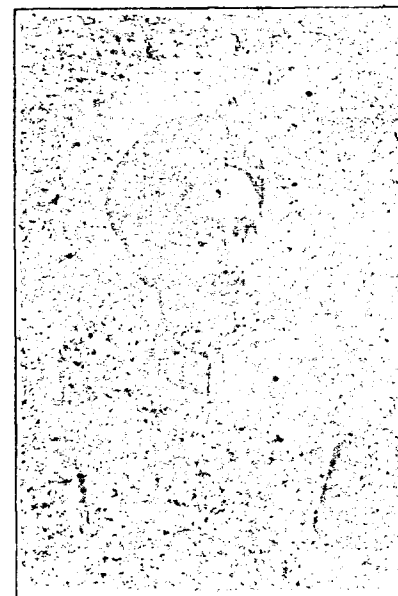
Monday, the 14th instant, was a memorable day for the Indian community when it was honoured by the presence of His Excellency the Governor-General who performed the opening ceremony of the Sastri College in Warwick Avenue at three o'clock in the afternoon in the presence of a very large gathering of Indians and Europeans.

DEATH OF MRS. DOKE

A South African correspondent writes to a local contemporary that Mrs. Doke, the wife of Rev. J. J. Doke, the first biographer of Mahatma Gandhi, passed away through an attack of pneumonia and pleurisy. The Rev. Doke died long ago. "Mrs. Doke will be remembered by all Indians as it was she who nursed Mr. Gandhi to life after the serious assaults on him during the passive resistance struggle in 1908. A number of beautiful wreaths were sent including, among others, four from Indian Associations and one from Mr. Gandhi."

RESERVATION OF COASTAL TRAFFIC

Mr. G. D. Birla has issued, on behalf of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and



Mr. G. D. BIRLA

President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

Industry, of which he is the President, a statement in reply to the circular letter dated July 27 last, issued by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon 'to influence opinion in England against India's right to adapt her policy to her own needs.'

Mr. Birla says that 'the coastal trade of a country is regarded universally as a domestic trade, the country's own preserve, in which non-nationals cannot engage as of right but to which they may be admitted only as an act of grace.'

'By the Coastal Reservation Bill, he writes, 'India is seeking to do what England has herself done, 'what her dominions and possessions are now doing with her approval and what other civilised countries of the world have done and are doing.'

INDIAN RAILWAY PROBLEMS

The Indian Railway Conference Association met recently at Simla, and the President, Sir Ernest Jackson, addressing the Conference, referred to the many problems confronting railways in India.

Sir Ernest dwelt on the importance of attracting traffic—passengers, parcels and goods—to the railways and referred to the excellent results of the publicity campaign.

The President, touching on the labour troubles during the year and the formal recognition of Unions, regretted that the men desiring to be represented by outside agencies, always made impossible demands.

Sir George Rainy, Member in charge of Commerce and Railways, Government of India, addressing the Conference, exhorted railway administrations to do their best to effect improvements in regard to hours of work, wages, leave rules and housing conditions.

THE WHITLEY COMMISSION

The Labour Commission held its first public sitting last month in the Council House at Delhi. Mr. Sastri was absent owing to ill-health.

The Commission examined Mr. Abel, Factory Inspector, Sardar Mahtab Singh, Industrial Surveyor, and Messrs P. Mukherji Sriram and Taylor representing the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, and Sardar Basakha Singh, a New Delhi Contractor. All the witnesses favoured sickness insurance scheme in principle, but held that, in addition to the cost, there were administrative difficulties in the way.

HIDES CESS COMMITTEE

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce, at a meeting held on Oct. 30, considered the terms of reference and questionnaire of the Hides Cess Committee, and resolved that representatives of the Madras Tanners and Shippers should be advised to resign from it, as, in the Chamber's opinion, no benefit would accrue from the Committee's report to the Indian tanning industry.

Agricultural Section

LAND REVENUE IN ANDHRA DESHA

The question of the Land Revenue policy of the Government of Madras figured prominently in the several Conferences held in Andhra recently. The Provincial Conference adopted a special resolution asking for the suspension of all Revision Settlements in view of the legislation to be framed. Speeches scathingly criticising the Land revenue policy of the Government were delivered. A Land League Conference was also held under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Ramdas Puntulu. He made a critical speech on the defects of the present land revenue policy. He pleaded that, if the matter was engaging the attention of the Imperial and the Local Governments, future revisions and re-settlements at least should have been stopped till the main principles were defined. But the Government of India and the Local Governments also had become very nervous about the whole question in so far as Land Revenue was excluded deliberately from the purview of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Taxation Inquiry Committee, though legitimately it could have been considered by both the Commission and the Committee. The Hon. Mr. Puntulu described how the present system worked. "So experienced a Revenue Administrator as Diwan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao said that the Executive Government and its Settlement Department first made up their minds as to the sum not less than that which should be collected from the ryot, and that sum was made to appear equal to half the net sum which the ryot was shown to have made from his land. There ended the statecraft, and then the accountant's aid was called into play to work up and find out what the gross produce or the net produce should be." Commenting on this, the MAHARATTA writes that this exposure, though severe, is true in most cases. Mr. Ramdas made two important suggestions which the Government would do well to accept. He said that the very foundation of the new policy should be the atan-

donment by the State, once for all, of its claim to property in the soil and a declaration that Land Revenue was not rent but a tax. It is clear, continues our contemporary, that public opinion is dead against the present Land Revenue policy and that the Government must take immediate steps to placate public opinion, if disastrous consequences are to be avoided.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE

The first business meeting of the recently constituted Central Agricultural Research Council will be held in New Delhi in December when several important questions relating to Indian agriculture will be discussed, among them being the protection of the Indian Sugar industry and the devising of means to deal with the menace of locusts.

In this connection, the Sugar Committee, appointed by the Council, has submitted an interim report in which it urges an early inquiry into the position of the sugar industry by the Tariff Board in view of the threat of foreign competition. It is likely that the Council will also discuss the question of converting the present *ad valorem* duty into a specific duty.

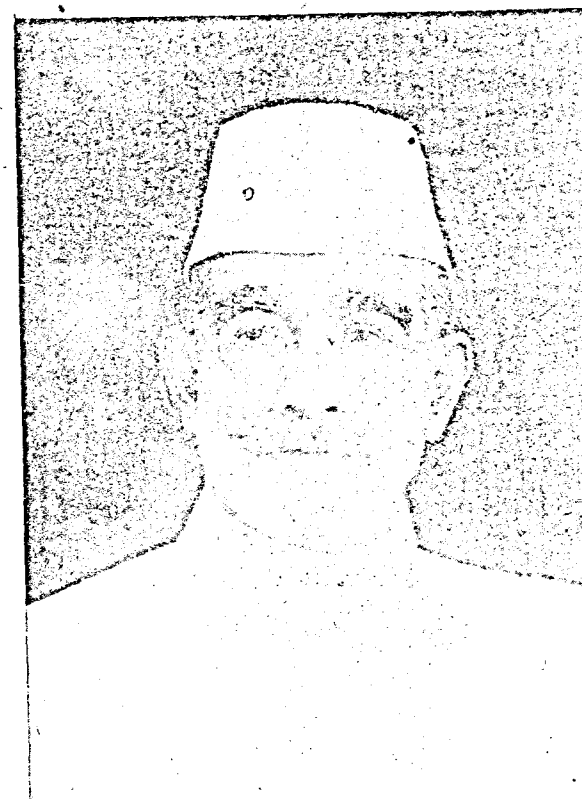
INDIAN FOREST SERVICE

In the Competitive Examination held at Delhi in July, 1925, for the appointment of probationers to the Indian Forest Service, the following candidates secured the first two places in order of merit: P. Venkataramany and M. Srinivasan. Abdul Hamid, who stood fifth in order of merit, has been selected to fill a vacancy reserved for the adjustment of communal inequalities. These three candidates are being offered appointments as probationers in the Indian Forest Service.

Medical

DR. ANSARI ON INDIAN MEDICINE

Last month when Dr. Ansari came to Mysore to preside over the All-Karnataka Hindi Conference, the Mysore Municipality presented him



Dr. M. A. ANSARI

wish a civic address. During the course of his reply to it, Mr. Ansari dwelt on the value of the indigenous system of medicine in India. He said:—

"I think that if we really want to alleviate the suffering of the masses and to reach them, we have to adopt some method like Ayurvedic and Unani systems. And the experiment which, on my advice, has been going on in another State in India which also happens to have a progressive ruler—Bhopal—they have got a central hospital in the town of Bhopal very well equipped and well organised with four Allopathic institutions and

about 200 Unani and Ayurvedic dispensaries all over the State of Bhopal in towns and districts. The result is that the ordinary diseases like malaria and dysentery are treated by Vaid and Hakims at a very little cost which poor people can afford, but when diseases assume serious aspect, then such cases are sent over to the four Allopathic centres. This system has been working in Bhopal very successfully with the result that during the last few years the incidence of diseases has greatly diminished and health is certainly very much better.

VITAMINS

Vitamin A: Dairy butter, carrots, cheese, cream, cod liver oil, dandelion greens, eggs, egg-yolk, ice cream, butter, milk, lettuce, peaches, pine-apple, sweet potatoes, spinach, tomatoes. Vitamin A is the anti-ophthalmia vitamin.

Vitamin B: Whole wheat, whole wheat bread, whole wheat breakfast food, wheat bran, whole barley, whole rice, milk, butter-milk, egg-yolk, onions, cabbage, parsnips, turnips, asparagus, cauliflower, celery, spinach, potatoes, tomatoes, lemons, oranges, pine-apples, peanuts, yeast. Vitamin B is the anti-beriberi vitamin.

Vitamin C: All berries in season, raw cabbage, celery, asparagus, lettuce, raw or canned tomatoes, grape-fruit, limes, oranges, lemons, fresh pine-apples, fresh peaches, apples, bananas. Vitamin C is the anti-scurvy vitamin.

Vitamin D: Cod-liver oil, egg-yolk whole egg, butter, milk, lettuce. Vitamin D is the anti-rickets vitamin.

Vitamin E: Whole grained cereals, especially whole wheat, corn, oats, lettuce, cocoa-nut oil, olive oil, peanut oil, liver. Vitamin E is the anti-sterility vitamin.

Vitamin F: Milk, eggs, fresh meat, lettuce, dandelion greens, spinach, carrots, tomatoes, yeast. Vitamin F is probably found in most foods containing Vitamin B. Vitamin F is the anti-pellagra vitamin.

TATA HYDRO-ELECTRIC WORKS

The Bombay Corporation has passed a resolution asking the Government to take steps to prevent the proposed transfer of part of control of the Tata Hydro-Electric Companies to an American Syndicate. The resolution declared that such transfer might adversely affect the option vested in the Corporation under the Indian Electricity Act, purchase and license.

Dr. Choksey, moving the resolution, asserted that the reason why India did not get Swaraj was the presence of over 200 crores of foreign capital, and any addition to this enormous amount should be discountenanced.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, supporting the resolution, said the mover had not adequately expressed the resentment, humiliation and disappointment felt by the country at the proposed transaction.

At Mr. Jamnadas's suggestion, the Corporation agreed to the appointment of a Committee with the President as Chairman to investigate into the proposed transfer and suggest methods to prevent it.

X-RAY DETECTIVE

That a man is a carpenter may be revealed under the X-ray by the shape of the bones in his fingers. This is one of the novel conclusions of a recent investigation that recalls the fictional detective feats of Sherlock Holmes.

Experts found that peculiarities in the shape of workman's fingers revealed that they had long used a plane or similar wood-working tools. It is hoped eventually to gather sufficient data to detect any man's occupation by his physical characteristics.

ATTAR OF ROSES

The world's supply of attar of roses comes from an eighty-mile-long Bulgarian valley, the only place on earth where roses have been grown with sufficient scent to make their distillation into perfume profitable. It requires about 50,000 rose buds picked at dawn to yield one ounce of this precious oil.

AN INTERESTING FLOWER

In clearing away the refuse from the ancient silver mines of Larium, in Greece, a large number of seeds of a saffron-coloured flower of the poppy family were found, which must have been buried there for at least fifteen hundred years. Exposed to the beneficent influence of the sun's rays, they rapidly took root, flourished, budded and blossomed, their yellow corollas being beautiful in the extreme. This interesting flower, unknown to modern science, is particularly and frequently described in the writings of Pliny and Dioscorides, and is thus again resuscitated, after having disappeared from the surface of the globe for more than fifteen centuries.

A SCIENTIST ON INDIAN UNREST

Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, who gave a demonstration of his new experiments of life mechanism of plants at the India Office on the 9th July at the invitation of the Secretary of State for India, interviewed by the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, said that the increasing unemployment and severe economic distress were the cause of the unrest in India, as elsewhere in the world, but owing to its magnitude, the problem in India was far more acute and dangerous than anywhere else.

TELEPHONE MARVELS

Two remarkable inventions were demonstrated at a meeting of the Telephone Pioneers' Society by Sergius Grace of the Bell Telephone Laboratories. The first appliance is for linking up automatic and hand-worked Exchanges and enables a subscriber to dial a number (without speaking). The Exchange hears the number enunciated in perfect voice. An Irish girl has been specially selected to phonograph records for the new mechanism.

Her voice is known as "the voice with a smile."

The second invention enables a person to store within himself electrically a message which he can subsequently deliver by placing a finger to another person's ear.

THE LEADER

The new offices of the LEADER, built at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs were formally opened on October 20 by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. There



MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

Editor of THE LEADER.

was a large and distinguished gathering present including the Commissioner and the High Court Judges.

Rai Krishnaji eulogised the services of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Rai Krishna Ram Mehta to the paper, the success of which was achieved in spite of the vicissitudes it had passed through.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in the course of his speech, said that the conviction was growing deeper and deeper in his mind that Dominion

Status would be established next year when the paper would have its work to do. Pandit Motilal said that the occasion was a matter for rejoicing by the whole province. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wished it every success.

We should like to add our own appreciation of what the LEADER has achieved during the last two decades. It has, under its indefatigable Editor, Mr. Chintamani, done not a little to promote the public life not only of the Province but the whole country as well: and while we heartily congratulate it on its past record, we look forward to an uninterrupted continuance of its usefulness in the future.

ON BOOKS

"A Popular best-seller," writes Mr. Frank Swinerton, in THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, "is a book written by a sincere author whose talent is greater than the common talent, but whose tastes are similar to the popular tastes. . . . The best-seller occurs only when author, publisher, and public are in accord. . . . The reason why the majority of books see the light is that the publisher of each book believes or has been led to hope that this particular book is a good book. He may or may not expect to make money upon it, but if he hopes to make money, the hope is not discreditable to him, since the publisher is in business for business purposes. And the publisher frequently publishes a book upon which he knows he will lose money. He publishes that book because he wants to publish it. He thinks it is a good book, and he believes that what he thinks is good will appeal to other readers. In this, he is generally right. . . . Fourteen thousand books are published each year. But we do not know the little human story behind each title. If we did, we might blame the publishers for some failures in guardianship or in taste, in commercial sense or a perception of the popular need, but we could scarcely hold the view that publishers were heartless persons."

THE HARTOG COMMITTEE REPORT

"Responsibility for mass education through which lies formation of an educated electorate rests primarily with the State, and provision of



SIR PHILIP HARTOG

educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas should not be left entirely to the mercy of the local authorities." This is the considered opinion of Sir Philip Hartog and the Members of the Committee appointed by the Simon Commission to review the growth of education in British India. The report is a unanimous document except for a sharp minute of dissent by Raja Narendranath, who objects to the proposal of the Committee for reservation of seats in schools for Mahomedans and others, if necessary, and to the recommendation for introduc-

tion of religious education in public schools for the classes desiring it.

The Committee notes with satisfaction that a largely increased enrolment in primary schools indicates that the old-time apathy of the masses is breaking down and that there has been social and political awakening of the women of India and an expressed demand on their behalf for education and social reform. There has been rapid progress in the numbers of Mahomedans receiving instruction. Efforts have been made to improve the condition of the depressed classes, who are now beginning to assert their right to education. On all sides, there has been a desire on the part of leaders of public opinion to grapple with the difficult problem of education and a large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers and willingly voted by the Legislative Councils. But throughout the whole educational system, there is waste and ineffectiveness, particularly so in the primary system, which should be designed to produce literacy and capacity to exercise an intelligent vote.

INTER-UNIVERSITIES' CONFERENCE

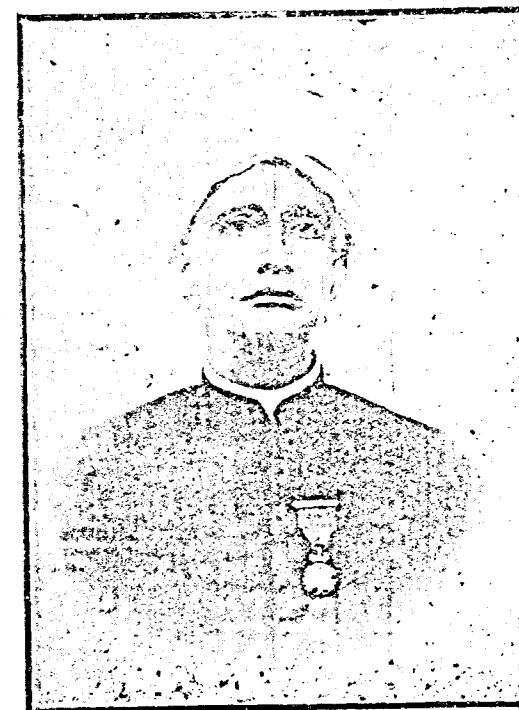
Opening the Inter-Universities' Conference at Delhi, His Excellency the Viceroy laid stress on the need for University reform in India. He condemned the low standards of proficiency which were demanded by certain Universities and asked them to admit only such applicants as would profit by the training.

Regarding the function of the University as the creation and maintenance of standards, he outlined a three-fold standard—learning, judgment and conduct—and urged the University to cultivate and uphold them. He also referred to the responsibilities of the youths who were now passing through the Universities.

The Conference considered, among other things, the question of physical training in Indian Universities, and recommended that it should be made compulsory for all undergraduate students.

SIR V. BHASHYAM AIYANGAR

Madras has honoured itself by erecting a statue of Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyengar, the great lawyer



SIR V. BHASHYAM AIYANGAR

and jurist. Sir Bhashyam was reputed to be the foremost lawyer of his generation and it is only appropriate that his statue should adorn the High Court, the scene of all his forensic achievements. Though he was not a congress man, he accorded a warm support to its principles. He was a member of the Legislative Council for long periods. A man of independent outlook and temper, he was cautious by temperament. Sir Sivaswami Aiyer and Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyer, who have known Sir Bhashyam in the palmy days of his advocacy, spoke in terms of high praise. Their eloquent tributes to the versatility of Sir Bhashyam were well merited.

DIVORCE CASES IN ENGLAND

The year's record of divorce suits in Britain is expected to total something like 4,000 cases. This is sufficiently serious, but it might be very much worse. In the United States, one marriage in seven ends in divorce. In Britain, the present proportion is only one in a hundred and fourteen. Without in any way advocating or encouraging divorce as a practice, we may, after looking round upon the marriages with which we are acquainted, easily be forced to the conclusion that more than one in a hundred and fourteen of them were better ended.

LIABILITIES OF PARENTS

George Lux, a sixteen-year-old boy of Chicago, U.S.A. was killed as a result of motoring after bouts of drinking and dancing. This is a symptom of parental negligence, and, consequently, 56 parents were arrested and charged with parental neglect. Two parents have been sentenced to imprisonment and 23 fined. The inquest evidence disclosed the alarming fact that, owing to the neglect by parents of their natural duties, boys, and girls took to consuming large quantities of alcohol.

NEW LAWS IN TURKEY

The INDIAN DAILY MAIL, commenting on the abolition of imprisonment as a punishment for indebtedness in Turkey, observes: This will be one of the consequences resulting from the overhauling of the judicial system which the Republican administration has embarked upon. The Minister of Justice is said to have characterised imprisonment for debt as an uncivilized survival. The general effect of the innovations introduced in Turkish legislation, it is expected, will be to accelerate the administration of justice, so that cases will no longer drag out for a number of years. Orders have also been issued to all officials to show themselves amicable and accommodating to the public, which should furnish a valuable hint to other countries claiming more "advanced" constitutions.

THE LATE SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

We deeply regret to record the death of Sir Valentine Chirol, the well-known British Journalist. Sir Valentine, who had travelled widely in



SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

India and the East, was considered an authority on Indian and Egyptian politics on which he wrote as Special Correspondent of the LONDON TIMES. His articles were subsequently published in book form. Seventeen years ago when he visited India as a member of the Public Services Commission, he was thought a reactionary, but closer acquaintance with Indians and deeper knowledge of the country completely transformed him into a lover of India, and as he advanced in age, he grew in wisdom and generosity. He became sympathetic to Indian aspirations; and it may not be within the knowledge of the public that he was privately helping many a poor student in India. For years past, Sir Valentine's articles have been a distinguished feature of our special numbers, and it is with no small regret that we shall miss it this year.

Only in the closing week of September last, he wrote to the Editor of this Journal: "I will try to do what you want, but my health and my eyes are getting worse and it is an increasing effort to work as I used to"; and he cheerily concluded: "But you shall have something so as not to break the habit." But that was not to be. Sir Valentine passed away on 23rd October in his eightieth year.

SIR M. HABIBULLAH

Sir Mahomed Habibullah, Leader of the Indian Delegation to Geneva, returned to India on Nov. 1.

In the course of a statement to the Press, Sir Mahomed stated: "During my deputation to Europe, I represented India at two Conferences, namely, the tenth Assembly of the League of Nations and the Conference on Dominion Legislation. At Geneva, I had the privilege of being the first Indian to lead the Indian Delegation to the Assembly. I was fortunate in my colleagues, and our doings, which have already been chronicled in the Press show how ably and loyally I was supported by them. Representatives of all States who sent Delegations to Geneva this year welcomed the appearance of an Indian Leader. This they regard as a happy sign for the future. The London Conference assembled in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1926. India's interests in it, as far as I could see primarily, centred on shipping affairs, but it seemed only consistent with her status as important part of the British Commonwealth of Nations that her representation on the Conference should not be specifically restricted to a discussion of any particular subject. This object was secured. I regret that owing to the exigencies of my work in India, I was unable to stay on in London until the end of the Conference, but in Sir Basanta Mullick I am confident India has a vigilant and tactful representative. In conclusion, all I would say is I am glad to be back in India. There is no country like one's own."

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

In another page, we publish the Viceroy's statement and the manifesto issued by the leaders at Delhi. Since then some of the Bombay leaders, deprecating what they regard as the bargaining spirit of the Delhi statement, issued a manifesto urging that the invitation to the Round Table Conference should be accepted without any conditions. On this the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, who attended the Leaders' Conference at Delhi and is one of the signatories to the joint manifesto, says in a statement to the press:—

"The decision to present the reply to the Viceroy's invitation in that form was arrived at after very careful consideration and with the approval of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri. While there was a general desire to respond to an invitation to the Round Table Conference, it was felt that with a view to produce the right atmosphere and lead to that "healing and health" which have been so properly emphasised by the Viceroy, and further to reconcile different elements, it was essential among other things that a general amnesty should be given to political prisoners.

"And if I understand the mind of the Leaders' Conference aright, the suggestion that the statement is couched in a spirit of bargaining or huckstering is far from being correct."

On the day of the threatened censure in the House of Commons, Mr. Natesan sent the following urgent cable to the Premier:—

"The Viceroy's statement authorised by yourself and Mr. Wedgwood Benn has transformed the atmosphere of distrust into one of hope. The Opposition's attempts at whittling down are perilous. Lord Irwin's high character and statesmanship have averted grave developments."

Pundit Motilal Nehru called a conference of those who had signed the Delhi Manifesto, to meet at Allahabad on the 18th to consider the situation arising from the debates in Parliament. In response to this invitation, Mr. Natesan sent the following telegram:

"Thanks invitation. Consider keeping away from Round Table Conference disastrous. Parliamentary answers inevitable; technically correct; must not alienate sympathies Viceroy, Labour Government. Policy of trust advisable. No reason to resile Delhi decision."



THEIR EXCELLENCIES LORD & LADY IRWIN

MADRAS BLUE'S RETURN

Mr. C. V. Nagaraja Sastri, the son of the Hon. Justice Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, has returned to Madras after a stay of nearly six years in Europe. A correspondent writes in the HINDU that, while at Edinburgh, he took up Boxing seriously and was trained by Mr. Cotter, a famous trainer of Leith. "When Mr. Sastri went up to the Oxford University, he took up the sport straightaway. During the first year, he fought for the 'Varsity on some occasions but lost his Trials after a very strenuous bout. In the second year, he again represented the University all through, and won not only the Novices' Tournament but also the Trials, thereby winning his Blue. He is the first Madrassi Boxing Blue of any British University and the second Indian to gain this distinction in Inter-Varsity Boxing.

He also ran in the Cross-Country team of the Edinburgh University and was a runner-up in the All Parks Tennis Tournament at Edinburgh. At Oxford, he represented the Basenose College in the second Tennis team having had no time to spare for this sport."

BADMINTON AT TINNEVELLY

The final of the Badminton Tournament conducted by the Tinnevely District Commercial Association was played on the 6th November on the ground adjoining the Centenary Hall, Palamcottah. The competing teams were the Catholic Young Men's Association and the Jolly Five from Vannarpet. The match was keenly contested and ended in a win for C.Y.M.A. by two games to nil. Mr. V. K. Raman Menon, District Educational Officer, presided and distributed the prizes.

SCHNEIDER TROPHY

It is officially stated that the Government has decided that the Air-Force will not again compete in the Schneider Trophy contests, thus leaving British participation to private enterprise, under the auspices of the Royal Aero-Club.

CRICKET AT MANMAD

A one-day cricket match was played at Manmad between the Aurangabad Cantonment Cricket Club and the Rly. Indian Institute, Manmad, at Manmad on the 27th October 1929. The former made 47 runs in the first innings and 85 in the second. To this the Home team replied with 76 runs in the 1st innings and 68 runs for the loss of two wickets in the second innings. The match thus ended in a win for the Rly. Institute by 8 wickets and 6 runs. For Manmad, Lawrence and Jewan played brilliant cricket contributing 30 and 20 (not out) respectively in the 2nd innings.

WORLD'S ENDURANCE RECORD

Mr. Shafi Ahmad, a former student of the Osmania University who broke the endurance record at Calcutta recently, stated in an interview with the Associated Press that he would shortly proceed to England to attempt to swim the English Channel and re-cross it at a stretch. He would also attack the world endurance record of 62 hours recently established in Malta. He has been promised financial help by the Mahomedan Sporting Club of Calcutta and Bhopal. He is also requesting His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government to finance him as he is a mulki (native) so that if he succeeds, the honour will go to the Nizam's State.

Mr. Robin Chatterjee of Allahabad also intends swimming the English Channel, and arrangements are being made for his attempt in July next.

ATHLETICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Achilles Club in the last match, finishing up their tour, beat Natal by 7 events to 2. Morgan's time for the mile was 4 minutes, 16 & 2/5 seconds, which is a South African record.

DR. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR

A farewell entertainment was given to Rao Sahib Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, the retiring Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the



DR. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR

University of Madras by the members of the Research departments of the Madras University on the 6th instant. There was a large attendance.

Dewan Bahadur K. Ramunni Menon, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, who presided on the occasion, expressed his deep appreciation of Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's work in the Madras University. The Chair of Indian History and Archaeology, he said, was one of the two earliest chairs created in this University. Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar was the first occupant of that chair, and he had occupied it with distinction for the last fifteen years. During that period, he had done much to create and to sustain the reputation of this University as a centre of historical research. Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar had won encomiums from people who were most competent to estimate the work he had done. His

work had spread far beyond the narrow confines of pure research. He had been a popular lecturer, and the speaker had no doubt that generations of students had carried away with them from Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's lectures not only sound historical learning, but pleasant recollections of his genial personality. Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar had been an active member of various University bodies, and as such he brought to the service of the University, wide knowledge, ripe experience and capacity for putting things in a sober and reasonable form.

The Vice-Chancellor next presented the guest of the evening a silver ink-stand as a souvenir from his colleagues.

Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, who succeeds Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar as University Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, also spoke a few words in appreciation of the work done by Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar.

THE NEW AFGHAN KING

Writing to THE TIMES, the Marquess of Crewe says that the election of Nadir Khan as King of Afghanistan must give sincere pleasure to those who, like himself, had the good fortune of knowing him personally.

Lord Crewe recalls that when he was British Ambassador in Paris, Nadir Khan, who was then Afghan Minister in the French Capital, made a custom of calling regularly at the British Embassy.

During the River Oxus dispute, Nadir Khan frankly expressed his personal desire to tighten the link between Afghanistan and the Government of India. Nadir Khan's fondest hope appeared to be the improvement of railway communication with India.

If Nadir Khan succeeds in consolidating the various elements of his difficult country, Lord Crewe maintains the British Government and the Government of India will find themselves fortunate in gaining a loyal ally and an excellent neighbour.

Diary of the Month

October 21. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain opens the Muslim Educational Conference at Poona.



MR. ERNEST BURDON

October 22. Mr. Ernest Burdon is appointed Auditor-General of India.

October 23. Sir Valentine Chirol is dead.

October 24. Sir Philip Chetwode is appointed Commander-in-Chief of India.

October 25. H. E. Lord Irwin arrives in Bombay.

October 26. H. E. Lord Goschen departs for England.

October 27. Dr. Besant arrives in Madras from Europe.

October 28. Baccha-e-Sako is arrested.

October 29. Parliament re-opens after three months' recess.

October 30. Lord Carson resigns his office as Lord of Appeal.

October 31. The Viceroy issues *Gazette Extraordinary*, declaring Government's policy with regard to reforms.

November 1. Mr. MacDonald returns to England from America.

November 2. Indian leaders issue a joint statement on the Viceroy's announcement.

November 3. Baccha-i-Sako is shot dead.

November 4. The Commons pass Mr. Henderson's motion for the resumption of Anglo-Russian diplomatic relations.

November 5. The electric train service between Poona and Bombay is inaugurated by H. E. the Governor of Bombay.

November 6. Mr. Narottam Morarjee, the Bombay Mill-owner, is dead.

November 7. Debate on India takes place in the Commons.

November 8. H. M. The King receives several of his Ministers at the Buckingham Palace.

November 9. The Viceroy prorogues the Central Legislature.

November 10. Dr. Satyapal is released.

November 11. Mr. H. A. Sams assumes charge as Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs.

November 12. Sir George Stanley, Governor of Madras, takes charge.

November 13. The Premier of Iraq is shot dead.

November 14. Imamdin, murderer of Rajpal, is executed.

November 15. Gregory Sokolnikov is appointed Soviet Ambassador in Britain.

November 16. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, at an urgent meeting, adopts a resolution on the Viceroy's declaration, that the recent pronouncements of the Cabinet Ministers do not allow the Congress room to participate in the Round-Table Conference, and requests the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee to give a lead on the lines of the Calcutta resolution.

—It also passes a resolution for the unqualified boycott of the Whitley Commission.

November 17. The leaders of the Bombay untouchables decide to offer *Satyagraha* to secure their right of entry into temples.

Nov. 18. Mr. T. P. O'Connor is dead.

—The A. I. C. C. meets in Aliahabad and postpones consideration of the Viceroy's statement pending the decision of the Congress.

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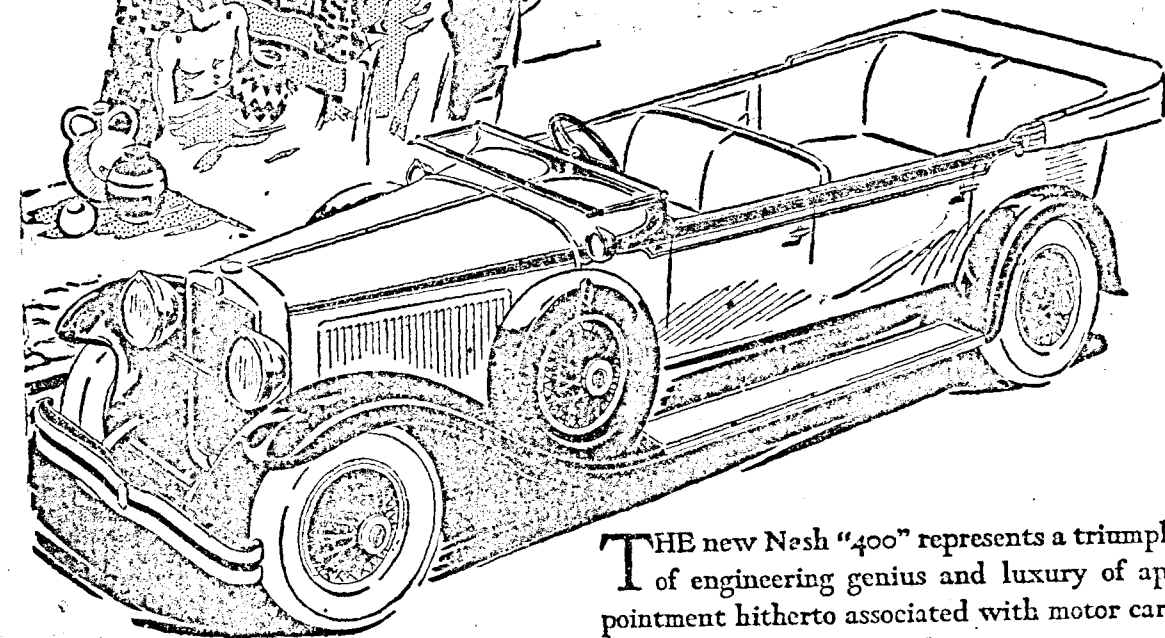
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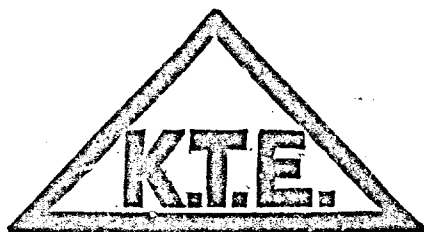
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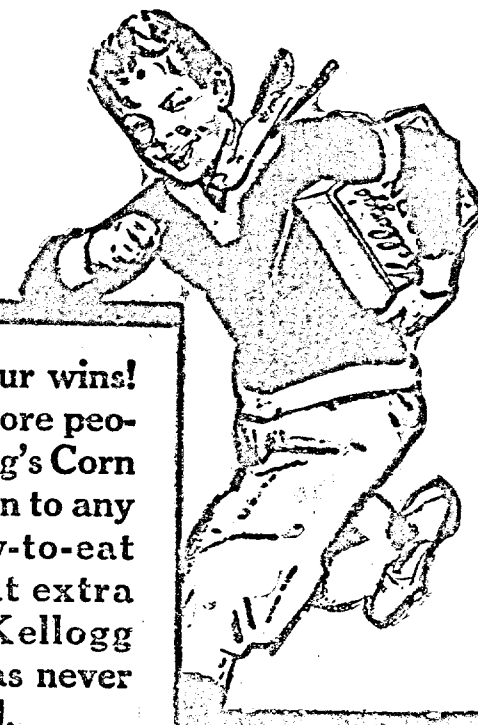
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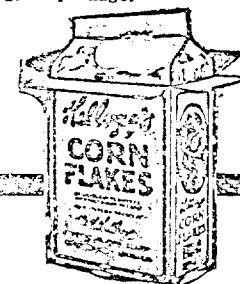
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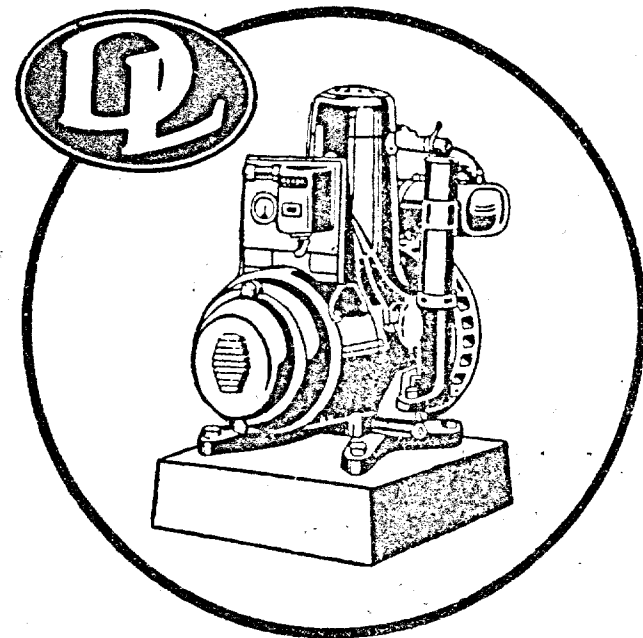
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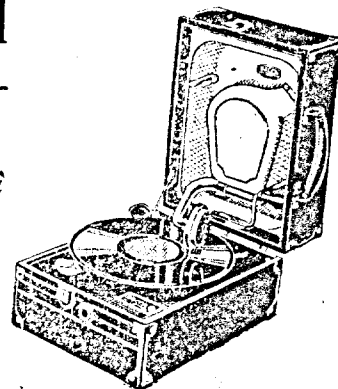
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The plates given away with *The Madras Mail Annual* this year are typical of the best work of the older and modern artists in India. "Christ of the Indian Road," by A. Thomas—a young and rising Indian artist—was the picture of the year at the South Indian Art Exhibition. "Off to the Flower Market" is one of the best specimens of the work of Dharendra K. Deo Varma, who has been chosen by the Government for the special scholarship entitling the holder to the privileges of training in London and on the Continent with a view to later employment in the decoration of the new Government buildings in New Delhi. "South-East View of Fort St. George" by Thos. & Wm. Daniell is one of the most famous prints of these artists. H. F. Prynne's "Guindy Park" is an extremely good specimen of pastel work by this clever artist. "The Beggar at the Wayside," by A. Nityananda Pillai, is a typical Indian figure skilfully portrayed. "Ploughing Wet Land" is by E. G. Barter, whose painting "Transplanting Paddy" in last year's Annual was among the most popular features of a very successful issue.

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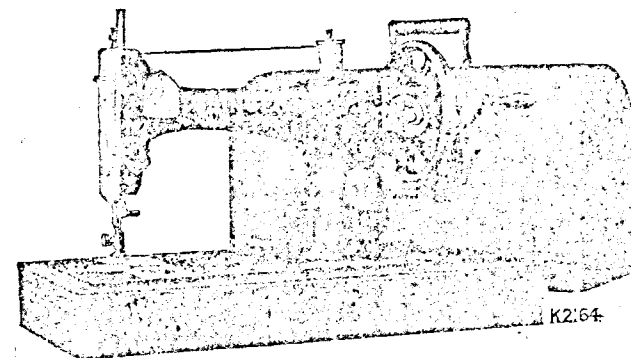
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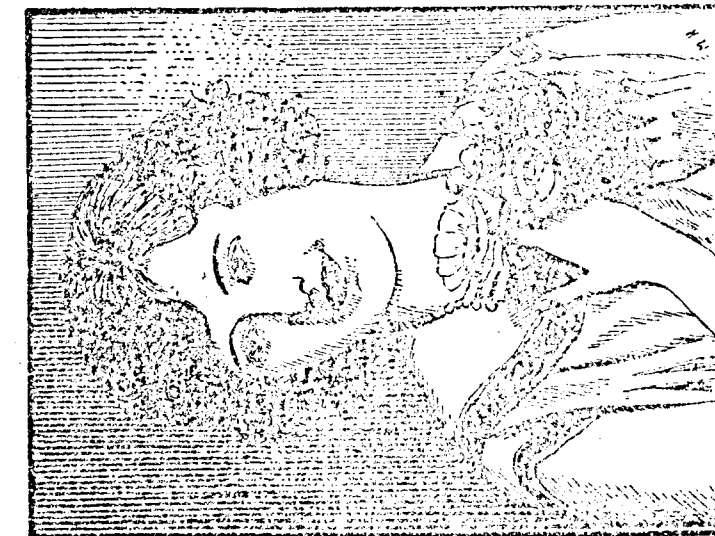
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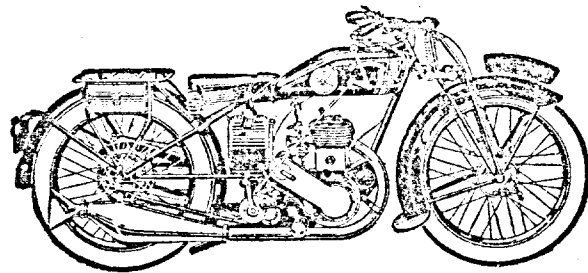
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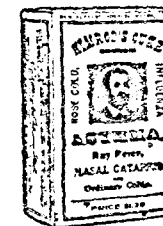
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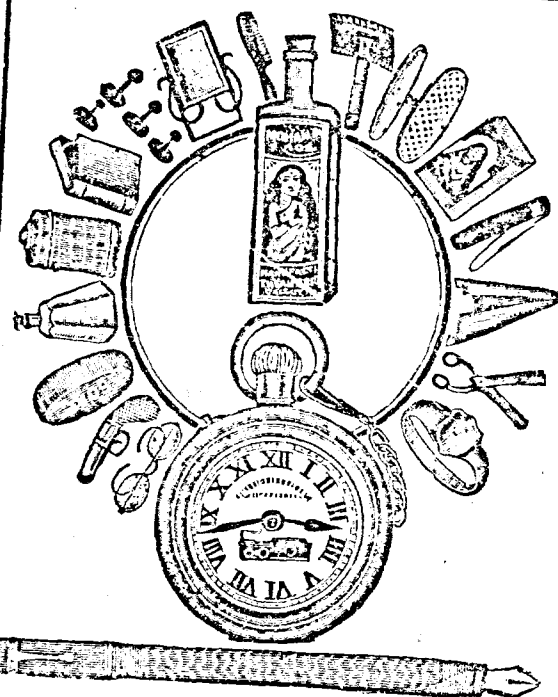
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EDITED BY DR. ANNIE BESANT

1879 JUBILEE NUMBER 1929

Contents of October Number

Watch-Tower, Notes.
An Address on White Lotus Day, London, 1929. Dr. Annie Besant.
A Talk to Prisoners. C. Jinarajadasa.
Wrong-doing and Suffering. Dr. Annie Besant.
Magnetic Astronomy and Astro-Physics. G. E. Sutcliffe.
Natural Theosophy. Religion. Ernest Wood.
The Hidden Side of "The Theosophist". M. K. Neff.
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PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—BOMBAY TO LONDON.

Steamers.	Tons.	Sailing About	Steamers.	Tons.	Sailing About
S. S. "Maloja"†	20,837	9th Nov. 1929	S. S. "Viceroy of India"	19,648	14th Dec. 1929
" "Ranchi"	16,650	16th " "	" "Rawalpindi"	15,614	21st " "
" "Macedonia"	11,190	23rd " "	" "Kaiser-i-Hind"	11,518	28th " "
" "Morea"	10,954	30th " "	" "Narkunda"†	16,572	4th Jan. 1930
" "Naldera"†	16,088	7th Dec. "	" "Ranpura"	16,601	11th " "

Through Steamers from Australia†

Through Steamers from China.*

PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—CALCUTTA TO LONDON.

STEAMERS	TONS	SAILING ABOUT
S. S. "Nankin"	7,000	16th November 1929.
" "Nagoya"	7,000	30th " "

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS FROM CALCUTTA & MADRAS TO LONDON.

BRITISH INDIA MAILING		Sailing About	
Steamers	Tons.	From Calcutta	From Madras
		8th Nov. 1929	12th Nov. 1929
S. S. "Mulbera"	9,100	23rd " "	27th " "
" "Mashobra"	8,324	7th Dec. "	11th Dec. "
" "Mantola"	9,065	21st " "	25th " "
" "Mandala"	8,246		

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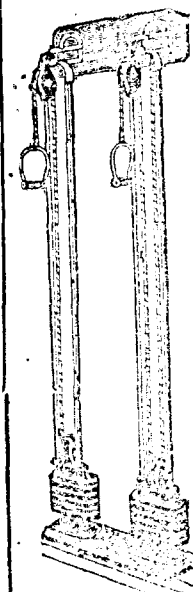
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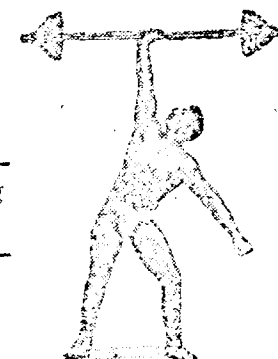
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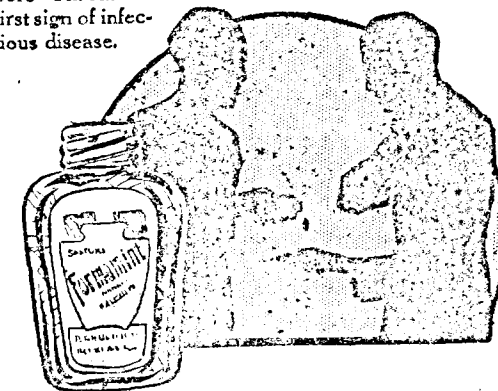
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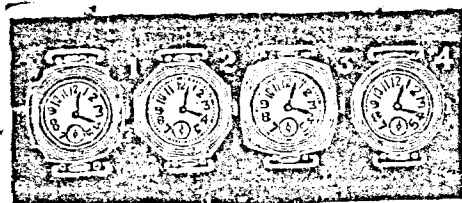
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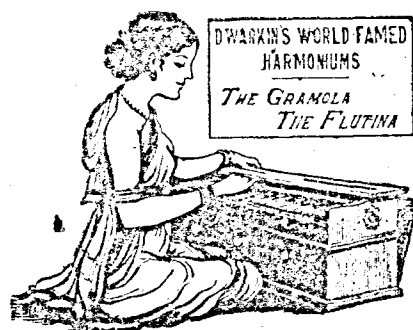
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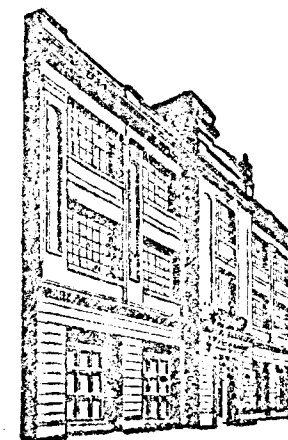
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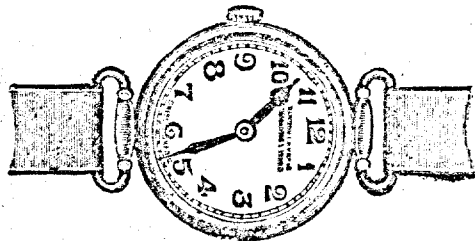
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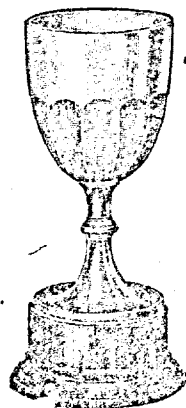
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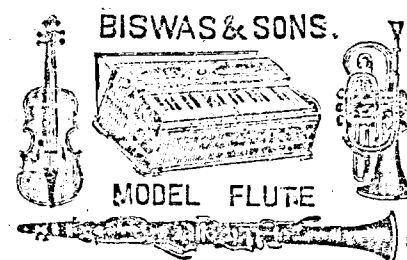
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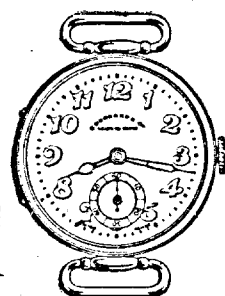
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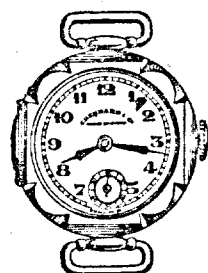
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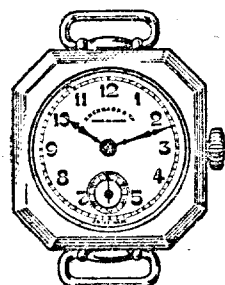
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