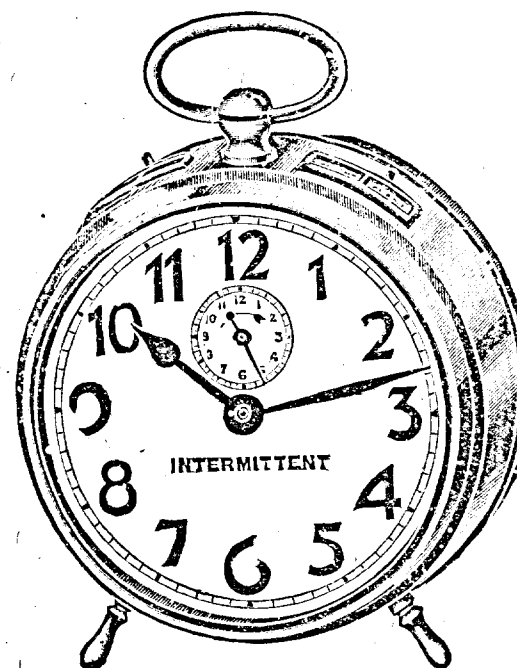


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Index to Advertisers in the "Indi

	PAGE
Addison & Co., Ltd., Madras	14
All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society	28
Amrutanjan, Depot, Madras	30
Anglo-Indian Drug and Chemical Co.	4TH COVER
Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works.	16
Bennett Coleman & Co., Ltd., Bombay	12
Bhannu, Prof. K. N. Ramaladnya	14, 21
Biswas & Sons.	32
Bombay Chronicle	22
Bona Bros., S. S., Ludhiana	23
Bose, Dr. M., Saidpur	24
Brij Mohan & Co., Amritsar	34
Calcutta Astrological Syndicate, Calcutta	32
Carr & Mahalanobis, Calcutta	27
Central Bank of India—Reading Matter	799
Ceylon Morning Leader Co., Colombo	26
Chirological Society, Calcutta	23
Commercial Union Assurance Co., Ltd., Madras	30
Chowdry, Dr. S.	39
Das & Co. K. M.	38
East Bengal Store, Calcutta	32
English Electric Co., Ltd., Madras	15
Erasmic, London	4
Flit, London	FACING READING MATTER
Formamint	27
Govt. of India Central Book Depot.	FIRST COVER
Guardian, Calcutta	37
Hanuman Jothida Sala, Kallakurieli	27
Himrod's Asthma Cure	20
India School of Accountancy, Calcutta	32
Indian Daily Mail, Bombay	29
Jalal & Sons, Madras	25
Kalidas Motiram, Dr.	30
Kalpataru Ayurvedic Works	36
Kaviraj N. N. Sen & Co., Ltd., Calcutta	11
Kerala Soap Institute, Calicut	13
Kitchen Craft Agency—READING MATTER	831
Madras Mail	10
Madras and Southern Mahratta Ry. Co.	31
Madras Type-foundry, Madras	20
Malabati Tea	30
Massey & Co., Ltd., Royapuram	7, 19
Mohini Flute Co., Calcutta	28
Mohun Tosh Bros., Calcutta	21
Motor Reconditioning Station, (New Nash) Madras	17
Mullick Brothers, Calcutta	37
National Indian Life Assur. Co., Madras	39
Neo-Komala Vilas, Madras	39
Nogi & Co., Bombay	28
Oriental Life Assurance Co.,	BELOW CALENDAR
Orr & Sons, Ltd., P. Madras.	INNER CONTENTS
Osler, Ltd., F. & C. Madras	13
Overbeck's Rejuvenator Agency,	SEC.
Palaniandi Pillai & Co., K. Madras	1, 2
Pelman Institute, Delhi	3
P. & O. and British India Companies	36
Prabuddha Bharata	5
Quaker Oats	23
Ram Duth, D. A., Astrologer, Colombo	24
Rane Ltd., Bombay	20
Sadhana Ausadhalaya, Dacca	19
Sanatogen	33
Scindia Steam Navigation Company	8
Sen & Co., R. C. Calcutta	8
Shaw, M. L., Calcutta	11
Shaw Wallace & Co., Madras	24
Singer Sewing Machine Co.	6, 40
Specific Co., D., Bombay	18
Spencer & Co.	38
South India Chemicals & Laboratories, Madras.	826
Sun Life Assurance Co., of Canada	9
Surajmal Lalubhai & Co.—Reading Matter	28
Titaghur Paper Mills Co., Ltd., Calcutta	37, 39
Triveni, Madras	7
Union Trading Co., Calcutta	15
Volkart Bros., Madras	
Wilson & Co., Madras	

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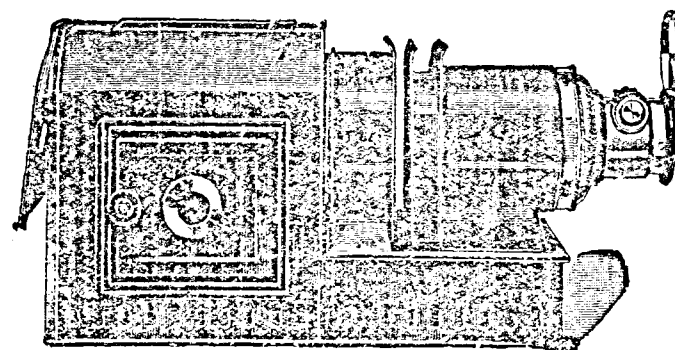
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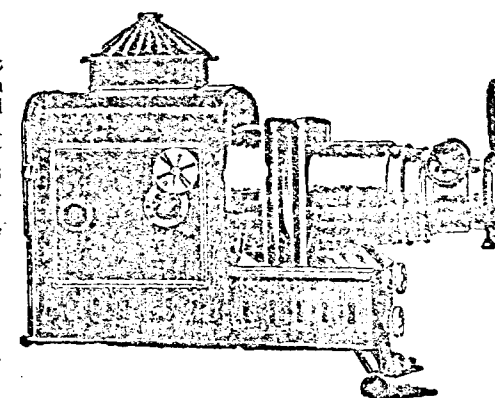
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INDIAN REVIEW

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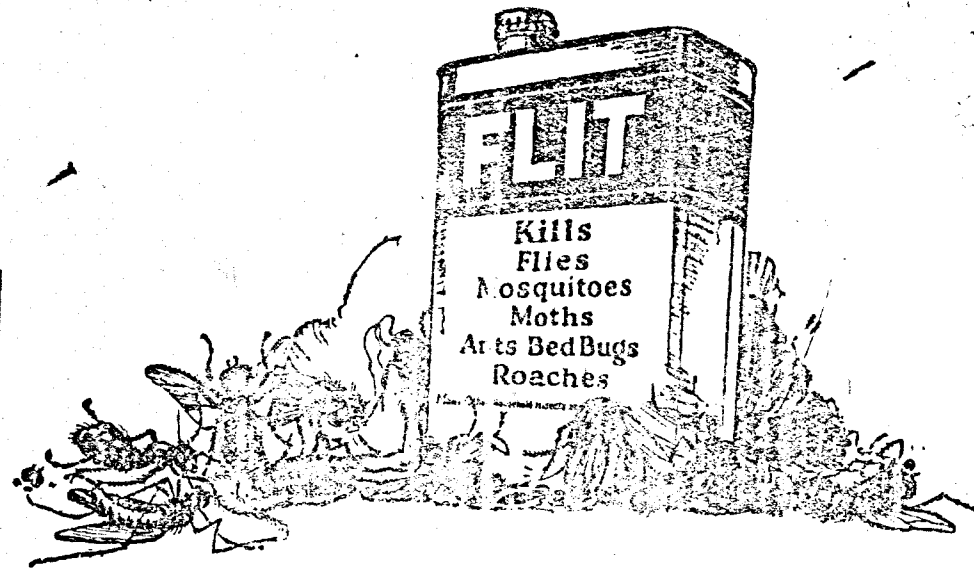
THE INDIAN STATES AND DOMINION STATUS

BY SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER, K.C.S.I.

THE announcement of a Round Table Conference for the discussion of Indian constitutional reforms is a matter of interest not merely to the people of British India, but also to the Indian States. The main reason given by Sir John Simon for suggesting such a conference is the interconnection between the Indian States and British India and the necessity for an adjustment of the relations between them which is involved in the determination of the future status of India. The proposed Conference has been welcomed by the Indian Princes who look forward to it for a satisfactory settlement of the various questions which they raised before the Butler Committee. The decision of the Government that the Conference should be a tripartite one has been received by many of the subjects of the Indian States with feelings of deep disappointment. They have unsuccessfully urged upon the Viceroy their claims to representation in the Conference. There have been, on the other hand, pronouncements by the Indian Princes as to the scope of the Conference, the parties to it and the questions to be referred for consideration. The most notable of these pronouncements are those of the Maharajah of Bikanir and the Maharajah of Patiala. The Princes take the strongest objection to the idea of a quadrilateral Conference, including the representatives of their subjects.

Before proceeding to consider the very important constitutional questions raised by the Indian Princes, it is necessary to clear the ground with reference to the issue raised by the subjects of the Indian States. Should the Conference be triangular

or quadrilateral? Natural as may be the feeling of disappointment among the subjects of the Indian States, it is not possible for the Viceroy to have given any other reply than the one he gave at Bangalore. Pledged as the British Government is to a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Indian States and bound as they are by treaties to respect the internal independence of the ruling Princes, it would have been strange for the British Government to have included within the scope of the Conference questions relating to the internal administration of the various States. Whether the Government of India has, on previous occasions, interfered in cases of gross mismanagement or not is beside the point. Subject, it may be, to a power of interference reserved for exercise in exceptional cases, the professed policy of the Government of India is, and has been, one of general non-interference in internal affairs. The issue raised relates not to the existence of the exceptional power, but to the normal constitutional relations between the Government of India and the Governments of the Indian States. On an external issue like this, the Princes must be recognised as the natural and constitutional representatives of their States. There can be no conflict of interests between the Indian Princes and their subjects on the external relations between them and British India. In matters of internal administration, there can and may be a difference of views, or conflict of interests between the Ruling Chiefs and their peoples. If it is constitutionally not possible for the Government of India to



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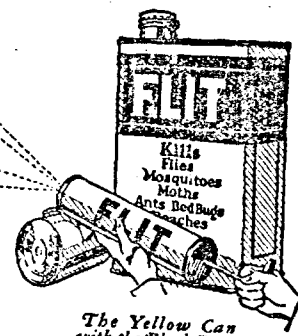
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widen the business of the Conference so as to include the internal administration of the States, it is impossible to question the correctness of the decision to invite only the rulers of the States. Some of the subjects of the Indian States feel aggrieved at the attitude of public men in British India, and consider them selfish in limiting their agitation for constitutional reforms to British India and in not fighting for the simultaneous introduction of constitutional reforms within the Indian States. But this complaint is groundless and unreasonable. The subjects of the States themselves are keen advocates of the internal autonomy of their States, and, to say the least, it is not a little inconsistent for them to expect the Government of India or our public men here to meddle with the internal constitution or administration of the States and force reforms on the sovereigns to whom they profess loyalty. That there may be great room for administrative improvements and perhaps for constitutional reforms may be conceded, but they have to be brought about by the pressure of public opinion inside the State and by the moral influence of the authorities outside the state and other bodies and individuals who may be in a position to wield such influence.

We may now proceed to consider the issues raised by the Princes in the case put forward by them or on their behalf to the Butler Committee and in the speeches of prominent representatives of the Chamber of Princes. The questions involved are of a very intricate character, and if obscurity and misunderstanding are to be avoided, clear thinking and plain speaking are needed. The issues are some of them, of a fiscal character and others, of a constitutional character. I do not propose to enter in this article into a consideration of the fiscal questions which have been raised by the Indian Princes. It has been stated by several leading Princes that they are in full sympathy with the aspirations of British India and that they

cordially welcome the Status by British India as an integral part of the British Empire. In an interview granted to the Associated Press by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, he observed that nothing was more desired by the Princes than to bring the country into two discordant parts working against each other in fratricidal feuds, and that they looked forward to the unity of India as earnestly as their friends, the political leaders of India. He said that any attitude of undue incompatibility on the part of the Princes would be both unpatriotic and unreasonable. We do not know whether His Highness intended to emphasise the word 'undue', and whether he conceived that there might be an attitude duly incompatible with the aspirations of British India. We hope and believe that this was not intended. The Maharajah also stated that the Princes were not unmindful of the full implications of Dominion Status and that the ultimate solution of the Indian problems and the ultimate goal—whenever circumstances were favourable and the time was ripe for it—was federation, which word had now terrors for the Princes and Governments of the States.

What exactly the form of federation may be which the Princes desire is not altogether clear. It is stated that the Princes want some means of joint deliberation on questions of common concern affecting British India and the States. Joint deliberation may be formal or informal. It may mean mere consultation and discussion with the object of understanding each other's point of view, or it may involve a joint decision. If the deliberation is required to be formal or understood to involve a decision, it requires a specially organised machinery and constitution. What is to be the nature of this machinery and constitution? In any machinery which may be devised for this purpose, British India will naturally and justly be entitled to a predominant voice. Are the Princes prepared to agree to this? The

mercy. It consists that any new Dominion form of government of their future relations with British India should be settled only with their free consent on terms just and honourable and satisfactory to the States as well as to British India. It is of course obvious that the Indian States cannot be incorporated in any form within the Dominion or Commonwealth of British India without their free consent. They cannot be forced to become members of any federal body. But this question is entirely distinct from the issue whether British India shall obtain Dominion Status, and the question whether when British India gets Dominion Status, fiscal or any other questions arising between British India and the States or any of them shall be settled by some authority in India deriving its existence under the new constitution of British India, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Government of India or by some authority outside such constitution or above the Government of India. We are obliged to raise this question for the reason that the contention put forward by Sir Leslie Scott on behalf of the Indian Princes and accepted by the Butler Committee is utterly incompatible with the conception and goal of a Dominion Status for British India. It was recommended by the Butler Committee that the Viceroy and not the Governor-General-in-Council should in future be the Agent of the Crown in its relations with the Princes and that the relationship between the paramount power and the Princes should not be transferred without the agreement of the latter to a new government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature. The legal aspects of the contention upon which this recommendation is based have been discussed by me at length in my "Indian Constitutional Problems", and by the Nehru Committee in their report. Publicists in British India are not prepared to concede the legal validity of this contention. We hold

that the Government of British India, as it is now or as it may be hereafter, is alone the true representative of the Crown and is the only authority which may succeed to the rights and obligations of the Government of India under the existing constitution. Dominion Status implies the exclusion of the interference of any outside authority in the adjustment of the relations between British India and the Princes, or any questions arising out of such relations. It is difficult to understand how the proposal of the Princes to refer the adjustment of any such relations or questions to a body other than the reformed Government of India or the Indian Legislature can be reconciled with the attainment of Dominion Status. In a speech to his Administrative Conference on the 3rd of October last, the Maharajah of Bikanir stated that the Princes' Conference believed that disputes between the States and British India could be solved by friendly negotiations of a diplomatic and political nature rather than by any legal steps or by any caucus of non-co-operation. What exactly His Highness meant by 'legal steps' is not clear, whether he meant legal arguments of the kind advanced by Sir Leslie Scott or something else. The Maharaja stated in his address to the Administrative Conference that the rulers and Governments of Indian States were anxious to secure the fullest measure of fiscal autonomy for the Indian States. British India has never sought to interfere with the fiscal autonomy of the Indian States, and if the fiscal arrangements adopted by British India have incidentally led to any unfavourable reactions on the Indian States, the result is only indirect. The Princes may well consider whether their claim does not involve an interference in the fiscal autonomy of British India. In the address to which reference has been made above, His Highness makes a special appeal to British Indian leaders and advises them not to antagonise unnecessarily the Indian States and their rulers. He assures us that the friendly co-operation of the

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States rests on two essential conditions (1) that equitable and satisfactory arrangements are arrived at between the parties concerned for the position of the States in the future constitution of India on terms fair and honourable alike to the States and British India and (2) that India remains an integral part of the British Commonwealth of nations under the *acgis* of the King-Emperor. With the second condition laid down by His Highness, those who aspire to Dominion Status will readily agree, provided it does not signify the maintenance of an authority over the Government of British India and entitled to upset its decisions. What exactly the arrangements contemplated in the first condition are is obscure. The Princes will do well to indicate their position clearly and define the arrangements which they desire to be set up in the future constitution of British India. We believe in the wisdom of not antagonising the Indian States or driving the Princes to carry out their threats of standing against the wall and fighting to the bitter end.

His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala expresses the hope that the constitutional problem of India will be solved to the satisfaction of all parties and that all such untoward developments would be averted as might prove in-urmountable barriers between British and Indian India, and may indeed result in wide-spread and avoidable human suffering. These warnings are not free from the cloud of vague obscurity. But we may well recognise the wisdom of not alienating the sympathy and good-will of the Princes of India or driving them to hostility. The Patiala Maharaja's attempt to make clear the position of the Chamber of Princes is certainly not calculated to narrow the cleavage between the Princes and British India. His conception of the relations between the two as practically analogous to those between the Dominions in the British Commonwealth is entirely fallacious and misleading, not-

withstanding the slight prepared to admit. The relations between different autonomous Dominions in the Commonwealth may be shortly described as practically non-existent from the political and legal point of view. The only link between them is the connexion of each of them with the Crown, but between themselves, they have nothing to do with each other. Surely, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala must recognise the utter absence of any analogy between the relations of the Dominions to each other and the relations between British India and the States with their many points of contact. His quotation of the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926 as a guiding light in the revision of our constitution is an utter irrelevancy. No publicist in British India wishes to exclude the States from coming into a federation with British India, if they are prepared for such a step. Any proposal that the Indian States should be allowed to send representatives to the Indian Legislature would merit consideration. So also would any proposal for the reference of particular kinds of disputes to the decision of a judicial tribunal appointed by the Government of India. But any proposal for the constitution of any council or body over and above the Indian Legislature or curtailing the existing powers of this legislature must be regarded by Indian publicists as quite incompatible with the Dominion Status with which the Princes declare themselves to be in cordial sympathy. Insistence by the Princes on the denial of a legal nexus between themselves and the Government of British India and their assertion of a claim to contractual relations with the Crown alone can only be interpreted by the people of British India as proof of the absence of any real sympathy with our aspirations

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DECEMBER 19

Universal Postal Union

BY MR. H. A. SAMS, I.C.S.

Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, India.

Every five years is held in the capital of one of the member-countries, a Congress of the Universal Postal Union. Though the ninth of the series, it had not been held in London until this year of grace, 1929, in spite of the leading part that Great Britain has always taken in postal affairs and of the fact that London was the home of one of the world's greatest postal reformers, Sir Rowland Hill.

What exactly is the Universal Postal Union? To answer that question, we have to go back more than fifty years and see what was the state of the world postally in those days. The systematic carriage of correspondence, which almost universally goes by the convenient monosyllable, 'post' or 'poste', is of course no modern invention. Without going into details of past history, it can be safely answered that, wherever in the past there was an empire and a civilization, the king, Emperor, Caesar or Sultan found it imperative to have a system by which his orders could be promulgated, and by which he could get reports from his local governors. Doubtless too, the post was used by private individuals chiefly as a favour granted by the monarch or by arrangement with the postal authorities of the day.

It can, however, be said with certainty that an interchange of correspondence between country and country, in other words, the international post, is a fairly recent creation, confined for the most

part to the continent of Europe, and subsequently to that continent and the United States of America.

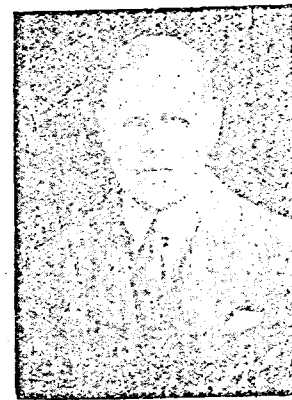
By 1863, the international post existed in fact, but it was in an unsatisfactory chaotic condition. Each country had to make separate agreements with every other country with whom it desired to enter into postal relations. There was little uniformity about these agreements. The postage rates varied enormously. For example, a letter from Germany to Rome cost

68 pfennigs	via Switzerland
48	" " Austria
85	" " France
90	" " Geneva and on by steamer.

The letter could be prepaid to destination only if it was forwarded *via* France. If forwarded by another route, it could only be prepaid up to the frontiers of the Papal States. This is only one example of the then chaotic state of things.

A further obstacle to the development of the post was the division of postage between country and country involving enormous labour in accounting and long and often futile correspondence between administrations.

A further obstacle was the postage which to-day would appear fantastic. Evasion of postage was common, as was only natural. Even in the inland post, the postage was excessive and it was this high rate that first put into the brain of Sir Rowland Hill, who, in his early days, had no connection with the Post Office, the idea that there was something wrong somewhere. There is the familiar story that he was once on a holiday in Scotland staying at a farm-house, when the postman brought a letter for the daughter of his host. Her blushes told Rowland Hill that the sender was her lover, who, as he knew, lived in England. Much to his astonishment, the girl returned the letter, which was unstamped, to the postman without reading it. He questioned her and found that it



MR. H. A. SAMS



was an empty unpaid cover, that her young man could not afford the heavy postage, but that she knew from the way the address was written that he was well and happy. This little incident, it is said, led in 1840 to Rowland Hill's epoch-making reform, the penny post in the inland service of Great Britain; but the international post was still extraordinarily high.

The turning point came in 1863, when the United States of America convoked a conference at Paris. That Conference adopted thirty-one principles to serve as a basis for an international convention which were to replace the host of separate agreements then in force. The new idea, however, took some time to develop and was retarded by the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. And it was not till 1874 that the first postal Congress met at Berne in Switzerland, with the result that the "Union General des Postes" was created with an International Bureau at Berne and that the first convention was signed. These results were a veritable revolution in international postal history.

But the Union was far from being universal. It was in fact confined to the countries of Europe, to Egypt and to the United States of America. It was the Post Office of India that had the proud distinction of causing the postal gates to her thrown open wide. On the 15th of Nov. 1875 India applied for permission to join the Union. This application raised so many important issues that a Conference had to be summoned, meeting at Berne in 1876, at which was discussed and settled the important question of sea transit rates.

At the next Congress at Paris in 1878, the name of the Union was changed to the "Universal Postal Union," chiefly as a result of India's action. Thereafter, successive Congresses met at Lisbon in 1883, Vienna in 1891, Washington in 1891, Rome in 1906, Madrid in 1920, Stockholm in 1924, and this year in London where the Indian Delegation consisted of

four members, Mr. Postmaster-General, Rao Sahib Postmaster-General, and Rai Bahadur Mukerji, and the writer.

The chief characteristics of the Universal Postal Union, the first of all Leagues of Nations, and perhaps the most successful in its working, are that

(1) it is in fact as well as in name Universal, so much so that at the Congress of London, any reference to countries outside the Union was suppressed. Afghanistan is a recent recruit and the newly established Papal States joined the Union and sent a delegate actually while the London Congress was in sessions. Some ninety countries or groups are members of the Union, and at the Congress of London, there were no less than eighty six delegations:

(2) the countries of the world form a single territory within the Union. Frontiers cease to be, and mails [i.e., correspondence] are free to travel without let or hindrance over land and sea, unless indeed they offend against the customs or morality of the country of destination.

(3) the language of the Union is French, in which tongue all documents are written and all discussions are held.

The Universal Postal Union has therefore 180 million citizens.

The Union meets in Congress every five years at the capital of one of its members by invitation. In 1934, it will meet at Cairo at the invitation of Egypt. The work of each Congress mainly consists of amending the acts of the previous Congress. Thus the Congress of London amended the acts of the Congress of Stockholm. These acts are (a) the convention dealing with postal principles in general and the Letter Mail, including printed papers, in particular, (b) the Parcel Post agreement (c) the Insured Letters and Boxes agreement, (d) the Money Order agreement and (e) few other minor agree-

mercy. The convention and each the details of the Regulations (g) Final moths in which are embodied reservations. The convention is a diplomatic act signed by the delegates as plenipotentiaries for their Governments, while the Agreements and Detailed Regulations are signed by the delegates as representatives of their postal administrations.

Simply to amend the acts of a former congress could not at first sight require the assemblage of some over eighty countries and some two hundred delegates. But one can well imagine how difficult it would be to consult so many members on even a hundred amendments. At the Congress of London, over 1800 amendments were tabled, many of them of major importance to postal administrations. The fact is that postal work never stands still. It has constantly to meet new phases and developments. For example, since the Stockholm Conference of 1924, a whole new set of problem has arisen out of the introduction of the Air Mail. There is constant need of simplification and of elucidation. In five years, therefore, there is always a goodly crop of proposals for

the consideration of the next Congress. So much so, that for the Congress of London, it was considered imperative to have a Preparatory Committee, which met at Paris in October 1928, and after six weeks' 'hard labour', boiled down nearly two thousand proposals to the proposed text of the revised articles. This Preparatory Committee will be a feature of every future Congress. Its utility was amply proved at the Congress of London which accepted most of its texts without discussion, though any delegation could and did reopen any of its proposals which the Preparatory Committee had rejected.

Another very obvious advantage of the Congress is the fact that representative postal men of all countries meet and get into personal touch with one another not only in the meetings, but, what is perhaps more valuable in the buffet, in the lobbies and during the entertainments and excursions which the host-Government and many of the delegations provide. It is then that delegates get to know each other, exchange views freely and arrange informally for better services between their administrations.

THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

BY MR. B. SHIVA RAO

TWO principles struggled for mastery in the proceedings of the All-India Trade Union Congress at its last session in Nagpur: one looking to the experience of the older trade union movements in the West for guidance and aiming at progress by evolutionary means and the settlement of industrial disputes through methods of conciliation and arbitration; and the other discarding these, and finding in deep discontent a congenial soil for the propagation of revolutionary doctrines. It was clear to some of us, who have been observing the gradual manifestation of conflict between these two rival principles for the last two or three years in the Trade Union Move-

ment, that, sooner or later, a crisis was inevitable. Where the methods of work and the underlying principles which shape the policy are so fundamentally divergent, there can be no advantage in attempting to work through a single movement.

There is no doubt that much of the controversy which took place at Nagpur might have been avoided in the interests of decency and a dignified conduct of public affairs. In fairness, however, to those of us who decided to secede from the Congress and to start a new organization, it must be said that the spirit of intolerance which found expression in Nagpur on the part of those who styled themselves the left wing elements and the

determination with which the policy to which we could not subscribe was being forced on the whole movement, left us no option but to seek expression for our ideals through a new body. I have examined with the utmost care the appeals which have been made for unity once more in the Trade Union Movement in this country. But I can see no useful purpose being served by going back into an organization through which any work for the improvement of the conditions of the working classes seems impossible. Unity may sometimes be purchased at too dear a price. The older trade union movements of the West have passed precisely through the same troubles, the same crises, as we have already witnessed in India; they have had to take the same drastic action, which was forced upon us at Nagpur.

It may be necessary, in justification of our action, to examine in brief some of the main resolutions passed by the Congress at Nagpur. The boycott of the Whitley Commission was advocated, not really because the delegates assembled had little or no faith in the results of its investigations; but, as the resolution itself suggested, it was "the agent of an Imperialist Government" sent for the purpose of "strengthening the hold of an Imperialism" on this country. In fact, from the first resolution to the last, both in text and in the speeches made in support thereof, there was a redolence of the phraseology of Moscow. The Nehru Report was condemned as being inimical to the interests of the proletariat; the establishment of a Socialist Independent Republic would facilitate the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The holding of the Asiatic Labour Congress was opposed on the ground that it would prove a rival to the Red International at Moscow. I could multiply instances to prove that, underlying almost every resolution that was put forward at Nagpur, was a clear enunciation of the principles of the Red International. If there be any doubt about it,

one has only to turn to the Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, or to the primary branches of the Communist League at Moscow. The proceedings of the Trade Union Congress at Nagpur made it abundantly clear that the instructions to the left wing trade unionists in India, issued in a message from Moscow dated 12th June this year, were being faithfully carried out in letter and in spirit.

Having seen the growth of this influence in the Trade Union Movement during the last two or three years, and having observed the organized and systematic campaign of hostility to the group led by Mr. N.M. Joshi, it was impossible for us to overlook the significance of the resolutions and of the speeches made in support of them.

In the appeals for unity which have been made in the Press, a vital point seems to have been missed. The withdrawal of the resolution for affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat means nothing more than that the question has been postponed to next year. And apart from this: what, one is entitled to question, are the implications of the other resolutions that were passed at Nagpur? The League against Imperialism is a movement that derived its inspiration from Moscow. I cannot help observing that there has been a good deal of exploitation of the workers in the name of "militant trade unionism". The encouragement of strikes and of industrial bitterness can do no good either to the working classes in this country or to our struggling industries. No lasting solution for the great social and economic troubles which face the world to-day can be fashioned in an atmosphere of strife and conflict. The world is rapidly discarding in the sphere of international politics armaments and all that is inherent in a system of warfare. Why should the spirit of combat be allowed to dominate the economic sphere? India, I am convinced, will solve her industrial troubles in her own way, and, certainly, no great movement of the working classes can develop upon a pattern borrowed from Russia, or elsewhere.

DECEMBER 19

BRITISH WOMEN

BY THE HON. MR. JUSTICE E. PAKENHAM WALSH.

mercy. The publishers' note on the cover states that they are issuing a series of volumes dealing with the development of various phases of life, art and science in the present century. This first volume, *BRITISH WOMEN*,* describes the heroic struggles of the pioneers, and the extraordinary changes their efforts have brought about in the position of British Women, the influences that have been at work throughout, are shown, and the direction in which the Women's Movement is tending."

The volume before us has most admirably achieved all these objects, except perhaps the last, and the author is to be congratulated on having put into our hands a mine of carefully selected information on the history and present condition of the Women's movement written in a very readable style. Not the least interesting features of the book are the photographs which show, as no description can, the changes in women's costumes and occupations in the last 60 years. We seem, on looking at those of the earlier period, to be gazing at some prehistoric world. Those of us who are old enough to remember it can hardly bring ourselves to believe that it ever existed. The enormous simplification in women's dress, made possible, of course in part, by the invention of artificial silk and other fabrics, and the improvement of their health and physique are changes which must rejoice the heart of any but the most crusted reactionary.

The author is specially to be congratulated on her frank recital of the grave outrages, (for they were nothing else) perpetrated by the Militant Suffragettes from January 1913, till the outbreak of the Great War. Too often the triumph of a cause, in itself perhaps righteous, leads to the suppression in recounting its history of the less creditable details connected with it. The facts are candidly given (p. 116). "At first, they only set fire to empty houses, but later, no

building was safe from them. They burned down two churches and set fire to Lloyd George's house at Walton; they threw corrosive liquids into letter boxes; they dropped bombs in the most sacred precincts; they tried to cut pictures from their frames in the National Gallery."

When such facts are so unreservedly related by an enthusiastic supporter of the women's movement, one feels that male historians have nothing to teach women in the matter of impartial narration of facts, but have perhaps much to learn.

Our author appears to take the general view that the grant of the suffrage to women was due to their splendid war work, and it may safely be said that this will be the verdict of history. She does not express an opinion whether these outrages advanced or retarded the cause though she admits that the secession of the Pethick Laurences on account of them was a "terrible loss." It is difficult to believe that the British Public who refused to be intimidated into a surrender of their liberties, by the weapon of a general strike, of which the illegality was at least doubtful would have surrendered to outrages of this violent kind. The growing conviction at the time was rather that women who did such things showed themselves devoid of political responsibility and unfit to exercise it. The author appears to defend, or at least to palliate, these outrages on the usual grounds (1) that the Women's patience was exhausted (2) that men had done the same (3) that the women took care not to hurt anyone.

The book itself is surely a complete refutation of the first excuse. The women had succeeded in less than 50 years in emancipating themselves and securing entrances into almost all the professions hitherto reserved for men, to an extent which would have left their grandmother gasping. Persistence, importunity, or "nagging", whatever according to our mood we may like to call it, has, next to beauty, always been woman's strong-

* *BRITISH WOMEN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.* By Elsie M. Lang. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

est weapon against man. How many a man gives in, even to an unreasonable feminine demand, "for the sake of a quiet life." To throw away this weapon which they had used so successfully and meet man on the ground of physical force was a fatal tactical error. This also answers the second excuse that men had used violence to get reforms. As G. K. Chesterton has pointed out, violence by men, in a political cause, is a threat that they will appeal to an ultimate weapon which they hold, or believe they hold. Women do not hold this ultimate weapon, nor could they have ever believed that they held it.

As regards the third ground, it is mere sloppy sentimentality to think that it is worse to give a person you dislike, or who opposes you a blow than to destroy the correspondence of people against whom you have nothing whatever, and so perhaps cause irreparable domestic tragedy or financial ruin. An interesting fact, though our author does not mention it, is that Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the general of these militant suffragettes, has since devoted her undoubtedly great abilities to the service of a religious body who hold Millennial ideas. In a recent book she argues that Heaven and Hell are actual places and not states of mind or being, and attempts to show that this is scientifically possible. To find one of her mental calibre defending what is generally considered a rather crude idea is surprising, and it is hard to say whether the scientific or the ethical difficulties in the way of accepting her theory are the more formidable. At any rate, she has not lost her old courage in defending an unpopular cause.

Our author has some very sensible remarks on companionate marriage, divorce, and similar topics, nevertheless the most disappointing part of the book is when we look for the light

which its publishers have promised shed on "the direction in which the Movement is tending." We are now at the most interesting and critical stage of the Feminist movement. Hitherto, women have been occupied in securing their equal status with men; the question now is how are they going to use it. The recent act extending the franchise has literally made woman's word law. Holding a substantial majority in votes, she can, if she wills, return a majority of her sex to Parliament, and Parliament in a country like Britain, can do no legal wrong. If, to take an extreme instance, a woman's majority in Parliament were to disenfranchise the male, or to declare that he alone should pay taxes, any disobedience to such an Act would be disobedience to the law (one assumes, of course, that the House of Lords has exhausted its power of veto and that the Royal assent has been given). The possibility of legal power being widely divorced from real power is a very dangerous state of things. Such divorce has happened before in history notably in the case of the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. Its demoralizing effect in leading to contempt for the law is even more serious than its physical consequences.

The present situation therefore holds tremendous possibilities for good or evil. Another danger is this—So long as definite objectives like admission to professions, the suffrage etc., were being pursued, there was no fear of ambiguity nor of people meaning different things by the same phrase. Now we are entering on an era of slogans of doubtful implication such as "Equal pay for equal work," "The economic independence of women," etc.

Take the latter slogan. At first sight, it seems so reasonable, so just, and so desirable that any man opposing it or doubting its wisdom is at once put down as a selfish brute who wishes woman to remain a slave and chattel in economic dependence on him so that he may have her at his

mercy. Translated, however, into what in practice the demand implies, namely, "Endowment of motherhood by the State" it raises many and grave problems. In the first place, as a matter of economics, is such endowment, at least in a thickly populated country, possible? Assuming it possible for the State to bring up and feed an unlimited number of children, will it not have the right to insist on complete control of the child from the time of its birth? On the other hand, if the State cannot bring up and feed an unlimited number of children, will it not have the right to eliminate those whom it considers least fit, or perhaps even to allow only the fittest to survive? Will not the family disappear certainly so far as the father is concerned and will men accept the extremely undignified position of being in a house, where, beyond being the father of the children, they have no responsibility for or control over them? The more advanced women know exactly what they mean by "the economic independence of women," and one has only to look at Russia to see how the attempt to work it out in practice results. The average Englishwoman, one may safely say, has no idea that such an attractive slogan carries with it implications which would lead to the break-up of the family, or she would have nothing to say to it.

Take the other demand, "Equal pay for equal work". This also implies, in its working out, State endowment of motherhood. So long as the average man has to support a family, his wages must rule higher than those of the average woman who has not to do so. The only way to equalize the wages is to treat the woman while she is bearing and rearing children as a wage-earner to be paid by the State.

In the book before us, we find no discussion of these matters nor any realization of the change created by the last Franchise Act. In the introduction, which is the only part dealing with the future, a mild optimism, and that only with re-

gard to some minor matters, takes the place of a real facing of the situation. Thus, while admitting [p. 19] that the "risk of marriage prevents women from being placed on an equal footing with men in the labour market," the author does not discuss the problem of "equal wages for equal work", nor does she seem to realize that this "risk of marriage", though a real factor, is not the chief one which prevents women being placed on an equal footing with men in the matter of wages so long as the present family system is the basis of society. Take again the question of competition between the sexes. She dismisses this [p. 20 *ibid*] with the remark "No, men need not fear their competition, it is only the women with exceptional capacities and a great reserve of vital force which they cannot employ in the home who want careers; not the average woman." This means that the number of women competitors is too small to matter. The figures of her own book refute the statement.

We read (p. 256) that the teaching profession for women is "beginning to wilt" that "after thirty, a woman will find it increasingly difficult to obtain a post", and that in regard to L. C. C. schools, Lord Eustace Percy, the Minister of Education, estimated the number of unpaced young teachers from the training colleges at about 1,000. Elsewhere we read of the opposition of men to allow women teachers in mixed schools owing to their fear of competition. Can such a fear be said to be unreasonable in the circumstances?

Turn to the law, the profession in which the author admits that woman has to the present succeeded least, we find that Miss Helene Normanton was called to the bar in 1922, being the second woman to be called (the first was Dr. Ivy Williams). By 1929, nearly a hundred women had been called (p. 167). Is that a negligible competition in an already overcrowded profession? Surely the honest answer

is not that the men need not fear competition but that they must be prepared for it and to let the best man or woman win.

This is practically the only discussion in the book on the future difficulties of feminism in relation to the other sex.

With one other comparatively minor matter, (though a serious enough problem to many a parent) the author does deal, i.e., whether money spent by a father in expensively training his daughter for a profession may not be wasted if she happen to marry. This problem is not confined to daughters though it is more acute in their case. Many a father with a small capital which he can spend on his son after the latter's school education is finished, seriously asks himself nowadays whether it would not be better spent in starting him in business or in farming abroad than in training him for any of the already overcrowded professions. The author's arguments to the harassed father as regards his daughter's education for a profession are curious. First, she says [Introduction p. 17] "there is the convincing reply that not only is her mind widened by the knowledge gained, but her presence and fees are of use to the institution in which she trains—such establishments flourish in proportion to the number of the students, and the larger the number of students, the more professors can be employed. If a percentage of the students do not pursue their work as a career, there will be less competition for those who continue." There may be something in the argument that training for a profession widens the mind though sometimes its tendency is the other way, but the second argument that the girls' fees keep the profession-going assumes that the students exist for the sake of the teaching institution and not *vice versa*.

The final argument is about as consoling to a father who has spent in vain his hard-earned cash as to cheer up a bankrupt by the thought that his competitors are the better off by his failure. She proceeds: "It is contended that the majority of women marry, and the thought that his charm-

ing young daughter is sure to get married often causes a father to hesitate to spend his hard-earned money in equipping her for a career, but who can tell what the future may have in store; he will not have done his best for her unless he has fitted her for an honourable calling. Even the most attractive women do not always marry, and it is unfair to put marriage before her as the only alternative; the husband-hunting it entails is enough to frighten away all the eligible males".

Now this assumes in the first place that "fitting her for an honourable calling" means putting her in a position to earn her livelihood" but the terms are by no means synonymous. How many men have been fitted for the honourable calling of the Bar and have failed to make a living at it? Of course, if the choice were limited between giving his daughter a chance of making her livelihood by a professor, and setting her husband-hunting, the argument might hold good, but our author forgets that the father would not be considering the problem at all unless he had or counted on having the necessary cash to pay for his daughter being trained for a professional career. His actual problem is whether it is better to invest the money in the way or to give it to her as capital, the interest of which will at least keep her from starvation and may perhaps enable her to marry the man of her choice who could not afford marriage without some aid. If her training at school has been of the right kind, she should have learnt to do something with her hands or brains which may prevent her being a burden on society, (for unemployment among women can no more be prevented than among men.) Even a post-school course in some useful art is not usually expensive, but what our author evidently has in mind is college training for a learned profession, witness her argument that the more "professors" can be employed the more students there are. She ignores the uses to which the money required for such professional education might be put if reserved as capital for the girl. The problem before a father with, say, £2,000 and no more to spend on or invest for his daughter when she leaves school is by no means a simple one or susceptible of only one answer.

The book should be read by all who desire to get an accurate and vivid idea of the growth of the women's movement in Great Britain. It is packed with facts and figures and forms a valuable work of reference. If the rest of the series equal this volume, then success is assured.

The States' People and the Round Table Conference

BY MR. D. V. GUNDAPPA

THE chorus of joy and gratitude with which the people of the Indian States hailed the Viceroy's announcement about the decision to bring the States into the Round Table Conference, to be summoned by His Majesty's Government, is now seen to have been altogether premature. Their hope, born of that announcement, that they are now at last to find an opportunity to press their anomalous situation upon the attention of all the parties concerned and obtain redress therefor is blasted by His Excellency's refusal to grant their request for separate representation at the Conference by the side of their Princes. This most disappointing reply has for its basis no stronger argument than the technical one that the Princes are the only persons who have the authority to speak on behalf of the States. With this and other objections to the representation of the States' People, apart from, and in addition to, that of the Princes, we shall deal later.

First of all, let us see what the object of the R. T. Conference is, and whether there is anything in it about which the people of the States are entitled to have their say. From the letter written by Sir John Simon to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and from the latter's reply, it is clear beyond all doubt that the Conference will have to discuss not only British Indian, but also "All-Indian" problems. Sir John Simon says that "it is essential that the methods by which the relationship between the two constituent parts of greater India may be adjusted should be fully examined" and points out that "at certain points, inevitable contact takes place" between the two parts. And Mr. Ramsay Macdonald admits "the importance of thus bringing the whole (Indian) problem under comprehensive review", including in it "a careful examination of the methods by which the future relationship of British India and Indian States may be adjusted". H. E. Lord Irwin repeats these same expressions in his state-

ment and reiterates "the importance of bringing under a comprehensive review the whole problem of the relation of British India and Indian States"; and he adds by way of explanation that "an adjustment of these interests 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." From these authoritative declarations, it is clear that the R. T. Conference will have to concern itself as much with the problem of ultimate All-India governance as with the problem of immediate constitutional reforms for British India.

In dealing with the All-Indian aspect of its work, the R. T. Conference will have to concern itself with the States from two different points of view. Firstly, there are "the inevitable contacts" to which Sir John Simon has referred; and secondly, there is the question of deciding upon the measures necessary to render the States fit for admission into an All-India Constitution. Both these sides of the problem of adjusting the States' relations with the rest of India will have to be considered at the Round Table Conference; and in both are the People of the States most vitally interested.

The "inevitable contacts" are in respect of the external life of the States, and they may roughly be said to fall under three heads; (1) All-India economic and financial questions such as customs, salt-tax, currency, exchange, etc.; (2) All-India defence and the contributions to be made towards this purpose; and (3) All-India public services, such as posts and telegraphs, railways, census and statistics, meteorological and geological surveys, coastal shipping, etc. No argument is necessary to show that all these are matters of the utmost possible concern to the people of the States. They relate to the life and well-being of the people of the States quite as

much as to the life and well-being of the people of British India. But till now, the people of the States have had no means of safe-guarding their interests in these all-important matters. It may be said that questions pertaining to these will be handled on behalf of the States' People by their own Princes at the coming R. T. Conference. But that course cannot be satisfactory to the People, chiefly because the Princes have not provided themselves with any means of constitutional advice and guidance in these complicated matters such as that which the Government of British India finds in its popularly elected legislature. The Princes must no doubt be admitted to have the final authority to sanction any policy or measure on behalf of the States. But that authority is legal and technical, but not necessarily based on moral grounds always, in the sense that it is born of the intelligent and informed consent of the People. In truth, the Princes are, in most cases, not able to understand the conditions and the wishes of their subjects and cannot be taken to represent the subjects otherwise than in a formal sense. The Princes can, and they alone, ratify; but what they ratify should be that which the People have recommended.

In regard to the second part of the States' problem as it should arise at the Round Table Conference, viz., the measures by which they can qualify themselves for admission into the All-India Constitution, it is important that we should not let this matter be set down as an "internal" affair simply because it relates to the internal life of the States. No form of a federal or quasi-federal polity is conceivable for the whole of India unless it involve arrangements to ensure popular contentment and progress in every component part. A certain uniformity in the system of government and in the standard of citizenship is an indispensable pre-condition to the establishment of a common polity of whatever kind; and the central Government of the

future must have power to deal with the States quite as effectively as with the Province in all matters affecting peace, order and citizenship. It is from the point of view of this fundamental ideal of India as one nation and as one Government that we should look at the question of constitutional reform in the States; and so viewed, it cannot come to be classified as a merely internal affair. A discontented or unprogressive State is as much a source of peril to the peace and prosperity of the whole of India as a similar Province of British India; and it is this indissoluble inter-relation in actual life between the States and British India that makes the question of constitutional progress in the States a really all-India question. The seat of the question is no doubt internal; but its significance and consequence are for all India. It is unfortunate that this point of view has often been forgotten or set aside by not only the Political Department of the Government of India, but also by some British Indian politicians. The expression "internal" is a formula dear to the Princes and their friends, for its value as an answer to silence those who would call upon the Paramount Power to do its duty by the People of the States. The national-minded patriots of British India should be on their guard against it and note its limitations carefully. Like most formulas, it can easily be abused, and has been so abused in the Viceroy's reply to the States' People refusing their request for separate representation at the forthcoming Conference.

Thus, in regard to both sides of the States' problem as it should reasonably arise at the Round Table Conference, the States' People have something to say which their Princes cannot be expected to say. If the States had been all under really Constitutional Governments, there could not have been this need for the separate representation of the People, side by side with their Princes or their Ministers. But at present, the people and the Princes are not one,

except in constitutional theory. In law, each State is one entity; but in actual fact, each State is a scene of two distinct camps; and of the two, one excludes the other, while this other includes that one. The Princes cannot be expected to speak for the people; but the people may always be trusted to speak also in the interests of their Princes. The people are not opposed to the Princes as Princes. They want the Thrones to continue and continue safer and brighter. And for this very reason, they want that the occupant of the Throne should arm himself with the modern instruments of constitutional government and refuse to act except with such instruments. On the other hand, the Princes have shown themselves to be opposed to all change, and have not concealed their hostility towards popular aspirations. All demands for constitutional reform, they have met with a blank negative, seeking justification for it in supposed differences in local circumstances and in supposed peculiarities of local tradition and genius. This determined mediocrity of the Princes has exasperated the people, and hence their insistence on separate representation for themselves.

The Paramount Power too has been inattentive to the popular demand and has taken shelter behind the convenient formula of "non-interference in internal affairs." It has refused to recognise any duty for itself in respect of the States' People, except when there is gross misgovernment, itself being the judge of whether the misgovernment in any instance is gross or refined. This continued callousness of the Paramount Power has doubled the discontent of the States' People; and they feel that their cause will be lost for ever if it is not attended to, during the general overhauling of the machinery of all-India Government now under contemplation.

I hope I have succeeded in making it clear that the scope of the forthcoming Conference comprehends, and ought to comprehend, the

States in two respects; that in both, the People have something to say which their Princes may not say; and that they are therefore entitled to a special hearing. Let me now sum up the main points of their aspiration with reference to an all-India constitution.

(1) The Federal, quasi-federal or any other kind of relationship that may be established between the States and British India should not affect the continuance of the Thrones, nor the dynastic privileges and personal prerogatives of their Princes.

(2) The integrity and separate existence of the States as such should, in no way, be impaired; nor their prestige and interests as States.

(3) In all matters not specifically assigned to the authorities of the all-India Government, the States will continue to enjoy complete autonomy as hitherto and will not suffer interference.

(4) The States will be equitably represented in the composition of both the legislature and the executive of such an all-India polity as may be set up hereafter,—whether it be of a federal, quasi-federal or any other pattern.

(5) All the States will immediately accept the system of Responsible Government as their constitutional goal, to be reached by successive stages.

(6) There will immediately be a declaration by the Princes in all the States granting to their subjects all the fundamental rights of citizenship, such as liberty of the press and of public association; and, side by side with these, there will be administrative and constitutional reforms introduced immediately so as to ensure the establishment of full responsible government within 15 years at the latest.

(7) The matters to be assigned to the authorities of the all-India Government will be those that are essential to the peace, good government and prosperity of India as a whole, such as Defence, Foreign Relations and the rights and status of Citizenship.

(8) In all matters of fiscal and financial adjustment between the States and British India, all disputes and differences will be settled by a Board of Arbitration appointed for the purpose by the central legislature.

(9) The interpretation of the all-India laws and the adjudication of all disputes thereunder will be entrusted to a Supreme Court forming an instrument of the All-Indian Constitution.

This, in brief, represents the consensus of feeling and opinion among the States' People all over India. It will readily be seen that there is nothing in it which militates either against the Princes or against the Paramount Power or against the wishes of the people of British India. Under some of the heads, particularly (4) and (5) alternative arrangements are conceivable as regards the machinery to secure the stated ends; and separate committees of specialists may be authorised to consider the details arising thereunder. A solution of the problem on the above lines is not impossible; and there can be no satisfactory solution in any other way.

Now to the objections. Reference has already been made to the altogether technical character of the arguments advanced by the Viceroy that "the acknowledged Rulers are the only persons who can speak with authority." British India too has its acknowledged Rulers, such as the Governor-General and the Governors; and if technical or legal authority alone is to be counted, only they,—and neither Mr. Gandhi nor Pandit Motilal Nehru,—can have a place at the Conference; for, these latter cannot pretend to possess any authority derived from either treaty or statute or long-standing custom. And yet, it has been realized by the British Government that they are indispensable. Their right is moral, being born of the confidence and trust which millions of their countrymen have chosen to repose in them. The Princes can claim to enjoy no similar right; and facts cry out that identity of interests cannot fairly be presumed in the case of the Princes and their subjects any more than in the case of the Government and the people of British India. If the British Government will take into account only legal or formal authority in the case of the States, while seeming to pay respect to moral authority in British India, the inference will become irresistible that they do so in the latter case because of the material sanctions behind it,

whereas they find no such compelling fact to temper their punctiliousness in the former case. In other words, the force which they can appreciate is not that of reason, but that of something more tangible and pressing. They will be persuaded by moral argument only when the ignoring of it appears to involve some concrete risk. It would be unfortunate in the extreme if such an inference were not prevented by a prompt and graceful concession to the People of the States.

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner has raised another objection, claiming that the Princes are the "natural" and perpetual leaders of their subjects. By way of reply, it may, firstly, be pointed out that there can be no hereditary title to leadership in politics as there may be to even a crown, and that political leadership is a result of the free judgment and choice of those who are to follow. Secondly, we may ask what happens to "natural" leadership in cases like those of Indore and Nabha and many others still successful in keeping themselves undiscovered. Thirdly, if the Ruling Sovereign is himself the sole and sufficient "natural leader" of his people, why should not His Majesty the King-Emperor deal with the Indian question all by himself, and why should the Parliament and the Labour Cabinet be allowed any hand in this affair? His Highness's objection is a relic of that age of "divine right" whose very memory is irritating to the modern mind. For the moment, His Highness may appear to have triumphed. But the States' People are resolved to struggle and suffer and win.

Freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

They will agitate and agitate until their voice is heard and their demand conceded for free and progressive citizenship both as subjects of their States and as members of the Indian nation. It will therefore be well if the Princes realise that the way of prudence as well as of patriotism for them is in not opposing the claims of their People, but, on the other hand, in recommending that some of their authentic spokesmen be invited to the Round Table Conference.

Indian Conditions in Trinidad

By

MR. C. F. ANDREWS

THERE are in Trinidad roughly the same number of East Indians (as they are called in this part of the world) as there are in British Guiana; also the proportion of Mussalmans to

persons who reside in Jamaica, 2,000 East Indians in Grenada and 2,000 in St. Lucia. Another 2,000 have gone of their own accord to the Panama Canal region where high wages are drawn, and there are over 34,000 East Indians in Dutch Guiana who are mainly Hindustanis by race. Among these East Indians in Dutch Guiana, a little more than 2,000 are Mussalmans.

If we add up the total population, we find that, in rough figures, there are in the whole of the West Indies a little more than 300,000 East Indians present. Out of these, roughly 40,000 are Mussalmans, 30,000 Christians, and 230,000 are Hindus.

Trinidad itself is a comparatively small island, but it has infinite possibilities owing to two sources of wealth:—

1. The fertility of its soil, and
2. The rich deposits of Asphalt and Mineral Oil.

The Census Report states that the East Indian population numbers 121,000. Thus, in Trinidad, the East Indians (as they are called) amount to almost exactly one-third of the whole population of the Island.

When we consider their education and wealth and social position, the East Indian people are well up to the average of the whole island. Probably, it would be true to say that in educational ability, they have already shown their superiority, and that this intellectual distinction is becoming more and more marked every day. When it is considered that the people who came over from India were recruited under an altogether bad indenture system which had about it many servile characteristics, and when it is also understood



MR. C. F. ANDREWS

Hindus is almost exactly the same. Furthermore, the number of Madrasis from South India, as compared with the Hindustanis from North India, is very nearly the same.

Let me give the figures so that they may be borne in mind by readers in India. Let me add that it is necessary to call Indians from India East Indians, because these islands are called the West Indies and, therefore, the inhabitants, who are chiefly of the African race, are called West Indians. The figures are these: East Indians taken altogether, 121,000 in Trinidad, 125,000 in British Guiana. Muhammadans, 18,000 in both countries. Indian Christians, in British Guiana about 10,000, in Trinidad, about 13,000, Madrasis, in British Guiana about 4,000, in Trinidad, about 2,000. In addition to these figures, we have to include an East Indian population of about 20,000

that this system was only finally abolished in this Island in the year 1922 when the last indenture was brought to an end, it will easily be seen that the progress already made has been quite astonishingly rapid.

Let me make one point clear before I go any further. The population of Trinidad is so rapidly advancing owing to the low death-rate compared with the high birth-rate that there now appears to be very little need indeed for any fresh immigration. It is true that the Island is not nearly full as yet. It is, for example, far bigger than the island of Mauritius, which holds to-day about the same population, and is not asking for any more immigrants from India, but though there is still ample room in the Island, it is thought wisest by those in authority to have regard for the natural increase of population, rather than to encourage new immigration.

The figures which I have already quoted amply bear out the wisdom of this idea. Furthermore, since wages in the oil industry are very high, there is always an attraction for casual labour from the other West Indian islands, and some of this labour becomes settled in Trinidad and adds to the population. From the East Indian point of view, there would be no real advantage gained by encouraging a new immigration from India of any large kind. The East Indians who are here are themselves increasing in numbers, and have become thoroughly acclimatised. The number who go back to India is rapidly drawing to an end as the old immigrants die out, and their privilege of repatriation dies out with them. There is nothing like the same dissatisfaction with general conditions among the East Indians in Trinidad as I found both in British Guiana and Dutch Guiana. Health conditions are more favourable, climatic conditions are, on the whole, more favourable also and the great fertility of the Island, along with the oil discoveries, has made Trinidad more prosper-

ous and contented than almost any other part of the West Indies. As far as wealth is concerned, the probability is that with good government there need be, in the future, no drastic retrenchment owing to budget difficulties, but rather an ever expanding budget, with excellent opportunities for spending almost lavishly on health and education the yearly surpluses.

After coming from British and Dutch Guiana to Trinidad, I have been quite astonished at the abundance of means which are provided by the Government for elementary and secondary education. The teachers' salaries are far in advance of anything contemplated in British Guiana. The opportunities for training of teachers are so great and so generous that the very best material for the teaching profession is easily obtained. I have just heard, for instance, of a young average East Indian man whose whole training course from beginning to end, occupying three full years, is being paid for by the State, with considerable pocket money for holiday expenses, so that the last part of his education in school, as well as the whole of his college training, is no burden whatever to his parents, but entirely provided for by the State itself. This example is merely an average one which shows how education is being cared for in the best possible manner by this advanced and progressive Island where Indians have come to reside. The fact that they are taking every advantage of the opportunities offered, reflects great credit to a community and its leaders which started under such desperately bad conditions. It points to the irrepressible intellectual energy of the Indian people when once an opportunity is given to them for intellectual advancement.

To-day, in Trinidad, there are leading East Indians in every profession, and they serve faithfully and wisely in the highest councils of Government. There are also men of wealth who have made their incomes chiefly out of land, and

more rarely out of commerce. Some, who were fortunate enough to have already become owners of land within the oil-bearing area before the oil boom, have made fortunes, either by holding on to their land and receiving a rental for it, or by selling it outright.

One point has always attracted me with regard to Trinidad in comparison with other places where Indians went under indenture. While it is true that the very same evils with regard to the disproportion of the sexes and the servile form of labour existed in Trinidad just in the same manner that they were present in other colonies, yet the East Indians in Trinidad, in the course of their history, grew out of these evils far more quickly than the other colonies, and the evils themselves did not appear to leave such dark impressions behind them.

This point always attracted me when studying the records. There were two columns which dealt with suicide and violent crime, such as murder, which appear in all the immigration reports wherever the indenture system was in force. Though the figures were bad for Trinidad as compared with India itself, they were nothing like so bad as the figures which I found in the Fiji reports.

After a very careful enquiry on the spot, I think that it may be regarded as true to state three reasons why immigrants going out from India under exactly the same conditions of indentured labour fared better in Trinidad than elsewhere.

At a very early date, some noble missionaries from Canada, of very high intellectual ability and moral character, such as Dr. Morton and Dr. Grant and others, came to the Island and saw the pitiable condition of the East Indian community under indenture. They had the genius to realise that the very best possible remedy that could be offered in order to raise the whole community from the depths of degradation

into which it was sinking was to inaugurate immediately a full and effective system of education, which would cover the whole field and lead up to the highest honours. This educational system (which on the whole has been untainted by any unfair proselytising) has now been in existence for over sixty years. Its results are evident on every side; more than any other single cause it has pulled the Indian community out of the pitiable condition from which it started.

The general prosperity of Trinidad and the smallness of the Island have both made the estates on which the Indians worked far more closely inspected than those in other parts of the world. They came, as it were, under daily supervision. They were not situated right out in the jungle. This meant that remedies were applied earlier in Trinidad than elsewhere, when glaring abuses became evident.

In addition to these two reasons, I think it may be stated, with absolute fairness, that the level of management on the different estates, though sometimes leaving very much to be desired, was frequently far higher in Trinidad than elsewhere. There were more good managers (to put the matter shortly) than bad managers. These good managers kept up a standard in Trinidad which I certainly never found in such a country as Fiji.

Thus, in spite of incredible difficulties and a bad start, which might have completely crushed a less virile and vigorous community, the East Indians in Trinidad have quite evidently begun to make good, and with the vast educational opportunities which are offered to them to-day, there is no reason why the progress which they have now made should not be continued. Indeed, on every hand, there are still most serious hardships and difficulties to be overcome, but there is also, on all sides, an atmosphere of hope and encouragement; and there is therefore a real and definite chance for further progress.

The Second Imperial Conference of University Students

By MR. C. JOSEPH CHACKO, M.A.

Gilder Fellow, Columbia University, New York., Member, American Society of International Law., and President, Hindustan Association of America.

THE first Imperial Conference was held in 1924 when student delegates representing the various constituencies of the British Empire were invited by the English Union under the honorary presidency of the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. Some of the sessions of the conference, which lasted over a week, were held at centres like Oxford, Cambridge and London. Besides H. M.'s Government, several distinguished persons entered the list of hosts and hostesses to this illustrious body of students who formed the warp and woof of student representation of the Empire. India had two delegates, although unquestionably *sans* portfolio, since there was not, and still is not, an affiliated National Union of Indian University Students.

At the conclusion of the Conference during which the delegates had discussed numerous problems affecting university life all over the Empire, the opinion matured that it was highly desirable, because mutually beneficial, to explore ways and means to render such conferences a regular quadrennial feature of the National Unions. The opinion was well-timed, and received adequate momentum when the possibility of an invitation from the Canadian delegates to hold the Second Conference in their homeland across the Atlantic, loomed large on the horizon.

In 1927, the National Federation of Canadian University Students decided in its annual conference to extend an invitation to the overseas Unions to hold the Second Imperial Conference in the city of Montreal between September 6-16, 1929, in pursuance of the hopes of the Canadian delegates of 1924.

The invitation was hilariously endorsed by all but India. While thus baffled with the difficulty of getting two members for India, a brilliant idea

occurred to the responsible authorities of the inviting union: they would request the Hindustan Association of America, the most representative Indian student organization just across the border in the United States, to send two accredited delegates. In consequence, a request was sent and it found fruition. In the Annual Convention of the H.A.A., Mr. H. K. Rakshit and the writer of this brief note were unanimously elected; due to some inconvenience or other, the former could not go, but the latter participated in the proceedings.

During a period of ten days, the delegates discussed a number of subjects, including student magazines, scholarships, student travels without emigration troubles within the Empire, exchange of students and lecturers, debating teams, textbooks, and sports. Every dominion had two official delegates, and almost every University in Canada was represented; consequently, the total number of the delegates approximated sixty. They were feted by H. M.'s Government of Canada, the City of Ottawa, the alluring capital of the Dominion, the city and harbour of Montreal, and several other noted agencies, with dinners and entertainments.

It would only be superfluous to venture to describe the conference in all its magnitude and magnificence, except to refer to a few salient facts. The conference convinced the writer of the tremendous amount of work launched by the different national Unions in order to render University life worthwhile; it gave him the impression that the divers items on the agenda, consciously or otherwise, adumbrated the future cohesion of an empire sustaining itself on the equality of status of the component parts of that empire, holding for its resourceful reserve the student

body of to-day which is the leading body of to-morrow.

As far as India is concerned, the only noticeable remarks were by H. E. the Governor-General of Canada, Viscount Willingdon, once Governor of Bombay and subsequently of Madras. In his patron speech, which inaugurated the sessions, the Governor said :

Under British administration, we are pledged to lead India on until she gets responsible government and entire equality of opportunity under the British Flag.....We British are determined to go forward to that end, and before very long, we shall achieve that goal. I have always found Indians.....loyal, friendly; and while..... I do not think it would be well for me.....to anticipate the result of Sir John Simon's Commission, yet I sincerely trust it may be one which will be of great help in that country.

After the opening ceremony was over, the writer had the privilege of a brief personal conversation with His Excellency.

On the whole, I may point out that the conference, allowing of course for defects of a minor character, was worth the undertaking of any group of University students, primarily motivated by common interests, whether in India or elsewhere, and woven into the same political fabric.

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One of the cardinal motives of university education, I believe, is to broaden the outlook of man on life in general with a view chiefly to enable him to adjust himself to its varying conditions. But adjustments are not always possible, unless the individual recognizes his own place in relation to those of others. Such a recognition initiates harmonious action which may tend to peace and good will. But if students of one country, possessing the same civilization, culture, and heritage, aggregate themselves in groups of their own, it is more than probable that they may sometimes even unconsciously evolve a society characteristically self-centred and therefore impervious to impressions from without. Hence it is not always possible to build up a genuine type of internationalism which is so imperative for world

security and peace to-day. I do not, therefore, advocate that there should not be any appropriate growth of a desirable type of nationalism or patriotism; only, one should not be blind to the fact that false patriotism is the scourge of the modern world.

Consequently, it is indispensable that those who hold the reins of education in India should see that our students get all possible opportunities to meet and mingle with the University students from other lands. It is thoroughly immaterial whether or not such groupings are "imperial" or "international" in character. As long as the student Unions of Great Britain and the Dominions (or any other country for that matter) are ready to concede, and have conceded in the last Imperial conference, a status of complete equality and reciprocity of treatment, and as long as their deliberations will be confined to such problems as would directly fall within the sphere of University life, so long there appears no need of sponsoring a policy of non-co-operation which is likely to be subversive of and derogatory to the growth of an international public mind among our student body and on behalf of our country.

That the curtain has been lifted on a new epoch of internationalism is an acknowledged fact; science has narrowed the ocean and spanned the air. From behind the lingering horrors of the fiendish cataclysm of 1914, from among the debris of race prejudice and conflicting political ideals, there heaves forth a yearning plea for peace and understanding. Can our student body be silent and indifferent? I leave it to the reader to decide. Then may I conclude my remarks with what the venerable statesman of the United States, Mr. Elihu Root, said when he introduced Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, "Ambassador of good will," to the members of the Council on Foreign Relations of the United States: "I have loved liberty, which means liberty to differ without being hated for it."

Delcroze's School of Eurythmics

BY MRS. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

Organising Secretary, All-India Women's Conference.

ALTHOUGH the word Eurythmics is the English form of the Greek word meaning good rhythm, it is, strictly speaking, only associated with Delcroze's technique of rhythmical exercises.



Mrs. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

Rhythm in any branch of art stands for the most apt and appropriate mode by which sensations of sound or colour or form can be taken in and thereafter given out in what we call art.

Monsieur Jacques Delcroze was a teacher of music in the Conservatoire at Geneva, and it was to cultivate the rhythmic powers of the children that he started his rhythmical gymnastics so as to harmonize the entire human frame with its muscular nervous reactions functioning along with the rhythms of music. He gradually evolved a scheme by which the child could find not only the use of his voice in singing or his hands in playing an instrument, but also an intimate sense

of form and expression in his whole behaviour; for life is *movement*, the expression of the inner self through the bodily organs.

So far, art was more a matter of receptive enjoyment and amusement of our senses, and we applied it to the children in the same manner. But Delcroze with a deeper understanding of child psychology saw that what the children needed was to *make music* and not simply appreciate it, and for this purpose, he evolved a scheme by which through personal exercises and training of limbs, eyes and ears, the gate-way to the child's spontaneity and freedom is opened. In course of time, a student of Eurythmics is able to give his own interpretation to any piece of music which appeals to him.

Delcroze started by combining gymnastics with music since physical exercises give a lot of scope for movement and motor activity, and when music is added to them, it has the advantage of taking away too much attention from the bodily frame, thus leading the child to use his limbs for the higher purpose of expressing his musical mind.

When the child first begins, the movements are rather haphazard, and although they are of an infinite variety, they are sometimes imitative. Delcroze does not believe in leaving them at that, but also rousing in them a taste for grace and symmetry and a sense of the rhythm of music so that the attention of the child is not focussed on his own form, but on the melody and the harmony of music. He thus strives to arrest in the child the desire for self-display. He has succeeded in converting the children's dance into a serious study, using the whole frame as an instrument by which music may enter the mind with the lively and ordered expressions. This enhances their musical capacity and provides a congenial mode of approach to those rhythmical

DECEMBER 1929]

DELCROZE'S SCHOOL OF EURYTHMICS

799

sources which lie deep within us. By this means of combining the two arts, Delcroze has maintained the child as a whole while expressing itself. The child is simple and uniform with very little difference between the motive spheres and the psychic strata and not until development is in progress is there a transforming of the primitive, uniform psychical system into the relatively independent systems. Thus it is only in the course of his growth does the child get ready to separate the various arts and practice each in its own sphere. Delcroze's school has the drill and the music classes combined with the dancing, and the pleasing result is Eurythmics.

It is a great education to watch a demonstration by Delcroze's children. A prescribed plan is laid down for representing the arms and feet, the various time values and note values that are combined in a piece of music. The code is accepted just as notation is, for a common purpose. Delcroze himself is at the piano. The group of new children is first made to walk to music. They respond instinctively adjusting their movements to the varying flow of music, slow, fast, very fast, etc., each expressed by movements in harmony with the time. That is how they are first initiated into rhythmical movement. Then a child moves singly to music, stopping when the music stops, no matter in what position she is. When the music is very fast, she runs round. She is then encircled by other children who clap their hands to keep time as she moves rhythmically.

To show control over the limbs, hands are moved up and down to music, the movements varying according to the notes. Definite movements are linked to definite musical notes, and each piece of music is interpreted by certain movements. The group is divided into four parts, and each is given one measure of time.

Balloons are passed round from child to child and this is done to the rhythm of music. In

the same way, they are also thrown up into the air and caught back, all done to music. The children run round with drums striking them at intervals. A girl moves her feet gracefully swaying to the undulating music. The most beautiful thing is the picture the children form by grouping together each in a different pose, but collectively expressing a certain musical piece. It is done so swiftly, gracefully and spontaneously that it seems like one of the sudden pictures that unrolls itself in the sky at dawn.

Delcroze Schools of Eurythmics have been established in England and all over the Continent and also in America. These centres train teachers as well as arrange demonstrations. In one centre on the Continent, the training school for the opera includes Eurythmics. There is also a Delcroze society which unites teachers, musicians and artists, extends the influence of the system and discusses the larger principles on which it is based. Delcroze himself conducts the School in Geneva. In this system, he presents to us a scheme of art education which will put new life into the study of music, and will enlarge our outlook over the whole scheme of instruction in fine arts.



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

The Eurasian Community: A New View-Point

By

MR. S. MAULIK, M.A. (Cantab), F.Z.S., F.L.S., F.E.S., etc.

WE believe a thing because we like to believe it. That is to say, our beliefs are not based on reason. We begin by believing, and then we rationalise our beliefs. Very often, reason helps us to discard our beliefs. We inherit many. Inherited beliefs are held by most people. It does not readily occur to any of them that their beliefs can be questioned. Such beliefs have generally much emotional accretions on them, like the sugar crystallized round threads in sugarcandy. The rational examination of such beliefs involves the penetration of the emotional envelope.

Our religious, social and many other gregarious beliefs fall under this category. The unquestioning credulity and the emotional element are the two formidable barriers to the acceptance of any other idea which is not in harmony with the original beliefs. The birth of a new idea is seldom without the pangs of parturition. The caste system of India is a curse. Idolatry is abominable. The Eurasians are a degenerate people. These are some of the inherited beliefs. To those who impartially examine such beliefs we should be always grateful.

In this short note, I, therefore, wish to say a few words regarding Mr. Cedric Dover's recently published essay on "Eurasians and their future."* The subject interests me particularly, for while in London, Mr. Dover and I had several conversations on this topic. He has attempted in this publication to examine the question more objectively than is usually done. His effort will certainly bring on him much abuse. But that is inevitable when inherited beliefs are objectively studied.

Nature has not denied the Eurasian any quality necessary to become equal in intellectual powers

to any other social group. Circumstances have been unfavourable to him. That is all.

To my mind, the spirit of Mr. Dover's writing is to attain to fundamental ideas. It ignores the superficial garb in which the Eurasian question in India may be clothed for political or social reasons. Given sufficient time, this question will disappear from India. The Eurasian will not have to resort to the invention of euphemistic terms to designate himself. He will be quite content to call himself an Indian without accentuating a prefix or a suffix. India is a country which has absorbed and remoulded many races. Her history is very ancient. She has seen the rise and fall of many kingdoms and empires. In her long history, she has contributed much to human thought. The next great Indian thinker may be a Eurasian, or the next Kabir may arise from this community. Who knows? Then will disappear the bad implications the term now bears.

But a Kabir cannot arise until the beautiful land of the Himalayas moves the Eurasian to the deepest recesses of his soul. The hankering for "Home" which one has never seen is artificial, and in such artificiality, the natural impulses are submerged. Mr. Dover has tried to indicate that to follow the naturalness of one's feelings is the true way to achieve that respect of one's fellow beings, the want of which lies at the bottom of all discontent.

Mr. Dover's masterly little book should be read with attention and with a certain amount of impartiality of mind; then, perhaps, his true meaning will be perceptible. There is in it some statistical advocacy, but that is not the important part of the book; its real spirit lies in its more philosophical aspect. And that is what I have tried to stress in these few lines.

DECEMBER

THE NEHRU REPORT

By MR. R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C.

[In view of the proposal for a Round Table Conference to discuss the future constitution of India, it is of special interest to record the attempts made in this country to evolve an agreed constitution. The most successful effort in this direction was made by what is known as the Nehru Committee. The framers of this Constitution were able to focus the attention of the country on the goal of Dominion Status, and bring together considerable unanimity of support for their constitution. Mr. Pradhan critically examines this document in his forthcoming volume, INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ, and we have no doubt his conclusion "that the Indian constitution, whatever might be its detailed provisions, must establish *Swaraj* or full responsible government with Dominion Status, cannot be derided or ignored by those who desire to have a true appreciation of the Indian situation in all its essential character" will be endorsed by our readers. We make no apology for reproducing this interesting chapter. Ed. INDIAN REVIEW.]

LET us consider the principal provisions of the constitution framed by the Nehru Committee and adopted by the National Congress, the National Liberal Federation and the 'All-Parties' Conference. The first provision defines the constitutional status of India, and lays down that it shall be neither more nor less than that of the Dominions in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire. Another provision declares that the powers of the Indian Parliament with respect to foreign affairs, not including the Indian States, shall be the same as those exercised by the self-governing Dominions. Thus the constitution embodies the fundamental principle of Dominion Status, as it has been realized at present, or may be realized in future. The constitution fully recognises and maintains the British connection; it does not set up an independent Sovereign State; but, on the other hand, it lays down that India's constitutional status shall, in no way, be inferior to that of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of the New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State. Provided the British connection is not broken off without sufficient reason, India's right to national and international growth and development shall be complete, absolute and unfettered.

Having thus clearly defined India's status, the constitution, following the example of modern written constitutions, lays down the fundamental rights of the Indian people. At the outset, the principle is asserted that sovereignty belongs to the Indian people, and that, consequently, all powers of Govern-

ment, and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, emanate from them.

The list of the fundamental rights of the people includes the following:—

[1] Guarantee to all titles to private and personal property lawfully acquired.

[2] Adequate provision by the State for imparting public instruction in primary schools to the children of members of minorities of considerable strength in the population, through the medium of their own language and in such script as is in vogue among them.

[3] Non-existence of a state religion.

[4] Equal right of access to, and use of, public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort—a provision evidently intended in the interests of the depressed classes.

[5] Equality of the sexes as regards citizenship.

[6] Freedom of combination and association for the improvement of labour and economic conditions.

[7] Guarantee of fair rents and permanence of tenure to agricultural tenants.

The declaration of fundamental rights in the constitution contains nothing of a revolutionary nature; indeed, in some respects, it proceeds on such conservative lines, that, while vested interests will feel a sense of security under the constitution, it is not at all surprising that the Socialist and Communist schools of thought have objected to it, as calculated to perpetuate a capitalistic or bourgeoisie state of society. The rights of women, of depressed classes, of Capital and Labour, and of minorities are strictly safe-guarded in the Declaration of Rights.

Some modern constitutions contain a Declaration, not only of Rights, but of Duties. This is a decided improvement in the making of constitutions. Citizens have, not only

* Modern Art Press, Calcutta.

rights, but duties; and the efficiency and success of democratic responsible government depend no less on the performance of duties than on the exercise of rights; indeed, it depends much more on the former than on the latter. The Constitution framed by the Nehru Committee contains no Declaration of Duties.

The Constitution provides for a federal system, with residuary powers vested in the Central Government. The peculiar conditions of India, the vulnerability of its North-Western Frontier, and the fact that it is out of a unitary system that federalism is to be created, render it imperative that the residuary powers should be vested in the Government of the Indian Commonwealth, and not in those of the constituent states. This is fully recognised in the Constitution. But it would have been better, if the type of federation recommended had been more after the model of that introduced by the German Republic in its constitution than that obtaining in the Dominion of Canada.

The Constitution also provides for full responsible Government with the ministry jointly responsible to the legislature, and for a bi-cameral system in the Central Government, but not in the Governments of the Provinces. The House of Representatives is to consist of 500 members, and the Senate, of 200 members. The latter are to be elected by members of Provincial Councils, and those of the House of Representatives and the Provincial Councils, by adult suffrage. The constitution of a Second Chamber is a difficult question, and it is open to doubt whether the proper method of electing it is by members of Provincial Councils. Again, if the Second Chamber is to serve a useful purpose, and to command popular respect, it is necessary that it should have equal powers with the House of Representatives, and that all differences, between them should be settled by a majority in a joint session.

The working of Parliamentary Government in the West has shown the necessity of strong and stable ministries. In India, for many years to come, parties and groups are

likely to be so many that it seems necessary to provide that, as a general rule, a ministry should not be removable, and that it may be removed only after the lapse of a certain period from its appointment, and that, too, only by a two-thirds majority of members present. The life of the House of Representatives and of Provincial Councils should be for five years, and for the first three years, a ministry should not be removable, except on certain specified grounds, such as corruption and serious breach of confidence; but after the expiry of this period, it may be removable on a motion indicating a vote of censure, passed by a two-thirds majority of members present. The responsibility of a ministry to the legislature must be combined with efficiency and stability; and this must be ensured by such or similar provisions.

The provisions in the Constitution relating to defence are important and show the cautious and statesmanlike spirit of the Committee and its Chairman. A Committee of Defence is to be constituted, consisting of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Commander-in-Chief, the Commander of the Air Forces, the Commander of the Naval Forces, the Chief of the General Staff, and two other experts. The function of this Committee will be to advise the Government on general questions of policy, and on questions of defence. The military budget is to be subject to the vote of the House of Representatives, but in the event of any foreign aggression on India, or of a reasonable apprehension of such aggression, the Government may incur any expenditure that may be deemed necessary without the vote of the Legislature. Further, it is only on the recommendation of the Committee of Defence that a measure affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of the military, naval or air forces, may be introduced in the Legislature.

Lastly, we may refer to the provisions of the Constitution regarding communal representation. As these provisions are not approved of by some sections of Moslem opinion, including that led by His Highness

the Aga Khan and Sir Shafi of the Punjab, and as it is necessary that they should be fully understood and judged carefully and dispassionately on their own merits, we quote them in full:—

I. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the Provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority, and non-Muslims in the N.-W. Frontier Province. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population in every province where they are in a minority and in proportion to the non-Muslim population in the N. W. Frontier Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims, where reservation is allowed to them, shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces

(a) there shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal, provided that the question of communal representation will be open for reconsideration if so desired by any community after working the recommended system for 10 years;

(b) in provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal, there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats;

(c) in the N.-W. Frontier Province, there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats, where allowed, shall be for a fixed period of ten years. Provided that the question will be open for reconsideration after the expiration of that period if so desired by any community.

Such are the provisions of the Constitution as regards the difficult question of communal representation. Those who believe in the necessity of separate electorates for the Moslem community, who think that by such electorates only, the legitimate interests of the Moslem minority can be properly protected, and who do not consider them in any way detrimental to the vital interests of a strong, united Indian nationality, may not approve of these proposals, and insist on the retention of separate communal electorates; and the considerations of expediency may prove to be so decisive as to make it undesirable to radically alter

the existing system in the teeth of serious opposition. But there can be no doubt that if the solution recommended by the All-Parties' Conference is considered on its merits from the broad, necessary national point of view, it will be found, in the long run, to be the best calculated to harmonise the rightful claims of a considerable and powerful minority with those of the Indian nation as a whole. Some people and sections of opinion may honestly think that communal electorates are essential; nor need we exaggerate the evils of such electorates by laying every evil and every communal disturbance or fracas at their door. But there can be no doubt that the scheme proposed by the All-Parties' Conference is a progressive one, and, at any rate, deserves to be given a fair trial for a period of ten years, as suggested by the Conference. While the question is not one of such over-riding importance as to justify an irrevocable split between the two communities or any large sections thereof, and while it is more desirable to reach an agreement among all Indian communities, as regards further extension of political power, even though such agreement can be realized only on the basis of the continuance of the existing system of communal electorates, while, in other words, the attainment of *Swaraj* should not be sacrificed at the altar of an uncompromising and meticulous insistence on a common electoral roll, with or without reservation of seats, it is impossible for all the more far-seeing and progressive elements in every community not to realize that a healthy and strong Indian Nationalism, and a no less healthy, strong and progressive Indian Democracy, can be built up only on the granite rock of the perfect fusion of all the diverse communal interests and points of view into a thoroughly and intensely national outlook and allegiance. The supreme merit of the proposals of the All-India Conference lies in this that they are a genuine and notable attempt to bridge the widening gulf between narrow communalism and broad, united nationalism. They seek to make all the Indian communities realize as much as it is possible

to do so by means of the electoral roll that their interests are wholly identical.

What is the exact strength of public opinion behind the Constitution framed by the Nehru Committee and adopted by the All-Parties' Conference and the Indian National Congress? That it is not accepted in its entirety by all sections of Indian opinion cannot be denied. The school of national independence does not approve of it, because it is based on the principle of Dominion Status; but it heartily supports its scheme of communal representation. The All-India Christian Conference, representing a progressive community whose views on public questions are entitled to considerable weight, has expressed its general approval of the Constitution, but thinks that it does not sufficiently safe-guard the interests of the minorities, and that the position assigned by it to the depressed and backward classes is far from satisfactory. The opinion of the Sikh community seems to be sharply divided. While one section of the community has given it its full support, the other, which stands for the goal of national independence, thinks that it "sins against the self-respect and dignity of India."

The Moslem community is divided on the question. A considerable section including some of the best and most progressive Mahomedans—men like Dr. Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad—entirely approves of the Constitution, including the scheme for communal representation; on the other hand, another considerable and influential section under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan and Sir Mahomed Shafi, strongly urges the retention of separate electorates. This section has not, indeed, framed a separate constitution of its own; but its views are embodied in a resolution passed by a conference held under the presidency of His Highness the Aga Khan at Delhi on 31st December 1928. * * *

While it is true that the Constitution has not met with general acceptance, there seems little doubt that if a plebiscite were taken, the Indian electorate would endorse it

by a large majority. In that sense, at any rate, it can justly claim to be regarded as the national constitution of India. At all events, it cannot be denied that it commands the hearty approval of a very large, weighty and powerful body of Indian opinion. And the fact that it has received the cordial support of the Indian Liberals is a very strong point in its favour. Besides, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that, so far as the establishment of *Swaraj*, or of full responsible Government and Dominion Status, is concerned, all the Indian communities, and all those political parties which do not wish to sever the British connection, are in complete accord; all of them demand that the time is come when all political power must be transferred from the British Electorate to the Indian Electorate. On this central and fundamental issue, all India is firmly united. Differences of opinion may exist as to whether the residuary power should be vested in the Federal Government or the State Governments, whether the Provincial Legislatures should be bi-cameral or unicameral, whether or not, the franchise should be lowered to adult suffrage, or as regards the constitution of the Senate or the distribution of subjects and sources of revenue between the Central and the Provincial Governments or communal representation. But there can be no doubt that, whatever might be the solution ultimately reached on these constitutional questions on which perfect unanimity is impossible, the constitution which India asks for is one which must establish full responsible Government, both provincial and national, and raise her to the status of a British Dominion. These differences may not be entirely overcome; they may be regretted; it is easy to exaggerate them, or to draw false, erroneous or misleading inferences from them. But the fact that the Indian constitution, whatever might be its detailed provisions, must establish *SWARAJ* or full responsible Government with Dominion Status, cannot be denied or ignored by those who desire to have a true appreciation of the Indian situation in all its essential character.

EXTRAORDINARY TRIALS

BY

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MANY quaint cases come before the Courts of Law from time to time. They perhaps compare very little, however, with the trials that occurred in mediæval times. It might, for instance, be imagined that a man's death put an end to all things and that his mere body had no rights or duties except that of being buried with ordinary decency. Throughout practically the whole continent of Europe in the middle ages, nevertheless, they apparently had other ideas. Post-mortem Trials, in fact, prevailed. European laws recognised acts of renunciation in which a widow laid the keys on her husband's corpse, or tapped his grave with the point of a halberd. The body of a murdered person, or, it might be his hand merely, could be carried before a judge to demand vengeance. By English thirteenth-century law, legal possession of real estate, indeed, was thought to remain in a man, not until he died, but until his body was borne forth to burial. The dead might be a very potent witness, as shown by the ordeal of *hier-right*, a practice founded on the belief that the murderer's touch would cause the victim's wounds to bleed afresh.

Musty old Spanish and French official records, unearthed in New Orleans, show that when a man committed suicide there in 1738, the courts actually tried him for taking a life. He was found guilty, and it is set forth that "the inanimate body that held life too great a burden" was sentenced to abandonment without burial.

In ancient Greece, any object that killed a citizen was apparently brought to trial at the Court of the Prytaneum, and, after being "convicted," cast beyond the borders. The introduction of this custom has been attributed to Draco, but Dr. Frazer observes that it was probably much older. "For such a custom based on the view

that animals and things are endowed with a consciousness like that of man's, goes back," we are told, "to the infancy of the human race." The same idea as to passing judgment upon things inanimate can certainly be discovered in the laws as to *Deodando*. Originally, it appears to have been intended that whatsoever caused the death of a person should simply be delivered to the kinsmen of the deceased as something that could be avenged upon.

It is strange, of course, to think that in those bygone days, practically everything and everybody alike was regarded as amenable to law. In 1454, for instance, the Bishop of Lausanne instituted proceedings against the leeches that infested the ponds of Berne. The case was tried before a bench of Judges at Berne, the Bishop was represented by Counsel, and a leech was solemnly arraigned, found guilty of trespass, and, with the other leeches, ordered to quit the ponds within three days! The order of the Court having been disobeyed, the leeches were duly declared contumacious, ordered to be treated as idiots, and a trustee was appointed to protect their interests. The leeches persisting in ignoring the decision of the Court, the Bishop formally anathematised them! In 1474, a farm-yard cock was tried at Basle on the absurd charge of having laid an egg! A sow and her six young pigs were tried at Leveguay in 1457 on the charge of having killed and partially eaten a child.

Shakespeare, "who knew everything," alludes to the practice of punishing animals in his *MERCHANT OF VENICE*. (Act iv. sc. 1):

Thy enrish spirit
Govern'd a wolf, who, hanged for human slaughter,
Even from the gallows did its fell soul fleet,
And whilst thou lay'st in thy unhallowed dam,
Infused itself in thee; for thy desires
Are wolfish, bloody, starved and ravenous.

By the 15th century laws of Sardinia, we find asses were condemned to lose one ear the first time they trespassed on a field not their master's and their other ear for a second offence.

In a similar way, it would be difficult to think of anything that has not at some time or other served as an excuse for "going to law". Even ghosts, in some few instances, have thus been introduced into the prosaic atmosphere of the law courts. In one ghost-case, a litigant entered an action for the recovery of some £2000, the sum paid for the freehold of certain historic ruins reputed to be haunted. It was the fact of the place being supposed to be haunted that had first induced the claimant to purchase the property. Presumably, without the spectre, the property was worthless from the claimant's standpoint, and failing to find there the object of his quest, he repented of his bargain; hence the action, which, however, like the claimant's original search for the phantom, failed. But the ghost of which one person will go to law to gain possession, another will defy the law to compel him to accept. The owners of houses reputed to be haunted have often had considerable trouble in parting with them. At least on one occasion, a ghostly visitant has figured in divorce proceedings. Not so long ago, a woman at Albany, New York, sued for dissolution of marriage, the singular reason being that she was continually haunted by the ghost of her husband's first wife. The ghost theory was accepted by the Court as legally tenable, and the parties were set free. Again, according to a decision in Illinois, the testimony of a ghost was taken as legal evidence. A Will, which, it was claimed, had been dictated by the spirit of the late husband of a wealthy widow and carefully copied by the testator herself just before her own demise, was sought to be set aside by one of her sons not remembered in the Will in question. The jury took the view that the widow, in disposing of her property, had

used her proper discretion in taking the advice given her by her husband's spirit and that the Will therefore held good.

There have been many costly legal wrangles over trifling matters. It cost a certain plaintiff once, for instance, no less than £10,000 to determine the ownership of a single penny. In another instance, a scientific man despatched a skeleton by carriers, and, during transit, one of the skeleton's fingers was lost. An action was brought against the carriers for the value of the finger; a legal squabble lasting far into the second year ensued with the result that the finger cost the scientist little short of £3,000, a sum sufficient to purchase a small army of skeletons. A few years ago, a lady was sued by a London Tramways Company for a halfpenny; an Italian lawyer brought an action for the recovery of a centime, worth at that period about one-third of a farthing, which had been demanded and paid as duty on a box of bonbons.

Cases of sex deception sometimes come before the Courts, but one of the most peculiar instances in this regard came before the Criminal Court in London on the 5th July 1777. A woman was tried for having disguised herself as a man and marrying three women in succession. The fair, or rather unfair, deceiver was required by the justices to give the daughters of the citizens an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with her features by standing in the Cheapside pillory for several hours. The most marvellous case in this respect, however, was that heard before a special jury at Westminster Hall to determine the sex of of the Chevalier D'Eon, formerly Ambassador from France to the Court of England. The action was brought by Mr. Hayes, a surgeon of Leicester Fields, now Leicester Square, against a broker and underwriter, named Jacques, for the recovery of £700. It appeared that Mr. Jacques some six years previously had received premiums of £15 per cent. for everyone of which he stood

engaged to return £100 whenever it should be proved that the Chevalier D'Eon was actually a woman. A surgeon named Le Goux gave evidence that while D'Eon was the French Ambassador, he was called in professionally to attend him. Another witness named De Morande swore that three years previously D'Eon disclosed her sex to him. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, after expressing his abhorrence of the whole transaction, directed the jury to find a verdict for the plaintiff for the amount claimed, which they did, so the person called the Chevalier D'Eon was pronounced a woman by a British judge and jury.

A few years ago, one of the English railroads was sued for damages under peculiar circumstances. An ancient mummy from Peru had suffered injury in transit and the owner sought to recover from the Company. The Court, however, discovered that it was absolutely impossible to proceed with the case until the coroner had held an inquest on the mummy. Without his verdict, there was apparently no way of proceeding otherwise than in an illegal manner. Accordingly, the coroner and his jury held an inquest and returned a verdict as subjoined: "The Jury finds that the woman was found dead at the railway goods station on April 15, and did die, some date unknown, in some foreign country, probably Peru, from some cause unknown. No proofs of a violent death are found. The body has been buried in some foreign manner and does not show any recent crime in this country. The deceased was unknown and about twenty-five years of age." All difficulties were thenceforth removed by this verdict, and, once in possession of the document, the Court proceeded to adjudicate, and damages were awarded to the owner of the mummy.

In the Court Rolls of the Manor of Hatfield, in Yorkshire, under date 1329, there is mentioned a case wherein John de Ithon is purported to have

made arrangements for selling the devil to Robert de Roderham, bound in a certain bond, for three-pence farthing. It appears, owing to John de Ithon having failed to deliver the devil, damages were inflicted on Robert de Roderham to the extent of sixty shillings. Furthermore, as it seemed to the Court that a suit of this character ought not to subsist between Christians, the parties aforesaid were adjourned to the infernal regions, there to hear their judgment.

Quaint disclosures about witches are brought out in criminal trials from time to time. This was much more the case in bygone days, of course, than at the present time. In one famous trial of Lancashire witches, for instance, it was remarkable that the most notorious characters, according to tradition, all possessed a definite and deplorable comic squint. A little light upon the mode in which women were initiated into witchcraft is thrown by Pitcairn, in his "Criminal Trials" wherein he mentions that, at a trial at Dalkeith, a reputed witch named Janet Watson confessed that when she was initiated into the craft, the presiding devil laid his hand on her head saying "all" that was under it was his "from now onward!" In the trial of Bartie Paterson, in 1607, it was given as evidence that the accused "was a witch" simply because she had disguised herself "as a cat" and had, with other cats—ostensibly witches—given a serenade on a particular night in the backyard of one of the witnesses. The evidence was believed and Bartie was hanged.

To the Law Courts, the average man would scarcely go when in search of entertainment. Yet the chronicles of the Courts contain much that is amusing and curious. As a result of a sneeze, Mr. G. L. Foley sued a Mr. C. H. Davidson in Chicago for £10,000. Davidson, it seems, asked for a match to light a cigar. Foley politely produced a match, but unluckily the other sneezed violently just as the match had been struck with

the result that it became extinguished. High words ensued. Foley was arrested for riotous conduct, and, on his liberation, claimed £10,000 damages against the gentleman whose request for a match led to such startling consequences. Among other amusing law cases must be counted that of Mrs. Hosier, an Indiana lady, who was sued for £1,000 damages for "loss of thirst" by her brother, into whose food she had secretively introduced some preparation to cure him of his

love of intoxicants. A Michigan beauty doctor was sued for 200 dollars for wages by one who had consented to have a side of her face made beautiful while allowing the other side to remain wrinkled and unlovely. The beauty doctor presumably wanted this lady for exhibition purposes in her shop window. After the operation—a painful one—had been undergone, however, the beauty doctor refused to employ her. Hence the action.

Towards Naval Disarmament

BY

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"Who in Europe does not know that one more War in the West and the civilisation of the ages will fall with as great a shock as that of Rome. . . . Our engineers and scientists supplied only hints last time! Wait till they get into their stride!" (*Baldwin.*)

THESE quotations may serve to show the necessity for disarmament. The League of Nations, set up at the end of the Great War, was not intended as a fire-brigade to stop war when it threatened to take place. On the other hand, it is obliged by Article 8 of the Covenant to bring about general disarmament as a preliminary to peace. At the end of the War, the disarmament of Germany and other enemy Powers was carried out by the Allies, and this was represented in solemn agreements at the time as being a step preparatory to the general disarmament of all nations. The pledges were not kept, though, time and again, Conferences of the Great Powers attempted to bring about disarmament. The actual progress attained towards disarmament was so ludicrous that disarmament has come to be a term covered with ridicule.

Disarmament, if it is to succeed, must begin with the limitation of naval armaments. "You cannot expect the great military nations," observed Lord Cecil, "to make effective agreements

for reduction and limitation of armaments unless the naval powers show themselves ready to do the like." Hence the Powers started with an attempt to limit naval armaments. But, owing to some reason or other, the Disarmament Conferences did not achieve anything. The election of Mr. Hoover to the Presidency of the U. S. A. and the advent of the Labour Party to power, have brought naval disarmament within the realm of practical politics. Speaking on the occasion of a Banquet given in honour of general Dawes on June 18, Arthur Henderson, the Labour Foreign Secretary, said, "The world needs disarmament, the peoples yearn for it; Governments would welcome it. There is now new hope and new strength in the hearts of the peoples of the world. They believe that the time for action is come. They wait anxiously for results."

It was felt by Hoover and MacDonald that if they had informal conversations on naval disarmament, they could remove much of the misunderstanding which had disturbed Anglo-American relations since the unfortunate breakdown of the Coolidge Conference and the disclosure of the Anglo-French Naval Pact. They

also realised that if the U. S. A. and Britain, the two great naval Powers, agreed among themselves regarding naval disarmament, they could later on persuade the other nations to fall in line with their naval agreement. Hence General Dawes went to England soon after the formation of the Labour Ministry, and had informal conversations with MacDonald, and a few weeks back, MacDonald went to the U.S.A. and carried on conversations with Hoover. The Hoover-MacDonald conversations have successfully concluded, and a joint-Report on the conversations has been issued. The Report says that the conversations have had relation not only to the question of naval agreement, but also to the means by which the moral force of the two great Anglo-Saxon countries could be exerted for peace. Mr. MacDonald made it plain in the speech which he delivered on the floor of the American Senate that the object of his visit was to secure personal contact which is sure to remove misunderstanding better than diplomacy at a distance, and that he did not contemplate a separate alliance with the U.S.A., but only "an understanding to include other nations, filling the world with hope and confidence."

The Hoover-MacDonald conversations mark a turning point in naval disarmament. Mr. MacDonald's personality, his sincerity and politeness, and his Scottish humour have made him extremely popular with all those with whom he came in contact. The success of Mr. MacDonald's visit to the U.S.A. has encouraged him to issue an invitation to France, Italy and Japan to attend a Five-Power Naval Conference to be held in London in January 1930, to settle the question of naval disarmament.

The Hoover-MacDonald conversations have dispelled suspicion, removed misunderstanding and restored confidence and amity between the two countries. The present Anglo-American Naval understanding fixes the total tonnage for all classes of cruisers put together and not by

category. But it fixes the calibre of guns which each type of cruisers can carry. Britain fifteen 8-inch gun cruisers and five 6-inch gun cruisers, the total cruiser tonnage being 339,000. Similarly, the U. S. A. is allowed twenty-one 8-inch gun cruisers and fifteen 6-inch gun cruisers, the total cruiser tonnage being 315,000.

This agreement is a great step taken in the direction of naval disarmament, for Britain has given up the plea which she put forward at the Coolidge Conference that she required at least sixty light and fast cruisers to protect her Imperial communications, and the U. S. A. similarly, has given up her claim to mount even small cruisers with 8-inch guns. As the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN puts it:—

Now the U. S. A. concedes that Britain may have the larger total cruiser tonnage by some thousands, and Britain concedes that the U.S.A. with a smaller total tonnage may have a few more fighting cruisers of 10,000 tons. . . . Parity has been reached by an acceptance of disparity. The achievement of the MacDonald-Dawes conversations and the MacDonald-Hoover visit is that for the first time, confidence has been translated into action.

If the sincerity and goodwill that prevailed at the Mac-Hoover conversations were to extend to the ensuing Five-Power Naval Conference, naval disarmament will soon be within sight. But there are certain obstacles to be overcome. France, which has concentrated her naval resources in auxiliary ships, will not consent to abolish or reduce submarines. France has been insisting to fix a total tonnage for auxiliary craft and to allow every Power to distribute the tonnage between the different classes according to its own needs. Further, France may want to know whether the Hughes formula will be adhered to in the ensuing Five-Power Naval Conference. The Hughes formula is this. Taking the naval resources of the Great Powers in 1921 at the time of the Washington Conference, the American Secretary of State, Hughes, laid down his formula 5-5-3-1-75, that is to say, the naval strengths of Britain and the U.S.A. should be equal, that of Japan should be

3/5 of U.S.A. and that the naval strengths of France and Italy should be less than 2/5 of the British strength. France has been protesting against the Hughes formula since 1921, for it assigns to her less than 2/5 of the British strength, and that it places her on a level with Italy. Before attending therefore the Five-Power Naval Conference, she may want to know whether the Higher formula is still to be adhered to, especially as Japan has been quite recently granted a 10-10-7, that is to say, 7/10 of the British and American strengths instead of 3/5 granted by the Hughes formula.

France may not prove to be the only intractable Power attending the ensuing Naval Conference. Fascist Italy will be another. Fascist Italy stands for "Mediterranean Imperialism." She has no faith in the Kellogg Pact, which the U.S.A. and Britain regard "not only as a declaration of our good intentions but as positive obligation". Contrast this with what Arnaldo Mussolini, the brother and right-hand man of the Duce, said of the Peace-Pact, "In this Kellogg Pact, there is

transparent insincerity." It is, therefore, uncertain whether Fascist Italy will consent to a reduction and limitation of naval armaments at the ensuing Five-Power Naval Conference.

The Anglo-American Naval Understanding has solved many of the crucial questions that remained unsolved before. That agreement is only preliminary to the calling of a Five-Power Naval Conference. The invitees to the Conference will be free to put in their proposals, and England and the U.S.A. will be equally free to negotiate with them as though no conversations had taken place. With France and Italy at the Conference, it would require all the tact and skill of diplomats to promote the naval disarmament of the whole world. We hope that the example of the U. S. A. and Britain will be followed by other Powers, and the Five-Power Naval Conference will make a substantial contribution "to gain security of peace not by military organisation, but by peaceful means rooted in public opinion and enforced by a sense of justice in the civilised world."

An Economic Basis for the Indian Constitution

BY THE HON'BLE MR. KUMAR SANKAR ROY CHOUDHURI.

NOW that the Constitution for the Government of India is going to be recast, and the proposed All-Parties' Conference report not having been accepted by a large number of Mahomedans and people of other communities, I propose, in this article, to suggest, as an alternative, a scheme of constituting the legislatures upon an economic basis of representation. That the principle of representation adopted in the West is not without its defects and does not allow the representation of all interests in the country has been admitted by Western thinkers, and it is no use saying that it is open to all classes to come through the open competition of a general electorate. Marriot, in his *MECHANISM OF MODERN STATES*, admits;

It was contended and anticipated that the adoption on a scale almost universal of the principle of single member constituencies would, among other advantages, secure adequate representation to minority.

Mr. Gladstone admitted that a "large diversity of representation is a capital object in a good electoral system", and he contended that by means of one member districts, the representation of minorities would be adequately secured. This anticipation was not fulfilled. On the contrary, the new system has tended to the exaggeration of majorities. Lord Acton says:

The most certain test by which we can judge whether a nation is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by the minorities. It is bad to be oppressed by a minority, but it is worse to be oppressed by a majority.

Mill indeed goes so far as to affirm that

it is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be represented. No real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.

Baghot [ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, 1920, page 25,] characterises a good Parliament as being one in which "the majority ought to represent the general average intelligence of the country and the various members ought to represent the various special interests, special opinions, special prejudices to be found in the community. There ought to be an advocate for every particular sect."

In the United States Congress, about one half of the members are lawyers [Bryce, Vol. 2, page 56]. In the French Senate, "the bulk of the senators have of late years been professional men chiefly physicians and lawyers with a few agriculturists. The higher walks of commerce, landed property and industry, are not largely represented [Bryce, Vol. 1, page 263]. In the French Chamber of Deputies:

The largest element consists of professional men, lawyers, physicians, journalists, retired functionaries and professors and school-teachers. There are not many to speak for agriculture and even fewer had worked with their lands before they entered the Chamber—the Chamber consists chiefly of the same upper strata of the middle classes as does the United States Congress or the Parliament of Canada, the chief difference being that in those bodies, there are even more lawyers but hardly any physicians, teachers or journalists. (Bryce Vol. I, page 178.)

The rule of the people thus only means the rule of a particular class of people, and minority interests are forced to go to the wall. Various methods styled as "Self-made Constituencies" "Limited Voting" "Cumulative Vote", "Proportional Representation", "Alternate Vote" have been suggested. Of these, proportional representation has been adopted in some of the European countries; but examination has shown that the results of all these plans have not gone very far in effecting a representation of the minorities and all sorts of interests that are found to exist in the country. They at best serve to bring in one or more minority groups strong enough to fight an election in constituencies which have to be made much bigger in order to afford plurality of seats. With

the advance of civilisation and consequent diversity in the pursuits of life, the conflicts of interests between different sections of society have assumed a very great economic importance. "The dividing line," says Bryce [Vol. 1, page 141] "between parties tends to be economic.

The result has been to accentuate class sentiment making a sharper division than previously existed between the richer and the more conservative element in every country and that which is poorer".

Again, he goes on to say that, in many countries, "the centre of gravity in political thought as well as in action has shifted from methods of government and legal reforms to economic issues," and that this "social or economic basis of parties is likely to last so long as no single type of economic doctrine becomes completely dominant" [Vol. II page 382]. "The functions thrust upon Government are becoming more numerous and complex so that greater and greater special knowledge and skill are required to discharge them" [ib. page 452]. "Alike in France, in America and in England, the constitutional machinery that exists for investigating, preparing and enacting legislation upon economic and industrial topics has failed to give satisfaction." [ib. page 529].

Several countries in Europe have, therefore, in remodelling their constitution, made provisions for safe-guarding the different economic interests in the country, *vide* Article 44 Serbs Croats and Slavonic Constitution, Article 68, Polish Republic, Article 11, clause 2, Austrian Republic, Article 7 clause 10, German Constitution, Article XX Mexico, Article 45, Ireland. Germany has further provided for the constitution of a National Economic Council whose function "is one of conciliation and harmonisation of the ideals of the workers and employers with a view to increasing thereby the technical efficiency of production" [New Governments of Central Europe by Malbone Graham, page 78]. "It is endowed with sufficient political power to place it on a parity with the

Reichsrat, in matters of legislation" [Ib. page 76]. Recently, the Trade Union Congress in England has also passed a resolution for the creation of such a body in England. But those provisions have not gone far enough, for "in the course of their struggle, the English combatants for freedom realised, as had done their Greek and Roman predecessors, that they cannot win and hold civil and religious liberties so long as the constitution of the State left political power in the hands of a monarch or a class" [Bryce, Vol. 1 page 58]. That rule, I venture to submit, applies to economic interests as well, and so long as the constitution of the State does not recognise economic interests and afford sufficient representations to them, "a nation is sure to lag behind its competitors, and power will pass from it to these competing nations whose better-planned institutions are more practically efficient." [Bryce, II, page 452].

If organised society, in which all people have their just dues and fair share of the amenities of life, be the end of social evolution, I think, instead of merely copying Western institutions, we ought to take advantage of our experiences of the histories of Eastern and Western civilisations, and, avoiding their pitfalls, to chalk out a path for ourselves by evolving a scheme which will, as much as possible, harmonise the various conflicts of interests and give them their full share of representation and influence in shaping the destinies of our country.

I therefore think that the legislatures of our country should be constituted upon an economic basis giving representation as much as possible to all classes of interests in the country in proportion to their importance. The report of the Committee of the All-Parties' Conference also lays stress on this fact in the following words at page 49:—

We are certain that as soon as India is free and can face her problems unhampered by alien authority and intervention, the minds of her people will turn to the vital

problems of the day. The result will be that parties will be formed in the country and in the legislature on entirely other grounds, chiefly economic we presume. We shall then find Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs in one party acting together and opposing another party which also consists of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. This is bound to happen if we once get going.

Capital and Labour are international in their interests. Already in Europe, the spirit of internationalism is trying to gain the ears of the people through the help of their agencies, while patriotism, the representation of territorial interests and jealousies, is trying to hold it back. If Europe is to rise out of the cesspool, it must be through the international organisation of her economic interests far more quickly and readily than through her political. The League of Nations has already been able to take up these matters more easily than political. Similarly for India too, to rise as a nation, these economic interests should be organised and brought to a focus in the state, and nothing is better fitted to do it than giving the very constitution of the state an economic basis.

Politically speaking, there is not, nor can there be, any conflict of interest between the various religious communities residing in India. The laws that affect the relationship between landlords and tenants affect the landlords and tenants irrespective of the religion they profess. So also is the case between capital and labour or the producer and the consumer. These economic interests should, therefore, be brought to the forefront and given the representation that is due to them in proportion to their importance in the country. The question of the community to which any of these particular classes belong can only arise indirectly, and where it does arise, the representation of the class will serve to ensure the representation of that community without the introduction of the bad principle of communal representation for its own sake. Fortunately or unfortunately for us, but I should rather say fortunately, various systems of cultural civilisation with their traditions of past

glory have existed side by side in India without being crushed by one another out of existence, and no one who is a well-wisher of India can deny that their continued existence and further development will make great contributions to the store of human wisdom. In the true spirit of harmoniously fostering and safe-guarding the growth of such cultures, it may be necessary to apply the principle of communal representation to the case of the intellectual sub-classes of capital and labour. Provision for this I earnestly hope and trust if necessary ought to allay the suspicion that may lurk in the minds of those who advocate communalism to safe-guard the rights of the various communities.

The leaders of communalism of the minority communities in different parts of India, Hindus, Mussalmans as well as Europeans, ought not to be too much led away by the spirit of communalism. The minority communities will ultimately have to depend upon the good-will of the majority and their erstwhile leaders will, in the words of Bernard Shaw, "exterminate themselves like Kilkenny cats" and be ultimately abjured by their communities.

KURRATU'L-AYN

BY PROF. PRITAM SINGH, M.A.

SAYS Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge: The appearance of such a woman as Kurratu'l-Ayn in any country and any age is a rare phenomenon, but in such a country as Persia, it is a prodigy—nay almost a miracle. Alike in virtue of her marvellous beauty, her rare intellectual gifts, her fervid eloquence, her fearless devotion, and her glorious martyrdom, she stands forth incomparable and immortal amidst her countrywomen. Had the Babi religion no other claim to greatness, this were sufficient, that it produced a heroine like Kurratu'l-Ayn.

Kurratu'l-Ayn, whose original name was Zarin Taj, was the daughter of Haji Mullah Muhammad, her cousin. There is no indication of the date of her birth or of her marriage, but, at all events, the marriage was an unhappy one because the husband hated the followers of Bab, and this young lady

The principle of this economic system of representation has practically been recognised by Government in the constitution now in force in India, but in a most haphazard unscientific and unsatisfactory manner when cognisance has been taken of the capitalistic section of the agricultural interest by reserving special seats for the landlords and by giving commercial interest some special representation through the limited franchise of some mercantile associations. Labour and capitalistic sections of various other interests have, on the contrary, been thrown in as a lump into a general constituency, where, by a process of overlapping the above interests to whom special representation has already been given, are again allowed to swamp the election through their superior powers of organisation and resources, while industrial labour has only been given one or two seats here and there. Labour is fast rising into importance in the organisation of society in the world. It has already captured the citadel of power in several states, and labour in India, I am sure, will not tolerate the present state of things for any length of time.

had embraced Babism long before her marriage. The position became perilous when the father of her husband was murdered by a Babi, and it was hinted that she was privy to this assassination. She was brought before the Governor of Kazvin and was acquitted, but a separation followed and Kurratu'l-Ayn was compelled to leave her home, and accordingly she set out by way of Teheran for Khorasan and was present at the famous conference of Babi chiefs held at Badasht. From Badasht she returned in the company of Mullah Muhammad Ali of Barfarush to Mazandran, and, after this, there is a break in the narrative of her activities. We hear of her

captivity and of her being brought to Teheran to be placed in the custody of Muhammad Khan the *Kalantar*, in whose house she remained till her execution in August 1852.

The following particulars about her life are derived from *TARIKH-I-JADID*: Kurratu'l-Ayn visited Kerbela, where she met some prominent Shaikhs who were expecting the appearance of the hidden Imam or the *Kaim*. Later, she became a disciple of Ali Muhammad the Babi who declared himself the *Kaim*, and used to preach his doctrine from behind a curtain. The Governor of Kerbela, becoming aware of this, wished to arrest her, but she left for Baghdad where she went directly to the house of the *Mufti* before whom she defended her creed and conduct. The question was immediately referred to the Governor who ordered her exile from the Turkish territory. She passed through Kirmanshah and Hamadan, and, on the way, made several converts to the Babi faith among whom were some of the prominent clergy of Persia. Certain Babis complained of this open preaching by a woman to the Bab, who not only sanctioned her preaching and praised her courage; but bestowed on her the title of Tahira [the Pure]. From Hamadan, she wanted to go to Teheran to interview the Shah, with a view to convert him; but her father brought her back to Kazvin and arranged her marriage.

Her martyrdom took place under strange circumstances. Dr. Polak, who actually witnessed her execution, says that she met her cruel fate with 'superhuman fortitude'. Gobineau says that she was burned, but that the executioner first strangled her. Other accounts say that she was cast into a dry well in the garden of the palace of Nigaristan, and the well was then filled up with stones. Kurratu'l-Ayn was so devoted to Bab, that she disregarded wealth, child, name and position for the Master's sake and set herself to proclaim his doctrine and to expound the mysteries of Divine Unity and

renewal of all things. She wrote verses with such wonderful rapidity that the people of her time were filled with wonder and astonishment at her scholarship. She would quote the Koran and the traditions of the Imams with clearness and precision.

Mirza Jani, the author of *NUKTA-TUL-KAF*, adds the following particulars to those given above. "Kurratu'l-Ayn's lectures were attended by women as well as men, the former being seated behind a curtain. Her claim that she was a manifestation of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, may have caused her persecution and death." How far this is a faithful account it is difficult to say. The Babis did put their faith in the doctrine of *rijat* or return, and they also considered the laws of the previous dispensations abrogated, and they were expecting the appearance of the Divine Manifestation of the age. All this and more was proclaimed openly by this brave woman and though she spoke from behind the veil, her eloquence and erudition was the envy of the poets and scholars of Persia.

We give below the rendering of some of her poems which have been collected by the late Professor Browne. It is as yet difficult to know if her poems have been collected or not, but she has been regarded by the Persians who have accepted the Babi faith, as the greatest mystic poet of the 19th century. Her mysticism reminds one of the great mystic poets of Medieval Persia, such as Jami, Hafiz and Omar Khayyam. We give below a few typical extracts from her poems translated by Professor Browne.

What did the youth bring and
What did the old age take away.
Youth brought the Beloved and the
old age took away the old wine.
The Beloved whose radiant face
who so ever looked at gained immortality.
And the old wine who so ever drank of it
Never tasted death and obtained life everlasting.
For out of the same flagon the Saqi serves
to some pure wine and to others dregs.

Though with sword in hand my Darling
stand with intent to slay, though I sinless be,
If it pleases Him, this tyrant's whim, I am
well content with His tyranny.

As in sleep I lay at the dawn of day
that cruel Charmer came to me,
And in the grace of His form and face the
dawn of the morn I seemed to see.

Parsi Priests Under Muslim Rule

BY MR. A. HAMEED HASAN.

THE Parsis fled or rather migrated from Iran into India not because they were oppressed or ill-treated by the Muslim Rulers in Iran but for the sole reason that they apprehended their utter absorption in the fold of Islam owing to the powerful attractions of the Islamic faith. It was the spirit of self-preservation that took the old Parsis into India. In India, they had nothing to fear from the influence of Islam or from Muslims. Islam's advent in India was then quite fresh and peaceful. They received several favours at the hands of Moghul Emperors in India. The Parsi emigrants naturally settled down on the Western Coast far away from Muslim influences and centres. It is to the Non-Parsis that the Parsis owe everything on the surface of the world. They owe a heavy debt of gratitude to the vigorous and zealous German scholars who have succeeded in constructing a fairly good history of the Prophet Zoroaster, his birth and death, his work and mission in life, and also of his religion. To Muslim scholars and poets, they owe the preservation of their national history and cultural work. Year after year, Parsis in India and Iran and also everywhere on the surface of this earth eulogise in a special manner the yeoman services of the great Persian Poet, Firdousi, who has immortalised in his *World-Epoch*, *SHAH NAMEH* the great feats and doings of the ancestors of the Parsis in Iran. *SHAH NAMEH*—Book of Kings—represents the Persian National Legend in its final epic form. Firdousi is great because he is natural and national. He has made the Persian Warriors famous throughout the world. The Persians, who read the *SHAH NAMEH*, disliked the Arabs. But for Firdousi, where will be the glorious past of the Fire-Worshippers in

Iran? It is Firdousi who keeps their very name and fame alive in Persian literature.

PARSIS IN INDIA

Coming to India, Parsis found here to their happiness their second home and hearth. The Indian hospitality made them forget that they were fugitives and emigrants into India. They rapidly settled down on the Indian soil and participated in its joys and griefs. The religious bias has made the Non-Muslim critics forget that the Moghul Rule in India was most tolerant of all foreign rules in India. Apart from Parsi emigration into India and their rapid settlement on the Western Coast, there were other forces at work which gave Zoroastrianism a new lease of life in India. It was Akbar who had invited to Fatehpur Sikhari the great Chief Parsi Priest, Azar Kaiwan, to attend the great Religious Conference which he convened there. Azar Kaiwan was happy in Iran and did not like to leave it for India to attend the said Conference of the Religions of the world. Although he did not care to attend that Conference, he sent his remarkable work in Persian on his religion. It is deplorable that it has not been preserved. The author of *MAASARUL-UMRA* pays the highest tribute to that extraordinary and wonderful book. It was really wonderful that, written as it was in pure Persian, its phraseology was such that if Nuqtas (dots) were first removed and then re-read, it was automatically converted into Arabic, and if words were read inversely, it became Turkish, and if it was reversed, it became Hindi finally. Azar Kaiwan sent his emissary, Ardeshar, on the command of the Emperor Akbar. Ardeshar brought with him to India the sacred fire of the Chief fire-temple in Iran. Akbar's Prime-Minister, Shaikh Abul Fazal, was entrusted with his hospitality and other suitable arrangements. The *DABISTAN*

MAZAHAL is responsible for the statement that Azar Kaiwan settled down in Azimabad now known as Patna, and died at a good old age of 85. Azar was well-read in Persian and Arabic in addition to Pahlavi and was highly proficient in the then arts and sciences. He was well-known among the contemporaries, as *Zavil Uloom* (Master of Sciences). Muslim theologians and Sufis thronged to him in large numbers and enjoyed his cultured and learned society. It is said that one Muslim theologian asked him one day: "Why do you forbid people to kill animals?" He replied "To kill animals is *harm* (unlawful) for those who decide to go round *Kaaba*. The heart also is another *Kaaba*. How can it be lawful to kill animals for those who decide to pay their homage to the *Kaaba* of the heart?" Another interesting anecdote is told of this Azar Kaiwan. One day a man came to Azar and told him: "Formerly, I was a trader. Having become helpless at the hands of robbers, I have now adopted the life of a *Darwish*". Azar retorted forthwith "Hereafter you will yourself become a robber". DABISTAN mentions Azar's work with a sincere appreciation, and quotes his poetical description of "Jam-e-Kaikhushrow." It also mentions the names of several distinguished pupils of the Parsi priest, Khurad, who had joined his master at Shiraz on his way to India and died in India in 1029 A.H. Farosheeduroo also died in India in 1029 A.H. Both of them trace their descent from Noushirwan. Khiradmund, who belonged to the line of Sam-Nariman, also lived at Patna. Bahram ibne Farhad came all the way from Shiraz to Patna to meet his old master. It is Behram who was highly proficient in all the Arabic, Pahlavi and Persian literatures of the day. He thrived on trade and helped other Parsi priests to settle down in India. He was himself a man of letters. He was an intimate friend of the author of DABISTAN who explained to him the principles of Zoroastrianism. Hushiar, who was born at Surat, was a

descendant of the famous Rustam. It is said of him that he used to stop breathing to the extent of one hour completely. He died at Agra in 1050 A.H. Mobid Sarwish, who was descended from the line of Zoroaster himself, knew Hindi also in addition to Arabic and Persian wherein he was highly proficient. He ever remained a bachelor and never tasted any meat. It is said of him that he adduced 260 proofs in support of God's existence. He died at Kashmir. Khudajooli of Herat came all the way from Herat to Patna to take an oath of allegiance at the hands of Azar Kaiwan. Allama Shibli was not able to trace whether Azar Kaiwan, who settled down at Patna, was the same chief priest who sent his emissary, Ardeshar, to Akbar's Court. Dr. Jevanji J. Modi, B.A., PH.D., Secretary of Parsi Panchayat, who is a great expert on Parsi history and literature, is kind enough to state in reply to my enquiry that DABISTAN seems to be right in saying that Azar Kaiwan came to India. Having heard of the elastic religion of Akbar, he, being more of a Sufi turn of mind, came to India." Khudajooli also died at Kashmere in 1040 A.H. Priest Khushi's work BAZMGAH narrates the life-sketches of 12 disciples of Azar Kaiwan. Bahram bin Farshad was also one of Azar's disciples. He knew the European languages also. But for the scholarly researches and tireless labours of the late *savant* Allama Shibli, all these names of Parsi priests would have been practically lost to the History of Religions in India. There can not be greater tribute to the toleration of Muslim rule in India than the admitted historical fact that all these Parsi priests had the greatest liberty given to them to promulgate and propagate their own religion on the Indian soil. The catholicity and cosmopolitan spirit of Muslims are also conspicuously vivid that hundreds of Muslim learned men sat at the feet of Azar Kaiwan to study all he knew and professed. He was a Unitarian believing in the Unity of God which he invariably preached to all irrespective of their religions and creeds.

Impressions of the Trade Union Congress

BY MR. S. P. SARMA

THE long expected split in the Trade Union Congress has at last taken place. To those who were watching the course of events therefore, it should not come as a surprise. This year, the ascendancy gained by the Left-Wingers was well indicated even on the first day when huge placards were displayed with such war-cries as "Down with Agents of Imperialism" and "Long live Revolution" both inside and outside the premises of the Congress. Indeed, almost the first question that arose in the Executive Council was in regard to an offensive placard with "Down with Joshi and Chaman Lal" on it. This was too personal an attack, and in view of the strong feeling expressed on the matter, the Chairman of the Reception Committee undertook to remove that particular placard. But he did not or could not prevent it from being displayed at the railway station the next morning when Messrs. Joshi and Chaman Lal arrived, for it was there, accompanied with cries to the same effect.

The next important point raised in the Executive council was in regard to the admission of the Girni Kangar Union of Bombay. This is an avowedly communist body whose membership was alleged to be as high as 80,000 at one time but the actual claim was for 54,000. But none of these figures could be proved as the connected papers were all with the Government at Meerut. The fight over the point was due to the fact that if such a high membership was given to one union, it would be able to dominate the Congress with the aid of the other pro-communist body the G.I.P. Railway Men's Union. The council rejected by a majority the claim for 54,000. The next lower figure put to vote was 40,000. The result on this was a tie, 50 being for and 50 against but the President gave his casting vote in favour of the figure. There can be no question about his impartiality

but on this point, he surely made a mistake. It was at once calculated that in the open Congress the communists and their allies would command a strength of 600 while their opponents would have only about 330. In view of this, the Right-wingers began to lose their interest in the subsequent proceedings while on the other hand, the Leftists began to use their majority to carry through resolutions of a definitely communistic nature.

The resolution in favour of the boycott of the Whitley Commission was easily carried, the majority consisting of communists and of those who opposed the Commission on political grounds. Then the question of affiliation to the League against Imperialism was taken up. This body, which is not as such a communist body, is nevertheless in the hands of the communists to-day and is ally therefore one of their organs. On this point again, there was an easy victory for the Leftists. The next resolution concerned affiliation with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, also an avowedly communist organisation. When the voting time came, it was observed that some of those who were strongly for affiliation refrained from voting. And it was at this stage that a few of the Right-wingers, just in order to bring out the extremist nature of the Congress, helped the communists to carry the resolution through. The game of the latter seems to have been merely to place themselves right with Moscow under the plea that they moved the Pan-Pacific resolution but that it was defeated in the council. That game was foiled. Indeed they felt that they had gone much too far for their own safety in British India because, their very first act in the open session of the Congress was to withdraw the Pan-Pacific resolution in spite of the large majority which carried it in the council. How they will explain their apparently unnecessary withdrawal of the resolution to

Moscow is their concern. But every genuine trade-unionist in India will be glad that hereafter he can get on with his work unhampered by undesirable associates. A separate organisation has already been formed which will work independently of the old one and on sane and genuine trade union principles. The old Congress from which all right-thinking and respected labour leaders have seceded no longer commands the regard that it once did for its presidentship had to go abegging. And it is not impossible that Mr. Subash Chunder Bose the newly-elected president—who has not as yet

accepted the election—is trying to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties just because, otherwise, he would be president of a disreputable rump of the Congress under the heel of Moscow. One would be much surprised if a compromise did take place for, the difference between the two wings is not in regard to this resolution or that but in regard to the whole attitude. The opposition is between an independent genuine Trade-Union movement and a Moscow-controlled, Moscow-directed communist movement. The prospects of compromise are very few.

T. P. O'CONNER

BY PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

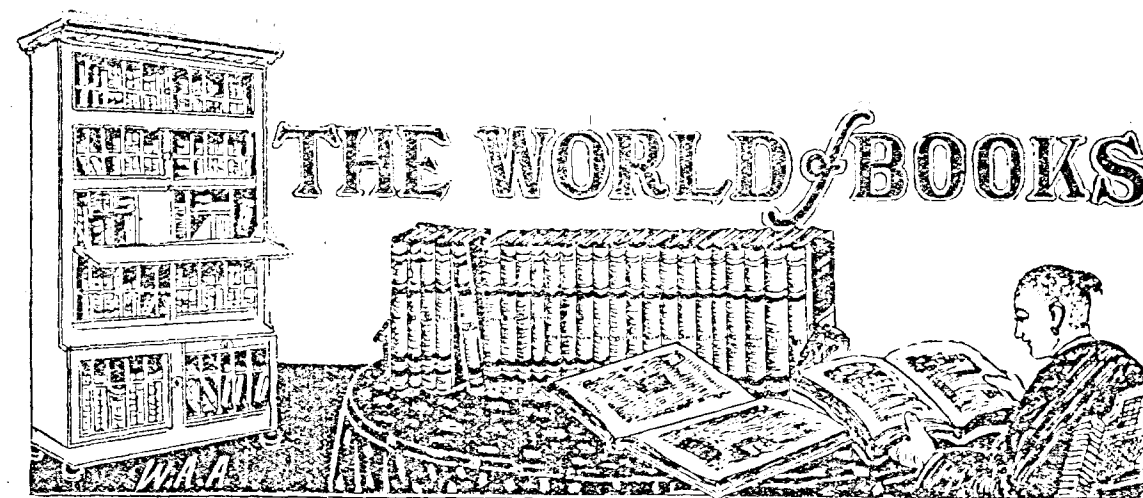
T. P. O'CONNER, who passed away recently, died full of years and full of honours. He was one of those mortals who refuse to grow old. To the last day of his life, he retained his vitality and his interest in work. His industry was indeed proverbial, and even at the age of 80, he remained a prolific journalist and an active parliamentarian. No one who has even a casual acquaintance with his writings can forget the occasional references he used to make therein, to his own capacity for work, and to the blessings of hard work for all. He once wrote how on coming back from a dinner late at night, he found a message from the editor of a newspaper saying that he should write the obituary of a person recently dead. But though he was feeling tired, he braced himself up for work. He went to bed that night very late, but only after he had finished his article.

T. P. was a great parliamentarian, who possessed friends in all ranks of politicians. He always shone as a speaker, and especially as an after-dinner speaker. The urbanity of his manner, his polished wit, his fund of anecdotes, his power of facile speech all stood him in good stead. He was, above all, helped by the goodness of his heart in this as well as in other things.

T. P. however, was the bean ideal of a journalist. It was delightful to read what he wrote about persons and books. There was hardly any man of worth in any department of life, whom he did not know, and his pen-portraits of persons were very vivid and revealing. He wrote about persons without spite or malice, and gave everyone his due measure of praise. He was specially able to detect whatever was distinguished in a man's character, and to this he always paid homage.

He was interested in books as much as in persons, and it was a great joy to read his reviews. In writing them, he drew upon the rich stores of his personal experience, and so they were always a mine of information. He also gave copious extracts from the books he received, and this increased the appetite of the reader for the original works. To him, however, books were not merely intellectual products, but human documents; and he wrote about books in the light of what he knew about their authors and about the authors in the light of his own personal experience of them. In this way, these reviews became in his hands occasion for fine comments on life and its problems, on men and manners. He was, in fact, a man of broad sympathies, of the most discerning judgment and the most catholic taste.

T. P. was a vital person, and all he did, said or wrote was the outcome of wide experience, a cultivated intelligence, deep enthusiasm, and a refined and kindly nature. The world is really the poorer on account of the loss of such persons.



THE INTELLIGIBLE WORLD. By Wilbur Marshall Urban. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

Traditional philosophy from Plato to Hegel has insisted on the inseparability of the highest value from the truly real, and identified being and value. The modern philosopher, on the other hand, led by the psychology of instinct and the disclosures of science, has been obliged to question the validity of the premises, and to hold that reality is essentially different from value, that it can only be perceived by the instinct, and cannot be understood by the intellect, and that the ultimate reality itself is subject to the evolutionary process. While the ancients constructed the ideas on a system conceived as a whole, with their attributes of appealing to and satisfying the intelligence, the moderns approach the problems by dissecting them in parts, and evolving a theory on the basis of the analysis. The relative validity of the two theories is the subject of this thesis. The author, after a close and searching analysis, expresses his decided adhesion to the ancient philosophers, and finds in their expositions the true solution to the problems of philosophy.

All thinkers are, in the last resort, of two kinds, "those that find the world ultimately meaningful and intelligible and those that do not." All philosophy is founded on intelligibility, and any theory which attempts to solve the ultimate problems must satisfy the test of reason. The fundamental

postulate of all thinking is that there must be a universe of discourse within which alone intelligent thinking and communication is possible. Unless that universe is limited by a well-understood system, it is not practicable to think, or communicate thought, so as to be understood. But totality or system alone is not enough. Its parts must again have value or meaning in order that they may convey sense. This world of value is conceived by the author as standing for reality, as no other reality is capable of being intelligibly conceived. He points out how any other view lays itself open to the attack of self-refutation. If the world is to be conceived as having no system, but is ever changing, defying all synthesis, the laws of thought are irretrievably shattered; for how can ceaseless change yield a lasting truth? But intelligence cannot apprehend any such notion either: for, before one can think of a change, one must have a fixed point from which the change can be posited: an idea of change is thus unthinkable except in terms of permanence. The book develops further philosophic concepts and shows how the ideas of progress and evolution can be made to square up with the traditional views on whose bedrock alone, a permanent structure of philosophic conception could stand. The book deserves the close attention of every student of the topic which has given perennial interest to thinkers in all ages.

THE POISON OF PRUDERY. By Walter M. Gallichan. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

It is noteworthy that, in many societies, immorality has come primarily to mean the violation of sexual proprieties. Sewerest condemnations are reserved for these violations, while more heinous sins like perjury and theft are condoned as comparatively venial faults. The belief that celibacy is sanctity and that sexual act is impure and degrading is derived from the same root source.

That sex has a divine cosmic purpose and cannot be deemed impure is not indeed without high authority, but religions like Buddhism and Christianity have, on the whole, exalted celibacy and treated marriage as a concession to weakness and sin. It is obviously impossible for this view to influence life in any perceptible degree, but it inevitably leads to prudery and the avoidance of the topic of sex as obscene and indecent. The resulting ignorance is sometimes so great that girls may reach the age of marriage and enter matrimony without any knowledge of the responsibility that it involves.

The book is a powerful plea for the "inculcation of a healthy attitude to sex by means of scientific education and moral idealism." The necessity for a change of attitude is realised all the more forcibly because of the proscription of "The Well of Loneliness" which the author attributes to the tendency observable as much in America as in Great Britain "to pretend that things are not what they are, and to the same timid but determined dislike of the truth, the same capacity to be shocked by notorious and universal phenomena, the same delusion that a refusal to look at these phenomena is equivalent to the destruction of the phenomena, the same sentimentality which vitiates all Anglo-Saxon art."

Incidentally, it is worthy of note that the author treats phallic worship as incompatible with obscenity. He says: "The organs of procreation were

regarded as sacred and pure and it is only ill-informed critics and the vulgar who assume that phallicism was a mere wanton pleasure in indecency" and "the decay of the phallic cult endangered sex morality though its ascetic critics imagined otherwise."

The book deserves the careful study of educationists and reformers of society.

AFGHANISTAN. By Lt.-Gen. Sir George MacMunn. G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London.

This is quite a timely publication; for all eyes are now focussed on developments in Afghanistan. During the last two years in particular, events have taken such sudden and dramatic turns that no one could predict with any degree of certainty when the country could settle down to its normal life. There has been no more tragic story in contemporary history than what is afforded by King Amanullah's triumphant progress in Europe, feted by Kings and ovated by the millions as contrasted with that second tour of his, when shorn of his crown, he fled from the country with his wife and children to seek shelter under an alien sky. Such tragic contrasts have been the feature of Afghan royalty in these turbulent times as evidenced by the sudden blaze of Habibullah the kitchen knave's fortune and his ignominious end. We have indeed had before, books dealing with separate phases of Afghan history, but there has been no book that gives the romantic and often terrible history of the country as a whole. That task is performed by Mr. MacMunn with a clearness and vividness that must compel attention. What is most important and to the purpose is that the author brings the story down to the date of Amanullah's flight and brings to light and emphasizes the inseparable connection between Afghanistan and India, the realization of which may help us to understand the modern problem, "What can the world of to-day expect to see evolve from this museum of past tragedies?"

A LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By Bernard Groom, Longmans, London.

Mr. Groom has written an excellent handbook on the greater English writers, which is very fresh and enthusiastic and readable, but which cannot be strictly defined as either a History of English Literature or a Literary History of England. In adopting the latter title, Mr. Groom has chosen the lesser of two evils, for a History of English Literature, properly so called, cannot be of any use to any one not a determined specialist (and Mr. Groom does not address an audience of specialists at all), while a Literary History of England is a branch or aspect of the general History of England (which includes the political, economic and social History of England) and could be traced as a clear and continuous literary tradition in which each of the great writers from Chaucer to Sir James Barrie assumes a definite position.

That this is a "Book on Authors" and not a history of literary kinds or movements, there can be no doubt; for with refreshing and laudable originality, Mr. Groom treats of the whole of Elizabethan Drama as merely ancillary to Shakespeare, but presents a full view of the intellectual, political and social background of Shakespeare's own work. All the remarks of an author with so pronounced an individuality cannot command universal approval; for example, it is said of Beowulf that "its style is somewhat monotonous, its human interest is faint and it is full of puerilities". Again, Anglo-Saxon poems are condemned *en bloc*; "in general, their value is slight"; while, a few pages lower down, Anglo-Saxon prose is described as the vehicle of "instruction rather than of imagination, and it is to the poets that one must go for the deeper interpretation of life". A Middle English scholar might point out errors both of commission and omission in the paragraph on Orm. But such defects are few and of minor importance. On all the authors on this side of Chaucer, Mr. Groom writes with a mastery and certainty of touch, which render this History at once a scholarly and eminently readable book.

THE CASE FOR INDIA. By John S. Hoyland, M.A., (Cant.) Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

Mr. John Hoyland states the case for India both from the point of view of his countrymen and of us. We are not here treated with the fleeting impressions of a tourist or with information culled from hospital statistics. The author has spent fifteen years in India; as a teacher, he has studied the psychology of Young India; as a famine worker, he has moved among the people; in social life, he has not confined himself to the seclusion of an exclusive English Club. In the first chapter of his book, he discusses the question of the attitude of Englishmen in their relationship towards us. He pleads for a more courteous attitude. But, at the same time, he seems to think that much of the 'European discourtesy' is a legend. But in his final judgment on this issue, he is right when he says "courtesy and generosity are essential to the setting right of the relation between India and England." On the political issue, the history of the recent national upheaval has been truly and correctly recorded and the decision which must be pleasing to all of us is "At the earliest possible moment, constitutional liberty should be conceded." The chapters on Hinduism and Islam are interesting and should be read.

The second part of the book sets out the Indian point of view. The author has displayed great understanding and a deep insight into the problems of the day. The impersonal attitude adopted by the author, throughout is—if one may use the expression—a good device. The views belong to no one, and the reader may, therefore, feel greater freedom in adopting them as his own.

We would, if it lay in our power, insist on every Englishman reading this book before he lands in India. To us of course, it is a welcome publication, and it may restore, to some extent, our lost faith in the English people to understand our country.

KAISER WILHELM II. By Emil Ludwig. Published by Putnam. Price 7/6.

Kaiser William was admired and abused in turn, and he filled the world with the splendour of his deeds for a short period. Whether his life was one of enlightenment or error, the future is to judge. In so far as he was responsible for the spread of Socialism in Germany, he was the instrument of God. The story of his life is therefore full of interests. The picture is drawn by Emil Ludwig with his keen dramatic instinct and a desire to sympathetic treatment. The portrait is not one of a hero above the ordinary run of humanity. The Kaiser had his own weakness, vanity and ambition, which, in no small measure, contributed to his tragedy. We find in this book the psychological continuity where the last act is but the finale of the previous acts.

Nature was dealt harshly by William and presented him with a body frail and half paralysed. The mother's hatred came in its wake. Destined to be the Ruler of Germany, he had to qualify himself for it, and tradition required that he should be a soldier, and so with an indomitable energy, he took to the military exercises, which, in after life, were to divert him from the legitimate duties of a Sovereign. The bitterness with which his mother treated him was soon to be reflected in turn by his contempt and hatred for Englishmen. His wilful temper waited only for an opportunity to dominate. When at thirty he assumed the reins of Government, this feeling got the better of him; and Bismarck, that dominant figure who held the policies of Government in the hollow of his hand, had soon to suffer for his strength and might. He was thrown out of office, and the only check bold enough to correct his errors was snapped. A succession of courtiers as Chancellors and Ministers, who were but the tools of his Majesty, added to and enhanced his own despotic powers. A gulf was thrown between himself and his people, and all his acts were dictated by the

sole desire to enhance his reputation and raise the status of Germany in the eyes of the world. England was the serious rival and therefore England had to be made to bend down. Germany had only a poor navy, and therefore the fleet had to be strengthened at all costs. The army had also to be strengthened. These two were the governing passions of his life and the administration of the State was not a matter of great concern. The people groaned under heavy taxation imposed not merely in the national interests but also for satisfying the freaks and caprices of a fitful sovereign. In the arts of international diplomacy, he was an ignoramus, and his misguided intervention ruined the cause of Germany.

The despot could not ignore his people for ever, and, in 1908, there came a breach when some royalists went so far as to express a demand for his abdication. The people's clamour, however, was not heard beyond the Reichstag. The insurgent subjects were gradually taking to Socialistic ideas. Suddenly, the incidents of 1914 sprung up on the horizon. The Emperor had committed himself by treaties and utterances to stand by Austria. Vainly did he try at the last hour to avert the catastrophic War. It went beyond his control. He took the fatal plunge. The sacrifice of millions is a matter of history. Fondly he hoped to bring down the British, to put to rout the French. Behind the forces safely entrenched sat the Emperor ignorant of much that passed in the fronts, for none dared tell him the real situation. At last, the defeat of the Germans became an assured fact and then the king was made aware of the real state of affairs. Capitulation or an honourable peace for Germany were the only two alternatives. The Allies demanded his abdication. The Emperor preferred exile. Voluntarily, he crossed the borders of the neutral country, and Germany was left to pilot herself as best she could and establish a Republic. The verdict of history has yet to be pronounced.

WISDOM OF THE PROPHETS (In the Light of Tasawwuf). By Khaja Khan Sahib, Madras. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Rs. 2.)

This English translation, made for the first time, of Shaikh-ibn-Arabi's famous work—*FUSUS UL HIKAM* (Bezels of Wisdom)—written about the beginning of the 13th century—is a synoptical rendering of the 27 bezels, each explaining a mystic or philosophic idea under the name of a prophet. The *FUSUS* is considered by eminent Moslem theologians and mystics as an abstract of the whole philosophy of the Shaikh: its style is 'Carlylean' and 'obscure, probably of set purpose.' Each *fus* is a commentary in a Sufistic sense on the lives of the prophets mentioned in the *Quran*, with the one exception of Khalid; it also comprehends a great deal of the hidden oral teaching of the Jews and of their Apocryphal books. He was condemned by some of his contemporaries as teaching unbelief under the guise of religion; and even his own disciples could scarce follow him. The ramifications of his thought are not understandable without the help of commentaries; his philosophical ideas and his life, so far as they can be briefly recounted, are given by the author, who has appended to each *fus* an elaborate note of explanation of the underlying ideas. The English translation has been done in an intelligible and concise manner.

THE SMALL DARK MAN. By Maurice Walsh. Chambers & Co., London.

It is a story of the friendship of a Scot and an Irishman and the scene is laid amidst the beautiful Highlands of Scotland. A strong undercurrent of love and adventure runs throughout. Hugh Forbes, with his quaint speech and manner, is very adorable, and one can quite envy Charles for possessing such a companion. To one who has given up hope of picking up a good book on account of the invasion of 'shockers and thrillers', *THE SMALL DARK MAN* will give relief and satisfaction.

CARVAKA SHASHTI. Edited by Dakshinaranjan Shastri, M.A. The Book Company, Calcutta.

Materialistic doctrines were by no means unknown to Indian thought, though spiritual idealism is its greatest claim to glory. Carvaka darsana, also called Lokayatamata, is the most important school of Indian materialism. Brhaspati, the traditional founder of this system, taught his doctrine to Carvaka, and he popularised the teachings of his master. Neither the Sutras of Brhaspati nor the works of other materialists are extant. Our knowledge of the principal tenets of this school is mainly based on accounts of the Carvaka darsana found in the works of rival schools of Indian philosophy. In Carvaka Shashti, Mr. Dakshinaranjan Shastri has collected together the main principles of Indian materialism from the original texts of most of the orthodox and heterodox systems, and has stated them in sixty stanzas. This book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Lokayatamata.

CO-OPERATION AND RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA.

By B. B. Mukherjee, B.A., B.L., of G. B. B. College, Muzafarpur (Bihar). Published by Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta, Rs. 3.

This book is a sermon on the text of Sir Horace Plunkett: "*Better farming, better business and better living*". The Author interprets them in their application to the diverse human and material conditions of agricultural India. There is much vague talk about rural uplift in India, but very little of effective action. This book indicates clearly that the 'fragmentation effort' on the part of the various official and non-official agencies for rural reorganisation accounts for their ineffectiveness. The purport of this book is to show beyond mistake that rural welfare movement in India will become a powerful lever only through co-operation. Every worker in the field of rural social endeavour will find this book instructive and interesting.

TRIBES AND CASTES OF MYSORE, VOLUME II.

By Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, B.A., L.T. Published under the auspices of the Mysore University. Mysore.

The decision of the Mysore Government to complete the ethnographical survey of the State, begun by the late Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya, was a welcome measure of great scientific value to the anthropologist. It was the happy thought of Sir Albion Banerji who conceived the idea of revising the incomplete, but valuable materials collected by the late Mr. Nanjundayya, and the present Government of his Highness the Maharaja have taken up a very wise step in entrusting the completion of the survey to the eminent anthropologist, Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer. It is the aim of the Rao Bahadur to revise the materials already collected, to bring them up-to-date, and thus enlarge the scope under orders of the Government in four volumes in the light of his research, and the present instalment of his work is a promising earnest of what is in store.

The volume under review deals with 15 major castes and tribes and a few minor ones in an alphabetical order from the wild jungle tribes like the Bedas to the cultured Brahmans. They represent every phase of culture.

The volume is richly illustrated with typical photographs which enhance the value of the work. His future volumes are awaited with interest.

THE MYSTERIOUS KUNDALINI. By Vasant G. Rele. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. Price Rs. 3-8.

This book explains clearly the physiological importance of the various practices of the Hatha Yoga. It will be found useful by all students of Yoga who are desirous of developing mental and spiritual powers.

BOOKS RECEIVED

NATIONALITY: ITS NATURE AND PROBLEMS.

By Bernard Joseph, with a foreword by G. P. Gooch. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

THE CHRISTIAN TASK IN INDIA. Edited by John McKenzie, M.A., Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

SCOTLAND YARD AND THE METROPOLITAN POLICE. By J. F. Moylan, C.B., C.B.E. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London and New York.

PORTRAIT OF THE LABOUR PARTY. By Egon Wertheimer, G. P. Putnam's Sons, London and New York.

STUDENT LIFE IN THE WEST. By A. J. Appasamy—Christian Literature Society, Madras.

SIX LECTURES IN GEOGRAPHY. With a foreword by R. G. Grieve M.A., I.E.S., Kesari Printing Works, Madras.

MY PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRY. By Henry Ford. G. Harrap & Company, London.

SCIENCE AND THE UNSEEN WORLD. By Arthur Stanley Eddington, F.R.S., George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

THE PERSONALITY OF MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET. By Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Luzac & Co., London.

SRI TYAGARAJA, THE MUSICIAN SAINT. By N. S. Rao, M.A., Sri Vidya Press, Kumbakonam.

BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM. By P. V. Mayuranathan, B.A., Government Press, Madras.

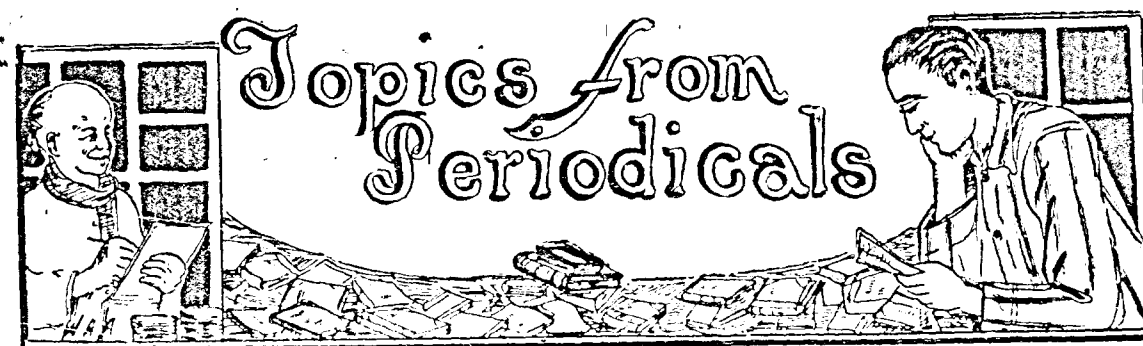
THE CRIMSON SMILE. By Maurice Dekobra. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

SRI MADHWA: HIS LIFE & DOCTRINE. By C. R. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., District Munsiff, Mangalore.

A HISTORY OF THE KAYASTHAS. By Gopinath Sinha, The Verman Company, Bareilly.

A PRIMER OF HINDUISM. By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Madras.

THE LIFE OF THE WHITE ANT. By Maurice Maeterlinck. Translated by Alfred Sutro, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.



LABOUR POLICY AND PROSPECTS

The place of honour in the November Number of the *FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW* is given to Mr. J. H. Harley's article on Labour Policy and Prospects. Mr. Harley thinks that Labour's fortunes are now at their zenith. If, to-morrow, the Government suddenly appealed to the country, he feels sure that Labour would again be returned with a large and commanding majority. Nor is it only at home that the credit of the second Labour Administration stands high.

Abroad also it would appear that never has Great Britain exercised such a decisive voice in the counsels of the world. Mr. Philip Snowden is hailed as the "Iron Chancellor." Mr. Arthur Henderson thaws his coldest critics by his genial and unassuming presence. The Prime Minister speaks in tones of lofty idealism before the city fathers of New York, and though he tells his audience very properly that he addresses them as no mere party man, still no one can forget that it is the first Labour Premier of Great Britain who has moved the American people as no British statesman has ever moved them before.

How is it that this youthful government has been able to attain to a position of such unchallengeable authority? What are the leading ideas embodied in the policy which has so unmistakably swept the country? Mr. Harley answers these questions by referring to the failure alike of the late Conservative and Liberal Governments in their international dealings; their halting and pusillanimous position in the councils of the nations. And look at Labour's record.

A few weeks, all the British troops were to be evacuated out of the Rhineland. (British troops have since evacuated. *Ed. I. R.*) They were offering new terms to Egypt and Iraq based on their recognition as independent and

self-relying states within the comity of nations. They were about to propose the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia. They were closing the gaps in the Covenant. The Prime Minister had gone with an olive branch in his hand to the United States, and thus provision had been made to collaborate in the new crusade with the two great countries, the United States and Russia, which had hitherto kept out of the League of Nations. They had finished with the fatal indecision of Sir Austen Chamberlain. They would never allow themselves to be influenced by the school-boy ideas of the Marquis of Salisbury on the subject of arbitration. They had signed the Optional Clause. They were taking the Kellogg Pact in real earnest. They believed they were on the verge of important steps in the direction of a world disarmament.

It cannot be denied that such an inspiring enumeration of results has deeply stirred the country. And then there is the outstanding success of Mr. MacDonald's Mission to the President of the U. S. A.

If, as the result of the Prime Minister's conversations with President Hoover, we may look forward to the United States considering the question what sanctions should be applied to the nation which breaks the Kellogg Pact, then we have made an appreciable step forward, and the slope which leads to Peace and Disarmament is easier and gentler than it seemed before.

Things thus have changed now appreciably: and this is a great achievement.

The country has simply risen to the thought that peace is no longer the synonym of an idle Utopia, and it is difficult to find any issue in internal politics which to-day would seriously undermine the Government position. Most of the burning domestic questions have their international side. The coal questions cannot be disconnected from international discussions in Geneva. Unemployment has now its world-wide repercussions. Improved trade includes improved export trade; and if you desire to improve your export trade, you must certainly keep on good talking terms with France, Germany, and Poland.

It is this international success of the Labour Government that thus stands them everywhere in good stead.

THE SOCIAL EMANCIPATION OF INDIA

There is in the ASIATIC REVIEW for October an interesting article on "The Social Emancipation of India" from the pen of the Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna. Sir Phiroze rightly points out that though the world knows something of the political movement that is going on in India, it knows little of that other vital movement—the movement for the social emancipation of India—"that is in fact older than the political movement and, in a sense, is more fundamental, and goes deeper into the roots of Indian thought and life." The two movements are, of course, mutually complementary, and their ultimate objective is the same, viz., to further the fullest self-realisation of the Indian people.

Though the social movement has been going on for centuries past, the first impact of British rule and Western education gave it a great fillip.

To the educated and thinking mind, British rule with all that came in its train, including, in particular, Western education, was a challenge to her ancient civilization, her social and religious structure, her thought, her institutions, her ideals. Muslim rule was a mere material conquest, it gave no such challenge, and the Hindu mind felt no doubt whatever about the superiority of the ancient Hindu culture and civilization over the Islamic culture and civilization. But British rule and Western education constituted forces which gave the intelligentsia of India furiously to think. British rule and the system of administration which was gradually established, and its control by a body called Parliament, challenged age-long political notions; Western thought and literature seemed to undermine the very foundations upon which Hindu thought and life rested. The Romans conquered the Greeks, but it was a purely political conquest; the Romans were themselves in course of time, Hellenized, and the Greeks, though a subject race, won an intellectual and spiritual victory over their own conquerors. The British conquest of India looked as though it was not only a political conquest, but an intellectual and spiritual conquest as well. The first effect upon the Hindu mind was to evoke the spirit of self-inspection. The higher educated classes of India came to the conclusion that India's regeneration was impossible without a critical examination of her whole social and religious thought and life, and without building them up anew in the light of the lessons which a calm reflection upon her fall revealed. This was especially the effect upon the Hindu mind.

The movement for the social emancipation of India is the direct and immediate effect of this self-inspection and inner awakening. The evils which,

according to the writer, were eating into the vitals of the Hindu society, were (1) caste; (2) low status of woman; (3) early marriage; (4) the very inferior condition of the masses, in particular, of the depressed classes. And the great aim of the movement was, and is

to eradicate these evils completely, so that India, purified, renovated, and strengthened, may be able to bear her burden in the stress of the modern world, and regain her proper place in the great family of nations.

Sir Phiroze points how the movement of reform along these lines has worked and wrought many desirable changes in the life of the people. He describes vividly how India has progressed in social matters and is slowly getting rid of old and out-worn notions and habits. The Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj and the various social reform organisations are doing their bit in their respective folds: and there are ever so many communal organisations for the uplift of the respective members. And then the movement of reform is fairly nation-wide. India's social progress is almost entirely in her own hands.

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MUSSOLINI'S AMERICAN EMPIRE

While much is made of what is known as Soviet propaganda, Fascism is working insidiously abroad; a writer in the HARPER'S MAGAZINE for November draws timely attention to what he calls "the Fascist invasion of the United States." Mr. Marcus Duffield, who is well supported by authoritative evidence, proves that part of Mussolini's Empire, from his [the Duce's] point of view, lies within the U. S. A. There are four million Americans of Italian extraction in the U. S. A.

Although many of them are naturalized American citizens, Mussolini considers them as his subjects and is attempting to rule what he regards as his outlying colony in this country.

Il Duce has set up a political organization in the United States which resembles an unofficial government of his own to claim the allegiance of Italo-Americans and enforce their obedience. He provides Fascist schools and courts here and even imposes taxes. If Mussolini's "subjects" in this country, insisting on their Americanism, refuse to accept his rule, Fascist agents persecute them by boycott and intimidation. Should they visit Italy, they are often held there by force or compelled to serve training periods in the army. Neither in this country nor in Italy does American citizenship safeguard the Italo-American from Fascist domination or terrorization.

Mussolini has presumably two objectives in this curious sub-surface invasion of sovereignty both arising from military motives.

Looking forward to the next war, he is trying to keep Americans of Italian extraction thoroughly Italianized and loyal to him, so they will respond to his call to arms. He sees no reason why perhaps half a million potential soldiers of Fascism should slip from his grasp by becoming Americanized. Second, Il Duce wants to stifle all criticism in the United States, for he realizes that only if Fascism is favourably regarded here can he get American loans.

Mr. Duffield gives the names of political organisations which carry on the work of Mussolini in America; of newspapers and periodicals serving the Fascist cause; of firms and businessmen engaged in Fascist propaganda; of the net work of clubs and schools and a hundred other institutions designed at any cost to serve the Duce. He gives definite instances of petty tyranny over men who could not swear by the black shirt; of American citizens who are being terrorised for

their antipathy to Fascism; and the utter demoralisation in the wake of this persistent Fascist invasion of America. He proves that the Fascist campaign involves frequent violations of American citizenship rights. It is, besides, in utter conflict with the avowed American attempt to assimilate the Italian element. He says that Government should take immediate action to stop this vile work in the heart of free America.

PUSHYAMITRA SUNGA

Mr. R. P. Chanda, writing in THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, explains carefully the statements arrived at by Dr. Sten Konow, regarding the chronology of Pushyamitra's usurpation and the duration of his rule, and states that his combination of Jaina *gathic* and *pauranik* statements is not justifiable, and the *gathas* afford no real ground for rejecting the commonly accepted date of the reign (B. C. 184-148) which is confirmed by evidence furnished by Greek sources. A Brahmi inscription at Ayodhya says that Pushyamitra performed two horse sacrifices; and his career was one of continuous prosperity and triumph. Patanjali clearly indicates that in the reign of Pushyamitra, the study of the Vedas had degenerated into a mechanical affair, and Vedic religion had likewise declined. It was evidently to revive the Vedic studies that Patanjali composed his Mahabhashya and that Pushyamitra performed his horse-sacrifice. He endeavoured to do for Brahmanism what Asoka had done for Buddhism. Mr. Jayaswal has discovered a reference to Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice in the *Harivamsa* which shows that his was an exceptionally prosperous career. According to Buddhist tradition, Sakala was included in his kingdom; but probably not long after his accession, he came into conflict with the Græco-Bactrian invaders over the possession of the city. Pushyamitra was remembered by the Buddhists as a non-Buddhist monarch whose dominion extended as far as Sakala and who tried to rival Asoka in power and fame.

PARTY GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND

Apart from its tendency to violence, Irish politics are so similar to our own that it is profitable to study the evolution of Party Government in the Free State since the inauguration of the new constitution in 1922. In the course of a very informing article in the POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, Mr. Andrew E. Malone reviews the working of the Free State Government, and the position seems to be altogether parallel to what obtains in our own country. It is for us to draw the much-needed lesson that the writer enforces by his illuminating analysis.

The Members of the Committee which drafted the Constitution were all, by personal and painful experience, very suspicious of Party Government and Party organization. Consequently, they applied themselves to the task of keeping them under strict control and within defined limits.

It was in the methods of working the machinery of government that it was sought to confine and control the interference of party organizations. The Parliament (*Oireachtas*), consists of the king and two houses, a Senate (*Seanad*) and a Chamber of Deputies (*Dail*), and under the electoral system which operated until the year 1928, both houses were directly elected under the proportional representation system of the single transferable vote. For the Chamber (*Dail*), every person, without distinction of sex, twenty-one years old, is entitled to a vote, and is equally eligible for election as a deputy. But election to the Senate was (until the recent amendments were passed) a more complex matter. For the Senate, under the original system, a candidate had to be at least thirty-five years old (now reduced to thirty) and must be deemed to "have done honour to the nation by reason of useful public service" or have "special qualifications or attainments" to "represent important aspects of the nation's life."

In itself, the single transferable vote system of proportional representation holds safe-guards against undue party encroachment inasmuch as it encourages every variant of political and social opinion to nominate candidates.

In the earlier election of 1922, at which the main subject for decision was the constitution itself and the treaty upon which it was based, efforts had been made to preserve the *Sinn Fein* organization without division, but the negotiations for a pact broke down with the result that those for and against the treaty formed separate organizations, and the Labour Party entered the electoral struggle for the legislature.

Thus political facts and events proved too strong for political theory and "tradition stronger than paper". So long as there was only one party in Irish politics, the constitution worked admirably. But cleavage came in due course:

From 1918 to 1922, there was only one party in what is now the Irish Free State; that party was loosely called *Sinn Fein*, and it undoubtedly had the great mass of national opinion behind it. When the "treaty," which was negotiated and signed in London in December 1921, between Irish and British plenipotentiaries, came to be ratified by the Irish deputies, division was certain, and a new party alignment came into being. It is easily forgotten that the agreement with Great Britain was only accepted by the Irish representatives, sitting as the first *Dail Eireann* although elected to sit in the British House of Commons by the very narrow margin of seven votes; the voting being 64 for acceptance and 57 against, in a house of 121 members. After that division, the minority left the house and did not again enter it until August 1927. Thus two new parties were created, the majority calling itself *Cumann na nGaedhal* (the League of the Gaels), and the minority retaining the original name of *Sinn Fein* (Ourselves). *Sinn Fein* remained definitely Republican, demanding what it termed External Association with the British Commonwealth, while *Cumann na nGaedhal* accepted membership in the British Commonwealth and the oath of allegiance to the king. Since 1922, other cleavages have occurred, and new parties have been formed.

Mr. Cosgrave's first ministry served the new state magnificently in its formative years.

In 1922, an armed revolt had to be suppressed at great cost in lives, money and buildings, and it was not until after the general election of 1923 that economic, social and political affairs could be dealt with. The two most important factors in the life of any state are security and finance, and to these, the two most capable ministers gave full attention, Mr. Kevin O'Higgins at the Ministry of Justice and Mr. Ernest Blythe at the Ministry of Finance. Unfortunately, the bullet of an assassin deprived the State of the services of Mr. O'Higgins in July 1927, but by that time, he had given the country a splendidly organised and disciplined force and a competent judicial system.

In the sphere of politics proper, the Irish Ministry for external affairs has done much to clarify the meaning of "Dominion Status", and the great work of the Imperial Conference of 1926 was largely initiated by the Irish Free State representatives; the famous so-called "Balfour Memorandum" owes more to the late Kevin O'Higgins than it does to Lord Balfour, who presented it to the Conference by virtue of his presidency of the committee. The Irish Free State, too, was the first Dominion to appoint ministers in foreign capitals and to accept candidature for a seat in the Council of the League of Nations.

The whole question of Dominion Status has been one of the formative forces in the Irish party system. The Irish people as a whole favour the "treaty" mainly on the understanding that Dominion Status was to be as a stepping stone to the achievement of complete independence.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT & HOUSING

The Labour Government has a signal opportunity of dealing with the housing problem, at any rate, in England, in a big way. "Mere juggling with subsidies will not go far," says Mr. B. S. Townroe in the October *REALIST*, "unless part of a far-seeing policy designed to assist the rationalisation of the building industry." That would mean the absorption of some of the casual labour now out of work, the improvement of transport facilities and the provision of hygienic accommodation at a cheap rate for badly-paid workers with large families.

Such a policy, says Mr. Townroe, can only be prepared and carried through by the close co-operation of the Minister of Health, the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Transport. There has been a little improvement in building methods during the last four years which is reflected in the lower average cost. But the cost of a working man's cottage could be substantially reduced,

- if the land speculator were restrained from gaining for his own pocket the increment values created by public demands;
- if land now wasted by unprofitable and obsolete development were replanned;
- if capital at low rates of interest could be attracted to invest in weekly rented property on a large scale;
- if architects would devote the same skill to planning a cottage as a cinema *de luxe*;
- if building by-laws were revised so as to allow of freer play to ingenuity;
- if railway freights were reduced, and the savings reflected in the cost of materials;
- if more mechanical and scientific handling during every process of manufacture and building could be introduced;
- if there were more standardisation of bricks, tiles and other materials;
- if a greater output were encouraged by the offer and acceptance of enhanced wages based on results;
- if labour were organised so that the best craftsmen could be sure of regular work in all weathers.

All these are practical lines of improvement which are at present being investigated. By applying the various improvement suggested "it should in time be possible to build houses containing a kitchen-scullery, a living-room, and three bedrooms that could be let at 8s. a week."

Already it would seem that the greater part of Mr. de Valera's ideal of "external association" had been achieved; the Dominions now rank equally with Great Britain in the councils of Commonwealth, they appoint their own ministers to foreign capitals, are independent in the League of Nations, and are in no way subordinate to Government Departments in London, each Dominion Government being responsible to the King alone in his strictly constitutional capacity.

Then the substance of "external association" has been won, but Mr. De Valera's party has concentrated upon "the oath of allegiance."

At the same time, the Senate was subject to overhaul. As a result, even the elections to the Senate are now closely subject to the party whips. Thus Cosgrave's action, though strictly within the limits of the constitution, has established a precedent which bodes ill. The original constitution itself is thus placed as a mere party issue in a passionate house.

When behind all this is the disturbing suggestion that another amendment will be produced, making Parliament competent to amend the constitution in perpetuity, it will be seen that the security so dearly won by years of civil commotion and sacrifice is by no means assured of continuity. Many parliamentary precedents have been created by Mr. Cosgrave in the heat of party battle which will serve Mr. de Valera well in any future revolutionary adventure which he may decide to undertake. As things are, if Mr. de Valera assumed office, he could plunge the country into chaos within twenty-four hours without being unconstitutional or doing anything unprecedented. This is the great danger which has arisen from the party control of the business of the Irish Free State; it could never have arisen had the spirit and the letter of the constitution been adhered to rigidly. However, it is now too late to retrace the steps that have been taken.

INDIAN TEXTILE JOURNAL

It is a great thing for a journal to have continued uninterruptedly for 40 years, and in this land of infant mortality, such longevity is in itself an achievement. But the *INDIAN TEXTILE JOURNAL* has done much for the textile industries of Western India, and has a record of service of which it may be proud. It is seldom that a journal is run by the founder himself for four decades together, but that good fortune is Mr. Ratnagar's, and we heartily congratulate him on this singularly happy occasion.

SWARAJ AND MILITARY POWER

Mr. George Joseph, writing in the TRIVENI for September-October, lays stress on the need for a proper adjustment of relations between the Civil Government and the armed forces of the State in any scheme of Swaraj, whether it is conceived as independence or on the basis of Dominion Status. For if the Civil Government lays down policies and measures which the superior officers of the Army do not understand or approve of, the consequences will be disastrous. And it is well known that revolutions have become possible by the disloyalty of the army.

It will be quite the easiest thing for our statesmen to misunderstand the military temper and lay down policies and measures, which may, for aught they know, be regarded as objectionable by the Army. If, under these circumstances, there is conflict between the Government and the Army, the whole scheme of Swaraj will break down, and it will be quite the easiest thing for a rash Commander-in-Chief to walk into the Assembly Chamber with a platoon of soldiers and disperse the legislators, as Cromwell dispersed the Rump, and assume the business of Government. And, in such a case, it will be little use looking to the Parliament of Great Britain to enforce the authority of the King as against these mutinous officers. Parliament might either refuse to interfere or agree to interfere. Refusal will be followed by anarchy or a Military Dictatorship. Agreement will be tantamount to the establishment of the English Government once more in this country.

What then is the remedy. We should see to it that our Legislatures contain a sufficient number of army men with nationalistic proclivities. There are one or two but they are regarded as impossibles and reactionaries.

I cannot see any peaceful future for responsible Government unless the Civil organs of the State aspiring to supremacy manage to get among themselves representative elements from the Army. If, in an assembly of 100 legislators, you have about 50 soldiers, the Civil Government will be able to function without serious peril of breaking down. These 50 will be there, not in their own capacity, but as indicative of the mood and spirit of the fighting elements of the population, who, in the ultimate analysis, will face the business of protecting Governments and peoples against slavery and tyranny.

That is not to say that the army's representation in the legislature should be by election. Far from it. The army should always be free from all political entanglements. What the writer wants

is that the intelligentsia which gives birth to politicians should have the opportunity of getting into close and intimate touch with the mood and realities of the fighters. For this, Mr. Joseph propounds a scheme with the object of militarising the educated classes.

I would go in for the creation and vigorous expansion of a National Militia, as a second line of defence and for training of young men in the art of National defence. There is the Territorial Army, the University Training Corps, and now the Urban Unit. The present figures are not satisfactory, and my proposal will consist in creating facilities for the training of 5,000 men every year in each province. In the nine provinces then, we shall have about 45,000 men trained in the course of a year, not necessarily to be professional fighters, but to be trained to know the most essential elements of National defence. Barring the essential minimum of trained instructors from the British Army, I would have the whole of these 45,000 composed of Indians belonging to the educated classes, officers and men alike. I would convert, if I can, the University Training Corps into Officers Training Corps, as in European Universities, a certain number of them going to the Territorial and Urban Units as officers, and a certain number trained to start as subalterns in the professional Army. If the scheme is faithfully carried out, we shall, in the course of 10 years, have nearly half a million men more or less trained in the best features of Army discipline. At the end of 20 years, the number will be a million. But what is more important still, there will begin to trickle into the Legislatures at Delhi and in the provinces, men who will know what the Army means, something of its mood and with rich suggestion of its place in the Commonwealth. Not only the Legislatures, but the Government will also be composed of some of these men. The unity that will be postulated between the politician and the Army, and the harmony necessary for the ordered system of Government will thus be achieved. The divorce between the Civil Government and the fighting men will be at an end.

If, at that time, Parliament should entrust Indian politicians with the task of Government, we shall be able to go forward without misgiving and fairly certain that the machinery itself will not break down.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE

Mr. Amal Home has made the GAZETTE an almost ideal Municipal Journal for India; but the fifth anniversary Number has surpassed itself alike in the richness of its contents and in the excellence of its get-up. The letter press and the illustrations are all that could be desired, and we congratulate the Editor on the success the Gazette has achieved.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

The signature in London of the Central Committee of Indian Legislature and the appearance of the Hartog Committee Report on Indian education are an earnest of the progress made towards the presentation of the main Report of the Simon Commission which is expected in February next. Though Indian opinion is still rather chill in regard to the Commission, London has not ceased to attach considerable importance to it. THE UNITED EMPIRE for November notes with satisfaction the all-round progress made in regard to Indian affairs. Frequent discussions in London, as in India, of the status of Indian women and the provision made for their moral and physical well-being—the past month has been marked by important conferences on these subjects at the Mansion House and at the Caxton Hall—are evidence of the growing realization of the extent to which the Indian problem is a social and educational one. Furthermore, there has been a welcome tendency to realize that the political aspect of Indian affairs must not be allowed to exclude from consideration the significance of economic advance.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

THE EMPIRE REVIEW for November makes some observations editorially on the proposed Round Table Conference. Writing before the Viceregal announcement, the Editor observes that any declaration which may be made, in view of the fact that the Simon Report will not be available until early next year, "must be elucidatory rather than novel." He realizes, however, "that there is a real anxiety that the ideal of Dominion Status should be accepted in so many words as the goal of British endeavour" though it is sufficiently implicit in the Declaration of August 1917.

But, unfortunately, an eminent and highly-placed officer of the Government of India publicly attempted some years ago to draw an ingenious distinction between responsible Government and Dominion Status. In view of the present political condition in India, it might well be wise to rally our friends among the moderate-minded

intelligentsia by assuring them that we intend no such deception, and that the goal of our policy is Dominion Status and nothing else. Many people believe that such a declaration, if it were made between now and Christmas, would exercise a distinctly moderating effect both upon the activities of the Congress and the general tone of political life in India.

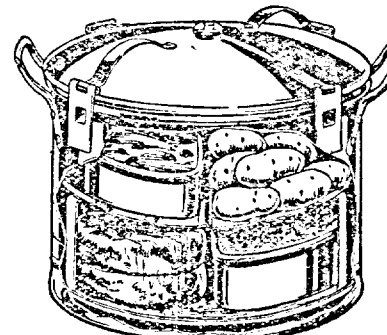
If such a declaration were made, he goes on to say, it would probably have to be complied with some constructive suggestion for overcoming the difficulties which loom immediately ahead.

Through a combination of mistakes, by no means confined to one side, Sir John Simon's inquiry was boycotted by the very persons whose adherence to any future constitutional scheme is quite essential, if we are to have political peace in India. For the sake of England and of the Empire, as well as for the sake of India herself, it is most necessary that some means be found for getting together representatives of every element in the problem. If it could be made plain to politically-minded India that there would be full opportunity afforded to its representatives for discussing the Simon Report on equal terms, as it were, with the Joint Select Committee of both Houses, it is quite possible that the present attitude of intransigence would be greatly modified. At any rate, if such an invitation were extended and refused, we in this country should have put ourselves definitely in the right, while those who rejected it would assume a responsibility of the gravest character.

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E. Jan, '30.

THE INDIAN CULTIVATOR

"The Missionary and the Ryot" is the subject of an entertaining article in the current Number of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS. Mr. J. L. Hodge, discussing the position and prospects of the Indian cultivator, thinks that there is considerable scope for Missionary effort in our rural areas. Apart from the value of evangelical service in rural India of which Mr. Hodge writes with missionary zeal, his observations on the life and character of the Indian cultivator are of special interest. It is said that even "if the life of our large towns went up in a mist of fire, the slow peasant, living upon the earth, and bowing his head beneath the sky, would still go on." Now his persistence is largely due to sheer force of numbers: there are 250 millions of him, and he represents 80 % of the population. But Mr. Hodge rightly surmises that something more than the merely numerical keeps him alive on the earth; "he has a soul that refuses to die, and in the struggle to keep himself alive, he incidentally keeps the race alive."

To Mr. Hodge there is an element of surprise about the Indian ryot.

I expected to find him a transcendentalist, nobly occupied with the things of the spirit and serenely indifferent to the things of the flesh; but I lighted instead on a materialist like myself. At nightfall as he wends his way home from the busy bazaar, he talks not of the quality of the soul but of the needs of the body: what he shall eat and wherewithal he shall be clothed, the oft-postponed lawsuit, the coming rent day, the last village fire, iniquities of little officials, the fever that does not break the prospects for the harvest, the dark and devious ways of money-lenders, marriages past and pending, the coming of co-operative bank and the latest bazaar rumour—these and kindred topics of the earth, earthy, occupy his mind and engage his speech.

If the ryot's "this worldliness" has surprised Mr. Hodge, he has been no less surprised by his fortitude. He may not always desire what happens, but he accepts it without a protest. That spirit is assuredly the heritage of his ancient culture. It is ingrained in him.

I have seen him driving his cattle to the uplands before the oncoming flood and heard never a murmur; when

fire lays his hut in ashes, he patiently sets out to rebuild with never a word of revolt; when plague and cholera take heavy toll of his loved ones, I see the tears come and hear him reverently say, "It is the will of God." His life is an incessant battle with the forces of nature, so terrible at times in their Indian moods, and there is little in his heritage or environment to lead him on to victory.

That does not, however, make him a pessimist. Mr. Hodge himself is surprised by the ryot's capacity for hilarity.

He is a man of many fears and few illusions; but he is not always a pessimist. While the wind on the heath blows him little sweetness and his skies are often like brass, there are times when the clouds lift and the heart makes merry. A marriage revel, a resounding chorus from the RAMAYANA, the fierce joy of a wrestling bout, a law court triumph, visit to a fair, a bumper harvest, a vision of Mahatma Gandhi, the annual meeting of his co-operative bank—and the ryot has his day. This leads me to believe that when the gates of a more abundant life open to him, he will not dishonour his birthright.

To the Missionary, naturally, this "abundant life" for the ryot is to be found in Christianity, but Mr. Hodge recognizes the importance of secular efforts as well, in the direction of co-operation for rural re-construction.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

SWARAJ BY NEGOTIATION. By K. Ramakotishwara Rao, ["Triveni," Sept.—Oct. 1929].

THE INDIAN PROBLEM. ITS TWIN CAUSES. By Mr. K. S. Venkataramani, B.A., B.L., ["The Hindustan Review," Oct.—Nov. 1929].

CIVICS AND POLITICS IN INDIA. By Mr. S. Satyamurti, B.A., B.L., M.L.C., ["The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Fifth Anniversary Number," Nov. 1929].

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION IN BRITISH INDIA. By K. V. Vaze, L.C.E., ["The Vedic Magazine," Sept. 1929].

VISIONS OF INDIA. By Swami Yogananda, ["East and West," Nov.—Dec. 1929].

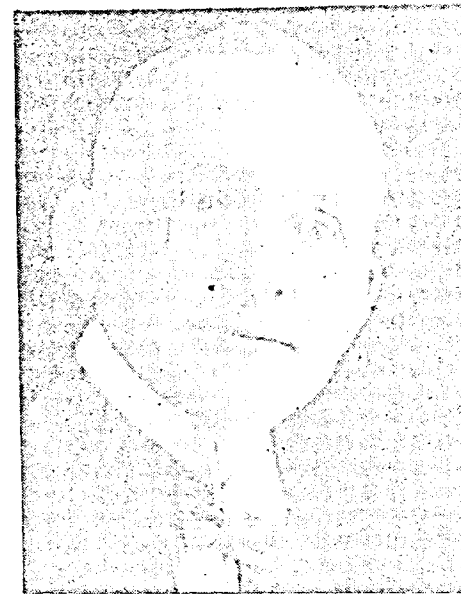
THE WAY TO HINDU SOLIDARITY. By Bhagavan Das, D. LITT. ["The Calcutta Review," September, 1929].

INDIA'S MILITARY DEFENCE: WHAT IT IMPLIES? By Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, ["The Modern Review," December, 1929].

Questions of Importance

ENGLAND'S PROMISES TO INDIA

Major D. Graham Pole, M.P., Honorary Secretary of the British Committee on Indian Affairs, commenting on certain adverse criticisms on the Viceroy's Statement, observes:—



MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE, M.P.

As one who has been intimately associated with India, Indians and Indian questions, for many years, I am amazed at the party capital that many of the opposition newspapers and Members of Parliament are trying to make out of the statement made in India by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin.

What, after all, did the Viceroy say?

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 (made by Mr. Montagu, when Secretary of State for India in the Coalition Government in the House of Commons) that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

But there was nothing new in that. It has been said and repeated time and again by everyone, from the King-Emperor downwards.

When the Duke of Connaught went to India as the representative of the King in 1921 to open the first Legislative Assembly, he used these words:—

To-day you have the beginning of Swaraj (self-government) within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity of progress to the Liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

At the time of the Debate in the House of Commons on the Government of India Bill in 1919, the then Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, said that this Bill gave to Indians the opportunity "to control their own destinies."

Sir Donald MacLean, the then Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, spoke in the same debate of

The Future of India within the circle of the British Dominions.

Even Lord Reading, as Viceroy, spoke of that high destiny which awaits India as a Partner in the British Empire.

And Lord Birkenhead, when Secretary of State for India, spoke of

the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire . . . the precious promise of a Constitution which might bring India on equal terms as an honoured partner into that free Community of British Dominions which men knew as the Empire.

Mr. Baldwin, as Prime Minister, said that

We look forward to seeing India in equal partnership with the Dominions.

There is no discrepancy in any of these statements, and one would have imagined that there would have been no doubt whatever of the intention of the British Government and of every political party in this country. * * * *

It is a fact that to-day in India, there is, and not without reason, a strong belief that we have no intention of fulfilling the promise given them by the King-Emperor and by leading statesmen of all parties. Indeed, on Saturday, 2nd November last, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India in the late Government, writing to the DAILY TELEGRAPH, says that "there is no period of time humanly foreseeable in which these changes will be possible." That is the die-hard position to-day, and it is the attitude of those who care more for the loaves and fishes that come to this country through our domination of India than for the honouring of the numerous pledges given by the King, and repeated by the various Prime Ministers as solemn pledges to India.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

The Hon. Sir Muhammad Habibullah, who led the Indian delegation to the League of Nations at Geneva in September last, made an impressive



SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH

speech on behalf of this country. After referring to disarmament and the League's Health organisation, Sir Muhammad went on to observe:—

"My purpose is to point the moral which, in spite of its obviousness, is apt to be lost sight of, namely, that the strength of a country's interest in the League is substantially dependent upon the interest in its affairs which the League displays, and I shall be failing in my duty both to India and the League, if I do not take advantage of the occasion to point out that in India, as also perhaps in other Eastern countries, there is a feeling that the West claims most of the attention of the League.

As I have already said, this is intelligible, since the problems that knock constantly at the door, as it were, of the League are the problems of countries which are geographically the nearest to its seat, and which, because of their immediate

bearing on the political and economic situation of Europe, press themselves most readily on its attention.

Nor can we ignore the fact that organised publicity gives an advantage in the race to those who have command of it. We in India have not perhaps tried to be too clamant. But the League which was established to work for co-operation, goodwill and amity among the peoples of the earth, must seek to transcend even continental boundaries, and broadly, to base itself on the informed and active affection of all the people. This can only be achieved with the aid of world-wide vision, world-wide understanding, and world-wide sympathy. I am not suggesting that the will to such vision, such sympathy, and such understanding does not exist. I only plead for a new orientation, of vision and of endeavour.

In India, our aim is to create mass opinion favourable to the League. Before that aim can be realised, opinion among the educated classes, who constitute a fraction of the mass, has to be mobilised in support of the League. * * *

People in my country also ask: What steps has the League taken to study and understand our needs? Who is there on its large staff of administrators and experts to advise, with sympathetic understanding that comes only of affinities born of racial kinship, on what is likely to quicken interest in India? When may India hope to take her place among those who determine the higher policy and discharge the highest responsibilities of the League?

Questions like these are not improvised and asked at occasional public meetings, but are constantly present in the minds of those who take interest in public affairs. They press for answers. I shall not presume to suggest the answers. I shall close these remarks with an expression of the faith within me that, by the light of the wisdom of those who guide the policy of the League, answers, and satisfactory answers, will be found."

THE LATE PRIME MINISTER OF NEPAL

It is with deep regret that we record the death of H. H. Maharajah Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister of Nepal.



MAHARAJAH JUNG BAHADUR

The Maharaja effected decided administrative and other improvements in the country and abolished slavery throughout the kingdom after liberating 60,000 slaves at a cost of Rs. 3,500,000, (1924-26).

BHAVNAGAR DURBAR

The Bhavnagar Durbar has remitted a sum of Rs. 20,00,000 due by agriculturists. The total amount of arrears now outstanding after this remission is Rs. 24,25,241. A committee has been appointed to inquire into the indebtedness of farmers to money-lenders. A sum of Rs. 1,25,000 was previously advanced to needy agriculturists free of interest by the Durbar.

THE PRINCES & THE R. T. CONFERENCE

KASHMIR MAHARAJA'S VIEWS

H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, in an interview to the Associated Press, said: I very sincerely welcome the decision to hold a Round Table Conference at which all parties will be represented. Indian States have no desire to interfere in matters affecting British India alone and its constitutional advance, but they are vitally concerned in the question of their relations with the self-governing British India of the future and with the machinery which must necessarily be set up for consideration and settlement of matters of common concern to British India and Indian States. As the Simon Commission was not authorised to deal with matters affecting Indian States, and, on the other hand, as the Butler Committee was not authorised to go into the question of relations of Indian States with future self-governing British India, such a Conference of all parties as has been decided upon is essential, and I am glad to see that its necessity has been recognised. Such Conference will tend to remove misconceptions of one another's aims and intentions, and I feel sure that result will be better understanding between British India and Indian States.

PATIALA MAHARAJA'S VIEWS

The Maharaja of Patiala, Chancellor of the Chamber of Indian Princes, warmly welcomes the Viceroy's proposal for a Round Table Conference, and says:—

The Indian Princes desire to have *vis-a-vis* the Indian Government the same position as was defined for the various members of the British Commonwealth in a resolution passed at the last session of the Imperial Conference.

In the words of Kipling, each State will wish to be "Daughter in my mother's house, but mistress in my own." Each State, he urged, should be internally autonomous and all should, in due course, attain a fully uniform level of good administration, though not necessarily on identical lines.

INDIANS IN E. AFRICA

Mr. Biharilal N. Anantani, Editor of THE ZANZIBAR VOICE, and a member of the East



Mr. B. N. ANANTANI

African Indian Deputation, who sailed for England, in a statement to the Press, said:—

"Whatever be the conclusions recorded in Sir Samuel Wilson's Report on the East African Indian Question, I have no doubt in my mind that with the determined support of the Government of India and the people of India in our efforts, success will ultimately be ours in our righteous struggle.

"The granting of a common electoral roll to Indians in East Africa would be a simple redemption of the pledge made to us under the Wood-Winterton Agreement, and if such a fully representative Commission as the Hilton-Young Commission saw no objection to introduce it, of course with certain reservations, there can be no other reason why His Majesty's Government cannot now accept the recommendation."

INDIAN LABOURERS IN CEYLON

Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, Agent of the Government of India and Ceylon, in his latest report, writes: "The limit of what can be achieved in securing reasonable conditions of work and wages for estate labourers, apart from the provision of adequate medical facilities, has, for some time to come, been reached." He adds that the extent whereto Indian labourers benefit under the Minimum Wage Ordinance, will "depend largely on their own efforts to vindicate their rights." He hopes to see the gradual establishment of direct relations between the employer and employee, without the intervention of middlemen.

Speaking of the economic position of the labourer, he admits that his living conditions are now almost entirely satisfactory, but feels that his general good can be enhanced by his own efforts, and emphasises the importance of education. He deplores the formation of purely political associations on behalf of Indian labourers, and he appeals to prosperous and politically-minded Indian residents in Ceylon to confer a real benefit on the men and women, whose suffrage they are out to obtain, by social service as well.

Mr. Hydari regrets the agitation over the franchise question, which, he says, has aroused distrust and alarm among the Indian community in Ceylon, where none existed before.

SIR K. V. REDDI

Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi, Agent-General to the Government of India, in South Africa, owing to the indifferent state of his health, has been granted leave to return to India.

The period of his leave will be determined by the progress he makes, but he is likely to be in India until the middle of March.

The strain, as a result of his recent travelling, has told on him, and he has been confined to bed with a recurrent attack of fever.

The Secretary, the Hon. Evelyn Baring will act as the Agent-General of the Government of India.

MR. H. P. MODY ON PROTECTION

Interviewed in regard to the report of Mr. G. S. Hardy on India's cotton trade, Mr. H. P. Mody, Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association,



Mr. H. P. MODY

said that the most satisfactory feature of the report was that it had brought out very clearly the extent and severity of Japanese competition in India. Mr. Mody said that the conclusion was irresistible that if the country's textile industry was to be saved, it must receive an adequate measure of protection. Another prominent Bombay mill-owner described the Hardy Report as quite fair and satisfactory.

THE LABOUR COMMISSION

Giving evidence before the Labour Commission at Delhi, Major Webb, Assistant Director of Health, stated that Malaria was the greatest ill of the country, and that its elimination would be conducive to an improvement in efficiency.

Cooly witnesses told the Commission that they borrowed money at the rate of 37½ per cent., and recommended the weekly payment of wages.

Sheth Ambalal Sarabhai, in his evidence, said that the workers had undoubtedly benefitted by the introduction of the 60-hour week. The increase in their efficiency was not, however, adequate. He opposed Government intervention in the matter of wages.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

In his presidential address to the All-India Trade Union Congress at Nagpur, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President-elect of the Lahore Congress, gave a forecast of the lead that he is likely to give to the Indian National Congress. "Those of us who stood by independence stand by it still," he said.

He declared himself in favour of a socialistic order of society in which the interests of the workers would be supreme, and in which they would have true freedom and opportunity of growth.

Dealing with the question of the affiliation of the Indian Trade Union Congress with either the Second or the Third International, he advised the T. U. C. not to affiliate itself with either. While expressing admiration for the policy, he condemned the methods of Moscow.

He then criticised the attitude of the Labour Government in Britain and the "repressive policy" of the Government of India. He argued that the British Labour Party had betrayed the principles of socialism and urged non-co-operation with the Whitley Commission.

IVORY CARVING

The fame of the well-known Ivory industry of Delhi, says a contemporary, has penetrated to all the civilised regions of the world. Not only has the quality and finish of the products lately improved, but there is noticed a marked progress in the diversity of characters of the patterns of oriental origin displaying the exquisite dexterity of the artisan.

NEW CEYLON INDUSTRY

The manufacture of porcelain as a Ceylon industry will shortly be a commercial proposition. Pottery has been the subject of instruction at schools. Success has now been achieved, however, and, in the near future, the Waragoda School of Pottery will be producing the finished article.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

Opening the Board of Agriculture at Pusa, Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar pointed out that the Board would henceforth be called the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, and would consist of



SIR T. V. ACHARYA

two wings, one for crops and soils, the other for animal health and animal husbandry. The constitution of both had been enlarged by the inclusion of twenty non-officials selected by provinces with five representatives from the Universities.

THE METTUR CANAL

H. E. the Viceroy, in opening the Mettur Canal bridge, observed:

"I am afraid that I shall have left India before the water begins to flow under this bridge, but canals fortunately are more permanent than Viceroy's. May the canals of this Mettur project vie with Tennyson's "Brook" which boasted that:

"Men may come and men may go.

But I go on for ever,"

and may they continue to minister to the needs of the thirsty soil through many generations when we are all forgotten."

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH IN BIHAR

Addressing the first meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Agricultural Research Committee, Sir Mohamed Fakhruddin, Minister of Education, explained the functions of the Committee. He said that, in the present state of the Provincial finance, it was impossible to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission, the foremost of which was the establishment of an Agricultural College. He, however, sincerely hoped for a start at an early date in the near future. A fully equipped Agricultural College would cost the Province between 10 to 15 lakhs of rupees non-recurring and about a lakh and a half recurring.

The Provincial Council next approved of two important schemes of agricultural research and decided to ask the Imperial Research Council for a grant to cover the cost. There is a scheme for extensive research work, and another for sugar-cane research work. The entire recurring and non-recurring cost of these schemes is estimated at about six lakhs of rupees.

THE PYKARA SCHEME

The sanction of the Secretary of State has been accorded to the Pykara Hydro-Electric scheme, which is estimated to cost over a crore of rupees. Operations are to begin without further delay.

This is a comprehensive project, embracing the supply of power to many South Indian industrial centres and the electrification of certain sections of the South Indian Railway, including the Nilgiri branch.

The Pykara Falls are situated about fifteen miles from Ootacamund, and the execution of this scheme is expected to bring much material prosperity to the district. Power will, in the first instance, be supplied to the Nilgiris, Coimbatore, Anamalais, Dindigul, Tirupur, Pollachi and the Palnis, with extensions to Madras, Madura, Erode, Shoranur and Trichinopoly, later on.

TROPICAL DISEASES

The Medical Superintendent of the Hospital for Tropical Diseases in London, Dr. W. E. Cooke, sailed on November 9, for a tour in Malaya, Ceylon and parts of India, which will extend over three or four months. Many invitations have been extended to Dr. Cooke by patients of the Hospital who look forward to seeing him again.

At the Hospital for Tropical Diseases in London, a greater variety of diseases peculiar to the tropics are assembled together in the institution than in any single locality within the tropics themselves. The work carried out in the wards and laboratories of the Hospital in London is, therefore, complimentary to that of centres in the tropics.

The opportunity for such a tour has arisen because the Hospital for Tropical Diseases is, during the next three months, being remodelled and extended so as to contain additional beds, new laboratories, and a new clinical lecture theatre.

PREVENTION OF MALARIA IN INDIA

Opening the annual conference of the anti-Malarial Society on October 26, Mr. S. N. Mallik, ex-Member of the India Council, pleaded for co-operation in the task of eradicating the malaria evil from different parts of the Presidency. While in England, he had no inspiring message that malaria was preventible at an economic cost. It remained for them to implement that message through the establishment and maintenance of a regular network of anti-malarial societies, all over the country.

Professor Schueffner, Director, Kelonial Institute, Amsterdam, presided over the meeting which was attended by all members of the Malaria Commission. The Professor said, of all diseases, malaria was the most difficult to deal with, but, thanks to the discovery of Sir Ronald Ross, they now knew an excellent remedy for the disease, with which every patient could be cured, provided he did not come too late. Health officers and

Scientists could not bring about an eradication of malaria, because of the expenses involved, but a solution of the problem was possible if every man collaborated. He extolled the good work done by the Bengal Society, which was 2,000 in number.

The Madras Government have been addressed to grant Rs. 1,000 for the transport and accommodation of six members of the League of Nations from Geneva, who have been deputed to study the cause and prevention of malaria in India. They have arrived in Calcutta in the first week of this month and will tour in the Madras Presidency extensively, accompanied by the Malaria Officer of the Madras Government, and then proceed to Bombay.

SCIENCE OF NUTRITION

Sir Norman Macjoribanks was the principal guest at a meeting of the Rotary Club held at the Gymkhana Club, Madras, when Colonel McCarrison, Director of Research in Nutrition, Indian Research Fund Association, delivered an address on the science of nutrition. The lecturer said that no country had more need to profit by the new knowledge of nutrition than India, and none had more opportunity to add to it. Millions of Indian people were living on restricted diets, which were incapable of maintaining them in a state of normal nutrition or health. Concluding, he expressed the view that the future of medical science lay largely in the study of nutrition, and that India should see that the elements of the science of nutrition were taught in all her schools.

CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL IN BOMBAY

The Wadia Brothers, Sir Ness Wadia and Mr. C. N. Wadia have donated Rs. 24 lakhs to the Bai Jerbal Wadia Hospital for Children. This is the second magnificent donation by the Wadias to charity, the first being Rs. 18 lakhs for the Edward Hospital and the Maternity Hospital, Parel, and the provision of 1,000 beds there. Sir Ness Wadia has created a trust which will yield Rs. 60,000 for the upkeep of the hospital,

A WIRELESS PHENOMENON

The unconquerable mind of man is constantly finding new weapons for the conquest of its universe, says the MORNING POST.

"A year and a half ago, an Oslo engineer announced that, while listening to short-wave wireless signals emitted by the Dutch station PCJJ (Eindhoven), he heard two echoes of each signal. One was, of course, the well-known repetition of a signal after circling the earth (in one-seventh of a second at a speed of 186,000 miles a second), but the origin of the other echo, which occurred three seconds later, was unknown.

A series of experiments and observations suggested by this discovery shows that the Eindhoven signals are echoed as though reflected by some obstacle 800,000 miles away, which is more than three times the distance of the Moon.

The most probable explanation is that the reflecting agency is the stream of electrons issuing from the Sun, which causes the Aurora Borealis and magnetic storms in our earthly cosmos. However, that may be, the short wireless wave is yet another of those many eyes of the mind, so to speak, which are day by day revealing secrets of the world without—yes, and of the world within. And so, nearer and nearer, approaches a demonstration of the truth of the Socratic formula that virtue is knowledge.

NOBEL PRIZE FOR SCIENCE

The Nobel Prize for Physics for 1928 has been awarded to Professor O. W. Richardson, Director of Physics Research at the King's College, London, for the discovery of the law governing the motion of electrons emanating from hot bodies.

The Physics Prize for 1929 has been awarded to Duc de Broglie of Paris for his discovery of undulating electrons.

The Nobel Prize for Chemistry for 1929 has been divided between Mr. Arthur Harden, Professor, Bio-chemical Department, London University and Professor Von Euler of Stockholm,

HISTORIC SCIENCE APPARATUS

For many years, the Royal Institution of Great Britain has ranked among its chief treasures the apparatus used by the great English scientists of the latter end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries.

The remarkable historic exhibition which is now in course of arrangement at the Science Museum, South Kensington, will remain open during the re-building of the Royal Institution, that is, for a period of six months or more. In the well-lighted galleries of the Museum, the apparatus will be seen to great advantage. In the exhibits, the visitor will be able to trace the beginnings of the great electrical engineering and chemical industries of the present day made possible by the discoveries of Davy, Faraday and others.

The Royal Institution of Great Britain was founded in 1799 on the initiative of the cosmopolitan, Sir Benjamin Thompson, who was born at North Woburn, Massachusetts, United States of America in 1753, known better to historians as Count Rumford of Munich. During the Christmas holidays, great scientists lecture here to children.

ELECTRIC SUPPLY FOR MIRZAPUR

The Mirzapur Electric Supply Company Ltd. has been registered in Calcutta with a capital of Rs. 8 lakhs with the object of supplying electricity in the Town of Mirzapur and its suburb of Bindhachal in the United Provinces. It will take over and work the licence granted to Messrs. Octairous Steel and Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

Industrially, Mirzapur is prosperous. It is a centre of the carpet-weaving industry, has many lac factories and a thriving business in brass and copper work besides flour and other mills.

The power station will be equipped with oil engines.

ENGLISH: THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE

This is the assertion of Mr. A. G. Gardiner, writing in the STAR, and he thus proves his case: "Latin is dead past resurrection and the prestige of French has declined.

"Meanwhile, the need of a universal speech has become intensified beyond all previous experience. It is no longer required merely as a piece of social finery. It is required for the business of the world and increasingly for the every-day affairs of the common people of every country. It must be found, and the commanding facts of the world will dictate what it will be.

"Those facts point with increasing emphasis to the ultimate adoption of English. It will be accepted by the world, not deliberately or willingly, but insensibly, by the sheer force of circumstances. Those circumstances have their roots in the adventurers who carried our speech round the world, and in the victories of Wolfe and Clive, which displaced French by English as the dominant language of Canada and the business language of India.

"Already, English is by far the most widely-spoken language on the globe. It is in complete possession of the North American Continent and Australasia. It is current in Africa from Egypt to Cape Town. It is the most familiar foreign tongue in the Far East and India, and it will carry you through South America. In most bi-lingual countries in Europe, it is the second string to the bow.

"But above and beyond all these facts is the dominating influence of the United States. Its vast wealth, its economic power, its association through the varied elements of its population with all the peoples of Europe, its habit of world-wide travel in circumstances that make its custom worth having—all this is dictating the direction in which the language difficulty of the world will be finally settled. A century hence, the world will have a universal language, and it will be English."

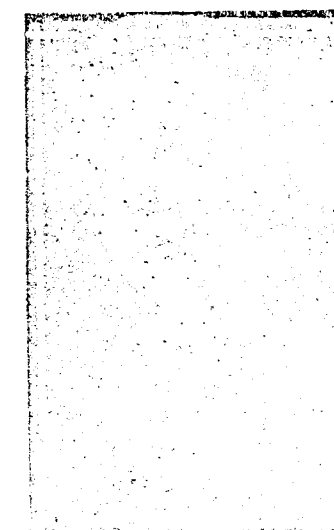
NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE

The Nobel Prize for Literature has been awarded to Herr Thomas Mann, a German author. Herr Thomas was born on June 6, 1875, at Lubeck and is now living in Whienchen. He first earned recognition as a writer by his well-known novel, "Buddenbrooks."

A MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART

Mr. Madho Prasad, General Secretary, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares City, writes:—

The Bharat Kala Parishad of Benares has handed over its entire art collection of paintings, statues and other historical and literary exhibits to the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares. This valuable collection is valued at more than a lac of rupees, and the whole of the second storey of the Sabha Building erected at a cost of Rs. 25,000 has been given by the Sabha for this Museum. It is requested that the members of the Sabha and others interested in this work may help the Sabha by giving or procuring articles of artistic or historical interest for this Museum.



THE LATE MR. T. P. O'CONNOR
The Veteran Journalist and "Father of the House of Commons."

THE STATE & MASS EDUCATION

Under the heading "State and Compulsion", the Hartog Committee states:—

"In our opinion, the responsibility for mass education rests primarily with the State; and the provision of educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas should not be left entirely to the mercy of local authorities, who may be unwilling, either for political or other reasons, to initiate schemes by which compulsion may be financed or who, owing to the backwardness of the area or the people, may be unable to devise suitable measures for compulsion on their own initiative. Accompanied by necessary safeguards, the power to enforce compulsion should provide local Governments with the very necessary authority to supervise the expansion of mass education in the provinces in such a way that all areas and all classes of the community may benefit by the increased expenditure of public funds."

INDIAN EDUCATION

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, addressing the pupils of the Benares Municipal School, on the occasion of the prize-giving ceremony, said that one of the reasons why India was a very backward country was that learning was confined only to some of the higher castes. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee emphasised the need for imparting the right kind of education which would include the training of the body and the intellect and the formation of character.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN MADRAS

The Government of Madras have passed orders, on the recommendations of the Beasley Committee, on the question of physical education for boys in secondary schools, directing that the Director of Public Instruction shall draft proposals providing for playgrounds for all secondary schools in the Presidency. We understand that Rs. 50,000 will be provided every year for acquiring playgrounds, and scheme will be completed in ten years.

A STUDENT PRINCIPAL

Professor G. S. Mahajani, B.A., (Cantab) who has been appointed Principal of the Fergusson College, was awarded a scholarship by the Government of India to pursue his studies in England after a brilliant academical career in the Fergusson College. He was also awarded the Duke of Edinburgh Fellowship for his brilliant performance at the B.A. Examination at the Bombay University. In addition, he was Philip Baylis Research Student at Cambridge in 1926.

WRONG EDUCATIONAL AIMS

In a speech at the prize-distribution in a school in Folkestone, Lord Burnham said he had come after a long enquiry in a distant land that showed the danger of allowing clericalism to be the guiding motive of the educational life of a great country. 'Half of the appalling conditions in India is due to the wrong aims of the educational system and the idea that examinations are the be-all and end-all of teaching.' The real root of the difficulty in India, added Lord Burnham, was the existence of what might be called the 'unemployed intelligentsia', all of whom were striving for Government posts, but only a small proportion were able to find them.



DR. GANGANATHA JHA

Who has been re-elected Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University.

LORD SINHA'S STATUE

With the reopening of the High Court after the long vacation, the Chief Justice of Calcutta unveiled Lord Sinha's bust in bronze in the southern public corridor before a large and distinguished gathering. Besides the judges



THE LATE LORD SINHA.

of the Court and members of the Bar, the eldest son of Lord Sinha, Sir Rajendra Mukerjee and Sir P. C. Mitter were present. In unveiling the bust, the Chief Justice said:—"No one has better right to be commemorated in this place. In holding all the responsible posts to which he had been called upon to fill, he justified the confidence so fittingly reposed in him and stood before all men as a shining example of clear-minded and conscientious man, and he was unspoiled even by success. Most, if not all the offices which he filled, came to an Indian for the first time. But in his case, personal success was not an end in itself. The Bar and the Judges might join in a friendly rivalry whether he was greater as an Advocate or as a Judge."

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

The Annual Meeting of the Canadian Bar Association was held at Quebec from September 5 to 7. The address of the President of the Bar Association, the Hon. Wallace Nesbitt, was replete with matters of interest to the legal profession outside as well as inside the Dominion. A question he

thought worthy of consideration was whether they should regard the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a link of Empire which should receive Canadian support, perhaps with some limitations of the appeals which may be taken to it, as, for instance, constitutional questions, and no appeal in ordinary civil actions except by special leave of either the Court appealed from or the Privy Council, where questions of public importance arose. If that was the considered view of the Bar, he suggested they should place their opinion on record. Mr. Nesbitt also suggested that the Association should have the best practical way of securing a Bench with which the Bar and the public would be content.

SUCCESS OF A LADY LAWYER

Miss Ponkshe, the first woman lawyer in Maharashtra, argued a civil appeal recently before Mr. N. J. Wadia, J.C.S., District Judge, Poona.



MISS CHANDRA BAI PONKSHE

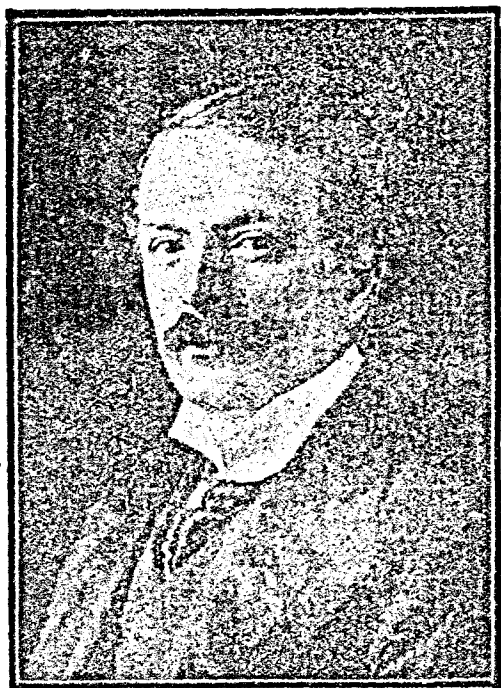
The decision in the lower Court was against her client, an agriculturist debtor of Baramati, as against a money-lender. Her client appealed against the decision of the lower Court, and Miss Ponkshe ably argued out the appeal, and the District Judge pronounced judgment in favour of her client.

Miss Ponkshe, it will be remembered, is the niece of the late Mr. Gokhale.

Personal

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Mr. Lloyd George, who has been a Member of the House of Commons since 1880, has, owing to the death of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, become



MR. LLOYD GEORGE

the father of the House which is the title conferred on the member with the longest uninterrupted period of service. Mr. O'Connor had been a Member since 1880. The next in seniority to Mr. Lloyd George is Sir Austen Chamberlain, who became a Member of Parliament in 1892 and has been a Member ever since. Mr. O'Connor's successor as President of the British Board of Film Censors will be selected by a meeting of representatives of various sections of the trade by which the Board is organised. The censorship is quite unofficial and there is no government control.

DR. AND MRS. COUSINS

Dr. and Mrs. Cousins, who have returned to Madras after their tour on behalf of India in Europe and America, have issued to the press the following statement of their impressions which will be read with interest by our readers :

"One year and a half's journey round the world has given us a first-hand comprehensive standard of comparison from which to view the problems of India. It also gave us the opportunity to gauge the attitude of other countries to India's ideals and life. We have given over 250 public lectures between us, principally on aspects of the renaissance in India, particularly in the last 15 years, such as the revival in painting and literature and the emergence of Indian women into the public life of the country."



SIR FASIL-HUSSAIN

whose appointment as member of Viceroy's Executive Council in the place of Sir M. Habibullah is gazetted.

Political

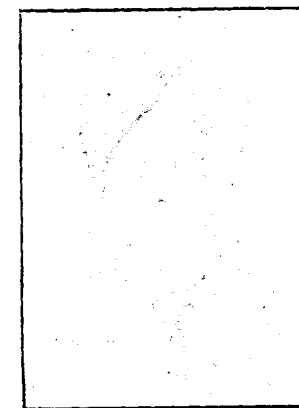
THE SINGAPORE BASE

An important step has been taken by the Imperial (Labour) Government in deciding to slow down, as much as possible, all work on the Singapore naval base in view of the forthcoming Naval Conference, the decisions of which are likely to affect the maintenance or extension of Britain's defence schemes. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister is reported to be in consultation with the Japanese Ambassador in London, who, in turn, is conferring with the French and Italian Ambassadors on the subject of the Conference.

THE GOVERNERSHIP OF C. P.

His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler, K.C.S.I., who will complete five years' tenure of the Governorship of the Central Provinces on January

Montagu Butler as Governor of the Central Provinces after a short period of leave. In the interval before Sir Montagu Butler resumes the



H. E. MR. TAMBE

appointment, the Hon'ble Mr. S. B. Tambe, the Senior Member of the Executive Council of the Central Provinces, will act as Governor.

THE ISSUE BEFORE THE COUNTRY

In an article in the LEADER discussing the recent debate on India in Parliament, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru writes that he will refuse to judge the attitude of the Labour Government by the utterances made in the House of Lords, but the speech of Mr. Wedgwood Benn can fairly be taken as symptomatic of the attitude of the Cabinet at large and as the most hopeful feature of the entire debate.

"It would be idle to pretend," continues Sir Tej Bahadur, "that the Labour Government has promised us immediate Dominion Status, but it would be equally idle to hold that they are inviting us to discuss the question of stages. It is for us now to try to build up our case and achieve the greatest amount of agreement on its essentials.

"That, to my mind, is the issue we ought to settle in India. The rest we can and shall be able to solve in England, if we can only strengthen the hands of the Labour Government and go with a united demand."



H. E. SIR MONTAGU BUTLER

25th next, has tendered his resignation with effect from the 29th November, 1929, which His Majesty the King has been pleased to accept. His Majesty has been pleased to re-appoint Sir

THE AGA KHAN'S OFFER

His Highness the Aga Khan has offered, through the Royal Aero-Club, a prize of £500 for the first England-India or India-England flight



H. H. THE AGA KHAN

by a person of Indian nationality. The flight must be solo and must be completed within six weeks. The prize will be open for a year from January 1, 1930.

POLITICS AND THE TURF

That Lord Rosebery's chosen residence for so much of his life should have been that at Epsom was in keeping with his career, which was curiously intermingled with racing—even to the end, when his death voids the nomination of one of the Derby favourites.

A meeting at the races is said to have given him his first "large print" appearance in the TIMES, and there were those who thought that he would have gone farther in politics, could he have made the sacrifice of George Bentinck. He

himself, we are told, was not unconscious of this: he said once that no man could serve the two masters of the turf and politics. And he might have added the larger business of life itself, for once at the Durbans, when some guests were looking at the sporting prints with which the walls are covered, he said that he had begun collecting them when he was keen on the turf, and then felt it a point of honour to make his collection complete. But he was now afraid "lest his boys should get the love of the turf, which was the last thing in the world he wanted."

CHINESE WAR-GAME

A Chinese game which is 4,280 years old is described in a new book, "The Game of Wei-Chi."

Wei-Chi was invented by the Emperor Yao in the year 2,350 B. C.

Professor H. A. Giles, who occupies the Chair of Chinese at Cambridge University, says in a foreword:

To learn to play Wei-Chi as an amusement is an easy task: I taught my young children. To become a master is an affair of years.

The board is a criss-cross of 19 vertical and 19 horizontal lines. It is a rough map of an unpopulated world.

The game is to populate as many as possible of the 361 intersections of these lines with your own pieces in such a way that they cannot be surrounded by hostile pieces, or cut off from the edges of the board, which represent the sea.

You may achieve this by mass formations, equivalent to the Great Powers, or by smaller scattered ones. But once either of these is completely encircled by the enemy, the pieces (representing territory) are taken. The players, therefore, occupy the margins, or coastal territory first, and then progress into the interior.

Opening battle, and consolidation are the three stages of this war game, and its basic principle is the surrounding and encirclement of the enemy.

PALESTINE MANDATE

Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., has been appointed Chairman of the Parliamentary group formed by the House of Commons to promote the Mandate



COL. WEDGWOOD

Policy in Palestine and the colonisation of Palestine. Other members of the Executive will be Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Martin Conway, Major Nathan, Mr. Amery, Major Ormsby-Gore and Mr. J. De Rothschild. Dr. Spero will be Secretary.

THE LATE MAHARAJA OF COSSIMBAZAR

Maharaja Sir Manindraachandra Nundy of Cossimbazar died on the 12th of last month at his Calcutta residence. He had been suffering from malaria for about a month and was brought down to Calcutta and was under the treatment of Sir Nilratan Sircar.

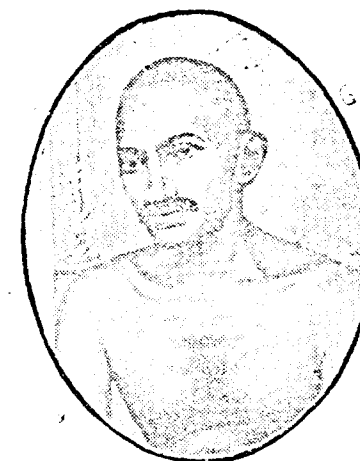
The Maharaja had spent over a crore of rupees in the cause of education in Bengal and was a generous patron of letters. He had helped the industrial regeneration of the country with munificent contributions and had even undertook to pioneer industries. During the War, the Maharaja had helped in the raising of loans and had contributed generously to afford relief to the disabled soldiers. He leaves behind his only son Kumar Srischandra Nundy, M.L.C.

MAHATMAJI'S GIFT TO THE NATION

Mahatma Gandhi has made a trust deed of the Navajivan Printing Press, from which are published the NAVAJIVAN in Gujarati and in Hindi and YOUNG INDIA in English, making over the whole property, worth about one lakh of rupees, to the public.

Messrs. Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamanlal Bajaj, Kalekar, Mahadev Desai and Mohanlal Bhatt, Manager of the Press, are made trustees with powers to add.

They have to conduct the institution with the objects of preaching non-violence for the attainment of Swaraj, of doing propaganda work for Khaddi, of working for the removal of untouchability, attainment of communal unity and cow protection through dairies and tanneries, etc., of elevating women, of establishing Hindi as the national language by undermining the unnatural



MAHATMA GANDHI

position which English has occupied in the country, and of publishing newspapers and books for social, religious, economic and political progress of the people.

All activities of the institution should always be conducted on the self-supporting basis.

Diary of the Month

Nov. 19. Pundit Jawaharlal withdraws resignation from Congress Working Committee.

Nov. 20. Mr. Sen Gupta resigns from the Executive of the Bengal Congress Committee.



Mr. J. W. BHORE

Nov. 21. Mr. J. W. Bhore is appointed Member of Viceroy's Council, *vice* Sir B. N. Mitra.

Nov. 22. The Conservatives meet in conference and pass a vote of confidence in Mr. Baldwin.

Nov. 23. M. Clemenceau (France) is dead.

Nov. 24. Persia recognises Nadir Khan as King of Afghanistan.

Nov. 25. Punjab Council votes Rs. 1,00,000 for police force during Lahore Congress.

Nov. 26. Maharaja Jung Bahadur is dead.

Nov. 27. Russia and Turkey sign a treaty.

Nov. 28. Blim Shumsher Jung is appointed Premier of Nepal.

Nov. 29. The Trade Union Congress meets in Nagpur under the presidency of Jawaharlal.

Nov. 30. Hon. Mr. Lambe assumes charge of the Governorship of the Central Provinces.

Dec. 1. The European Press Conference concludes its sitting in Geneva.

Dec. 2. Dr. Ganganatha Jha is re-elected Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University.

Dec. 3. Sir K. V. Reddi leaves Durban for India.

Dec. 4. Earl Russell is appointed Under-Secretary of State for India.

Dec. 5. Sirdar Shah Wali Khan is appointed Afghan Consul in London.

Dec. 6. Aga Khan marries Mlle. Carron.

Dec. 7. House of Lords passes a motion objecting to Anglo-Soviet resumption of relations.

Dec. 8. Mr. Abdul Hakim is appointed Sheriff of Madras.

Dec. 9. Sir Andrew Skeen retires from the Army.

Dec. 10. President of Greek Republic resigns.

Dec. 11. The House of Commons passes the first reading of the Coal Mines' Bill.

Dec. 12. Ceylon Legislature accepts Donoughmore Reforms as modified by Passfield Despatch.



PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Dec. 13. Prof. Radhakrishnan delivers the Hibbert Lecture at Manchester University.

Dec. 14. Pundit Malaviya delivers the Benares University Convocation Address.

Dec. 15. Admiral Sir Henry Jackson is dead.

Dec. 16. M. Zainus is elected Greek President.

BUILDING BETTER BRAINS

How Mental Training Is Enabling Thousands Of Men
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And BRAIN Power.

THOUSANDS of men and women in every Profession, Business, and Trade are increasing their Efficiency, and consequently their Earning Power, as a result of scientifically training their minds by means of Pelmanism.



Sir J. Foster Fraser

Pelmanism builds better brains. It banishes Timidity, Self-Doubt, and what is known as the "Inferiority Complex." It drives the dark clouds of Depression away from your horizon, leaving the mental atmosphere in which you "live, move, and have your being" clear, vital, and undisturbed. It eliminates harmful, morbid, and "defeatist" thoughts. It provides a remedy for that "forgetting habit"—that distressing habit of forgetting appointments, names, dates, telephone numbers, prices, and "the right argument at the right moment," which so often causes people to miss opportunities of advancement which possibly never recur.

On the positive side Pelmanism increases your mental energy. It strengthens your Will-Power. It gives you Courage, Initiative, Forcefulness, Determination, and Self-Confidence. It gives you a memory—you and other people—can depend upon. It causes you to take an optimistic outlook on life. It makes your mind keen, alert, resourceful, and self-reliant. In short, it develops just those mental qualities which lead to success in life.

As Sir John Foster Fraser writes: "Pelmanism quickens Perception; it stimulates the Imagination; it develops Concentration. It will not make the dunderhead into a statesman, but it will and does provide a plan whereby we can make the best of our qualities."

Remarkable Results

Here are a few extracts taken at random from letters written to the Pelman Institute in India from readers who are training their minds by means of Pelmanism, describing some of the benefits they have received.

A COMPANY SECRETARY writes: "I have learnt to school myself to do the disagreeable job to-day instead of to-morrow. Have noticed things more than before. Have more confidence to follow my own judgment, and consequently feel increasingly reliant and am conscious of a mental growth."

A STUDENT writes that Pelmanism has given her a clear aim and greater self-control, and has enabled her to concentrate on her studies in such a way as to help her to remember what she has learnt.

A CIVIL SERVANT (I. C. S.) writes:—"I have gained self-confidence and energy. I am disposing of my daily duties more easily and smoothly."

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

A CAPTAIN (I. M. S.) writes:—"I have developed interest in life and work, both of which had nearly died out of me. My senses are getting acuter again and I am acquiring knowledge by their continued use. "I can't do this" no more occurs to me now, for I have confidence in myself. In short, the course has given me an impetus for general improvement."

A PLANTER writes:—"There are two benefits that I have derived from the course, and these are a considerable gain in confidence, and the acquisition of a greater tendency to tackle a job immediately, instead of delaying until the last moment."

A BARRISTER writes:—"In lucid and interesting language Pelmanism teaches every one how to take an interest in life so that they may live their lives to the fullest extent, and get the best out of it."

A MERCANTILE ASSISTANT writes:—"I have learnt how to think; my memory is good, and I am less self-conscious. I am not sure whether the position to which I am proceeding at the end of the month is directly attributable to Pelmanism; but Pelmanism will make me succeed in it."

AN ARCHITECT writes:—"I have developed concentration, attention and interest powers which I lacked before, and I have now a good knowledge of my professional requirements as a result of training my senses on Pelman lines. My will and power for effort has been considerably improved."

A Writer says that Pelmanism has enabled him to conquer his old absent-mindedness, forgetfulness and carelessness. Also, owing to the mental alertness and confidence developed by Pelmanism, he has been able to secure a good job.

A MUSICIAN writes: "I have experienced an all-round improvement. Concentration, Will-Power, and Memory are improved beyond recognition. The pleasure of possessing these abilities has made my life happier. It was the best day's work I ever did when I sent for this Course."

A NURSE writes: It has given me an aim in life, and has shown me how I can carry it out. It has made the world seem a much more interesting place to live in, and I feel more Self-Confident, with a more reliable Memory."

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

never dreamt I possessed, quite apart from being an investment that has paid for itself time and again. It has given me courage and enterprise to strike out on my own and has changed my environment and general outlook on life more than I should have thought possible."

The revised Pelman Course is now ready. It embodies the results of the latest discoveries in Psychology, and is based on the experience gained by the Institute in the course of training the minds of over 500,000 men and women. This Course is fully described in an interesting book entitled 'The Efficient Mind,' a copy of which can be obtained free of charge by any reader who applies for it to-day.

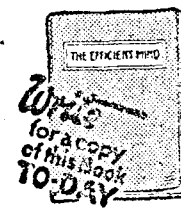
Pelmanism is quite easy and simple to follow. It only takes up a few minutes daily.

The books are printed in a handy "pocket size," so that you can study them in odd moments during the day. Even the busiest man or woman can spare a few minutes daily for Pelmanism. Write or Call To-day.

Here is the coupon, Post

it to-day to the Pelman Institute, Indian Head quarters, Delhi 8, and by return you will receive a free copy of 'The Efficient Mind,' together with particulars showing how you can enrol for a course of Pelmanism on the most convenient terms.

Readers who can call at the Institute will be cordially welcomed.



POST THIS FREE COUPON TO-DAY.

To the PELMAN INSTITUTE,

Indian Headquarters, Delhi 8,

Please send me gratis and post-free, a copy of 'THE EFFICIENT MIND,' with full particulars showing how I can enrol for revised Pelman Course on the most convenient terms.

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All Correspondence is Confidential. This Coupon can be posted in an OPEN envelope for ½ a.

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E. Dec. '29.

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PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—BOMBAY TO LONDON.

Steamers.	Tons.	Sailing About	Steamers.	Tons.	Sailing About
S. S. "Viceroy of India"	16,008	14th Dec 1929	S. S. "Rajputana"	16,568	18th Jan. 1930
" "Rawalpindi"	16,614	21st " "	" "Ranchi"	16,650	25th " "
" "Kaiser i Hind"	11,518	28th " "	" "Mooltan"	20,847	1st Feb. "
" "Markunda"	16,572	4th Jan. 1930	" "Morea"	10,954	8th " "
" "Ranpura"	16,601	11th " "	" "Mantua"	10,946	15th " "

Through Steamers from Australia † Through Steamers from China.*

PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—CALCUTTA TO LONDON.

STEAMER	TONS	SAILING ABOUT
S. S. "Novara"	7,000	22nd February 1930.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS FROM CALCUTTA & MADRAS TO LONDON.

Steamers		Tons.	Sailing About	
			From Calcutta	From Madras
S. S.	" Mantola "	9,065	7th Dec 1929	13th Dec 1929
	" Mandala "	8,246	21st " "	25th " "
"	" Mauela "	8,303	4th Jan. 1930	8th Jan. 1930
"	" Merkara "	8,285	18th " "	22nd " "

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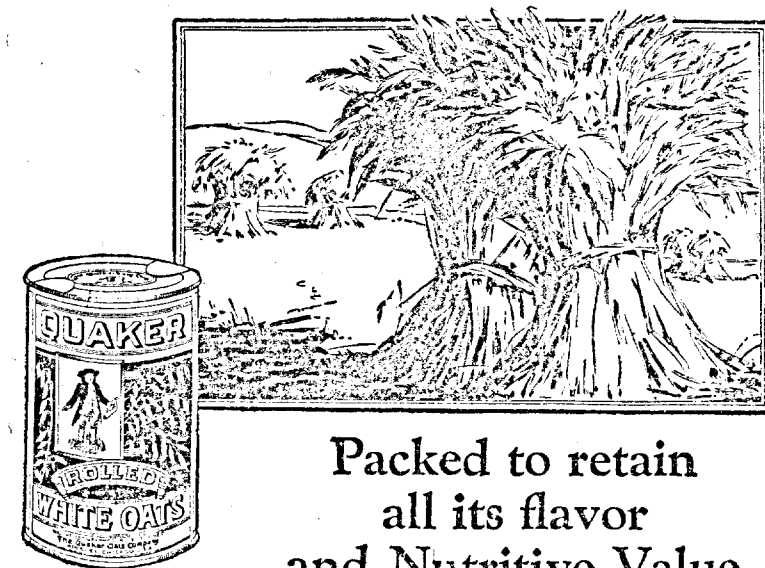
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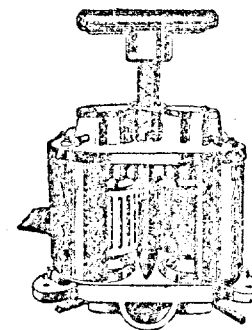
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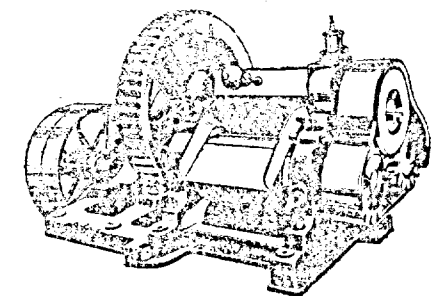
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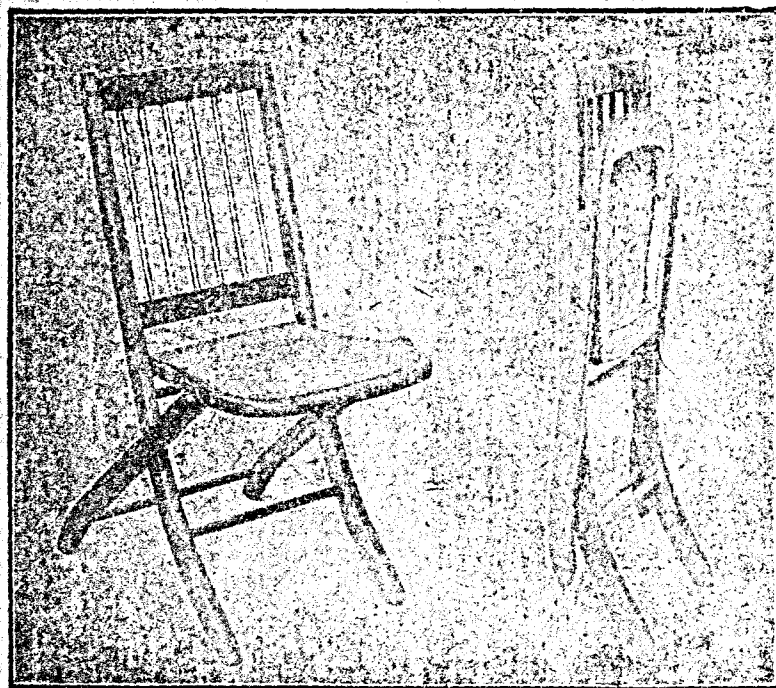
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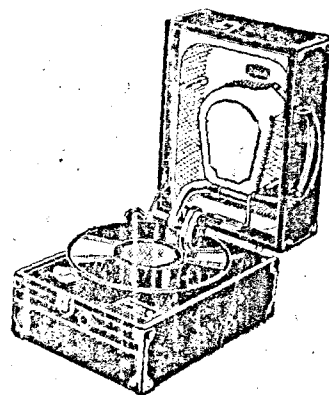
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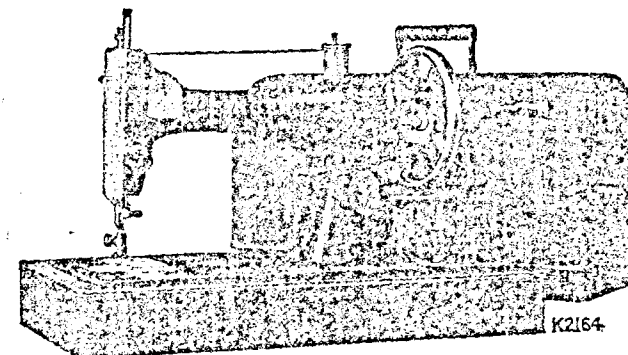
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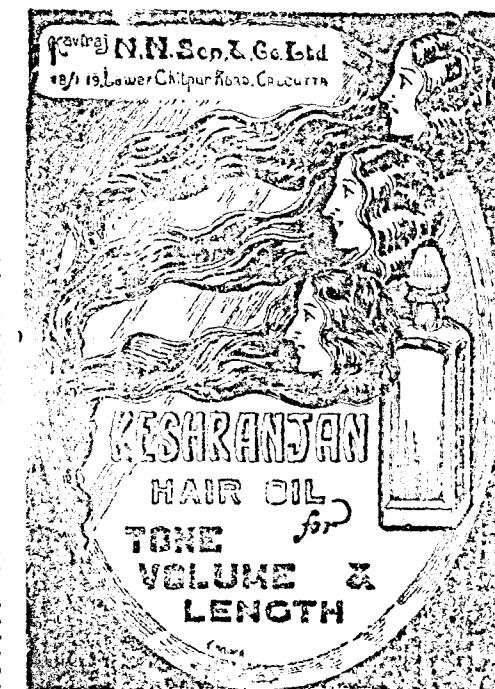
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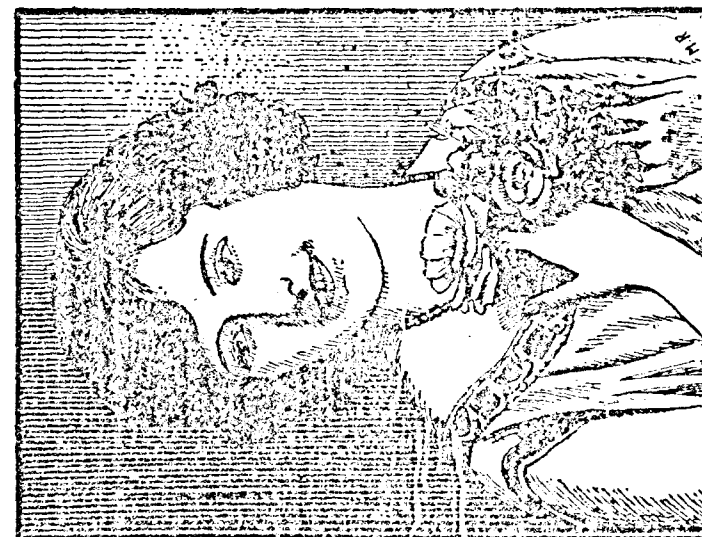
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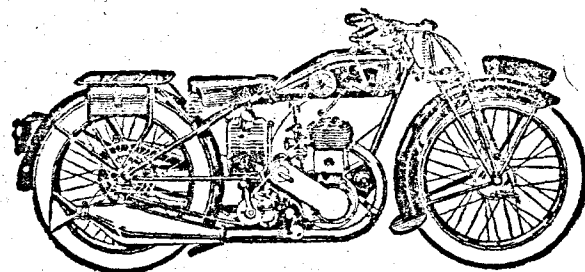
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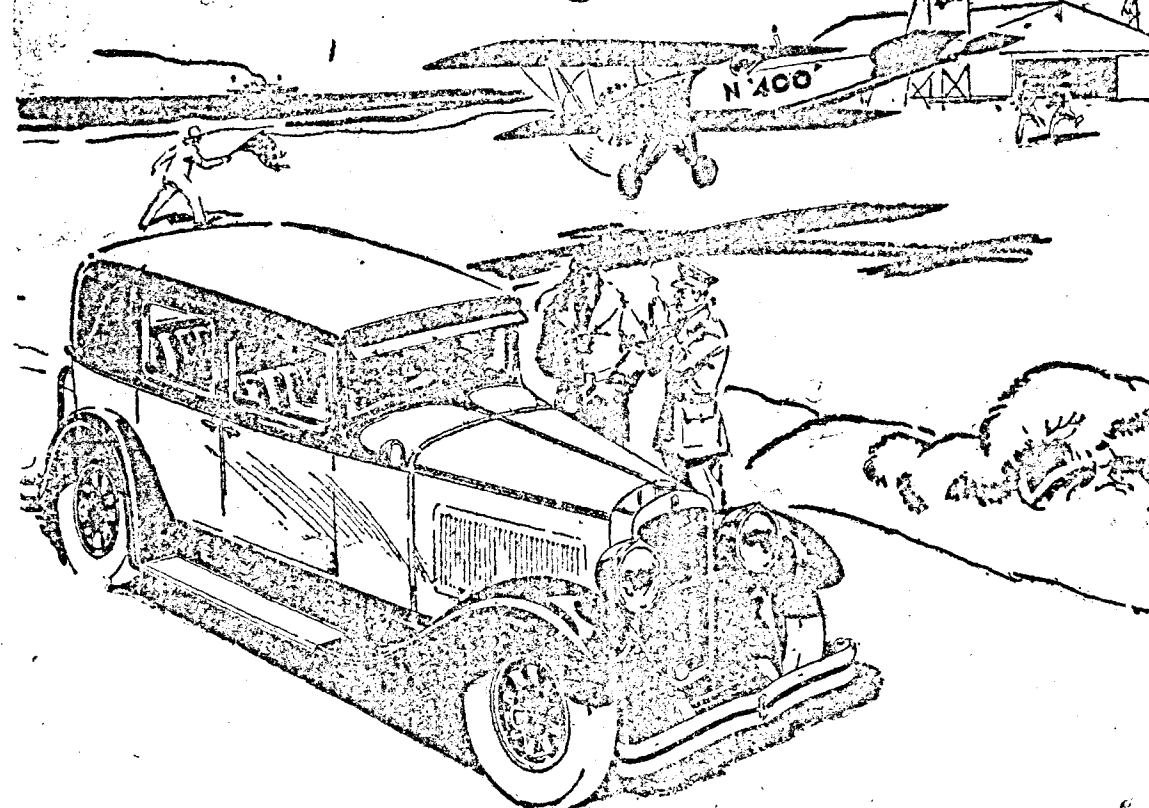
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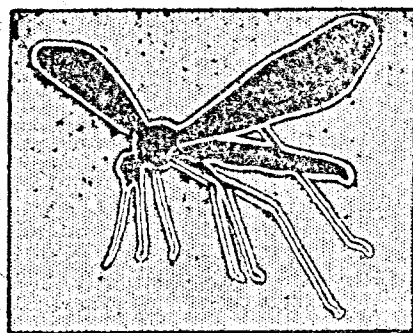
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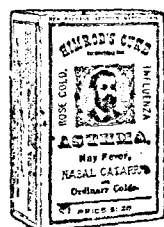
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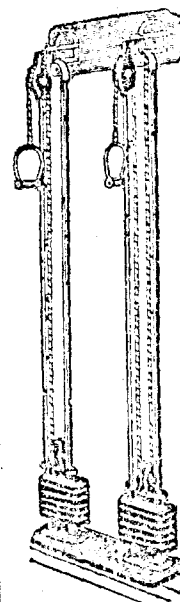
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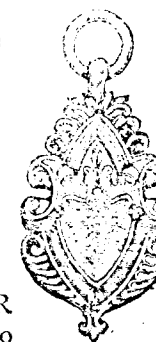
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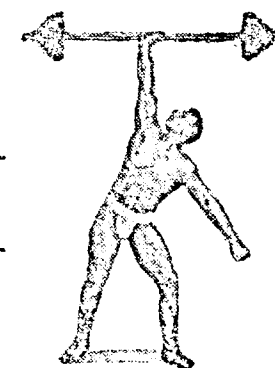
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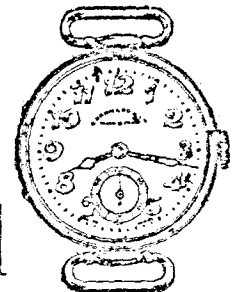
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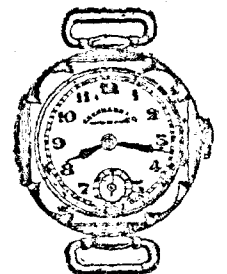
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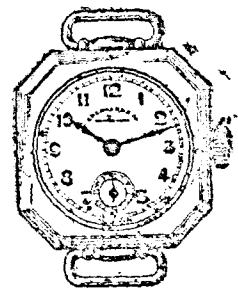
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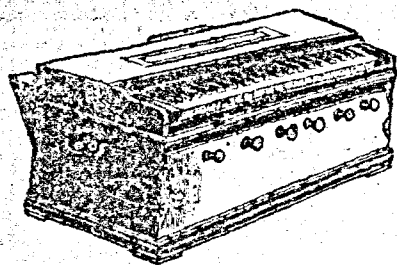
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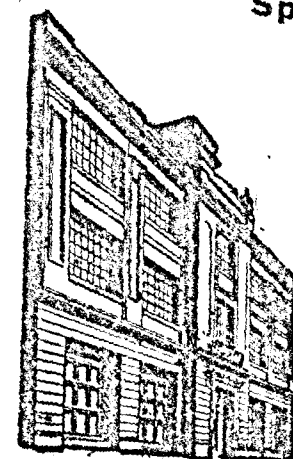
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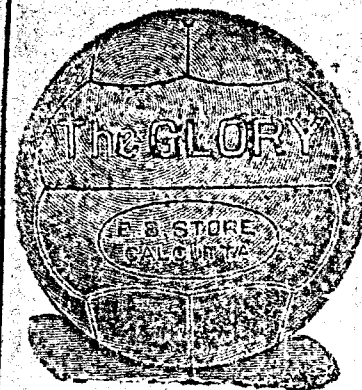
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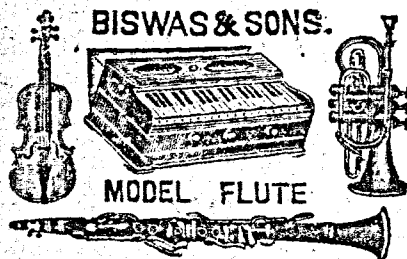
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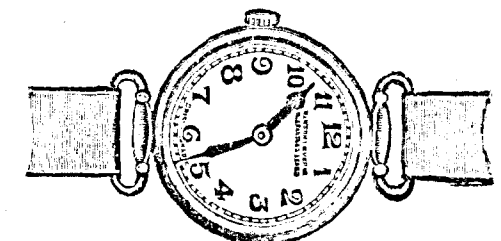
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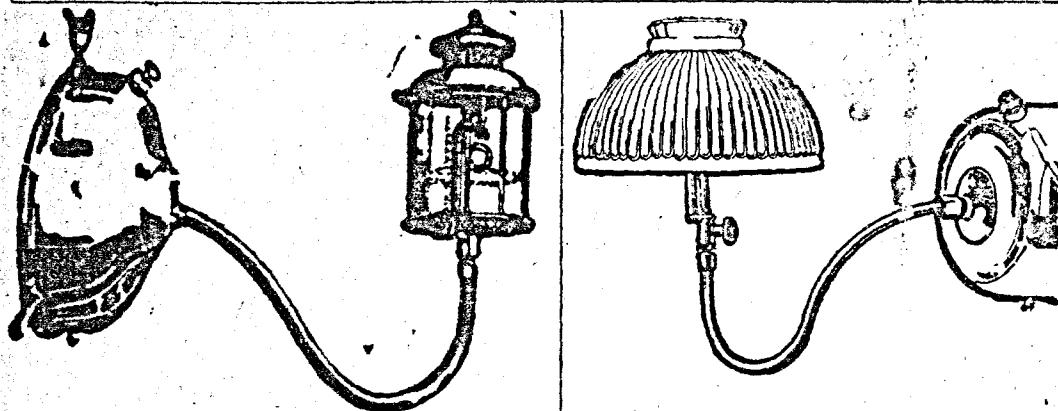
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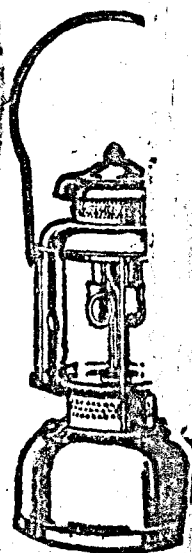
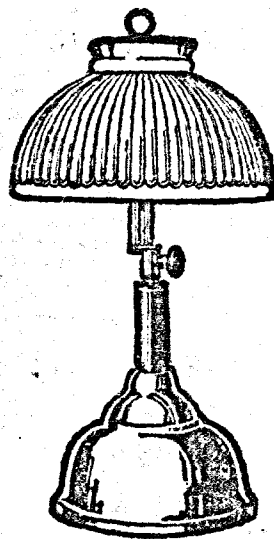
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