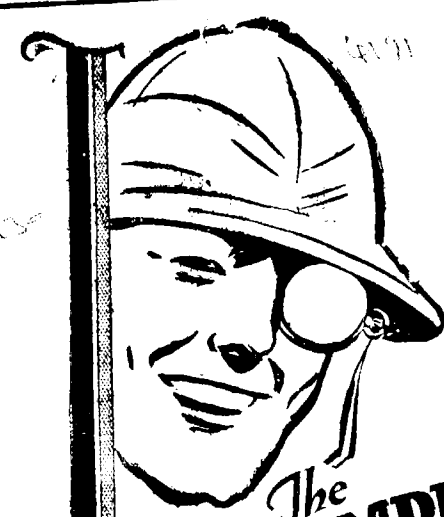
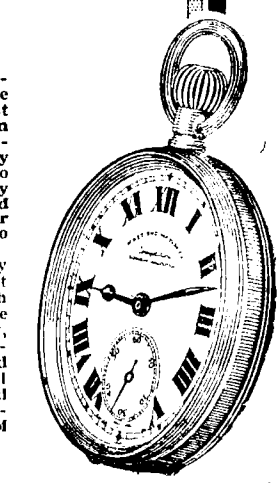
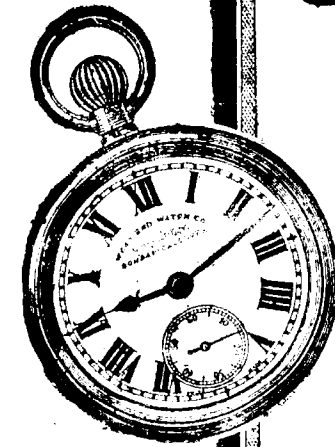


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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

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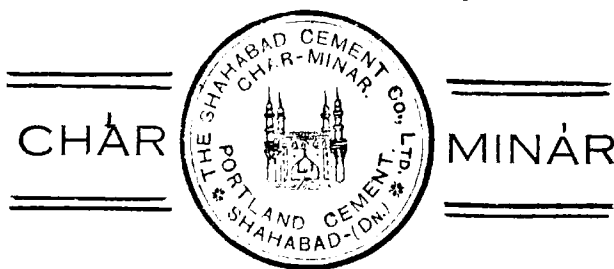
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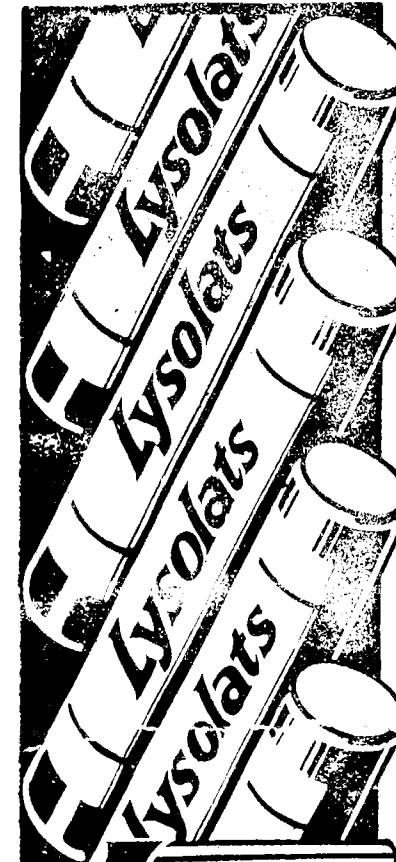
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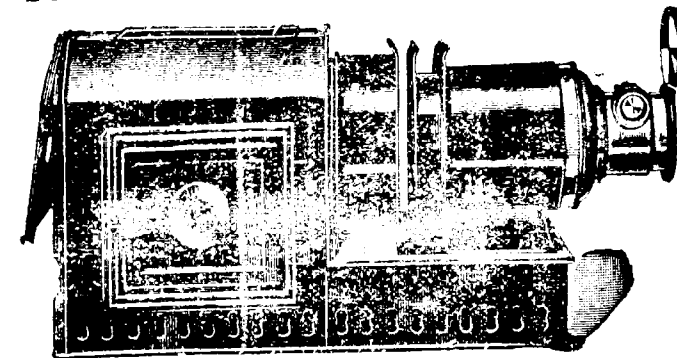
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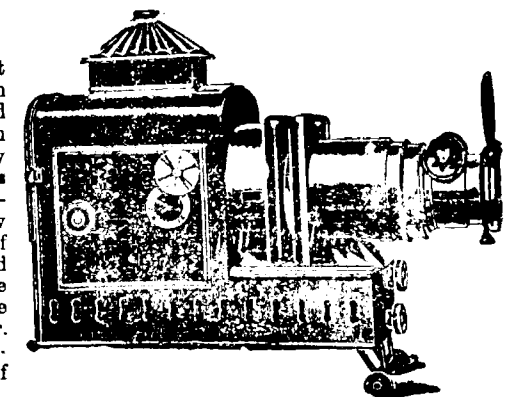
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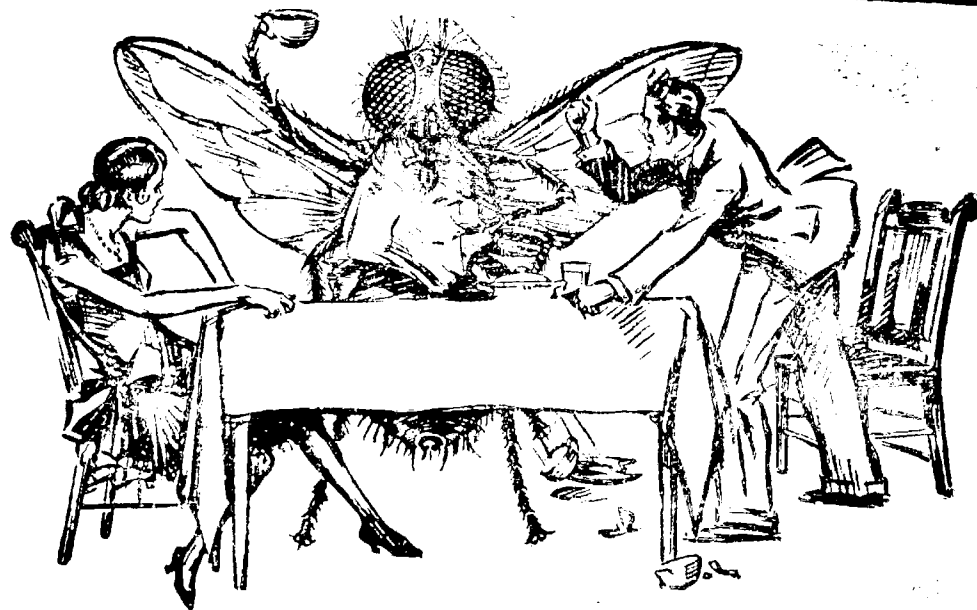


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VOL. XXXI.]

MAY 1930

[No. 5.

THE WAY OUT

BY

MR. G. A. NATESAN.

30 MAY 1930

EVEN to the most superficial observer, the state of things in the country for the last few weeks must be one of the deepest concern. It would be idle to conceal the fact that the country virtually is in a state of revolt. Mahatma Gandhi's campaign of Civil Disobedience and his gigantic efforts to break the salt laws by a series of "raids", though planned and conducted in the main in a non-violent manner, have given room to the unruly elements of the population in some places to commit serious acts of violence. It is distressing to read the accounts of the disorders at Calcutta, Peshawar, Karachi, Madras, Sholapur and a few other places. To crown all, the operations of a section of the revolutionaries at Chittagong have revealed to the public the perilous character of the present situation. The authorities who certainly have to put down breaches of law and order in any form have launched on a series of repressive measures culminating in the promulgation of the Press Ordinance and the proclamation of Martial Law at Sholapur. To one who reads daily the accounts of the march of hundreds of people for the manufacture of salt in utter defiance of all laws, the numerous arrests and imprisonments, the mammoth processions of the youth of the country particularly in the city of Bombay, the extraordinary interest evinced by women, young and old, in favour of the boycott of British

goods and their readiness to go to jail, must make one pause and ask, what does all this mean and where will it end? Matters have been brought to a climax by the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress which met recently at Allahabad. It has deliberately stated its opinion "that the moment has arrived for the entire nation to make a supreme effort and achieve the goal"—that is, of independence. And one shudders to think of the steps it has taken to achieve its objects,—the starting of a whirlwind campaign for the boycott of British goods, and a No-tax campaign, the breaking of forest laws and such other acts of civil disobedience. To realise the gravity of the situation, it has only to be remembered that this movement is to be started with a grim determination, even in some of the provinces where it has not made much headway. The duty of any Government is to govern, and even the Government of India, irresponsible as it is at present, must, of course, perform its primary function of preserving law and order. While therefore we recognize the legitimate duty of Government in that direction, we cannot conceal the fact that repression alone cannot solve the Indian problem at the present moment. You may disagree with Mahatma Gandhi, you may rightly condemn his civil disobedience campaign, but you cannot ignore the fact that to millions of his countrymen and even

to those who differ strongly from him, he is the personification of the yearning of the country and its struggle for Swaraj.

It is well to recognise that the root cause of the present trouble is the loss of faith in British promises and pledges. Such deep distrust is not of sudden origin. It has existed for a long time, past. The late Sir Valentine Chirol has publicly given expression to this. And not long ago, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri referred to "the wreck of hope and faith in the Government" and that in the presence of a former Viceroy and on the occasion of a distinguished gathering of officials and non-officials that met to give him a send off to the Imperial Conference. It is to the credit of H. E. Lord Irwin that he recognised this feeling of distrust, and in his address to the Central Legislature last year, assured the people of India on behalf of His Majesty's Government that there was no intention on its part to go back on its past pledges. His Excellency's timely statement did ease the situation a little. Indeed the announcement of the Round Table Conference in October last certainly went further in that direction. But, unfortunately, the good effect of His Excellency's pronouncement was utterly marred by the wild criticism of Mr. Lloyd George and the Die-Hards among the British politicians and the Press. If the Viceroy, whose undoubted sincerity and sympathy with Indian aspirations is admitted by all, had been able to bring about an earlier announcement regarding the date of the Round Table Conference and its terms of reference it would really have been a message of peace and it is doubtful if the civil disobedience movement would have been started. But as it is, it must be confessed that his last announcement and the appeal to the Indian public has not been received with that warmth and enthusiasm which the authorities expected.

It seems to us that the only way out is to recognise the need for mutual endeavour on the

part of the Government and Mr. Gandhi to a proper understanding. Surely a settlement which will affect the prestige neither of the Government nor of the originator of the present civil disobedience movement could easily be found.

As a preliminary to achieve the object in view the suggestion of the Council of the National Liberal Federation for a Conference between the Viceroy and the Leaders of Indian opinion ought to receive very careful consideration. At this gathering the Viceroy should somehow or other manage to make it clear that the object of the Round Table Conference is the establishment of a Dominion constitution subject to the necessary safeguards for such period of transition as may be necessary. It is equally necessary that simultaneous with this the leaders of the civil disobedience movement should restore normal conditions by the cessation of those activities which are a challenge to law, and Government should release all political prisoners, who were not guilty of any violence.

In making the suggestion we quite realise the difficulties with which the present Labour Government has to contend with and the delicacy of the step which we urge Lord Irwin to take. But we venture to think that the great respect which Lord Irwin commands in England from all Parties must be utilised by him to press on the attention of the authorities at home the immediate need there is for saving India by a declaration like the one suggested above. And such a declaration could easily be made in an announcement setting forth the terms of reference to the Round Table Conference and that almost immediately after the publication of the Report of the Simon Commission. If the Viceroy succeeds in this, he will have undoubtedly paved the way not only for a better atmosphere for the Round Table Conference, but for the peace of the country as well.

Thoughts on the Political Situation

BY

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I.

THE arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and his incarceration have deeply stirred public feeling throughout the length and breadth of India and are events the full consequences of which it is not easy to calculate. His saintly character, the purity of his life, his lofty ideals, his spirit of self abnegation and his burning patriotism have justly earned for him the profound respect of his countrymen and the admiration of many in the civilised world. He has acquired an influence over the minds of the millions of India to an extent probably unsurpassed in the history of India and certainly unparalleled within living memory. Nourished upon the teaching of the Prince of Peace who died about 2,000 years ago, he has preached the gospel of non-violence as an invincible weapon against every evil force in the world. That the Government should have been driven to arrest a high-souled patriot like him is nothing less than a mournful tragedy. It has evoked protests from many quarters and there have been countless demonstrations of popular feeling of an unmistakable character. Apart from the public meetings held all over the country, there have been many resignations by public men of seats in the Legislative Councils and of other public offices like membership of Benches of Magistrates. The arrest has been condemned by many a journal as a culminating act of political unwisdom. There are some who consider the time and manner of arrest as unwise and there are many more who object on principle to the use of an antiquated regulation for dealing with State-offences the repeal of which was recommended by the Repressive Laws Committee nine years ago.

A dispassionate survey of the existing situation, the trend of political forces and the remedies which

have been suggested for easing the situation is necessary at this juncture. That the arrest of the Mahatma is deplorable will be gainsaid by no one. But could it have been avoided? The campaign of mass civil disobedience which was launched some weeks ago was admittedly intended not merely to break the Salt Law, but as a step in a programme for undermining the authority of Government, producing a feeling of disregard and defiance of the law of the land and rendering it impossible for the Government to carry on its essential functions by depriving it of that moral support which is the necessary foundation of any Government. It is nothing less than a crusade against Government and against law and order.

It is contended that the campaign is carried on by non-violent methods and that mass civil disobedience carried on without recourse to violence is an inherent civil right of the people. This contention involves legal and political issues of the highest importance. Ever since the internment of Mrs. Besant in 1917, it has been the fashion to appeal to the authority of Thoreau and other doctrinaires in justification of the policy of passive resistance or civil disobedience. Civil disobedience wears a different aspect, according as it is individual or collective. The legal and political aspects of the question have to be carefully distinguished. It is often suggested that any individual citizen has the right to break any law of the land of which he may disapprove. From the legal point of view, this is altogether a fallacy. Any person may disobey any law of the land; but he does so at his peril. There is no such thing as a legal right to disobey any law, and the State is entitled and bound to punish any infraction of the law. Even a conscientious objector can only

claim that he is morally justified by his conscience in breaking a law which he considers to be unrighteous. If individual civil disobedience is not legally justifiable, mass civil disobedience is still less so. This aspect of the question has not been ignored by Mr. Gandhi. For he has impressed upon his followers that they must cheerfully submit to all the legal consequences by way of punishment which may follow their breaches of the law. Whether from the legal or the moral point of view, collective action is far more serious in its consequences than individual action, and the State would be justified in dealing with the former with greater severity.

The legal aspect of civil disobedience by no means covers the whole ground. There are undoubtedly occasions in the history of a country, when it may become the moral duty of a citizen to express his disapproval of a bad law by disobeying it. But under what conditions does this moral right arise? It must be remembered that the general exercise of the right to set up one's own conscience above the law whenever any one disapproves of any law must engender a habit of lawlessness and end in the disruption of society. No state can allow every one the moral right to be a law unto himself. Under any system of well-ordered government, there are ways and means for a citizen who disapproves of a law to obtain its repeal or amendment by constitutional methods, by enlisting public opinion in his favour and by making representations to the Government. As a rule, a civilised Government will naturally listen to all just and reasonable representations and alter its measures and policy in accordance with public opinion. The occasions for resort to passive resistance to, or disobedience of, a law by the people at large should be rare. Occasions may arise when a people may desire to change the system of administration and bring about a change in the political constitution. Here also, there are lawful as well as unlawful methods

of bringing about such a change. A people must first exhaust every means of persuading the Government of the need for an alteration of the constitution and seek to bring it about by peaceful methods without subverting the authority of the Government. No wise Government can afford to ignore the united voice of a people. It is only when all such peaceful methods fail, and as a last resort, that a people would be justified in taking the extreme step of disobeying, defying and resisting the Government. Such occasions cannot arise under a system of responsible Government. They may, however, arise under a system of irresponsible Government, especially by one nation of another. In such cases, the issue between the Government and the people is not a legal one, but a political issue of the most serious import. The question for consideration would be whether a rebellion or a revolt against the State is justifiable. Many people in India seem to imagine that mass civil disobedience of the Government is constitutional, so long as it is conducted without recourse to arms or violence. This is an egregious mistake. The employment of violence, or non-employment of it in no way detracts from its character of a revolutionary movement. The subversion of the Government by methods intended to destroy its authority and render it incapable of functioning is the essential characteristic of a revolution. A crusade against the Government and against law and authority with the object of completely paralysing it is just as revolutionary as an armed rebellion or a *coup d'état* and must be judged and dealt with by the same standards and methods that are applicable to the latter. For the reason that no organised society can exist without preservation of law and order and that some form of Government is preferable to anarchy, the government of a country would be justified in maintaining law and order by putting down any revolutionary movement. It would be justified in employing the forces at its disposal to

secure these primary conditions of social existence.

On the other hand, if the ordinary rights and liberties of the citizens are trampled under foot, the tyranny and oppression of the Government become unbearable and as it is not possible to secure redress by lawful methods, the subjects would be morally justified in rising against the Government. But no reasonable person acquainted with the conditions in this country can pretend for a moment that the administration of this country is characterised by such misrule as would justify a rebellion. Nor is it possible to contend that the peaceful and constitutional methods of securing a change in the administration have been exhausted. It may be admitted that the political aspirations of the country have not been satisfied and that there are reactionary sections of public opinion in England stoutly opposed to them. But so long as it is possible to secure the fulfilment of these aspirations by constitutional methods, it would be injurious to the best interests of the country to promote a movement which is bound to plunge it in anarchy and disaster. The advocates of civil disobedience imagine that the spirit of lawlessness or law-breaking once roused can be laid to rest when the right occasion has passed. This attitude is of course intelligible in a disciple of Tolstoy, the anarchist genius. Every citizen who cares for the peaceful progress of the country is bound to give his support to the forces of law and order against disorder and anarchy. Tried by the standards by which alone a rebellion can be justified, the civil disobedience movement lacks justification. What is the duty of the Government when faced with a movement of a revolutionary character? No one would suggest that its duty begins and ends with the suppression of the revolutionary movement. Side by side with the primary duty of maintaining law and order as the essential foundation of society, it has to conciliate the people by bringing the system of administra-

tion into accord with public opinion and securing popular support.

It is difficult to understand the attitude of those who counsel the Government to look with folded arms on the wide-spread growth of the movement of civil disobedience and take no steps to check or suppress it. They conceive that the only duty of the Government of India is to concede all the demands of Mahatma Gandhi, and that it is the only means which they would be justified in employing for the purpose of preserving law and order. But this attitude is based upon a very imperfect appreciation of the difficulties by which the Government is confronted. The Government have declared their willingness to discuss the problems of constitutional reform with public men, representative of the important communities in India, and arrive at a solution acceptable to all parties. The question of Dominion Status is open to discussion at the Round Table Conference. The whole problem can be discussed at that Conference and it will not be deemed to be concluded by the *ipse dixit* of Sir John Simon and his colleagues. Is it possible for the Labour Government to go further at this stage? Is it possible for them to ignore the Simon Commission which was appointed by Parliament with the concurrence of all parties and pre-judge the question in disregard of constitutional usages? Even with the best of intentions, it would be difficult for the Labour Government to adopt this course, and if they did, there is every likelihood of their being turned out of office by the combined opposition of the other parties. The Labour Party in England is the party which is the most sympathetic towards Indian aspirations and if the Labour Government should fall, it is bound seriously to affect the prospects of constitutional reform and retard the fulfilment of our aspirations.

In an interview given by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, he said he realised these difficulties, but he wanted the Government to

promise definitely that they would support the demand for immediate Dominion Status. In the nature of things, it is difficult to see how it would be possible for the Government to give such a guarantee beforehand. Mr. Gandhi's own demands have not always been the same. He declared for Independence at the Lahore Congress and in the interview referred to, he wanted immediate Dominion Status. At an earlier stage, he put forward 11 points which, he said, must be conceded before he could think of attending the Round Table Conference. Many of his 11 points are of an utterly impracticable nature and are rather questions to be tackled by the Government of India itself when it becomes responsible. It is urged in some quarters that the problem is one in which the Parliament should have no voice and that it is entirely a question for self-determination by the people of India. Unfortunately, there has been no agreement arrived at between the majority and minority communities in the country, and there are many responsible leaders who declare that it is impossible to arrive at any agreement at this stage, and that the solution should be put off to the Round Table Conference. If it is possible for the different communities in India to arrive at some reasonable and enduring basis of agreement, it will immensely strengthen our hands, and the British Government will find it difficult to resist the demand of a united India. But should these differences between the communities persist even in the Round Table Conference, how are they to be settled except by the arbitrament of Britain or the sword? If our differences should not be settled between ourselves or by the British Government, a civil war must be the inevitable result. Mr. Gandhi's own solution of the question of minorities cannot possibly commend itself to the communities concerned or to any thoughtful person. His solution is that the majority should in every case allow the minorities to take everything they

want and that the majority should be satisfied with the remainder. His solution may therefore be dismissed as impracticable. If we are really keen about the attainment of our goal, it will be most impolitic to reject the hand of friendship extended by the Labour Party and press them to take steps which will lead to their downfall.

Assuming that a campaign of civil disobedience may be justifiable, one cannot help thinking that Mr. Gandhi made a great tactical blunder in starting it before the publication of the report of the Simon Commission and before giving time to the British Government to consider it. The declaration of policy which he is now demanding could then be demanded with greater show of reason. Having regard to the difficulties with which the British Government and the Government of India are faced, and the unavoidable interval which must necessarily precede any declaration of policy, it is difficult to understand the expediency of the policy which has been recommended by the Indian Press to the Government of India, that they should remain benevolent spectators of the civil disobedience movement and take no steps to maintain law and order. It has been suggested, and Mr. Gandhi himself maintains the view, that he is not responsible for the outbreaks of violence and lawlessness which have occurred in different parts of the country. There need be no doubt that Mr. Gandhi himself sincerely believes in non-violence and has succeeded in instilling a belief in non-violence in the minds of many of his followers. It may also be conceded that, on the whole, wide-spread as the agitation is, the outbreaks of violence have been comparatively few. But such of them as have occurred are sufficiently serious. The happenings at Karachi, Calcutta, Peshawar, Delhi and Sholapur are some of the prominent instances of lawless outbreaks. It is impossible for any movement which aims at disobedience of the law of the land to maintain a peaceful character. If out-

breaks of lawlessness are the natural consequences of such a movement and must be foreseen, those who have initiated the movement cannot disclaim responsibility. We may refer also to the many instances of terrorism, social persecution and oppression necessarily involved in the extensive employment of picketing. Picketing is seldom peacefully carried out and involves no little interference with the rights and liberties of persons.

The question whether Mr. Gandhi should have been arrested and interned reduces itself to one of high policy in the interests of law and order. In the case of a person like Mahatma Gandhi, a popular hero who is leading a movement for the overthrow of the Government, it is an exceedingly difficult question to decide whether and at what moment he should be arrested. To have left him at large with liberty to preach his gospel of civil disobedience with his enormous personal influence would have undoubtedly meant giving the freest scope to the further spread of the campaign. On the other hand, it is contended, not without some force, that his influence has exercised a check on the violent revolutionaries of young India. It is difficult to say which is more difficult for the Government to deal with, the campaign of civil disobedience with the steady sapping of the moral authority of the Government leading to its total paralysis or the sporadic outbreaks of the violent terrorist organisation. The view that the former movement is more dangerous and inimical to the maintenance of Government cannot be said to be unreasonable.

Again, there are some who think that the arrest should have taken place at the beginning of the movement and that it is inopportune now, as the strength of the movement is declining. It is not possible to accept the view that the movement was declining at the time of Mr. Gandhi's arrest. The question of the expediency of arrest and the exact time of arrest are matters which must be

left to be decided by the executive Government upon their own responsibility.

There are others who think that the arrest of Mr. Gandhi must produce wide-spread disaffection among the people. But if it has the effect of preventing people from committing breaches of the law, it cannot be said that it will serve no purpose. On the whole, one cannot find fault with the Viceroy for having given a long rope to the Mahatma and for not having interfered at an earlier stage to check his activities.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing remarks that the Government have been justified in all the measures they have taken in dealing with this extraordinary situation. It is conceded that the employment of anything more than the minimum force for dealing with law-breakers is not justifiable. Whether these limits have been exceeded or not is a question of fact. But having regard to the complaints which have appeared from responsible persons in different parts of the country, it is not unlikely that the limits of justifiable force may have been exceeded by the police in some instances. It behoves the Government to impress upon their officers the supreme necessity of restricting the employment of force to the barest limits of necessity.

As regards legislative ordinances passed by the Government, the Bengal ordinance may be justified by the activities of the terrorist organisation which came into public view at Chittagong. The ordinance for the speedier trial of the Lahore conspiracy and for putting an end to the scandalous, if unavoidable, delay in the trial of the accused may be justifiable. The revival of the Press Ordinance in a much more drastic form than the previous law has justly evoked wide condemnation throughout the country. The manner in which the Act has been applied by the Executive is even more objectionable. No distinction seems to have been made between newspapers already in existence and those to be started after the passing

of the ordinance ; no warning or notice seems to have been given and large sums have been demanded by way of security on the very morrow of the issue of the ordinance. We cannot therefore be surprised at the decision of the proprietors of several of the newspapers to discontinue publication. The policy of sympathetic strike adopted by some of the journalists is, however, one of very questionable expediency as pointed out by Mr. Patel.

In the foregoing remarks, an attempt has been made to point out the necessity for making allowance for the difficulties under which the Labour Government is carrying on. But it is equally necessary to impress upon the Government the necessity for a full appreciation of the surge of national feeling in this country. The Government do not seem to have grasped the full extent and significance of the ferment of political unrest in India. There has been a remarkable growth of national consciousness and unless the Government can realise the depth and extent of the disaffection in the country and the urgent need for allaying all suspicions as to the sincerity of their desire to accelerate responsible Government, they are sure to commit mistakes in their policy towards India. There has been a rapid and remarkable change in the mentality of the people. The extent to which women have participated in the national movement is a phenomenon in the history of the country. The jail has lost its terrors for the people. The readiness with which people come forward to defy the law openly, and brave the authorities and are prepared to go to prison is a sure sign of the weakening hold of the Government. At an earlier stage it might have been possible to ascribe this readiness to a desire for cheap martyrdom, but when the offenders are becoming numerous and the punishments more severe and deterrent, the readiness with which volunteers come forward to take the place of those who have been imprisoned must

be ascribed to a real spirit of self-sacrifice. In passing, it may be remarked that the want of uniformity in the punishments inflicted is a matter which deserves the serious consideration of the Government even after making allowance for the necessary margin of discretion for the magistrates.

The signs of the times are apparent to all who can read them. The suspicion with which declarations as to the intentions of Government are regarded cannot be held to be altogether unwarranted. The speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and other members of Parliament after the declaration of October last, the enormous delay in the publication of the report of the Simon Commission the bungling of the tariff question in the last session of the Legislative Assembly and the insidious introduction of imperial preference, are some of the circumstances which have conspired to strengthen the pre-existing feeling of distrust.

What is the remedy then for allaying this suspicion and bringing about an understanding between the people and the Government? Unless some attempt is made to bring about a *rapprochement* between the Government and the people, the prospects of a successful issue of the Round Table Conference are very gloomy. The Government should take the earliest opportunity possible of declaring their willingness to consider the proposals put forward by the National Liberal Federation and grant an amnesty to all the political offenders who have been convicted in the course of the campaign of civil disobedience, provided they agree to the abandonment of the campaign. It is to be hoped that the popular leaders of this movement will also realise the cost of the struggle on which the country has embarked and the advantages of a peaceful negotiation at the Conference. If Mahatma Gandhi's campaign has served any purpose, it is the indubitable demonstration of the wide-spread character of the national movement and the futility of expecting to put it down by a mere policy of suppression. The tide of nationalism can not be checked by the measures of Mrs. Partington.

EUROPEAN SCHOLARS & SANSKRIT RESEARCH

BY MR. P. S. PHADNIS, B.A.

THE profound interest that is to-day being taken in the study of Sanskrit literature, all the world over, is due to the pioneering activities of European scholars, who through patient endeavour, got themselves acquainted with Sanskrit works, and opened up the rich literary treasures of the East for the delight of the whole world.

Prof. Winternitz in his History of Indian Literature has given us a brief survey of the beneficent activities of these scholars. It would indeed be interesting to recall to our mind what the learned professor has to say on this topic of profound interest.

THE EARLY EFFORTS

The beginnings of the study of Sanskrit literature by the Europeans were made as early as in the seventeenth century. These early efforts in the field of Sanskrit research, were, all of them, confined to travellers and missionaries. One such effort was that of the Dutchman Abraham Roger made in the year 1651. He was a preacher in Paliacatta (Pulicat), which is to the north of Madras. He published a book on the Brahmanic literature of the Hindus called "Open Door to the Hidden Heathendom". He also published a few of the proverbs of Bhatrihari. The latter were first translated for him by a Brahman into Portuguese.

In 1699 the Jesuit Father, Johann Ernest Hanxleden, visited India and worked for more than 30 years in the Malabar Mission. He was the first European to write a Sanskrit Grammar. His "Grammatica Granthamia Seu Samserdumica" was not, however, published. It was later on used by an Austrian Carmelite, Fra Paolino.

This Fra Paolino, was by far the most important of this band of Sanskritists. He worked as a missionary from 1776 to 1789 on the coast of

Malabar. He died in Rome in 1805. His writings which included two Sanskrit Grammars and several learned treatises show a great amount of knowledge about India and her religious literature.

THE FIRST FRUITFUL STIMULUS

The first fruitful stimulus to the study of Sanskrit literature emanated from no less important a personage than Warren Hastings—the founder of the British rule in India. Himself not much of a scholar, with his keen political sense, he perceived what an important bearing the study of Sanskrit literature by the English scholars would have on the relations between the English and the Natives. He realised the necessity of the rulers being well-informed of the social and religious practices and usages of the ruled, if that rule was to last long.

He proposed that the native scholars—the Shastris and Pandits—be allowed to attend the English law courts, that they may keep the presiding English judges informed of the precepts of the Hindu law on the points that came before them for decision.

In 1773 when he was made the Governor-General, and was invested with the supreme authority over the British possessions in India, he had a work compiled by the native scholars called "Vivadarnavasetu". This compilation of the Brahmanas dealt with all possible matters relating to the Hindu law—inheritance, family law etc. The work was originally written in Sanskrit and the difficulty of translating it into English was overcome by first translating it into Persian. From Persian it was translated into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhead. In the year 1776, the work was published by the East India Company under the title, "A Code of Gentoo law."

THE ENGLISH ORIENTALISTS

Warren Hastings wanted Englishmen to take up the study of Sanskrit works. Charles Wilkins was the first Englishman, who, at his request, acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit from the Pandits at Benares—which, then, was a great centre of Sanskrit learning. As a result of his Sanskrit studies in 1785, he published an English translation of the Hindu philosophical poem, *Bhagavad-Gita*. It was an event in Oriental Scholarship. For the first time, a Sanskrit work was directly translated into English. This first effort was followed by many others. In 1787, followed the translation of the book of fables—*Hitopadesa*. In 1795 was published the translation of the *Sakuntala* episode from the *Mahabharata*. His Sanskrit Grammar was published in 1808. He also translated a few of the Indian inscriptions.

A bright luminary now dawned on the horizon of Oriental Scholarship in the person of the indefatigable William Jones who delighted the lovers of Sanskrit literature by the brilliance of his wit and scholarship. Early in youth, Jones had cultivated a taste for Oriental literature by his reading of the Arabic and Persian poetry. Several of the Arabic and Persian poems he had himself translated into English. Jones experienced little difficulty in transferring his love for Arabic and Persian to the study of Sanskrit. In the second year of his residence in India as the Chief Justice at Fort William, he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the promotion of Sanskrit learning. For many years he acted as its president. The Society under his expert guidance ably served the cause that it espoused. It produced authoritative editions of several Sanskrit texts and published from time to time a large number of valuable periodicals connected therewith. By far the most important of William Jones's productions was his translation of Kalidasa's celebrated drama, "*Sakuntala*". This work which for the first time introduced the

prince of Indian playwrights to the Western reading public was published in 1789. A couple of years later, a German rendering of it appeared and won for Kalidasa the unstinted praise from the German poet Goethe. Jones's translation of the *Law-book of Manu* which appeared in 1794 under the title "*Institutes of Hindu Law, or the Ordinances of Manu*" ranked next in importance to his work on "*Sakuntala*". Weimar immediately translated it into German.

HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE

Jones's place in the literary realm was soon filled in by Henry Thomas Colebrooke. Colebrooke had entered the Bengal services as a youth of seventeen. Not until Jones's demise, he felt inclined to take up the work of Sanskrit research. In 1797 and 1798 was published Colebrooke's translation of a legal treatise on the Hindu law of succession and contract compiled by the native scholars. This work was entitled "*A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions*". Unlike his predecessor, Colebrooke was more of a scientific bent of mind and chose to dive deep into the mysteries of philosophical, astronomical and philological speculations. In the year 1805 appeared his now famous essay "*On the Vedas*" dispelling for the first time the cloud of oblivion that enshrouded the earliest sacred writings of the Hindus. Besides, he edited the *Amarakosa*, the grammar of Panini, and several other works of note. He deciphered a large number of inscriptions. The cost of his private collection of Indian manuscripts, now forming part of the India Office Library in London, of which, on return to England, he made a gift to the East India Company, is estimated to £ 10,000.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

The profound significance of the apparently common-place event of the translation into German of every English work connected with Sanskrit research is brought home to our mind on

reading the life-story of Alexander Hamilton. Like Jones and Colebrooke, he too had taken to the study of Sanskrit towards the close of the 18th century. On his return to Europe in 1802, he made a halt at Paris. It rendered possible his acquaintance with Schlegel and laid deep the foundations of Sanskrit scholarship in Germany.

BROTHERS SCHLEGEL

The Romantic School in Germany headed by the Schlegel brothers felt a special attraction towards Sanskrit literature. Friedrich Schlegel expected from India nothing less than "the unfolding of the history of the primeval world which up till now is shrouded in darkness; and lovers of poetry hoped, especially since the appearance of the *Sakuntala* to glean thence many similar beautiful creations of the Asiatic spirit, animated, as in this case, by grace and love." One who pinned such profound faith on the study of Sanskrit literature, no wonder, did not let go the opportunity that beneficent Providence afforded him of learning Sanskrit from one who had long stayed in India and was himself a perfect Sanskrit scholar. He made Alexander Hamilton his guru. In the years 1803 and 1804, he received instruction from him and spent the rest of his days in studying the Indian manuscripts in the Paris Library. These numbered about 200. The outcome of his labours was the publication in 1808 of a book entitled "*Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Altertumskunde*". Through the publication of this work, Friedrich Schlegel became the founder of Indian philology in Germany. The book also contained translations of passages from the *Ramayana*, *Manu's Law-book*, *Bhagavad-Gita*, etc., for the first time translated direct from Sanskrit into German.

Friedrich Schlegel's brother August Wilhelm von Schlegel far outshone his brother in the extent of his work in the field of Sanskrit research. Like his brother, he too learnt Sanskrit in Paris

but from a different master. His teacher was a Frenchman, A. L. Chezy. Chezy was the first Sanskrit Professor at the College de France. His disciple August Wilhelm von Schlegel became the first Sanskrit Professor in Germany and was in that capacity invited, in 1818, by the newly-founded University of Bonn. In the year 1823, appeared the first volume of the periodical "*Indische Bibliothek*". Most of the essays on Indian philology that it contained were from the pen of its distinguished founder August Wilhelm von Schlegel. In the same year he published a good edition of the *Bhagavad-Gita* with a Latin translation. By far the most important of his publications—an excellent edition of the *Ramayana* unfortunately remained unfinished.

FRAZ BOPP

Like his contemporary August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Franz Bopp learnt Sanskrit from Chezy in Paris. Unlike the Schlegel brothers he was not a literary adventurer. The path that he had chalked out for himself was that of a sober investigator. His ambition did not long remain unfulfilled. The publication of his book "*Ueber das Conjugations-system der Sanskrit sprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache*", in 1816, established his claim to the title of the founder of the new science of Comparative Philology. His "*Conjugations System*" contained episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. These were metrical translations of the original texts. Bopp showed the remarkable skill, characteristic of a literary connoisseur, in singling out the *Nala-Damayanti* episode, as the best specimen of beautiful Sanskrit poetry, from the *Mahabharata*. He made it universally accessible by publishing a good critical edition of it with Latin.

WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT

The study of Sanskrit was exceptionally fortunate in that it received the attentions of 'the ingenious, versatile and influential' Wilhelm von

Hasan Bin Sabbah, Founder of the Assassins

BY MR. A. HAMEED HASAN, B.A., LL. B. (Alig.)

Humboldt. He realised that "without as thorough as possible a study of Sanskrit, very little can be accomplished either in philology or in that kind of history which is connected with it" and started the study of Sanskrit in 1821. The Hindu philosophical poem Bhagavad-Gita, popularised in Germany by Schlegel's edition of it, profoundly impressed him. To Fr. von Gentz he wrote, "It is perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show". Once again when he sent his work on Bhagavad-Gita to his friend he wrote, "I read the Indian poem for the first time in the country in Silesia, and my constant feeling while doing so was gratitude to Fate for having permitted me to live long enough to become acquainted with this book". Mention must also be made of the German poet Friedrich Ruckert. Through his inimitable translations the gems of Indian epic and lyric poetry gained currency in the German literary world.

THE YEAR 1830

The year 1830 was a landmark in the history of Oriental Scholarship. All attempts by the European scholars at the opening up of the Sanskrit literature previous to the year 1830 were mainly confined to the investigation of the Classical Sanskrit literature. The vast region of Vedic literature, except for the solitary effort of Colebrooke made in 1805, lay unexplored. The Buddhist literature also was a sealed book. The Upanishads, the philosophic treatises belonging to the Vedas, were not so completely in the dark. They had already been translated into Persian in the 17th century by the unfortunate Prince Dara, brother of Aurangzeb. In the beginning of the 19th century, the French scholar Anquetil du Perron translated them into Latin and published his work under the title "Oupnek'hat". This work full of blemishes and imperfections is of importance in the history of learning because it awakened the enthusiasm for Indian philosophy of the German philosophers Schelling and

especially Schopenhauer "Oupnek'hat" was "the production of the highest human wisdom". At a time when he was busy adding his own ideas into the Upanishadic thought, there lived in India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the "Brahmo Samaj". He gleaned the inspiration of his new faith out of the same Upanishads that had set the philosophic brain of Schopenhauer thinking.

THE STANDARD-BEARER OF VEDIC SCHOLARSHIP

The French Orientalist, Eugene Burnouf, of the College de France, has undoubtedly been the standard-bearer of Vedic scholarship in Europe. He unfurled the banner of Vedic learning in the early forties of the 19th century and gathered round him a circle of prominent Vedic Sanskritists. One of his pupils, Rudolph Roth, originated the Vedic studies in Germany by the publication of his book "Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda" in 1846. Max Muller carried out his project of publishing the hymns of the Rig-Veda with Sayana's commentary in the years 1849-1875. Th. Aufrecht produced a handy edition of the hymns of the Rig-Veda (1861-1863)

The self-same Eugene Burnouf, the founder of the Vedic Scholarship in Europe, by his publications of "Essai sur le Pali" and "Introduction a l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien" laid the foundation in Europe of the study of Pali and set afloat the barge of the investigation of Buddhist literature.

EMINENT ORIENTALISTS

INDIAN, ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN, AMERICAN

Among the Orientalists studied are: Sir William Jones, Sir Charles Wilkins, Colebrooke, Horace Wilson, George Turnour, Fergusson, Rajendralal Mitra, Telang, Bhau Daji and Indrajit, Dr. Buhler, Monier Williams, Max Muller, Sir John Fleet, Edwin Arnold, Nivedita, Griffith, Whitney, Vincent Smith, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Anundoram Boroach, Bhandarkar, Macdonnell, A.B. Keith Paul Deussen and Sylvain Levi.

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

THE word "Assassin" has now become a common word in the English language but very few people know that it is an Arabic word anglicised. It is associated with that master mind of Persia, well-known in history as the old Shaikh of the Mountains. It is nothing but a strange irony of fate—understandable fate—that one of two pearls, coming from one and the same shell, sometimes adorns a royal crown and the other pearl is pulverised and powdered into *Surama* (collyrium or ground antimony.) Of two roses adorning a bunch in a flower garden one often decorates the chest of a beauty and the other falls on the ground either by the roaring wind or a cruel hand and is invariably trampled upon. It is nothing but an irony of fate. But Fate has never thrilled mankind so immensely as it did in the commencement of the fifth century of the Islamic Hijri era. Imam Moosiquddin was the famous instructor of the age whose name and fame had attracted hundreds of pupils from different climes to resort to his Madarsa. Three youths of the Persian origin also joined this famous seminary. None of them had then dreamt that they would ever leave any name behind them for posterity to appreciate or condemn. Two of them were named Hasan and the third was called Omer. Greatest friendship and intimacy existed between them. They had become so fond of and devoted to one another that it was highly painful and anguishing to be separated even for a short time. All these three were destined to become bright luminaries in their respective spheres of action. One day they solemnly covenanted with one another that if Providence favoured any of them with worldly riches or high office, it would be incumbent upon him to make the remaining friends also share his prosperity equally with him. After completing their education, these three youths left their school

and proceeded in different directions to carve out their careers. One of the Hasans reached Saljooki Royal Court by dint of his exceptional abilities and talents. The Royal Court appreciated his sterling worth. The Sovereign was so pleased with him that he raised him to the high office of his Prime Minister and conferred on him the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Toosi. Nizam-ul-Mulk's name will always be remembered with gratitude and affection as the founder of the illustrious Madarsa-e-Nizamia named and styled after him. The other pupil, better known in later times as the immortal Omer Khayam, was a famous mathematician, distinguished astronomer and illustrious poet-philosopher whose quatrains—*Rubayyat*—had won for him an undying fame in this world. The Parsis ought to be grateful to him for the Parsi Calendar reformed by him. Omer Khayam is now an international figure standing unique and matchless for his striking philosophy which breathes in his every line. The third pupil, bearing the name of Hasan Bin Sabbah, to distinguish him from his namesake known as Nizam-ul-Mulk, was certainly the most brilliant of three pupils. Nizam ul-Mulk was the first to come into prominence as the Prime Minister of the Saljooki State. Omer Khayam was immediately promoted to the rank of the Poet-Laureate and awarded a charming garden and vast estate to support him.

MUSLIM FREEMASONRY

The Freemasonry is nowadays a vast institution with its useful net-work scattered throughout the length and breadth of the world. As far as Muslims are concerned, the Emperor-Prophet Solomon is believed to be the founder of the Muslim Freemasonry, but unfortunately no historical proofs are now available. It will be a matter of great surprise to many readers that the first gigantic Mus-

lim Masonic Society was established in Africa by a Muslim belonging to the Ismalia Sect. The Fatimite Caliphs reigning in Egypt were its great patrons and benefactors.

The Ismalia Sect saw its secret birth in the travails of the internal intrigues and dissensions tearing asunder the Muslim lands. The principles and maxims of this sect were, therefore, initiated to only those who joined their fraternity on a solemn and unbreakable oath. The political needs of the times also made its existence secret and confidential. Its biggest Masonic Lodge was first established at Qarwan and then transferred to the City of Cairo, which was the capital and headquarters of the Fatimite Caliphate. The President of this Lodge was named "Dayee-ur-Darjat" which is equivalent to our present office of the Grand Master of the Modern Freemasons. But this Muslim Grand Master wielded very enormous powers. This Lodge used to meet twice a week and transact its ordinary and extraordinary business in the most secret and confidential manner then known. Allama Miqrizi states that originally there were seven degrees in this Lodge, but after its removal to Cairo it was extended to nine. The entrant to this Lodge had to swear to obey his superior, called Dayee in the Muslim masonic phraseology, most blindly and implicitly, and was forbidden to hesitate or to dispute the orders issued to him. Thereafter the doctrine of Imamate was explained and inculcated: In the third degree, the candidate would for the first time learn the chief principles of the Ismalia Mazhab. He has to believe in seven Imams with Ismail bin Jafer Sadique as the Highest Imam. In the fourth stage of his initiation, a devotee now called Fidayee would learn more about the seven Prophets of God, viz., Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad and Ismail bin Jafer Sadique. These prophets had also their

counterparts according to this sect to help them in their secret missions. After Jafer Sadique, the number of Hidden Imams ran up. Each counterpart had 12 Dayees under him who were disclosed in the 5th degree. The sixth decree of initiation made him believe that orders of Shareeyat were subject to reason and philosophy. The seventh taught him the secret signs and tokens, the eighth inculcated in him the unity of his actions and thoughts, and the ninth impressed upon him not to believe in anything except in his Dayee and to make bold to perform any or all acts which he might be called upon to perform.

HASAN'S EARLY CAREER

At the time of the advent of Hasan bin Sabbah in Khorasan this Ismalia Lodge was in full swing and its Dayees were found in important centres, and the Ismalia sect was gaining strength. Hasan bin Sabbah originally belonged to *Asna-Ashria* Shia Sect (a sect which believes in Twelve Imams). Since he left his two friends he wandered far and wide in search of a suitable employment but failed to get one. He proceeded to the Capital of the Saljooki Empire on having learnt the good news of the elevation of his classmate as Nizam-ul-Mulk and Prime Minister. He saw his old friend and asked him to perform his old promise. Nizam-ul-Mulk was a pious man. He received his friend with great warmth, introduced him to his sovereign and obtained for him a high post at the Royal Court. But Hasan bin Sabbah was undoubtedly an evil genius. His spirit could not brook to see Nizam-ul-Mulk higher than him in the royal favour. One day the Shah asked Nizam-ul-Mulk to prepare a complete report about the income and expenditure of his vast Empire in the earliest possible time. As the Empire was vast and scattered and as its accounts were not properly kept in the treasuries of the State, Nizam-ul-Mulk asked two years' time to be given for this task. But Hasan bin Sabbah, who was present in the Durbar, offered to have such a

report ready in 40 days only. The Shah was surprised and the Vizier stood simply stupefied. The Shah entrusted this work to Hasan to test his capacity. In the course of 40 days, Hasan was able to complete this stupendous work and, on the 40th day he appeared with this report before the Shah. It is alleged that Nizam-ul-Mulk had won over Hasan's confidential clerk to his side and made him change the pages of the Report indiscriminately so that Hasan might not be able to answer the Shah satisfactorily. If Hasan was to succeed, Nizam-ul-Mulk foresaw his downfall as sure and certain. The Shah was immensely pleased with the work, but when he put questions to Hasan, Hasan referred to the pages and fumbled entirely. Nizam-ul-Mulk stepped forward and submitted "Your Majesty, in view of the tremendous work involved, those who are endowed with wisdom ask for sufficiently long time to be granted for such difficult works. But of course fools rush in where angels tread steadily". Hasan was shamelessly disgraced and expelled from the Court in ignominy.

This defeat of Hasan did not make him despondent and dejected in mind and in action. It spurred him to further and greater activities. From Syria he went to Ispahan and wandered from place to place. During his wanderings, he came in intimate contact with these Ismalia Dayees. Finally, he accepted this sect and took his oath of allegiance at the hands of his superior. He was recommended to meet at Cairo the Ismalia Imam, Khalifa Mustansir Billah. He impressed the Imam greatly and rose in power rapidly. This alienated the party in power who packed him off one night on board a ship bound for Eastern Africa. His ship encountered the great storm which tossed it on water as a mere football. While the crew and passengers on board the ship were in despair of their lives, he was in his jolly mood, unmindful of the furies of the ocean. He cheered them and said: "Do not

be alarmed. God has promised me that we would not be drowned." It is alleged that he did so deliberately knowing very well that if the ship was drowned, he would also die, and if it was saved, it would add to his glory. It so happened that the storm abated and the ship was saved. All crews and passengers prostrated themselves at his feet and took the oath of allegiance at his hands in the Ismalia fold. In his further wanderings on the shore, he enlisted hundreds of new converts to the Ismalia fold and finally took up his abode in the Mountains, specially in the Fort Alamut.

THE ASSASSINS

Hasan, finding himself perfectly safe in this secure and impregnable fortress, now established a new sect which has come to be known as "Assassins". He modified the Ismalia cult and reduced its degrees to seven. His sect gained in strength from day to day and became a power in the land to be reckoned with. Innumerable fortresses were established throughout the hilly region and Altamoonat or more commonly called Alamut witnessed the erection of magnificent palaces and loveliest gardens which men had then seen. Hasan in fact verily converted it into an earthly paradise to reside wherein and to enjoy its undreamt-of luxuries was the highest ambition of the new entrants. The summit of the Fort Altamoonat was the loveliest spot then known. Orchards and gardens were reared up in the vicinity in abundance. Its dales and valleys were most charming and fascinating. Apartments in the palace were most luxuriously furnished, and every undreamt-of article and commodity to please and catch the fancy of man were provided in the palace. To crown all, the loveliest and most attractive girls—virgins in majority—were the pretty denizens of this mansion. New converts called Fidayees having passed the first initial stages of this sect used to be transported into this earthly paradise on making them drink a preparation or

beverage consisting of *Hashish*—*bharg* or opium—which stupefied their senses. As these blind adorers, or *fidayees*, were given very large doses of *Hashish* (opium) on the eve of and during the course of their transportation to the summit, they were now called *Hashashin* or opium-eaters. After the *fidayee's* ambition and desires had been more than fully satisfied, he was taken down to the foot of the hill in the same stupor after making him covenant with the Shaikh of the Mountains, Hasan Bin Sabbah, that he would ever blindly obey his order when conveyed to him by his *Dayee*. Hasan's sect now had three sets of followers (1) *fidayee* (devotee) (2) *rafique* (comrade) and *dayee* (the Superior). All these followers spread themselves throughout the adjoining and outlying lands and countries. These *fidayees*, having tasted the cup of the elysian happiness at the summit, were prepared and in duty bound to lay down their very lives in blind obedience to their Superiors or Shaikh of the Mountains as he was then come to be called. They believed that they could have an access to the Elysium again by carrying out his orders conveyed to them through their *Dayees*. These persons, sturdy, well-built, and warriors as they used to be first chosen, were the most courageous of the time. They played with death as a child plays with water.

Such was the disciplined and well-organised army of stalwart and sturdy *fidayees* which he now vigorously launched forward to achieve his objects. One of his *fidayees* stabbed Nizam-ul-Mulk while he little suspected his would-be-assailant. Another of this faithful band left a dagger in the bed-room of Sultan Sanjar near his pillow on his own bed. The Sultan was frightened and coerced to make a humiliating peace with the Shaikh of the Mountains whom he had disgraced many years ago.

Peace was finally concluded between Sultan Sanjar and Hasan on three conditions (1) that

the Ismalia sect people should not erect new military buildings in their fortresses, (2) new weapons of warfare should not be imported and (3) thereafter Hasan should not make new converts to his creed. Under this peace, Sanjar had to pay the Shaikh of the Mountains a very big sum as an allowance. Hasan accepted these terms willingly as his creed was based on secret doings of his devoted and faithful followers.

RISE IN POWER

Hasan and his *Hashashin* had now become a terrible power in the continents of Asia and Africa. His devotees, scores of them, would most gladly hurl themselves down into the abyss of death simply on his order. Sultans and Kings were terribly afraid of him and his secret scourge. No precious human life was then secure from their sudden onslaughts. *Hashashin Bharg* or *Hash* users had verily become the greatest murderers of the time and rightly come to be called in the West as Assassins. With the death of Hasan in 518 Hijri, their influence declined for the time being, but we hear of their ruthless campaigns again during the Crusades in Palestine. Several Fatimite Caliphs and other Muslim potentates lost their lives from the daggers of these Assassins. There was no place of safety from the attacks of these Assassins for any highly-placed person once he was marked out for death. His end was as sure and certain as night was to follow day. The Assassin then became verily a scourge to the humanity at large. Originally, he was a *Batinitte* in the narrower sense—in the broader, that term meant only those who found under the letter of Quran a hidden, esoteric meaning. He believed in a divinely instructed Imam. Under Hasan Bin Sabbah and his successors, the Assassins entered on an open rebellion against the organised order and the established Government. The sect of the Assassins applied its poisoned principles most heartlessly at every time and in every clime,

RELIGION AND CULTURE

BY PROF. T. L. VASWANI

SURVEYING the world's situation, I have felt again and again that a crying need of our civilisation is a new creative religious movement. The new apotheosis of the material interests of life has created in many places a religion of the Bolshevike. The religion of the "bourgeoise" is a religion of possessions and bank balances, of comfort and capitalism. The religion of the Bolshevike is a religion of materialistic Marxism. What a man effectively believes is in his religion. And Bolshevism believes effectively,—violently, in Marx and his disciple,—Lenin. Marx did well in bringing out an element of truth long neglected; but he went wrong in confounding the economic with the materialistic. The importance of the economic factor must be recognised, but economic interpretations must not be merged in a materialist conception of history. The new-materialism of Marx cannot satisfy the mind of man eager to know the universe. As a distinguished historian of our days, Prof. Lee of the University of Rennes says in a significant little sentence:—"Reality is much more complex than Karl Marx imagined." It is unfortunate that in the new reactions of Russian political thought on India, there has been initiated a campaign against religion—and that in the name of 'Nationalism', I shudder to think of a "Nationalism" denying the Divine values of life. And my reading of Indian History has taught me that religion is an important element in the thought and life of India. Only let us be careful not to confound religion with creeds and forms. Sectarianism, as I have often said, is the very negation of religion.

Russia does well to recognise the value of the modern. New world-forces are marching on, and India must move with them or be left behind. But Russia sins against the deeper spirit of the modern in trying to eliminate religion. Russia has given ear to the capricious German thinker who said that God was dead! Surely, the *Atman*

or Consciousness is a better clue to the cosmos than material forces; and the witness of recent science seems to be that the so-called material forces themselves are immaterial.

It is a pity Soviet Russia opposes culture to religion; and many of the young men in India echo the Soviet view. Young India's malady is imitation. Last year on Christmas Eve, after a street demonstration by 2,000 persons, a church in Marxstdt,—an important town in Soviet Russia,—was converted into a "Karl Marx Palace of Culture". The Cross was removed, and in its place was set up the blood-red flag of Revolution. The altar was torn down, and in its place was erected a stage; and one of the inscriptions put up was:—"There is no Higher Power to save us"! A number of other churches, too, have been converted into "Homes of Culture"! In India, too, is spreading fast a "Godless Culture" aiming at secularisation of all thought and faith and life. What I submit is, in part, this,—that religion and culture,—understood in their essence,—are not rivals. Religion viewed historically and sociologically has made important contributions to culture and civilisation. The great spiritual leaders of the race have appeared in times of crisis and proclaimed each his 'religion' as an answer to the deeper needs of his age. Historically, the great religious geniuses of the Race have been the saviours of civilisations. Not the prophets and saints but many of their disciples have again and again put up a fight against the spirit of religion, which is the spirit of freedom, and fellowship. So it is that again and again, the original inspiration has been stifled and inner spiritual values have been lost in mazes of dogmas, creeds, and controversies. Hence the necessity of repeated renewal and rejuvenation of religion. The prophets and saints come with a message of renewal and liberation. In a very real sense, religion is culture. The ancient

Indian name for religion is *Atmavidya* which means Culture of the Self. Humanism in the West turns away from God. The Humanism of the Gita and the Upanishads turns to God. God Himself is termed *Purusha*, the Supreme Person. Both religion and culture ask for inner renewal of the individual for apprehension and appreciation of the deeper values of life,—for liberation from within. This inner renewal is needed to transform this nervous heavy-laden, technical civilisation into a new civilisation of brotherliness, and broad human sympathies, a civilisation of simplicity and strength. To such a civilisation the Rishis have borne witness through the ages.

And the Rishis belong not to India alone. In every religion, in every age, in East as in West have the Rishis appeared, the true 'super-men' of history—men who have realised the harmony of

culture and religion. In the Rishis is to be found the real key of history. And in a new, vital, creative co-operation with the wisdom of the Rishis is the hope of India,—ancient and gifted but to-day alas! a bewildered, broken nation.

Something better, broader, nobler, richer, something more true to the spirit of Indian History and genius of Indian life, something much bigger and more vital than Karl Marx's socialism is India's need. And poor and shrunken is that SWARAJ which is a denial of the Divine in life and humanity. Marx and Lenin were great, but the greater were the Rishis who saw the One Self in all. Their message is what young men need to make a new India. For they realise that true freedom was fellowship with humanity, and that true democracy was built not in blood and bomb but in the law of brotherhood and love.

BANK FAILURES IN INDIA

By MR. C. H. DIVANJI

WHILE talking on bank failures in India, it must always be remembered that the word "bank" signifies banking on Western lines. The Government records and other statistics available make no mention about the indigenous banking, and hence the figures and other references made hereafter are relating to banks conducted on Western lines only.

During the 15 years ending December 1927, the total number of banks that failed in India was 208 while Canada reported failure of 26 banks only during the last 62 years. It may be of interest to learn that Canada had only 10 banks with 3,870 branches in 1928, while India has had 123 banks with 695 branches in 1927. Lest an admirer of Indian banking be disheartened by comparing the figures of bank failures in India with that of Canada, it may be mentioned that more than 5,000 banks have failed in the United States of America since 1920, but that the United States of America reported more than 30,000

bank offices in 1928. The United States of America reported 956 bank failures in 1926, 662 in 1927, and 491 in 1928 while India reports 17 bank failures in 1925, 14 in 1926 and 16 in 1927; and Japan reported 292 bank failures and 1,162 banks in 1928.

The above figures have been given only with a view to show that India is not the only country that has reported bank failures, but that even countries like the United States of America and Japan are there to outbid India on that score.

Because other countries have shown a larger number of bank failures than that in India, we must not ignore the bank failures in India. India is still in the infancy of banking development, and that is why the lessons learnt from bank failures should be of great help and use for the future banking of the country. When discussing bank failures, a well-known writer has said:

In the long run the law of supply and demand works by driving out the weak banks that lose out in the rates

for larger deposits, higher rates and risky investments. The loss to the people from this exceedingly wasteful competition is great and does not seem to be a necessary part of progressive banking. We have learnt in the business that co-operation and consolidation are much more profitable to all concerned than is cut-throat competition.

But all this is not applicable to India as the reported bank failures in India are not due to competition from banks for larger deposits though they are partly due to higher rates and risky investments.

The authors of the "Money and Money Market" in India assigned the following six causes to the Indian bank failures:—

- (1) The banks used to carry a cash reserve dangerously low in relation to their liabilities.
- (2) The banks undertook transactions that could not fitly be characterised as banking transactions.
- (3) The banks were controlled and managed by persons untrained in the technique and ignorant of the principles of banking.
- (4) The directors were equally incompetent for their work.
- (5) The desire to satisfy the shareholders by large dividends involved a sacrifice of the larger interests of banking.
- (6) The European banks looked askance upon the Indian enterprise and were reluctant to co-operate, even less inclined to help the banking fraternity in times of difficulty.

Since the publication of the book referred to above, times have changed and the prominent Indian banks have by now bravely fought the first five causes. As for the attitude of the foreign banks, it must be said that to co-operate with the Indian banks is for them as good as strengthening their competitors and one cannot expect any sane man to so act as to strengthen his own rivals. It is now necessary for foreign banks to realise that India has till now given such banks a practical monopoly for foreign business and that they owe their prosperity in India on account of the faith and the patronage of the Indians who have given them large funds which enabled them to finance the country's foreign trade without any help from their Home Offices. Under the circumstances, it is a moral obligation on such banks to see their way to co-operate with the banking fraternity of the country, otherwise time will come when Indians will have to devise means to restrict the activities of such banks.

When the bank failures in India are discussed, we ought to take into consideration the difficulties under which the pioneers of the Indian banking had to work. The history of the banks that have failed reveals that people deposited their funds with the bank not because of their faith in the bank but because of the man who was the moving spirit of the Institution. Thus the Institutions were, more or less, run as one man's shows and this was directly or indirectly responsible for a large number of bank failures. Directly in the sense that a moving spirit in order to increase his own prestige and popularity had to resort to larger dividends to shareholders and high rates to depositors without any corresponding increase in the profits and without securing any safe, sound and profitable investments. Under such circumstances, the banks had to go in for risky advance and high dividends at the sacrifice of sound banking.

The bank management was very inefficient owing to absence of trained staff and the management was further handicapped by want of a developed market for the gilt-edged securities. All banks had to resort to investments in usance bills for keeping their assets liquid and many invested their surplus funds in the carry-over transactions alias *badlas* in the Share Bazar. The good yield of interest in both kinds of business induced the management to plunge more and more in such transactions without taking into account the risk involved therein. The result was that the management could not meet their depositors at the time of panic. One of the mistakes of banks was that the majority of the funds that they procured were for demand and in short period deposits while their lending and investments were locked up in long period advances.

The management were further harassed by Court Cases brought against them by persons who were jealous of or had grudge against the moving

spirit of the Institution. Though the majority of the Court Cases failed to prove anything against the management, they succeeded in crippling the prestige and credit of the Institution. A bank's mainstay is its prestige and credit and Court Cases struck a severe blow at the root of both of them and brought untimely rushes of the depositors of the banks which the management were not in a position to meet.

By nature human beings are very suspicious and this quality of human nature particularly predominates in the case of monetary transactions. A depositor of the bank may be sure of the sound management and safe position of the institution but the slightest rumour about the bank will make him withdraw his deposits and it must be said that such depositors also played a great part in bringing about failures of banks in India.

The banks in their interest to outbid their rivals and to be of greater service to their customers opened up several branches in the country before they were firmly established at their Head Offices. The funds of these branches were transferred to the principal cities particularly Bombay and Calcutta, to be utilised for profitable but risky investments and when the court cases brought rushes of depositors, the Head Office could not manage to meet the demands of their branches, with the result that the depositors became more and more chary to rust the banks. Thus some banks had to close their doors because of their having too many branches. The banks that failed seem to have lost sight of the fact that the country was passing through a transitional period of banking system—from eastern to western system and that the people had not the banking habit in the Western sense of the word. If the banks would have had these facts in mind, their investment policies would have been different from what they had adopted in imitation of the then existing foreign banks.

From what has been stated above, the following may be taken as main causes of the bank failures :—

- (1) Management was more or less one man's show.
- (2) Inefficient and untrained staff.
- (3) Public's faith in the moving spirit rather than in the institution.
- (4) Too many branches of banks.
- (5) Scarcity of gilt edged investments and a developed market thereof.
- (6) Lack of the banking habit in the Western sense of the word.
- (7) Banks losing sight of the fact that the country was in the transitional stage of banking.
- (8) The faulty investment policies of the banks.
- (9) Court Cases.
- and (10) Want of co-operation among the banking fraternity.

All the causes of the bank failures can well be summarised by saying that there were too many banks and few bankers.

The country, as a whole, has had to suffer a lot on account of bank failures, and it is said that majority of the banks that failed were purely under the Indian management. Unfortunately, statistics giving figures of banks that failed under Indian management and those that failed under European management are not available; otherwise it may not be difficult to show that the country suffered greater financial loss from the failure of the latter banks rather than the former ones.

To safe-guard banks against such failures, the following remedies may be suggested :—

- (1) Improvement in management by introducing trained and efficient staff.
- (2) Encouraging the staff to acquire a theoretical training in practice and law of banking.
- (3) Adopting a cautious and conservative policy both as regards deposits as well as advances.
- (4) By modifying the investment policy of the banks.
- (5) By changing the existing law so as to prevent the Court Cases brought against the banks for frivolous and negligible technical errors.
- (6) By providing larger sums for depreciation on bank's assets and advances.
- (7) By the Management taking greater care to safe-guard the interests of the Institution rather than that of the shareholders in shape of dividends.
- (8) By greater co-operation among the banks themselves.

Even if all the suggested remedies be introduced, the bank failures will not be entirely eliminated, but that they will certainly lessen the chances of bank failures in future.

THE INDIAN MUSIC

BY THE REV. H. A. POPLEY

RECENTLY, the British Broadcasting Corporation broadcast a programme of Indian music which was greatly appreciated by English people. In Germany and Austria, they are interested in it from the point of view of the musical student, and it is hoped that arrangements will shortly be made for the teaching of Indian music in the continent of Europe. The true musician, even when he uses a musical language so different from that of the West as is the musical language of India, always finds a response in real music-lovers everywhere.

The Begum Sahiba, who is the authoress of this book* is a cultured and accomplished lady and has had many opportunities during her stay in the West of interesting English people in Indian music. Dilip Kumar Roy, on his travels in the West, found everywhere a keen interest in Indian music and a real appreciation of his own musical efforts. The world is ever narrowing and not only are people being brought together in politics and industry, in commerce and science, but also in art and æsthetics, and there is a growing desire to understand the cultural and æsthetic expression of the life of other peoples. 'Music brings peoples into contact at a deeper level than the spoken word', says a Western writer, and if ever the peoples of the West and the East are to understand and appreciate one another, explorations must be made in the avenues of understanding of their artistic life as well as in other ways. It is in music and art that the deepest things of life are expressed. Who can truly understand St. Francis and his troubadour spirit who has not known and appreciated his 'Canticle to the Sun'?

The Begum Sahiba, in the opening sentence of her book says, 'Few subjects have been more en-

veloped in mystery and darkness than Indian music.' The old idea of India as a land where all was mysterious and unintelligible may have helped India to become the modern tourist's cave of Ali Baba, but has hardly conduced to the understanding of her thought and life among Western peoples. The West, with the exception of a comparatively few scholars, mystics and philosophers, thinks of India as a land of primitive things, having a weird mystical background, almost unintelligible to Western minds.

The Music of India is always thought of as a minor music with a fascinating rhythm, but almost entirely unconnected with musical facts as the West understands them. As the book under review treats of Indian music almost entirely from the Indian stand-point alone, Western musicians will probably not find much to dispel that idea. It is by no means true, as so many of them believe, that Indian melodies are mostly in the minor key. There are a very large number of melodies in the major key. It is really the unaccustomed intervals which give rise to that idea as well as the large number of different minor modes that are in use. The chapter on Tala or Rhythm will help the Westerner to appreciate the wonderful variety of time-measures which India possesses.

The Begum Sahiba's book treats only of North Indian music or 'Hindustani music' as it is called. Classical music has been greatly modified on the North by contact with Persian and other foreign models. It is in South India that classical music is found in its greatest purity and perfection. The Veena is the most perfect classical musical instrument of India, and it is met with in the South far more than in the North. In the Hindustani area, the Earaj, Dilruba, Sitar, Sarangi and Surbahar have become the most

*The Music of India by Atiya Begum Fyze Rahaman. Luzac & Co. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5-10.

popular instrument. The book contains some good photographs of these instruments.

The chapter on Raga Adhyaya brings out the essential quality of the Indian ragas. Each raga has a certain colour or peculiar arrangement of notes, which is a combination of the actual varieties of the notes used, their order in melody and the graces that belong to them. However different the actual tunes may be, all the melodies in a certain raga will express a peculiar configuration, so that a trained musician can always recognise the raga. Each raga, too, has its own peculiar mood which is sometimes represented pictorially. The book reproduces some of these pictures. This picture-music reached its greatest development under the Moslem and Hindu sovereigns between 1500 and 1800, and there are many beautiful collections of such raga-pictures.

Such books as the one before us will do much to spread abroad the knowledge of the general principles and peculiar character of Indian music and are to be welcomed in the interests of a wider cultural education. Now that the different Universities are introducing music into the Arts Degree

curriculum, it is to be hoped that many others will follow the Begum Sahiba and produce works that will help students to understand the meaning and value of Indian music. This increasing interest in the art of music is a healthy sign of the times, and needs support from public bodies and leaders of culture throughout India. There are many indications that music in India is escaping from its thralldom to one profession and is becoming the pastime of the middle classes. This is all to the good, and needs steady encouragement.

The production of such books as this should also make it more and more possible for music students in the North to understand the music of the South and *vice versa*. It is a pity that when writing the book, the Begum Sahiba did not think sufficiently of the unfortunate individual who had no practical knowledge of the music of which she is writing. The book will help most those who already have some acquaintance with Hindustani music, and its frequent use of technical terms as the North understands them will make it a little difficult for a Southerner to appreciate it fully.

Financial Recommendations of the Central Committee

BY PROF. C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A.

THE recommendations of the Indian Central Committee in regard to financial problems are not as illuminating as they ought to have been, but it is perhaps due to the fact that they have not had the necessary expert advice on those problems, Mr. Clayton, the Financial Commissioner with the Simon Commission not having as yet submitted his proposals. But so far as they go, they have not fallen into line with Indian thought on the question, which has all along favoured a complete separation of the Provincial and Central revenues, which principle had been followed by the Government during the

last 60 years and which is so essential to the successful working of the principle of Provincial autonomy towards the attainment of which we are rapidly progressing, and the reconciliation of that principle with the existence of a financially strong and self-contained Central Government. Their main recommendation consists in the re-introduction in another form of the scheme of Provincial contributions, which had worked so much havoc in the past and which were the cause of so much heart-burning on the part of the different provinces, especially such heavily hit provinces like Madras and the United Provinces

on the one hand and the backward and undeveloped provinces like Assam and Bihar and Orissa, on the other. They want that customs duties and income-tax and all other central sources of revenue should be provincialised and that the Central Government be reimbursed from provincial funds for the purpose of carrying on the duties allotted to it, each province contributing that portion of its revenues as may be decided upon by an impartial tribunal.

In this scheme adumbrated by the Central Committee there are two obvious defects, which should have been apparent to its members; in the first place, it militates against the very principle of provincial autonomy, which the committee profess to have so much at heart and which is so absolutely necessary for a harmonious and full-blooded development of the Provinces along the lines of advancement of the Nation-building departments and the consequent progressive amelioration of the masses of the population. Not only do the provinces require to be rendered financially independent but they should also have sources of revenue which are easily expandable and capable of enabling them to cope with the increasing expenditure which they have to incur in times to come in connection with the carrying on of developmental schemes. A system of doles from the Central Government on contributions from the Provincial Government is, from this point of view, sure to work out as a detriment to the one or the other of the branches of Government and lead to injustice and inter-provincial wrangling, however impartial may be the basis of the proposed tribunal.

The danger is all the more imminent in view of the recommendation that customs and income-tax should be appropriated as provincial sources of revenues, and it is the point on the second objection above-noted, *i.e.*, that the Central Government should be deprived of all its tax-resources. First, as regards the customs duties,

they are a fit source of income for central rather than for Provincial Government for very obvious reasons. Indirect taxation is a thing to be levied by the Central or Federal Government in almost every well-ordered Federal system, in so far as there is a necessity for uniformity in the rate of customs duties, and as there is scope for an inequitable distribution of the proceeds as between province and province, which will be avoided if the whole of it goes into a central exchequer. For example, the province which collects the customs revenue may not be synonymous with the province which actually consumes the duty-encumbered article as it ought to be in justice and the province with a port of call like Bombay will be enriched at the expense of an inland province, albeit the fact that the people of the latter it is that ultimately pay the main burden of the duty being the actual consumers of the article. The note of dissent of the Indian Central Committee's report contributed by the chairman and two other members examined the particular proposal, but came to the conclusion that there would be no ground for any difficulties on this score; but it is not easy for one to agree with their opinion that an 'impartial tribunal' will obviate all difficulties that may arise. There is something very cumbrous, round-about and indefinite in the procedure suggested for settling conflicting claims, which are certain to arise and which would render the whole machinery of financial adjustment unstable and fidgety, and it would be well if it could be avoided by arriving at a definite formula in regard to the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments.

But what has been said above as regards the customs revenue need not apply to the revenue derived from income-tax, for there is much to be said in favour of its being made a provincial revenue source. For one thing, it is an elastic source of revenue which can be utilised by the Provincial Government in such a way as to suit

their local requirements and necessities of the situation, for another it is a direct tax and all direct taxes are best levied by the Provinces only, in view of the greater facilities they possess for scrutiny and supervision and the greater easiness with which they can carry on the duties connected with the levy and collection of the tax. In return for this and in order to make up for the deficit which may arise in the central budget owing to the change, excise revenue, which is at present assigned to the provinces, may be transferred to the Central Government. The revenue from excise ought nationally to diminish in course of time in view of the gradual introduction of prohibition; but if corresponding to the reduction from that source, there is also a reduction in the heavy item of military expenditure and an increase or progressive expansion in the customs revenue, due to the raising of the rate of import duties, there is every reason to believe that the Central Government will be able to make both ends meet.

For, while there is every reason to ensure and maintain the financial autonomy of the provinces and provide them with the necessary tax resources, there is also an equally grave necessity for placing the Central Government beyond all necessity of depending upon the provincial Governments for its very existence. The Central Government has to discharge some important and national responsibilities like defending the country, conducting her foreign relations and regulating the currency; and any weakening of it on the financial side will produce repercussions on its proficiency in all these spheres of its activities. It is with this consideration in view that it had been suggested that while customs should continue to remain a central source of revenue along with the revenue from railways, excise and commercial stamps may be transferred to it with the salt tax in reserve as an emergency measure. Income-tax should be given over to the Provinces and its

scope for expansion provided for by authorizing them to levy an income-tax on agricultural incomes and death and inheritance taxes together with a tax on urban site values, whenever and wherever the local circumstances require it and the local financial needs demand it. The central government may also add to its sources of income a tax on corporation profits, which may be on a graduated scale, the tax rising with the proportion of foreign capital invested and the degree of foreign control existing in those concerns.

In dealing with the financial recommendations of the Indian Central Committee, it will be permissible to note the opinion of the minority report of Sir Sankaran Nair and two other members already referred to, which has definitely and unequivocally expressed itself in favour of a clear-cut separation of the central and provincial revenues. After examining every other alternative *e.g.*, the system of divided heads, doles from the Central Government, and contributions from the provinces' the three dissentient members arrived at the inevitable conclusion that "complete provincial autonomy, full freedom for development under different and varying conditions is essential" and they considered it "lamentable if all this is prevented by reversing the policy followed for more than 50 years". One has necessarily to endorse the view, though it is difficult to reconcile it with their other recommendation that customs revenue should be provincialised along with Income-Tax, which exhibits an unmeaning disregard of the needs of the Central Government and an excessive suspicion of its *bona-fides*. There is a great necessity for caution and a careful handling of the situation and for devising a scheme which would secure the readjustment of the varying and different view-points and interests and towards reaching this end, the changes proposed above may prove contributory factors.

IF WISHES WERE HORSES

BY

PROF. V. K. AIYAPPAN PILLAI, M.A.

MR. H. W. Fowler needs no introduction to the English-speaking world. As the prince of lexicographers who planned and executed, in collaboration with his younger brother, the late Francis George Fowler, the admirable Concise Oxford Dictionary and the Pocket Oxford Dictionary, as the Master of The King's English who produced a classic on English Composition which is alike the admiration and despair of authors and stylists, and above all, as the author of the Dictionary of Modern English Usage which combines delight with instruction in equal proportion, Mr. Fowler has kept himself too much in the public eye by first-rate work to require any special notice at the hands of a reviewer. Lexicographers and Grammarians are usually not authors properly so called, and Mr. Fowler's work has mostly been of a kind which, however valuable and interesting to the initiated, could not, in the nature of things, command a wide appeal. A discourse on the question of *ing* or on the preposition at the end or the split infinitive, even if it be made with authority and is enlivened with humour, is apt to repel the general reader. The title itself in such cases is perhaps sufficient for him. The present volume,* however, is neither grammar nor dictionary nor literary encyclopaedia, and just because it is none of these, perhaps all the more welcome. "If Wishes Were Horses" is virtually a charming little book of confessions, a sort of *apologia pro vita sua* of a middle-aged man, a grammarian, a scholar and something of a recluse. The book is indeed not new. It was published anonymously by its author more than twenty-two years ago under the title *Si Mihi!* The mask of anonymity is here removed and 'Egomet' gives place to H. W. Fowler. In the

* If Wishes Were Horses. By H. W. Fowler, George Allen & Unwin.

new preface which Mr. Fowler has contributed to this welcome re-publication, the author says: the Egomet who published *Si Mihi!*—! anonymously more than twenty-two years ago was a sensitive young thing of under fifty, whom nothing would have induced to give himself so freely away under his own name. The married senior of over seventy who re-publishes it declines responsibility for the views of this callow youth who was, and is not, he. But having himself found them not without interest, he has thought that others too might read them with an indulgent smile!

The book is made up of the views of this callow youth, the sensitive thing of under fifty. If it is not a great book in the real sense of the term great, it is because the mind whose portrait it is has not all the accents of that quality which we imply by greatness properly understood. The book may be described as a spiritual autobiography; devoid, it may be, of power, passion or any striking degree of imagination. But it is a true autobiography and of exceptional interest as the faithful and unaffected presentment of a cultured and high-minded soul. "If Wishes were Horses" is in the nature of the travels of a scholar and a lover of books round his own mind, as series of self-analyses full of wit and the mellow wisdom of an equable and contented mind who looks on life with a suave Horatian philosophy. The author himself, in the course of the eleven discourses which make up the volume, provides the best characterisation of his work. '*Si Mihi!* (If I had) has been a common cry in all ages. Nothing new or original about mine except that I have filled a whole little book with it, put my wishes into a bottle, as it were, to be quit of them once for all.' Again, 'my book is a *catalogue raisonne* of the things I wish the gods had given me.' In one of the most interesting of these little pieces of self-

portraiture entitled 'If I had Imagination', he says: 'Now I am a plain man, and I am sorry for it; I should like to have an imagination, and I have not; but being of a cheerful temper, I look round for consolation'. This, in fact, is just what he does in these essays.

It need hardly be said how every page of the book reveals the mind which has lived in hourly communion with the best that has been thought and said in the world. Shakespeare or Milton, Virgil or Dante, Tristram Shandy or the Apology of Socrates, provide him with allusions and quotations which surge to his mind with that ease and perfect appositeness which reveal the true scholar who has entered into the domain of the immortals and has found a welcome there. In the discourse on 'If I had Charity' we read: 'Miseremini Mei Lectores (have pity on me, O ye readers) I am neither charitable nor uncharitable; I have neither the gentle satisfactions of the one class nor the fierce joys of the other; I am a contemptible mortal, fit for neither heaven nor hell but only for that Dantesque limbo described by the poet in memorable lines which to Arnold are among the few touchstones of excellence in poetry. Opinions which he can call his own he disclaims save on books. As all that portion of my time which remains over from writing is devoted to reading, it might fairly be expected that on literature at any rate I should have some real opinions. Well, if grammar is part of literature, I have; consult me on a grammatical point and you give me the rare felicity of being able to say with confidence, if not with correctness. This is legitimate and that is not, and of adding the reason for my faith. But take me beyond grammar, and I am disconsolate again. In the same essay we get an excellent sample of his wit. 'I shall have to resign all thoughts of that legitimate object of an Englishman's ambition, the writing of M. P. after his name; a modern member of Parliament is the mouthpiece of his caucus's opinions; he

must not have any of his own. Pending the actual arrival of my opinions, I do not feel capable of deciding whether I would rather be an M. P. without opinions, or a letterless private person without them. He who would be an M. P. must have, besides no opinions, a modest £ 500 a year to support his dignity upon. Which not having, I need not hesitate to incur the other disqualification as well.' The discourse on 'If I had a religion' is of more than usual interest. Here he holds rather definite views. For he is not one of those who envy the religious for (?) their emotions. Human progress strikes me as practical, and immortality as moonshine; in the latter, I see no reason whatever to believe. I have no disposition to believe in it either any more than in the barnacle goose.' Another bit of self-revelation is in the following interesting passage: 'If your treasure is in heaven, earthly things are of no great moment; only what and where is heaven? It is a temper of the mind, say the Stoics; it was the Stoic emperor who wrote: end thy journey in content, just as an olive falls off when it is ripe, blessing nature who produced it and thanking the tree on which it grew.' To attempt to illustrate more of his views would be to quote the whole book.

The style of a work written by the Master of the King's English whose life's mission was to conduct a crusade against the slipshod, the slovenly and the inaccurate in composition, naturally calls for special remarks. 'Le style, c'est l' home meme' is the celebrated, if now rather trite, saying of Buffon's. But it is applicable to the present work in all its force. His prose is not touched by passion or the glow of imagination, but it is precise and exact, a completely adequate vesture for the thought. Fine writing, rhetoric of every description is rigorously excluded. Proper words in proper places is his ideal. 'One of my peculiarities', he says in one of the essays, 'is that the exquisite and the Virgilian repels me; I resent the

Stevensonian elaboration of style in literature, I tend to the negative view, and the negative virtues outweigh the positive; lucidity and faultlessness appeal to me more than they should for the first instance that comes to hand, there is, I believe, a great deal of human nature and refreshing prejudice and rude vigour in Borrow; but I cannot read with patience a man who so

murders the grammar. Elsewhere, in the Preface to the King's English, Mr. Fowler truly says that the positive literary virtues are not otherwise attained than by improving the gifts of nature with wide or careful reading, and it may be confidently said that the present work is a model of excellence in composition which will repay careful reading.

Economic Tendencies in India*

BY MR. R. W. BROCK,

Editor, "Capital" Calcutta.

PROBABLY the one statement likely to command general agreement is that economic conditions in India are unsatisfactory. The intellectually indolent dispose of the problem by laying the entire blame upon Government; overlooking the fact, rightly emphasised by Mr. Churchill during a recent Parliamentary debate on unemployment in Great Britain, that "the economic forces of the modern world transcend at the present time the power of individuals and individual Governments to foresee or control." The depression is general and no country is passing through a more severe trial than Great Britain herself. That fact is of some importance to India inasmuch as Great Britain remains incomparably the largest single outlet for Indian produce, and despite higher import duties, the natural growth of Indian industries, and even political disaffection, India still remains the largest market for British goods. To no slight extent, therefore, the economic welfare of the two countries is interdependent. If India moves ahead, develops her resources and raises her standard of living, no country will benefit more than Great Britain.

* Lecture delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club, on April 22.

UNDOUBTEDLY DISCOURAGING

Whether India's imperfect development is due, as Basil Blackett recently maintained, to the persistence of mediaeval abstractions, or, as Indian critics assert, to modern superstitions and restrictions, fiscal, financial and political, is entirely a matter of opinion; whatever the explanation, the immediate position is undoubtedly discouraging. Probably no single factor has hit Indian producers harder than the world-wide fall in commodity prices. Indian producers, in certain instances, are also affected by the formation of vast combines to control the purchase, and to a certain extent the prices of raw materials. No important industry has escaped. Jute, which for so many years, contrived to maintain a precarious position on the uplands of prosperity, has recently, as the result of a somewhat precipitous decline, joined tea, cotton and coal in the valley of depression. Political tranquillity has disappeared; labour is restive; capital (urgently required for India's own development) is going abroad; and, while old-established industries are either working at a loss or earning only negligible profits, no new industrial enterprises of outstanding importance are being launched. Owing to loss of confidence in gilt-edged securities, due to progressive depre-

ciation, Government borrowing has been reduced to a nominal figure, and official outlay on capital projects has been correspondingly curtailed, thereby accentuating the industrial depression. There are no bright lights shining through the encircling gloom; the producers of raw materials and food-stuffs, the factories which produce predominantly for domestic consumption, such as the cotton mills, and those which rely almost entirely upon demand overseas, such as the jute mills, are suffering simultaneously. In one direction, there is cause for real anxiety. India has for decades been a large importer of manufactured goods but recently she has become in addition a large purchaser of food-stuffs, wheat and even rice, and of raw materials, including cotton, which a more scientific system of agriculture would enable her to produce from her own soil. It is no comfort to be told that such imports are abnormal and exceptional. India's consumption of wheat and rice is apparently increasing more rapidly than her production. If India has to buy foreign food-stuffs and raw materials, her ability to purchase manufactures, Indian or imported, must be diminished correspondingly.

PROTECTIVE TARIFFS

As the result of the Montford Reforms side-tracking the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, including the creation of a strong Central Industries Department, the sole stimuli applied to industrial development in recent years have been protective tariffs which, while inevitable in India and perhaps to a certain extent beneficial, are a mixed blessing. Revenue considerations, as in the Budget just adopted, have raised the tariff to even higher levels than could be justified by purely economic considerations. Partly as the result of this artificial stimulus, India is undoubtedly more economically self-contained than she was a decade ago. Steel manufacture is firmly established, and the opening of new steel works, capable of absorbing the pig-iron now exported,

is only a matter awaiting more favourable conditions, commercial and financial. Tin-plate production is a technical although not yet a financial success. The cement industry, recently so decreased, is now increasing its facilities for production. Match factories are multiplying and match imports are approaching vanishing point. Cotton mills in Bombay, under the strain imposed by the competition of the more efficient Japanese mills, have lost a large percentage of their capital resources, but the new protective tariff has created an opportunity, which the millowners evidently intend to grasp, to increase their competitive power against inland as well as foreign mills by resorting to rationalisation. A survey suggests that there are very few other industries on whose behalf tariff aid could be invoked. Salt manufacture has recently engaged a good deal of attention, not only on the part of the Tariff Board. A report on the chemical industries is under official consideration. But beyond these, there appear to be few outstanding industries which do not already enjoy such assistance as tariffs afford. Where then is the hiatus? For that India has reached an industrial position proportionate to her resources and opportunities, few would contend. I am inclined to think that the most convincing explanation of the failure of high tariffs to yield a larger and more rapid expansion of industries in India is to be found, in many although not in all cases, in the low level, and the very slow rise in the purchasing power of the rural population whose primitive methods of crop production, and serflike subordination to the money-lender and the middleman, sufficiently explain their limited demand for factory products.

BEHIND THE TARIFF WALL

Behind her tariff wall, India enjoys free trade among a larger percentage of the world's population than is comprised in any other economic unit in the world. But while the protectionists have concentrated all their energies on increasing

production, the necessity of the equally strenuous efforts to increase consumption has been overlooked; nevertheless, the absolute and continuous interdependence of rural and urban industries is apparent at every stage. If the cultivator, after meeting prior charges, retains only a negligible margin of income available for the purchase of factory products, industrial production will be restricted proportionately. The smaller the crop the cultivator extracts from the soil, the higher the interests he has to pay to the money-lender, the larger the commission insisted on by the middleman, the less he has available for the purchase of manufactures. It is no use multiplying mills and factories unless there is a demand large enough to sustain them and it is in this vital respect that India at present is most heavily handicapped. The foreign manufacturer is certainly a factor in restraining the development of Indian industries, but an even more formidable enemy is the Indian money-lender, and it is hardly necessary to explain why. Including Burma and the Indian States, the total agricultural indebtedness in India is probably not less than 800 crores. It is the habit of the money-lender to keep the borrower in a condition of financial serfdom, and probably the interest charges payable, taking everything into consideration, do not fall below 200 crores per annum. In the Punjab, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies puts the debt at 50 crores, equivalent to 19 times the land revenue, or Rs. 76 per head of those, who are supported by agriculture, a sum equivalent to 3 years' net income of the land. The economic consequences of such conscienceless usury are reflected in the depressed conditions of the industries dependent on the Indian market. After all, protective duties imply dependence on the domestic market and if that fails, no expansion is possible.

It is necessary to draw a distinction between industries dependent on capital outlay, and industries dependent upon individual outlay to meet

individual needs. Instances of industries dependent on capital outlay are those which supply railway rolling stock and materials, hydro-electric power projects, mill machinery, and so forth. When the investors' pockets are wide open, such industries prosper. When the investors' pockets are only half-open or entirely closed, they experience a lean time.

PIECE-GOODS TRADE

Of the bazaar trades, which meet individual requirements, the most important is, of course, the piece-goods trade, which incidentally forms a test of progress. In the years 1909-14, the balance of cloth available for consumption in India averaged 3,582 million yards; and in 1927-28, the total, was 4,128 million yards, and, as meanwhile Indian mills had more than doubled their output, it is evident that many consumers have been forced by the higher price level to abandon the finer and more expensive imported goods for the cheaper and coarser goods manufactured in India. Whereas before the War, Lancashire exported over 6,000 million linear yards, last year's shipment was under 4,000 million yards, and of the decline, India accounts for 1,200 million yards—due, on the one hand, to larger production in India, and on the other, to larger imports from Japan. If the consumption of piece-goods affords a reliable measure of progress, the improvement in the economic condition of the rural population in the last two decades has been insignificant. Such a conclusion is supported by the calculation that, instead of diminishing, the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture is increasing, despite the intervening expansion in urban industries.

Three facts emerge:—(1) That industrial development is not proceeding at a pace involving, or likely in the near future to involve, any appreciable withdrawal of labour from agriculture, (2) that the activities of the Agricultural Departments, although essential and beneficial, have been too limited to effect any substantial improvement in

agricultural production or in the cultivators' standard of living, (3) that the extension of the co-operative movement, as far as can be calculated, is, at best, only acting as a brake on the increase of rural indebtedness.

As a means of reducing the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture, the development of urban industries in India cannot be regarded very hopefully, and for two reasons; (1) as already noted, the negligible purchasing power of the average cultivator; (2) the effect of the methods of mass production and rationalisation in reducing the number of industrial workers required to produce a given output. The figures concerning cloth production and consumption in India afford a good illustration. In 1927-28 the production of India's 306 cotton mills totalled 2,356 million yards against 1,973 million yards imported. That is to say, in that year, the Indian mills met well over half the total Indian demand for mill-made goods. In order to achieve this output, the Indian mills employed well under 400,000 workers. In regard to mechanical equipment, cotton mills in India cannot afford to be less efficient and up-to-date than competing mills abroad, and that means that, sooner or later, Indian mills will be forced to instal automatic looms which, according to reliable testimony, are more efficient and economical than the present looms and involve the employment of only half as much labour. Allowing for the relative inefficiency of the Indian mill-worker, it does not appear risky to assume that Indian mills, equipped with automatic looms, could with the aid of 500,000 workers (only 100,000 more than are already employed) manufacture all the cloth India now consumes. This is, for many reasons, not an immediate possibility, and the figures quoted are already 15,000. Automatic looms in operation, economy and efficiency are further subserved by the concentration of 40 per cent. of the cotton trade in the hands of only four firms.

MODERNISATION OF AGRICULTURE

In India, mass consumption, on the scale rendered necessary by modern methods of mass production, can be created, only by a concurrent modernisation of agricultural processes enabling larger and better crops to be produced, and also enabling the cultivator to retain a larger share of the profits of production. So long as Indian agriculture remains on its present primitive basis, urban industries employing modern machinery, occupy a position comparable only to a motor car "paced" by a bullock cart.

THREE R'S OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

To sum up, the three R's of economic development in India are rural reconstruction; rationalisation of urban industries; and "rationing" of the country's limited investment surplus in order to secure the maximum development and profit within the minimum period.

There might be less apathy in some directions, and less opposition in others concerning industrial expansion in India if it was more generally realised that economic development is necessary not only for its own sake but in order to enable India to enjoy the amenities of modern civilisation. The Indian Fiscal Commission urged a considerable development of Indian industries on the ground that "such a development would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating new sources of wealth, encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenues, providing more profitable employment for labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture, and finally stimulating the national life and developing the national character." There is nothing to object to in that statement of the case, and I have only endeavoured to indicate that unless rural development proceeds concurrently, industrial expansion cannot go very far. The jute industry is the only Indian manufacturing

industry which has succeeded in building up a large export trade and its ability to do so is not unconnected with the fact that jute is a monopoly product never yet grown outside India. Other Indian industries depend on the purchasing power of the Indian market which in turn is determined mainly by the economic condition of the rural population. The limit of industrial development obtainable by tariffs is, in fact, already in sight. This is not to say that State aid to industrial development should be withdrawn or diminished but only that it should take more varied forms, tariffs still being retained and imposed where a case is made out for assistance being supplemented and reinforced by a more vigorous pursuit of ancillary measures, equally essential, such as scientific research, technical and commercial education, manipulation of railway rates, improvement of all forms of transport facilities, development of electric power projects and so forth. The Government of India is considering the formation of an Economic Advisory Council, on the British model, and, given the necessary status and staff, such an organisation would probably be able to secure a more rapid, even and co-ordinated development of the country's economic resources than has been achieved so far.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

In regard to rural reconstruction, only the rural population can finance rural amenities, and they will not be able to do so until measures are adopted facilitating the growth of larger and better crops thereby increasing the income of the cultivator to a point enabling him to bear larger local taxation without hardship. To accelerate crop improvement, India needs a series of Crop Committees modelled on the Central Cotton Committee. A Central Jute Committee is planned, and the formation of a Rice Committee, financed by a small export cess, is under official considera-

tion. A Sugar Committee has been formed by the new Agricultural Research Council, and a Wheat Committee financed by a cess on wheat imports as well as wheat exports, is desirable.

One final word in regard to finance. When estimating the demands on India's savings, the capital required for non-industrial purposes should not be overlooked. In England and Wales, with a population smaller than that of Bengal, the outstanding Loan Debt of the local authorities exceeds £1,000 millions, expended on public utility or trading services, housing and town-planning schemes, etc. In India, expenditure of this description has hardly begun. Such outlay, however, represents the price of progress, and the borrowing involved cannot be ignored in calculating the demands, immediate and potential, on India's very limited surplus capital.

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HINDU EXOGAMY

BY MR. K. S. SANKARA AIYER, B.A., B.L.

Advocate, Madras.

JOHN D. MAYNE, in his well-known work on Hindu Law, gives two rules for the selection of persons for marriage. 1. They must be outside the family. 2. They must be inside the caste: to which a third is added, that they must not belong to the same Gotra or Pravara—this rule being mainly applicable to Brahmins. This last rule is the subject dealt with in this book.* The subject is obscure, the authorities ancient and conflicting, the historic evolution not easy to disentangle nor capable of being postulated with any degree of definiteness. If from these materials one has to build a theory which can stand the test of criticism, it is certainly a difficult and arduous task. It does great credit to the author to be able to sift from the obscure and elusive texts, and present his conclusions which are well worth the careful study of every student of Sociology.

Among the non-Aryan tribes to-day, one finds exogamy observed in varying degrees, more or less corresponding to the degrees of progress made by them which might, to some extent, be said to mark the successive stages of recognition of the rules of exogamy amongst the Aryans themselves. The ancient Indo-Iranians had it not, as the Zend Avesta and the Pahlavi texts indicate. In the Rig Veda times, the Sept exogamy had not come into vogue, though the marriage was outside the family. Marriage among near cognates was recognised. One finds the rules of exclusion based on Sept exogamy in the Brahmana times, and Sagotra marriages are condemned in the strongest terms. But with the advance of time, Smriti writers gave a new content to the Gotra and Pravara, and forbade all marriages between Sagotras. The author combats the theory that Gotra indicated the name of the

ancestral Rishi the founder of the family. He cites the instance of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who had no Rishis for their ancestors. He points out how in the beginning there were only four Gotras, Angiras, Kasyapa, Vasishtha and Brighu, and how they had multiplied in course of time. He draws attention to the hopeless contradictions into which an analysis of the Pravaras leads. His theory is that Gotra and Pravara were originally invocations of the names held sacred or venerable at the sacrificial rites, and they had been elevated by the ardent priest-craft to be the heads of family pedigrees. This confusion led on to the rules of exclusion of members of the same Gotra and Pravara from being eligible for marriage. The Gotras themselves came to include not only the original Rishis but also others who assumed the prefix of Kevala.

The sanction for the rule of exogamy was not severe in the days of Manu. The stricter observance of the rule in course of time resulted in the Puritan Rishi Gauthama laying down severe penalties. Side by side with this extension, rules of exclusion based on Sapinda relationship also evolved. Agnatic side was to some extent always avoided; the cognatic but rarely. But the development of social customs grew to such an extent as to prohibit the agnatic up to seven degrees and the cognatic up to five. In South India, however, the exclusion of the cognates has never been accepted, and custom has made inroads into the law.

The evolution of the rules from the Vedic, Brahmanic, Sutras, Smritis to the time of the commentators presents an interesting study and deserves our careful attention. When the author draws the conclusion that Sept exogamy was not the original heritage of the Aryans, nor evolved by them out of their own social institutions, but borrowed by them from the custom of Sept exogamy from the aborigines, he may perhaps be treading on a very debatable ground. The basis for the conclusion is so slender that one is tempted to doubt the correctness of his theory.

After the March: the Arrest

IN our last Number we gave a rapid review of Mahatma Gandhi's famous march to the salt pans of Surat and narrated the events leading to the arrest of prominent leaders of the Satyagraha movement down to the end of what is known as the "National week" in India. Since then events have marched with startling rapidity and in the following pages an attempt is made to give a resume of subsequent events culminating in disturbances in different parts of the country and the revival of the Bengal Ordinance and the Press Act and finally the arrest and internment of Mahatma Gandhi himself. Of the inefficacy of these methods of coercion without tackling the root cause of the discontent it is needless to write at length. It is enough to show the vicious circle in which attack is met by counter-attack and the normal life of the people is being disturbed without any compensating gain. Blessed is the country, said a profound thinker, which can boast of no history. For what between the persistency of the Satyagrahis and the "prestige" of the bureaucracy the country is distracted beyond all measure and a crisis is impending the end of which, if things go on in this strain, it is difficult to contemplate with equanimity.

PROGRESS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

As we have already shown Mahatma Gandhi's gesture of Civil Disobedience was a prelude to a campaign against the Salt Law all over the country. Groups of Satyagrahis from one end of the land to the other took to the manufacture of illicit salt and thousands of people had taken part in the campaign. The Government was faced with a situation far more difficult than the one that faced them in 1921. Obviously they could not arrest all the salt culprits which would require new jails to accommodate. So what they did was to arrest the leaders and leave

the volunteers helpless. In most cases new leaders sprang up to take the place of the sentenced leaders and the movement spread far and wide alike in magnitude and intensity.

After the arrest of the Congress President, the campaign flourished with renewed vigour. It was impossible to ignore the growing tendency to disregard the law. So the executive began to disperse the Satyagrahis. Early in the second week of April when the Satyagrahis at Aat attempted to carry contraband salt the Police tried to wrest it by force from their hands. Gandhi said "they had no right to do that if they were representing a civilised government." When one of the volunteers was slightly injured on the wrist Gandhi wrote:

This laying hand on the people for the purpose of seizing the salt they were carrying was morally wrong, and even wrong, I fancy, according to the English common law. But I do not know what powers are given by the statute.

Concluding Mahatmaji said:

The legal procedure may be a cumbersome business for the Government, but since they have begun well, let them not end ill. If they resort to terrorism, they will find the people prepared. Let the people defend the salt in their possession till they break in the attempt, but they should do so without malice, without adger and without an angry word. The police have the easiest way open to them for taking possession of the salt. Let them arrest the civil resisters and they can take possession of the salt, because they have possession of their persons; but it can become forfeit only after conviction, not before.

The result of the campaign and of the numerous arrests and imprisonments of prominent workers in the various Provinces had been to give an enormous stimulus to the movement. Huge public meetings were held in centres like Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Lucknow. An energetic campaign for the violation of the Salt Law was being conducted every day in Bombay, 500 volunteers dividing themselves into 5 batches of 100 each. The meeting held on the sands at Chowpathy, (a spot hallowed by the

*Hindu Exogamy. By S. V. Karandikar, M.A. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Price Rs. 6/-Net.

cremation of Lokamanya Tilak's dead body) was reported to have been attended by no less than 500,000 people. Equally large meetings were held at Cawnpore with an audience of 53,000, and at Nagpur with 15,000. At Cawnpore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the meeting and took a pledge from all present that they would boycott British cloth at least for a period of twelve months. Over a thousand women were present at the meeting and made an enthusiastic response to the appeal.

The Maharashtra, which has thrown in its full weight with Gandhiji, under the leadership of Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, D. V. Gokhale, L. Bhopatkar and other lieutenants of Lokamanya Tilak, organized its own campaign for the manufacture of illicit salt. Mr. K. M. Munshi, a member representing the Bombay University in the Legislative Council, resigned his seat in the Council and proceeded to Dandi to take an active part in the campaign. He was arrested and sentenced to six months' S. I. and a fine of Rs. 200 on April 22. Others arrested and convicted included Dr. Manubhai, Dr. Choit Ram, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Mehadev Desai, Messrs. Banker, Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale and Swami Anand, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

In Bengal, Dr. Ganesh Chandra Bannerjee was sentenced to 2½ years' rigorous imprisonment, and Dr. Prafulla Ghose and Mr. Premnath Bannerji to 2 years' R. I. Messrs. W. N. Neogy, P. N. Dhar, and Prof. B. K. Bhattacharya were also arrested and convicted.

In Madras, Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, Editor, *Andhra Patrika*, and Mr. T. [Prakasam, Editor, *Swarajya*, were sentenced to a fine of Rs. 500 for the violation of the Salt Act, and on their refusal to pay the fine, their motor cars were attached by the police. A campaign of civil disobedience began on the last day of the National Week (April 13th), when Mr. Prakasam was arrested and later released. Since then, the campaign went on

with a good deal of propaganda by way of meetings and ostentatious manufacture of illicit salt till the two leaders were finally arrested and sentenced. The Satyagrahis were then led by Miss Dhurgabai.

In Tamil Nadu Mr. C. Rajagopalachari marched with a band of hundred volunteers to Vedaranyam where he was arrested and sentenced to six months. Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathy was also arrested and sentenced a fortnight later. The Collector of Tanjore issued a warning to the villagers against helping this movement and as we write more than one Mirasidar has been booked.

The movement has been as active as ever in Andhra Desa particularly all along the coast line. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya and Konda Venkatappaya were arrested and sentenced in Andhra Desa.

The most active areas, both from the point of view of the civil disobedience campaign and the Government, are undoubtedly Gujerat and the United Provinces. In the latter area, the latest arrests include those of Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, Babu Sri Prakasa, Maulvi Ahmed Zamankhan, Sardar Narbad Prasad Singh and several others in Lucknow, who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

Women have more than ever participated in the campaign. A large number of women were enlisted as volunteers for organizing the picketting of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops in Bombay and Ahmedabad. In the latter city, Mrs. Amabalal Sarabhai, the wife of a leading mill-owner, organized a deputation to Gandhiji, her programme being the Swadeshi vow and organization of the country for the boycott of British goods.

Gandhiji himself, addressing a meeting of women in a village near Navsari, requested them not to take part in the violation of the Salt Law. He observed:—

Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will

be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they will be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have, in the programme I ventured to place before them, enough work and to spare and all adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking.

VIOLENCE

Gandhi had always insisted on carrying on the "warfare" in quite a gentlemanly fashion. But all warfare is ugly. Mass civil disobedience went on for a time without a hitch. But law-breaking led to arrests, and arrests to demonstrations and hartals, to be followed in turn by further arrests and consequent disturbances. The whole thing, as feared by many, worked in a vicious circle. The Satyagrahis were by all accounts non-violent and observed their great leader's commands with praiseworthy discipline. But a mass movement gathers all and sundry, who without imbibing the spirit of the movement and of its great leader are easily led astray by the excitement of conflict. And then the magnitude of the concourse and the general unrest are just the occasion for the eruption of sporadic outbursts of violence by the rowdies. It is just the atmosphere of confusion in which the vagabonds ply their trade with comparative ease. The police appear on the scene charged with the duty of preserving law and order. In their attempt to get at the culprits the innocent invariably fall. This again exasperates the people whose gesture of challenge is easily mistaken for a menace to public peace. It is not all Commissioners that have the sensitiveness of the Chief of the Bombay Police who said that he was reluctant to use force against passive resisters. Left to individual discretion the whole thing depends on the mood of the men on the spot. An irate police man or a tactless or panicky officer may change the character of a whole gathering, from a concourse of non-violent and passive spectators

into an aggressive mob intent on mischief. Whatever it is the happenings in Karachi, Patna, Poona, Calcutta, Peshawar, Sholapur and Madras throw a lurid light on the situation. "By their indiscriminate beating and assaults," said Babu Rajendra Prasad addressing a public meeting on the day following the incident in Patna, "the authorities had perhaps done more of propaganda and infused more spirit among the people than he could ever do by means of his speeches. Therefore, in this matter at least he admitted his defeat at the hands of the Government."

So much for Patna. Mr. Gandhi referring to the Karachi tragedy wrote:

Brave young Dattatreya who is said to have known nothing of Satyagraha and being an athlete had, merely gone to assist in keeping order, received a fatal bullet wound. Meghraj Revachand, 18 years old, has also succumbed to a bullet wound. Thus did seven men, including Jainmdas, receive bullet wounds.

It was a gruesome tragedy in Peshawar where twenty-two persons were killed as a result of military firing following a disturbance in which two armoured cars were set fire to.

In Madras the Police assault on the peaceful Satyagrahis on the morning of the 25th of last month was an equally gruesome spectacle. Then began the dispersal of a public meeting by armed sowars and police firing following the mischief of some among the mob. Whether the Police were justified in breaking the meeting by force of arms and transcending their simple duty of clearing the road of mischief mongers and whether only the minimum force was used, are questions which will continue to elicit very strong and divergent views in view of the Government's decision not to have an independent and impartial inquiry.

Above all there was a most unexpected outburst of violence at Chittagong, where a number of young men armed with revolvers made an attack upon the police, killing six and wounding a few more. It is evident that this has nothing to

do with the Satyagraha movement, but it was most unfortunate it should have occurred at all.

THE BENGAL ORDINANCE

The Government of India considered the situation at an emergency meeting of the Executive Council, and the Viceroy immediately issued an Ordinance renewing the Bengal Ordinance, which normally lapsed on April 23rd, in view of the grave happenings in Chittagong. Gandhiji, interviewed on the subject, said that the Chittagong news, made sad reading, and "shows that there is a large or a small body of men in Bengal, who do not believe in non-violence as a policy or a creed." "If it is an indication, and not an isolated act," Gandhiji said, "it is a serious affair. But however serious the situation becomes, there can be no suspension of the fight. There can be no retracing." Civil resisters, in his opinion, "must therefore fight an unequal struggle with the violence of the Government and the violence of those who have no faith in non-violence."

Commenting on these ugly incidents Mahatma Gandhi's trusted lieutenant Mr. Mahadev Desai (who was subsequently arrested and convicted) wrote in *Young India* (April, 24) that the second week of the campaign brought a distinct 'victory for the devil.'

Pledged as we are to strict non-violence and truth, any manifestation of force or fraud or violence on our part means a victory for the devil in us. The fight we are engaged in is not only a fight against the 'Satanic' British Government but also a constant fight against the Satan in us. And the mob manifestations in Calcutta, Karachi and Poona, whatever may be the responsibility of the police for them, are a distinct loss to the cause.

AN EX-ADVOCATE-GENERAL ON POLICE ASSAULTS

While that was the feeling of the Satyagrahi, opinion was fairly consolidating against police assaults on peaceful Satyagrahis. In using violence against Satyagrahis. Government servants were committing an act, for which they would be criminally and civilly liable, was the warning sounded by Mr. Bulabhai J. Desai, ex-Advocate General, Bombay. Mr. Desai

lengthily examined the various provisions of the Salt Act as well as relevant Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and pointed out that the personal violence alleged to be used in a number of instances was not justified by law. He concluded:—

The result is that individual servants of Government who are guilty of acts alleged against them has no protection of law and it is impossible that Government administering the law can countenance or support or justify them or any of them. Apart therefore from individual liability, both civil and criminal, which Satyagrahis will not enforce, it is the bounden duty of Government to see that law is observed as much by its own servants.

Mahatmajl himself writing under the caption "Black Regime" reviewed the outstanding events and observed that "if Government neither arrest nor declare salt free they will find people marching to be shot rather than be tortured." Referring to the reported poisoning of salt pans, Mahatmajl pointed out that "the blackness of the regime becomes blacker still." The Bombay Government thereupon, issued a *Communique* emphasising their view of the poisonous character of natural salt.

THE PRESS ORDINANCE

While events were taking this untoward turn H.E. the Viceroy promulgated on the 27th April, another Ordinance reviving the powers of the Press Act of 1910, with certain amendments. His Excellency pointed out that many writings in the Press incited openly to violent and revolutionary action, others by consistent laudation of the civil disobedience movement had encouraged a spirit of lawlessness throughout the country.

The Ordinance was enforced with the utmost promptness in Delhi the Government demanding a security of Rs. 5,000 each from the *Hindustan Times*, the *Tej Arjun* and three Nationalist dailies, Rs. 4,000 from the *Riyast Illustrated Weekly*, devoted to the Indian States, and Rs. 2,000 from the *Millat Khalifatist*, with the stipulation that unless the securities were deposited immediately the papers would be deemed to have ceased publication the next day.

It was next the turn for Calcutta where Mr. Sen Gupta's *Advance* and several other papers ceased publication on demand of security. The journalists of Delhi met in Conference and decided on a concerted action to discontinue publications under the circumstances and calling on the Indian Press throughout the country to answer the challenge with a united front. Mr. Gandhi in a press statement declared:—

Revival in the form of an Ordinance of the Press Act, that was supposed to be dead was only to be expected and that, in its new form, the Act contains additional provisions making the whole piece deadlier than before.

Whether we realise it or not, for some days past, we have been living under a veiled form of martial law. After all, what is martial law, if it is not the will of the commanding officer? For the time being the Viceroy is that officer and wherever he considers it desirable, he supersedes the whole of the law, both common and statute, and imposes ordinances on a people too submissive to resent or resist them. I hope, however, the time for tame submission to dictation from the British rulers is gone for ever.

I hope that the people will not be frightened by this Ordinance. Pressmen if they are worthy representatives of public opinion will not be frightened by the Ordinance. Let us realise the wise dictum of Thoreau that it is difficult, under tyrannical rule, for honest men to be wealthy, and if we have decided to hand over our bodies without murmur to the authorities, let us also be equally ready to hand over our property to them and not sell our souls.

I would therefore urge Pressmen and publishers to refuse to furnish security, and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. When freedom is actually knocking at our doors, and, when for the sake of wooing it, thousands have suffered tortures, let it not be said of Press representatives that they were weighed and found wanting. They may confiscate the type and machinery. They will not confiscate the pen and still less the speech, but I recognise they can succeed in confiscating even these last two, but what they will never succeed in stifling and what is after all the thing that matters, is the thought of the nation.

Mr. Gandhi directed the manager of his *Navajivan* press to allow it to be forfeited rather than deposit security if security was demanded by the Government under the new Press Ordinance.

MR. PATEL'S RESIGNATION

It was at about this time too that President Patel resigned his office of speakership of the Assembly as well as his membership. In his letter to His Excellency the Viceroy he declared that he

would serve the country better outside the Assembly by joining his countrymen in the "movement for freedom." He also outlined the difficulties and obstacles he had to contend with. "The Chair," he declared, "had been a bed of thorns for me all throughout." His movements, he alleged, had been constantly watched and he had been shadowed. During the last five years his health had been seriously impaired by strenuous work. "A man with weaker nerves," he declared, "would have resigned long ago or become subservient to the bureaucracy." He found that he had laid down precedents and conventions which in his opinion "might be a credit to any Assembly in the world."

"I would ask you to lay aside in the larger interests of respective countries all considerations of prestige and invite Mr. Gandhi for a settlement," wrote Mr. Patel in the course of his second letter to the Viceroy, tendering his resignation.

Mr. Patel in this letter reviewed the political situation in the country and described the advice that he constantly gave to the Viceroy, dwelling on the importance of the Congress in Indian politics.

In concluding, he paid a warm tribute to the Viceroy. "You sincerely wish to solve India's problem," he said. "Your influence with all the parties in England is great.....If therefore, you take courage and rise to the occasion you will serve both India and England as no man has served in the past. If you fail, it must be India's good-bye to England."

The Viceroy accepting the resignation refused to reply to all the allegations against the officers of his Government as "these charges bear on their face their own refutation." He referred to Mr. Patel's misunderstandings of events as evident in his letter of resignation and he hoped that Mr. Patel "and his friends would realize the great harm they were doing to India by refusing the way of peace" for the solution of the country's political problems.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU'S WARNING

Towards the close of April, when the movement of civil disobedience was at its height and the Government began to retaliate with coercive measures and the revival of repressive legislation, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued an important statement to the press on the present political situation. He wrote:

If we could devote a fraction of the energy we are dissipating at present on the consolidation of opinion in favour of Dominion status and the settlement of domestic differences, we should have made such a strong case that it would be impossible for the 'diehards' in England to ignore the signs of the times and say 'No' to us. * * *

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru personally thought the people were heading to disaster from which it might take them some time to recover and he seriously questioned the wisdom of a policy which thought, by making the task of Government utterly impossible they were ensuring success and even improving their chances.

While I feel thus over the situation that is unfolding itself before our eyes I cannot help feeling that the Government themselves missed some opportunities of carrying with them public opinion. I can only hope they may yet see the wisdom of expediting the execution of a constructive policy.

MAHOMED ALI'S PEACE EFFORTS

Maulana Mahomed Ali telegraphed to the Viceroy on the 15th April as follows:—"I earnestly appeal to Your Excellency not to permit the situation to become graver by the arrest of Mr. Gandhi." Both he and the Government, continued Mr. Mahomed Ali, have made a sufficient demonstration of their strength. "I pray that considerations of prestige will prevent neither from seeking a *rapprochement* by retracing their steps and bringing about peace and freedom. With an assurance from you we shall try our utmost to bring about peace honourable to both. I am telegraphing this to Mahatmaji also and am similarly appealing to him." The Private Secretary replied in a letter dated the 25th, conveying His Excellency's recognition of the spirit of goodwill which prompted the message, and referring to what the Viceroy said at the

opening of the Legislative Assembly on the 25th January. The Viceroy said that so long as the law was openly defied neither he nor his Government could do anything but resist its subversion by whatever means might be in their power and in whatever manner that might seem most appropriate.

GANDHI'S ACTIVITIES

Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi's own activities continued unabated. He travelled through the villages preaching incessantly now against untouchability, now against drink, now urging the people to go on with Khadi work and the manufacture of illicit salt, and calling upon the women to take the place of men in national service. At one place he asked the people to cut off all the palm trees in the village—himself inaugurating the ceremony of destruction by cutting at the root of one—and he called upon the village officers to resign and join the national work. Addressing a meeting of women in Surat on May 4. Gandhiji said that they should not attend his meetings in future without their Taklis. They could spin the finest counts on the Takli. Women of Surat had to atone for the admission of foreign cloth through the port of Surat. At the same place he called upon the caste panchayats to observe their pledge to abstain from drink. At Navsari however he warned the people against the social boycott of Government officials. "Kaira District appears to have become the theatre of war in Gujarat" wrote Gandhiji in an article in "Navajivan."

People have preserved peace but there are anger and malice and therefore violence in their intensive social boycott. They censure and harass Government officers in small matters. They will not succeed in this manner. We should expose the evils of the offices of Mamlatdars, Fozdars etc., but we should not harbour anger towards Mamlatdars and Fozdars. There should be sweetness and respect in our intense boycott. Otherwise there will be riots some day. Mamlatdar and Fozdar etc., will cross the limit. Fozdar is already said to have crossed the limit. What wonder if the people crossed the limit? Similarly if some abuse how can they blame those who resort to blows.

People of Kaira District should take a warning and enforce boycott within limits. I have indicated for instance boycott of village officers should be with regard to their office only. Their order should not be obeyed

but their food supplies should not be stopped. They should not be ejected from their houses. If we are not capable of doing this we should give up the boycott.

Gandhiji was then drafting his second letter to the Viceroy and had also announced his intention of raiding the salt works of Dharsana and Chharwada.

THE ARREST

It was obvious that Mr. Gandhi's arrest was only a question of time. The Government of India had made up its mind to put a stop to his activities, a view in which the Home Government had no hesitation in concurring. But the whole affair was kept confidential and not until Mr. Gandhi was removed to Yerravada, on the morning of the 5th was it known that the arrest had taken place.

For at dead of night on the 4th May Gandhiji was arrested in his camp at Karadi. The newspapers have given the story of the arrest in some detail. It would appear that the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police with the Deputy Superintendent of Police and about 20 armed Policemen proceeded from Jalalpur to Karadi and reached there at 12-45. They proceeded straight with the help of a flashlight torch to the cot where Mr. Gandhi was fast asleep. They directed the flashlight on Mr. Gandhi, who woke up. Policemen surrounded Mr. Gandhi's cot. Mr. Gandhi asked if they wanted him. The District Magistrate replied in the affirmative and said: "We have orders to place you under arrest."

Mr. Gandhi inquired if they minded his cleaning his teeth. The District Police Superintendent replied that he had no objection. While Mr. Gandhi was thus engaged in applying salt to his teeth with a brush, his "volunteers" assembled. Mr. Gandhi asked the District Magistrate if he would let him know the charge under which he was arrested. The District Magistrate then read out the warrant.

As Government views with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 25 of 1927 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government and be immediately removed to Yerravada Central Jail.

Mr. Gandhi thanked the District Magistrate and went about his morning routine. It was by this time nearing 1 A.M. and the District Magistrate requested Mr. Gandhi to speed up. Mr. Gandhi was soon ready to go. He handed over a letter which he had written to H. E. the Viceroy and some other letters to one of his "volunteers" and he took his two bags, and a "takli". Before Mr. Gandhi departed his "volunteers" bade him farewell. By this time it was ten minutes past one and Mr. Gandhi was placed in a motor lorry, accompanied by Policemen.

Mr. Abbas Tyabji, who was selected by Mr. Gandhi to lead his "volunteers" after his arrest, duly took Mahatmaji's place.

GANDHI'S SECOND LETTER TO THE VICEROY

Mr. Gandhi's second letter to the Viceroy which was released soon after his internment was a strong but outspoken indictment of the Police treatment of Satyagrahis and against what he called "the veiled form of Martial Law" that had come into being. It was also a notice to the Government announcing his intention to set out for Dharsana to take possession of the salt works. Gandhiji concluded:—

You may condemn Civil Disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to Civil disobedience? If you say as you have said that Civil Disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that the British Government not bearing because not understanding non-violence goaded human nature to violence which I could understand and deal with.

But in spite of goading I shall hope, God will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and provocation to violence.

If therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the Salt Act and remove the prohibition of private salt making, I must reluctantly commence the march adumbrated in the opening paragraph of my letter.

As Gandhiji was arrested before attempting the raid it is needless to discuss the details of that letter at any length.

HIS MESSAGE

Before the arrest, however, Gandhiji had dictated at Dandi, what may be called his last message in which he expressed his satisfaction at the way Guzerat had responded to his call.

If such an auspicious beginning is carried to its full conclusion, complete Swaraj is a certainty and India will have set to the whole world an example worthy of her. Swaraj obtained without sacrifice, never endures. People may have, therefore, to make endless sacrifices. In real sacrifice there is only one-sided suffering, that is without killing others one has to die. May India accomplish this ideal! At present, the self-respect and everything of India are concealed in a handful of salt. The first may be broken, but it should never be opened.

* * *

After I am arrested, neither the people nor my colleagues should be daunted. The conductor of this fight is God and not I. He dwells in the heart of all. If we have faith in us, God will certainly lead us. Our path is fixed. Whole villages should come forward to pick or manufacture salt. Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops. In every house young and old should begin spinning on takli and heaps of yarn should be daily woven. There should be bonfires of foreign cloth. Hindus should regard none as untouchables. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians all should heartily embrace one another. The major communities should be satisfied with what remains after satisfaction of minor communities. Students should leave Government schools and Government servants should resign and be employed in the service of the people like brave patels and talatis who have resigned. Thus shall we easily complete Swaraj.

MRS. GANDHI INTERVIEWED

Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mrs. Gandhi said:

Bapu has been removed, but his removal will in no way hamper the great task of winning India's freedom undertaken by him. If the nation sincerely followed Bapu, they should carry on the work with double vigour. Lawyers should now leave the courts, and women should justify the faith reposed in them by Bapuji, and should leave no stone unturned in the boycott of foreign cloth and abolition of the drink evil. I fervently hope that India will show her mettle, and give a fitting reply to the Government's unwarranted action.

MRS. NAIDU ON GANDHI'S ARREST

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in a statement to the Press on Mahatma Gandhi's arrest said:—

A powerful Government could have paid no more splendid tribute to the far-reaching power of Mahatma Gandhi than by the manner of his arrest and incarceration without trial under the most arbitrary law on their statute book. It is really immaterial that the fragile and ailing body of the Mahatma is imprisoned behind stone walls and steel bars. It is the least essential part of it,

The man and his message are identical and his message is the living heritage of the nation to-day and will continue to influence the thought and action of the world unfettered and unchallenged by the mandate of the most autocratic Governments of the earth.

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, naturally created considerable excitement, not only in India, but all over the world. It was followed by spontaneous demonstrations of sympathy from one end of the country to the other. Gandhiji's arrest was the signal for a voluntary and complete hartal in Bombay, Calcutta and several other places. The day after the arrest, the hartal was even more wide-spread. In Bombay, a huge procession was taken out, and a public meeting in the evening had to be addressed from seven different platforms. About 40 out of the 80 mills had to be inactive, because over 50,000 men had come out in protest. The workmen of the G. I. P. and the B. B. & C. I. Workshops also came out and joined the hartal. The cloth merchants decided on a six days' hartal to indicate their disapproval of the arrest. In Poona, where Gandhiji is interned, the hartal was complete. The disturbances in Sholapur which resulted in the burning of six Police Chaukies led to police firing in which 25 were killed and about a hundred wounded. Six members of the Bombay Legislative Council, Messrs. V. N. Jog, Bhimbhai Naik Dixit, Prof. J. C. Swaminarayan Mr. Rewachand Ratanchand and Sheth Sakarlal Balubhai resigned their seats in the Council as a protest. Mr. D. P. Sinha resigned his seat on the Behar and Orissa Council. Mr. Ratansi D. Morarji, Member of the Council of State, resigned his seat "as a protest against the policy of ruthless repression." Mrs. Hansa Mehta, wife of Mr. Jivaraj Mehta, returned to the Government her certificate of appointment as Justice of the Peace. Mr. Walchand Hirachand, President of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce and ex-President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, relinquished his title of C. I. E. In Calcutta, though the hartal was peaceful in the City, there were disturbances at Howrah

where the police opened fire; at Panchanantala, a crowd which tried to hold up a train was fired upon by the police and fifteen were injured. Section 144 was at once promulgated at Howrah, and numerous arrests were made. There was firing also in Delhi, following the refusal of a crowd to disperse. Under Section 144, all assemblies of more than five were prohibited. In Simla, Mr. I. H. Desai, Superintendent of the Commerce Department of the Government of India resigned in protest. The police charged the crowds in two places and several people were injured. In the Punjab, a big students' procession was dispersed by the police by force, and another crowd was charged in Jullundur. Five members of the Madras Legislative Council, Mr. C. Venkatarangam Naidu, Mr. P. B. Choudhury, Mr. L. K. Tulasiram, Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy and Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar resigned their seats.

MR. TYABJI'S LEAD

In the meanwhile, Mr. Abbas Tyabji announced his intention to lead the volunteers to Dharsana to raid the salt works. He would not allow Mahatmaji's plans to be frustrated by his absence. The work should go on uninterruptedly. Accordingly on the appointed day (May 12) Mr. Abbas Tyabji and 59 volunteers started for Dharsana and were promptly arrested. They were duly tried the next day. Mr. Tyabji dictated the following parting message to his countrymen:—

"Friends,—In one short month, Mahatmaji has succeeded in rousing a desire for complete independence in millions of India's sons who had previously thought, if at all, most perfunctorily about it.

"To all those who have worked according to Mahatmaji's instructions during the one month, it is evident that no amount of coercion is going to subdue the spirit of the people. There can now be no peace in India till freedom is won.

"I call upon all my countrymen to work out the programme chalked out by Mahatmaji with all the intensity they are capable of and to keep our flag flying."

Mr. Tyabji was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and others to various terms. The leadership, as arranged, thus fell to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

PROTEST IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

But Gandhiji's arrest had a world-wide interest. Indians engaged in business in Panama called a 24-hour-sympathetic 'hartal.' A similar step was taken by Indians on the East coast of Sumatra, who wired to the Viceroy and the Congress regretting Mr. Gandhi's arrest. French papers were full of Gandhi and his doings which culminated in the arrest. The boycott movement has had a repercussion in Germany, where textile exporters were advised by their agents in India to suspend exports. Reuter reported that Saxon manufacturers of cheap printed cotton-goods were particularly hard hit. The Indian community of Nairobi declared a 'hartal' in consequence of the arrest.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY

Meanwhile, an influentially signed message has been cabled to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald by 102 American Clergymen of various denominations urging him to seek an amicable settlement with Mr. Gandhi and the Indian people. Signatures were collected by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, New York, and the message appeals to the Prime Minister in the interests of Britain, India and the world to avoid the tragedy of a conflict which would mean catastrophe for all mankind.

The signatories say, they refuse to believe Mr. MacDonald, representing principles of freedom, democracy and brotherhood, can find it impossible to negotiate with Mr. Gandhi and make peace with the spiritual ideals he so sublimely embodies.

THE LIBERAL MOVE

It would appear that Government were keenly alive to the seriousness of the situation. H. E. the Viceroy interviewed the Liberal Leaders, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Chiman Lal Setalvad at great length. The Council of the Liberal Federation met at Bombay on the 14th to consider the political situation and leading Liberals had given expression to the urgent need for another

announcement from the Viceroy fixing the early date of the Round Table Conference. But the day before the meeting of the All-Parties Conference and the Council of the Liberal Federation, H.E. made another important announcement and released for publication his correspondence with the Prime Minister. The Council of the Federation also issued a statement on the present situation which is published elsewhere in this Number. The Council, while unequivocally condemning the civil disobedience movement urged the Viceroy to speed up the preparations for the Round Table Conference for the discussion of Dominion Status.

It stressed the importance of the Government

indicating the terms of reference and the scope of the Round Table Conference in order that even at this stage those who keep aloof may join hands with the Liberals and other Parties who are proceeding to the Conference.

It further laid stress

on the simultaneous cessation of civil disobedience and the initiation of active conciliation on the part of the Government to be manifested by the release of those whose freedom has been restrained for political reasons, and the taking of all political Parties into Government's full confidence.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

In the course of a statement announcing the date of the Round Table Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy reviewed the course of political events since his announcement of November 1:—his meeting with prominent Indian leaders at Delhi on December 23; the Congress session and the resolution of Independence; Mr. Gandhi's letter, the reply thereto; the start of the Civil Disobedience Campaign and the outbreaks at Peshawar and Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, Chittagong and Karachi, and Delhi and Sholapur where martial law has since been proclaimed.

Lord Irwin reiterated his desire to continue his work for India despite these lamentable happenings, and concluded with the remark:—

Our purpose remains unchanged. Neither my Government nor His Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events from our firm determination to

abide by the policy I was privileged to announce on November last.

After reviewing the developments in this country since October 1929 and pointing out how his warning to Mr. Gandhi against the consequences of a campaign of civil disobedience has been proved by recent riots, Lord Irwin declared that steps are being actively taken to arrange for the assembling in London of the representatives at the Round Table Conference on October 20 next.

His Excellency added, "I have learnt to love India too well to relax my efforts to assist what I hold to be the natural and true development of her political life," and emphasised that no settlement can be considered satisfactory which did not carry the consent of, and give a sense of security to, the important communities who will have to live under the new constitution.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION

But, in the meanwhile, the Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad on the 16th and expressed its abiding faith in civil disobedience. It chalked out the lines to follow in the coming weeks and recommended in its resolutions:—

- (1) Civil Disobedience Campaign to continue;
- (2) Complete boycott of foreign cloth;
- (3) Inauguration of a no-tax campaign;
- (4) Weekly breaches of the Salt Law;
- (5) Boycott of British Banking, Insurance, Shipping and other institutions;
- (6) Picketing of liquor shops;
- (7) Delegation of full powers to Pundit Motilal Nehru.

MRS. SAROJINI'S LEAD

Mrs. Naidu who had proceeded to Allahabad to attend the Working Committee Meeting, on hearing of Mr. Tyabji's arrest, hurried to Dharsana, in fulfilment of her promise to Mr. Gandhi and continued to direct the raid. She and her batch of volunteers, who had pursued a policy of "wait and see" for over 24 hours, were formally arrested on the 16th morning, taken out of the police cordon and then released,

After the first batch had left the prohibited area a few volunteers, taking advantage of the fact that the majority of the police party had moved out to the lunch camp leaving only a handful to keep watch, rushed towards the salt mounds. They were chased out, and in the scuffle, a few volunteers were injured.

The same evening, over 220 volunteers were arrested by the police on a charge of being members of an unlawful assembly and were detained in the segregation camp at Dharsana.

According to the decision of the Bombay Congress Committee, a large number of volunteers converged on the Wadala salt works on the 18th morning. The 'raid' was frustrated by the prompt action of the police, who, armed with revolvers, arrested over 400 of the Satyagrahis. There was an exciting chase after a batch of the arrested persons, who had broken loose from the police cordon and dashed out for Wadala, but were also soon rounded up.

THE EFFECT OF THE MOVEMENT

The repercussions of the Indian boycott movement in the London market and in the manufacturing centres in England became more and more pronounced. The Free Press Correspondent, writing of the effect of the arrest, observed:

Since the attack seems to be concentrated on the textile goods, it is here that the effectiveness of the movement is most visibly felt. But what worries manufacturers is not so much the feeling that they would ultimately lose the Indian market as the fear that the existing contracts would either not be fulfilled or would be cancelled. The tendency to cancel the present orders seems to be on the increase, and the Manchester correspondent of THE DAILY MAIL says, "The latest news from India is likely to bring Lancashire's Indian trade to a complete standstill. Already spinning mills and weaving sheds are closing down indefinitely, and thousands of operatives are joining the ranks of the unemployed."

Thus nobody, least of all the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, could believe that the trouble was all over with the arrest. It would appear that they were forced to it rather painfully. It is easy enough for the ignorant or

the reactionary Press in England as in India, to goad the Government on to acts of repression. But they forget that the Mahatma himself, when free, was a great force working for peace. Mr. Benn and Lord Irwin know that there could be no peace in the country until the whole problem of the Indian constitution is discussed *de novo* and a settlement in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the people is arrived at. Hence it was that, in reply to questions in the House of Commons on the morrow of the arrest, Mr. Wedgwood Benn emphasised "that the invitations to Indian leaders for the Round Table Conference still stood despite anything that has happened."

In an article in the NEW LEADER, on Mr. Gandhi's arrest, Mr. H. N. Brailsford opined that the only hope lay in a fresh start. He urged the Labour Government to pledge itself for provincial autonomy immediately and Dominion Status within 10 years at the most, and to inform Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lloyd George that the Government would resign unless they consent to a prompt and precise promise of self-government.

The NEW LEADER in an editorial advocated an immediate declaration that the Round Table Conference would meet on the basis of full equality with full powers to determine the form of Government acceptable to Indians themselves.

In this connection it is interesting to read the comments of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN on the ticklish situation created by the 'March,' and we will conclude with the wise words of that paper. The GUARDIAN rightly observes:

The truth is that if things go wrong in India, the blame should rest not so much on the human agents on the one side or the other as on the unnatural relation in which we stand in India. The rule of one country by another is, and is now felt to be, a monstrous and indefensible system. The readjustment of our relations is a task which cannot be completed in a year or two, but we must not be surprised at any violence on the part of Indians till we have shown beyond all shadow of doubt that we are in earnest about accelerating the readjustment and putting our relations upon a footing of genuine equality.

INDIAN TAXATION*

BY DR. P. J. THOMAS, M.A.

INDIAN Government is a colossal experiment in State Socialism; as Lord Meston puts it, it is a 'universal provider, a mundane counterpart of divine providence.' Other governments might be interfering much more with social relations, but in all other matters connected with the corporate life of the community, hardly any government outside India fulfils a more comprehensive function. Such a government must have at its command a steady supply of funds and it is but natural that taxation should have so engrossed the attention of State officials in India.

In this book, the author tries to give a historical view of the taxes in India. License tax, income-tax, customs, salt, opium, land revenue and excise are all treated separately, and in the case of most of them, lengthy reference is made to the debates in the Legislatures. The author deliberately eschews any expression of views and is concerned only with facts, or with views expressed by others in the course of formal debates. Obviously, it is not easy to review, or even to summarize, such a book.

The tax-system of India is built on Moghul foundations, and if it has been modified in the last hundred years, it was due solely to exigencies of the moment and not to any reasoned criticism of economic experts. The first attempt to bring economic theory to bear upon Indian taxation was in 1924, when the Taxation Enquiry Committee was appointed. But till now, its recommendations have not been given effect to.

Land revenue has always been the mainstay of the Treasury in India, and even after the Reforms of 1919, that position has been maintained to a great extent in the Provinces. Originally, land revenue was regarded as the rent of land or the share of the produce which went to the King. This theory, however, has long become anomal-

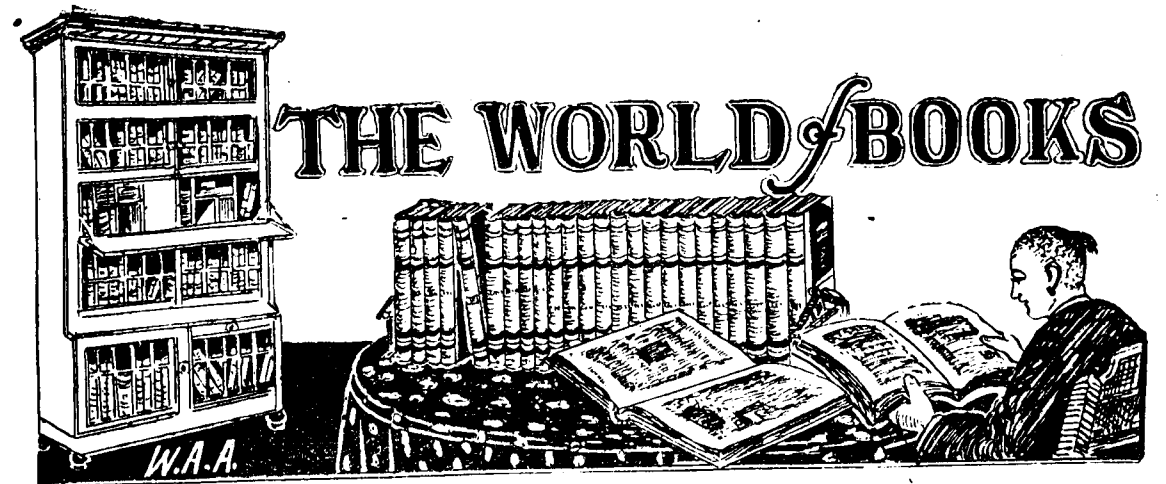
ous, seeing that State ownership of land is no longer maintained. The history of land revenue is practically the history of Indian administration, and in spite of the creation of the new specialized departments which now operate in the districts, the staff collecting land revenue are looked up to by the people as the local representatives of His Majesty's Government.

Customs was a minor item of revenue in India till quite recent times, but with the expansion of foreign commerce and the increasing imposition of tariffs, it has become our foremost source of revenue. In 1911-12, customs revenue amounted to only Rs. 9.7 crores and in 1918-19 Rs. 18 crores, but in 1928-29 it was nearly Rs. 50 crores. To what extent such expansibility will continue remains to be seen, but for the time being, the prospects are good.

Income-tax is the only revenue-head in India in which the principle of progression is employed. Even in England income-tax came in by the back-door and has long been an unwanted guest. In India, it was ushered in by the financial dislocation caused by the Mutiny; but it was later dispensed with. As in England, the exigencies of Government later brought it back and gave it a permanent place in the financial system of the country. Income-tax is generally regarded as an expansive head of revenue, but during the last 10 years it has contracted rather than expanded. From Rs. 22 crores in 1921, it has fallen to a little over Rs. 16 crores last year. With the improvement of trade and business in the country, such tendencies are likely to be reversed.

Dr. Banerjea's account is impartial, objective and far from sententious. A deliberate attempt has been made to avoid controversial views. This is at once the strength and the weakness of the book. Like Dowell's HISTORY OF TAXATION AND TAXES IN ENGLAND, it will serve as a good work of reference on Indian taxes.

* A History of Indian Taxation. By Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D. Sc. pp. 541—Macmillan—Price 12-6.



DEMOCRACY. By Delisle Burns. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8sh. 6d.

Critics of democracy like Mussolini and George Bernard Shaw aver that due to the incompetence of voters and representatives either the democratic Government does nothing in the public interest or it becomes the instrument of the corrupt self-seeking classes in the state. Mussolini justifies the Fascist Dictatorship on the ground that the Parliamentary Government before 1922 did not accomplish anything useful in the public interest owing to the want of will and knowledge among the people. Bernard Shaw in his latest production, "The Apple Cart", draws pointed attention to the democratic government reflecting the interests of the self-seeking classes. These critics of democracy would do well to read the brilliant book before us written by that distinguished writer Dr. Delisle Burns. Dr. Burns whose articles on Democracy or Dictatorship appeared in these pages in August and September last, makes a masterly analysis of the defects and advantages of democracy in the book before us. He is of opinion that the incompetence of voters and representatives at the present day is insignificant when compared with the incompetence of monarchs and their ministers in the past, and that the misery and squalor that afflict society at the present day are light by comparison with the distress and poverty before the democratic ideal was accepted.

But the excellence of the democratic government does not make him ignore the defects of democracy, and he expounds in his own inimitable way the defects which have given handle to the critics who want to do away with the democratic government. But with all its faults, the author loves democracy still, for it brings out the abilities of the common man, and it is a form of government which can be criticised freely. He wants therefore every member of the community to make a positive contribution of thought and action, to improve government and develop industry and social culture.

The book is a closely reasoned thesis on the existence of abilities in the common man and how they may be profitably used for the benefit of society. The scholar is also sure to feel an interest in the book as it is a delightfully new presentation of democracy.

ENGLISH VERSE. Edited by W. Peacock. Oxford University Press, London.

The third of the five volumes of these selections is before us, and it is a handsome addition to the World's Classics. It includes selections from the works of Dryden, Swift, Pope, Johnson, Gray, Collins, Goldsmith, Cowper, Blake, Burns and Wordsworth. It is thoroughly representative of over two centuries of English verse which includes Restoration lyrics, Augustan parodists and Romantic revivalists.

THE BEST OF O'HENRY. Chosen by "Sapper", Hodder and Stoughton, London.

O'Henry has left us some 270 stories: and "Sapper" has had no light task in choosing his hundred. Henry wrote his stories with the skill and sureness of touch of Maupassant, and a humour that was not in the French master. For, in all his stories there is the unfailing atmosphere of "Cabbages and Kings."

Henry died in his forty-third year and was thus cut off in his prime of life. There is a touch of pathos in all his humour, and like dear Old Tom Hood, Henry died with a jest in his lips. To quote Prof. Leacock: "Don't turn down the light," he is reported to have said to those beside his bed; and then as the words of a popular song flickered across his mind, he added: "I am afraid to go home in the dark". It is splendid to have the best of O'Henry's in a handsome volume of a thousand and odd pages.

LETTERS FROM A FATHER TO HIS DAUGHTER. By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad.

Amidst all the pre-occupations of politics, Mr. Jawaharlal has found time to write a book for children—and such a useful and delightful book too! The letters were originally addressed to his daughter Indira, and they certainly deserve to be read by daughters of other men and indeed by some elders also. For not all educated people are familiar with the history of the early days of the world; and the simple and graceful style in which he tells the story of the world and the ways of men and nations, of Kings and temples and civilizations past and present, of the formation of tribes and the relationships of languages, of the progress of man from the Stone age down to our own times must offer welcome reading to the young. The book, as all children's books should be, is beautifully printed.

WHAT IS ART AND ESSAYS ON ART. By Tolstoy. Translated by Aylmer Maude, Oxford University Press, London.

Tolstoy was a great moralist, but his teachings could not have had such a hold on his readers if he had been less of an artist. This double claim to renown as artist and philosopher is thoroughly sustained by his works. And the Oxford University Press has done well in bringing under one cover his famous essays on art. This collection is thus an admirable addition to the World's Classics. The book is prefaced with a luminous introduction from the pen of Aylmer Maude to whose devotion to Tolstoy we owe the English version of his works.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR BRITISH INDIA. From 1918-19 to 1927-1928. Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.

The working journalist could have no more authoritative book of reference than the "Statistical Abstract" published by order of the Governor-General-in-Council. It is replete with facts and figures illustrating every phase of the country. Arranged under suitable headings we have tabular statements on the population, revenue, expenditure, trade and industries, vital statistics, education and a multitude of other subjects grouped under the headings, Police, Prisons, Public Works, Agriculture, Emigration, Taxation, etc., etc. The book is invaluable to journalists and public men, and ought to be in every library for ready reference.

COMMON-SENSE ADVERTISING. By A. A. Knight. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). As. 12. This little book contains rules and principles for systematic advertising. It is indispensable to manufacturers, importers and other business people.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ. By R. G. Pradhan, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C. G. A. Natesan & Co., G. T., Madras. Price Rs. 4. net.

In this book, Mr. Pradhan traces the course of the Indian movement for responsible Government and Dominion Status, from its beginning to the Viceregal pronouncement declaring that Dominion Status is the political and constitutional goal of India.

The book gives a critical account of the Swaraj movement. "Having myself played an humble part in the movement," says the author, "I know its currents and under-currents fairly well and fully realize its inwardness. My object in writing it is to portray the Indian national struggle as clearly and fairly as possible, and seek to enlist for it the sympathy of all the enlightened and progressive nations of the world." The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna has contributed an appreciative foreword to this book.

REPORT ON THE IMPORT TARIFF OF COTTON PIECEGOODS AND EXTERNAL COMPETITION IN THE COTTON PIECEGOODS TRADE. By G. S. Hardy, I.C.S. Published by the Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta. As. 9.

Mr. Hardy, after a very careful examination of the statistical materials, concludes that the external competition is more from Japan than from the United Kingdom and that chiefly in respect of grey piecegoods. Regarding the desirability of specific duties, he states that specific duties are not necessarily simpler to administer than *ad valorem* duties and if a protective duty is intended to be prohibitive the method of assessment is immaterial; it is merely necessary to fix the rates sufficiently high. This is quite true, but this report has not allayed the fears that attempts are made to bring in discrimination against Japan and Imperial Preference by the back door in the name of protection for Indian made piecegoods,

MAHATMA GANDHI: THE MAN AND HIS MISSION. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1. To Subscribers of the INDIAN REVIEW. As. 12.

In this the Seventh Edition, an attempt is made to bring the story of Mahatma Gandhi's life up-to-date. It is a clear and succinct narrative of his remarkable career in South Africa and India, including a sketch of the Non-Co-operation movement, his historic trial and imprisonment, his recent Civil Disobedience Campaign, together with a full account of his Great March to the salt pans of Surat. This topical publication contains also appreciations of the Mahatma by such distinguished persons like the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. and Mrs. Polak, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Rev. Dr. J. H. Holmes, M. Romain Rolland, Mr. C. F. Andrews, and Bishop Whitehead.

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ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND CUSTOMS. By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, Bombay. D. B. Taraporewalla Sons & Co. Rs. 3.

This is the third edition of an essay that first made its appearance as far back as 1893. The author himself brought out the second edition in 1903, and now the piety of the author's grandson is responsible for the present edition.

In 83 pages, by no means over-campact, the late Ervad Bharucha managed to cover the whole field of Zoroastrianism, and there is hardly an aspect of it, whether religious or customary, that has not been dealt with lucidly, albeit briefly. The additional one hundred pages are taken up by Appendices in which a lot of useful material has been given. Not the least note-worthy characteristic of the book is that it does not indulge in superlatives, but is content to let the religion speak for itself. Judged quantitatively—i.e., from the stand-point of the number of followers,—Zoroastrianism is the least important of the great religions of the world to-day. Yet there is not a religion to-day, which has escaped the impress of Zoroaster's mighty personality. The story of the Prophet of Iran struggling against heavy odds in his attempt to establish monotheism in the midst of people whose religion did not rise above nature-worship is a story of great human interest, but it is not at all so well-known as it deserves to be.

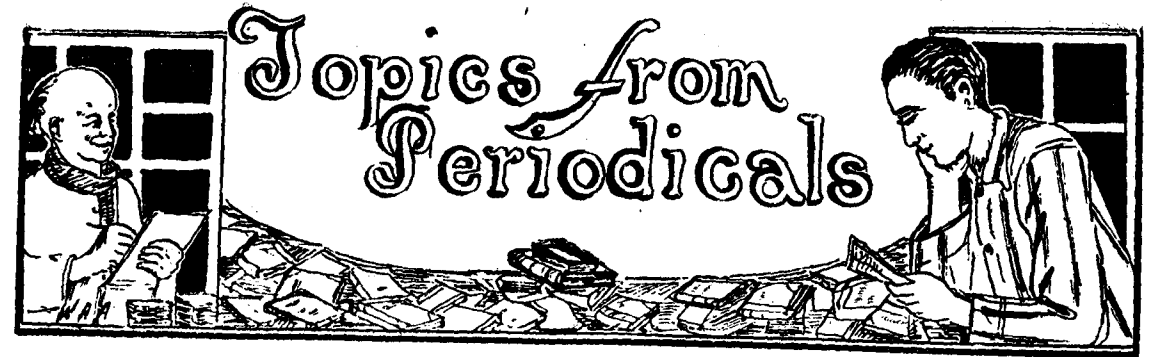
A HISTORY OF THE KAYASTHAS. 1st Part. By G. N. Sinha, published by the Verman Company, Bareilly.

The anxiety of particular communities to assert their prominent status in the orthodox scheme of classification has been on the increase in recent times; and Mr. Sinha's book, (the expected second part of which will give an account of various Kayastha rulers, statesmen, writers and preachers), describes the significance of the diversely interpreted term *Kayastha*, the position of the *Kayas-*

thas in Hindu society, their classification into sects and sub-sects, the traditions regarding their origin and present distribution, and their present position in Hindu society. The book contains a mass of not well-arranged information about references to the ethnography and customs of the caste. On the strength of collected historical data, the title *Thakur* was the prefix of the Kayasthas during the Hindu period, while under Mahomedan rule, they were usually addressed as Rai, Dewan, Dabir and Thakur. It is as yet impossible for us to accept the conclusion that the Kayasthas have been descended from the ancient Kshatriyas. There can be no final answer to this and similar problems. Writing Kshatriyas (Lords of the Pen) as opposed to the Fighting Kshatriyas (Lords of the Sword) is an attractive enough description of their status, but may not stand the test of criticism.

SWARAJ—CULTURAL AND POLITICAL. By Pramatha Nath Bose, B.Sc. Newman & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

This book contains a vigorous plea for the revival of Cultural Swaraj. The author attempts to show that the primary bond of Indian nationhood has hitherto been cultural, that India has enjoyed from the dim beginnings of history cultural rather than political Swaraj, that India's prosperity until the advent of the British was due to cultural Swaraj, that the super-imposed Western civilisation on the ancient Indian culture destroyed village self-government, caused the destruction of indigenous industries, promoted communal discord, and that therefore the salvation of India depends upon the revival of her cultural—Swaraj. We do not deny that there is much good in our ancient culture, but if India is to take her place with the nations of the world, she must harmoniously blend the best in her ancient culture with the best in the Western civilisation, for "East plus West is much the best."



THE REAL ISSUES OF INDIA

Under the above caption, Lord Meston contributes an article to the April Number of the *EMPIRE REVIEW*. He asks whether the congress party, or its cat's-paw, Mr. Gandhi, is genuinely anxious and prepared to have India excluded from the British Empire. He puts a number of other questions as follows:—

Are they ready even to take over the problems which Dominion Status would unload upon them? How do they propose to deal with the probable revolt of the Moslems against Hindu ascendancy, with the possible intervention in the quarrel of Afghanistan and its formidable forces? Have they any reasoned plan for bringing the Princes, as consenting Powers, into the joint administration of India?

These questions have only to be stated in order to furnish their own answers, says Lord Meston. These questions are, according to the noble Lord, merely a few of the more obvious points which the home-rulers have never faced. He continues:—

The real answer, however, is that they have no desire whatsoever for Dominion Status at the moment, and still less for complete independence. They may have, in some vague way, a picture of a Hindu India, run according to its own ancient standards, and protected against internal trouble and external aggression by the British army and navy. But their only real and immediate purpose is to produce a state of unrest in India and alarm in England which will prevent the calm consideration of Sir John Simon's Report when it appears within the next few months. It cannot be too strongly or too frequently insisted upon, that all the extravagances that we are now witnessing in India aim, as their prime object, at deflecting attention in this country from the true issues on which that Report will invite the verdict of our people.

Commenting on the extremist movement in India, Lord Meston says that it is prompted by an inherent antagonism to British conceptions of enlightened self-Government. Its purpose is to

wear the Britishers out, contends the Lord, until they abandon the policy of training India to manage her own affairs by Western stands. He concludes:—

The extremist is not fighting for this or that form of Constitution but for liberty to re-fashion India on Hindu lines, to fasten fetters upon her which for over a century and a half, we have been striving to remove. If we are prepared to tolerate reaction, the sooner we abdicate the better; but if not, then we cannot be too vigilant in strengthening the hands of our representatives in India against a movement which is not in any sense in which we can understand the words, a movement for political liberty.

WORLD COMMUNITY

Under the heading "World Community—The Supreme task of the Twentieth century", Mr. John Herman Randall contributes a thoughtful article to the March Number of the American monthly *UNITY*. Mr. Randall says:

The internationalism which is being visualized everywhere to-day is not, let us repeat, to be confounded with the old eighteenth century cosmopolitanism, which decried all local and national distinctions and every form of patriotism. Its ideal was to be a citizen of no country, but of the world. Internationalism, on the other hand, pre-supposes a prime loyalty of the individual to his national state, a cherishing by him of his national language and his national traditions, an intelligent patriotism within him. Its ideal is to be a citizen of one's country and of the world. The internationalist aims to build his world-state with national blocks; he would not suppress nationality but develop it; he does not desire to make all nations alike but to make them fraternal. He does not dream of one World State, but rather, of a Federation of the Nations, in which all nations and people shall come to know themselves as members together of the living body of humanity—a Family of Nations, in which mutual respect and consideration of each for all and all for each shall one day prevail. To move forward therefore, from our present individual nationalisms to a broader and more inclusive internationalism is not to follow a strange and unknown path, but merely, as political states, to take a well-marked turn on the very highway on which the modern world in all other aspects of its life is already travelling.

THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

The question of the grant of Independence to the Philippines is engaging the attention of politicians throughout the world. An article on this subject was contributed to the March Number of the INDIAN REVIEW by a Student of History who clearly laid out the case for Philippine Independence. We give below the views of two Americans on this subject. Mr. Kirby Page, writing in the April Number of WORLD TO-MORROW, says:—

Three alternatives are now confronting the Government of the United States: first, to retain the islands against the wishes of the Filipinos and thus perpetuate the present agitation and unrest, second, to give them early independence and cast them adrift to sink or swim; third, to launch them into nationhood under favourable circumstances. The latter course would demand some such measures as these: the fixing of a definite date, say ten years distant, when independence would automatically become effective; the granting of immediate internal autonomy; the continuation of free trade between the United States and the islands for at least a decade and then placing the Philippines on the same tariff basis as Cuba, which receives a 30 per cent. discount from the tariff duties imposed upon imports into the United States; the negotiation of a treaty with Japan, Great Britain and other powers guaranteeing the independence of the Philippines, together with the entrance of the latter into the League of Nations; continued co-operation with the Filipinos in the realms of education, public health, engineering, and in other ways.

The record of constructive achievement by the United States in the Philippines stands unsurpassed in the annals of colonial administration. "No people," says the Wood-Forbes report, "under the friendly tutelage of another, have made so great a progress in so short a time. Everywhere in the islands, one finds evidence of gratitude on the part of the Filipinos and an almost complete absence of the bitterness and hostility which is so prevalent in India and Syria, for example. We are on the verge of an unparalleled success in training another people for self-government. Shall we spoil it all in order to increase the profit of a few American sugar growers? By fixing a date when independence will be granted and continuing free trade for a decade, we can enable the Filipinos to have both freedom and prosperity.

Quite the opposite view is expressed by another writer—Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt—in the pages of the April Number of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, an American Quarterly Journal. He says:—

It requires but little knowledge of the force of American idealism to realize that if anything went wrong in the Philippines, and they were endangered, the very same American sentimentalists who have for years been crying "Give them their liberty!" would be the first to demand that the United States step in to help her former wards and to protect them from the "rapaciousness" of alien oppressors. This is the sort of appeal which moves Americans strongly. It flatters their vanity and appeals

to their sense of evangelism. They like to think of their country as the rescuer of the down-trodden, the saviour of the oppressed.

If the American Government, once it had left the Philippines, were prevailed upon to go to their rescue, it would face the likelihood of a war of appalling consequences. Such a war would involve a vast naval construction programme, long and hazardous expeditions to conduct military operations on the other side of the world, the probable mixing in of other Powers, the stirring of new resentments among subject peoples of Asia. To the realist, what is most distressing about such a possibility is the virtual certainty that so long as we continue in our present relation, these dangers are so remote as to be negligible. To remain is a fair insurance of peace. To withdraw is to invite disaster.

As an alternative, it has been suggested that the United States might guarantee the independence of the Philippines, either alone or in company with other Powers, or that the League of Nations might give America a mandate over them. These expedients would put the United States in the very position which she has so long sought to avoid—that of responsibility without authority.

The crux of the matter, then, is that the Philippine Islands are like Mark Twain's white elephant. They are a burden to maintain, but there is no safe and effective way of getting rid of them. Retention—at least for a number of decades—seems the lesser of two evils.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

The educationists of India are not at all satisfied with the state of things that obtains in the various universities of India to-day. They feel there is something wrong with the system of values that reigns supreme in these centres of learning and research. Principal P. Seshadri repeats this protest in the pages of the EDUCATIONAL REVIEW:

It is not always realized that, in the sphere of University education in India, there is as much need for the attainment of *Swaraj* as there is in the sphere of politics. The Universities in India can never rise to their full stature until they cease to be treated at present in comparison with foreign Universities. It will not be denied that there are branches of study in which some of the foreign Universities have facilities superior to those available here, but to imagine that every product of a foreign University is necessarily superior to the best *alumni* of the Universities in India is to prevent the latter most effectively from realizing the best of which they are capable. This theory of foreign superiority was naturally found to be very advantageous to be set up by the Britisher in India, as it ensured better and higher conditions of pay and service to him than to the brightest intellects trained in this country. It is only in recent years that the Indian has shaken off his slave-mentality in the political sphere and is beginning to realize that the Indian is not necessarily inferior to the European. It is time the same consciousness of pride and self-respect pervaded the atmosphere of our Universities also and there was an end to this meaningless apotheosis of foreign degrees.

THE INDIAN REFORMS

Are we to leave India's voiceless millions without effective representation and to withdraw at the same time the only unifying influence from a country torn by disintegrating forces? Or, on the other hand, are we to retain the safe-guards provided by the present administrative machinery and thereby to run the serious risk of achieving only the shadow and not the substance of an advance towards responsible Government? asks the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd who contributes an article to the latest Number of the FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW under the heading "India's advance towards democracy". He says:—

The first course is impossible to reconcile with a due and honourable discharge of the responsibilities towards India which—however come by, and whether we like them or not—are ours to-day and cannot be shirked. If, on the other hand, the second course is adopted, how are we at the same time to implement the solemn promise given to India in 1917? These are difficulties so serious that all the energies and all the reasonable goodwill of everyone concerned are needed in the task of finding a solution.

* * * * *

Our problem is not now to formulate a goal but to frame a policy which will enable India to advance towards that goal without danger to herself and us: and in order to do that, our first task is to face the facts, and to rid ourselves of the misleading considerations of sentiment, which are in part a legacy of the War, and in part merely the stock-in-trade of English political parties.

Will the Round Table Conference, which has aroused so many divergent expectations, provide an opportunity for this? In spite of the mystery which at present surrounds its composition and functions, it may still be fruitful of good, opines Lord Lloyd, if the British Government enters upon it in possession of a firm and clearly conceived policy, and with the determination to bring all parties face to face with the essential facts and needs of the situation. He concludes:—

If, on the other hand, the Conference is to be used as an excuse for postponing a difficult decision, if the government fails to take a decisive lead—if in fact, we are to follow the opportunist policy—then a situation of real danger may arise. We may find ourselves heading irrevocably either for a reaction that will set back the clock many years, or for a decision framed in ignorance and haste, which will bring shame upon us and lasting injury upon those whom it is our first duty to protect.

RELIGIONS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

"The religious movements all over India from the 11th to the 16th century were not only eclectic in ideas, but to a large extent free from the cramping restrictions of orthodox Brahmanism. They were moved by a vast and generous desire for the salvation of humanity and not merely of castes or classes," writes Mr. K. M. Panikkar in an article headed "Religious movements in Medieval India," in the January-February Number of TRIVENI with which is incorporated the NEW ERA.

In fact, never was there in India such a tremendous upheaval of religious spirit in its true sense, desire for spiritual uplift and wide-spread longing for the freedom of the human soul, since the days of the Buddha. Apart from the schools and sects that this great movement of mind gave rise to, there was one result which was singularly important, and that was the attempt made over and over again to create a religious synthesis out of the conflicting creeds of Hinduism and Islam. By their nobility of purpose, no less than by their achievements, these attempts stand out as highly significant landmarks in Indian thought.

Another feature is the popular character of these movements. Most of the saints of the Hinduism of this period were men of the people. Their songs were not subtle or metaphysical, and appealed directly to the heart of the people. In fact it is not too much to say that the mind of the Hindu of to-day bears the imprint of these religious teachers more than even the religious thought of the Vedas or the Upanishads. The songs of Jnaneshwar in the Maratha country, the hymns of the *Ahwars* and the *Salvite* saints in the South, the songs of Kabir, Mirabai, and more than all, the work of Tulsidas, have created the popular religion of India. Even to-day it is in these that modern India finds its mental nourishment.

If no great national synthesis resulted from this awakening, it was due to the varied and dissonant racial and cultural tendencies in India. In medieval India, says Mr. Panikkar, though there was a unity of sentiment and unity of institutions, there was not the same chance as there is to-day of a universal prevalence of ideas working towards the establishment of a national unity. The geographical facts inevitably tended to make all awakenings of this kind local in effect, though national in their bearing.

GANDHI'S PRINCIPLE OF SWADESHI

THE PRABUDDHA BHARATA for April contains an interesting article on "Mahatma Gandhi's Economic Ideals," in which the writer, Mr. Shiv Chandra Datta, says that by Swadeshi, Mr. Gandhi understands the duty of preserving the indigenous institutions and using indigenous products.

It has three principal aspects—religious, political and economic. Taken in all these aspects together, it means that we should not give up our civilization, religion, language, dress, political and economic institutions and the products of our country. It does not mean that we should treasure our faults and defects. But it means that we should cling to our institutions and products, even though they be disagreeable and uncomfortable. The observance of the principle in all its aspects is stressed as a religious duty.

In its economic aspect particularly, it is made to mean that we should use the things which are or can be made in our country in preference to those made in foreign countries. "The broad definition of Swadeshi is the use of all home-made things to the exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home industry, more especially those industries without which India will become pauperised.

Is Mr. Gandhi totally against all imports? Mr. Datta says that the answer is in the negative. He continues:—

While he is not exactly in favour of a total cessation of imports, he certainly wants that they should be reduced as much as possible. He would be prepared to allow only those things to be imported which are absolutely essential, but which cannot be produced within the country. While delivering a speech at Madras in 1916, he said: "A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things which to-day he considers necessary. . . . And we would be making for the goal even if we confined Swadeshi to a given set of articles allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such articles as might not be procurable in the country." In the same speech he said a little earlier: "If not an article of commerce had been bought from outside India, she would be to-day a land flowing with milk and honey." Imports, therefore, in his opinion constitute a drain on the country's resources, and the more they are reduced the wealthier will India be.

FAITH IN FORCE

"The waning faith in force" is the subject of a very interesting article in the April Number of the HARPER'S MAGAZINE by Mr. Edward S. Martin. The subject is of special interest to Indian readers just at present.

Mr. Martin says:—

Human life generally seems in process of reconstruction. A visitor from England said the other day, "Has the world ever been so interesting as it is to-day—Lenin, Gandhi, science, the reconstruction of religion, the unity of the human family, all stirring in human consciousness? I think a tremendous lot of rubbish is coming to the surface, thanks to such agencies as Katherine Mayo, Chicago gangs, and wars, and gradually people are getting rid of a lot of nonsense and becoming more sensible. People complain of the world becoming Americanized (mechanized), but the human type is becoming more efficient, more clean, more energetic, instead of immersed in dreams, sex, and idleness, as too much of Southern Europe and Asia has been so far. I think, Russia has let loose ideas, as did the French Revolution, which will profoundly affect the whole world, but it will not be by a repetition of Communism."

Non-resistance does not mean lying down on the job and letting things slide. It means a resort to something stronger than force. Perhaps it means an appeal to what we call public opinion, but not to that alone. At any rate compulsion as a cure all is losing authority. Revelations of what war really is are turning men away from it. Disclosure of the minds of militant teetotalers make observers think better of drink. Vast appropriations for new insane asylums make us wonder whether our marriage laws are as good as they should be, and big appropriations for new prisons make us think we are not intelligent in our handling of convicts. So perhaps we are getting on.

The writer concludes that in course of time, humanity will develop intelligence enough to comprehend the principle that underlies that remarkable maxim: "Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good!"

HINDU MARRIAGE REFORM

Under the heading, "Friendly Chats" the INDIAN LADIES' MAGAZINE publishes an article on Hindu Marriage Reform by Mr. R. L. Rao. The writer denounces the movement for equal right of divorce for women inaugurated in the All-India Women's Conference in Madras as premature. He says:—

The Hindu Woman, as she is to-day, is nowhere. She must be made a unit in Society first: and a responsible unit as well. She must be made capable of thinking for herself, and acting for herself. The Sarada Act has come as a great relief, since it will give every Hindu girl a chance to live. If only some of our more enlightened women turned their eyes to this aspect of the question, if they endeavoured to raise the general standard and tried to emphasise the necessity of leading real dignified lives in every sense of the word, they would achieve a great deal, for, let us remember that, 'whilst our heads are in the clouds, our feet are on the earth.' It is wise to

INDIAN FIRE-WALKERS

Among the many mysteries of the East, there is one that has often been the theme of considerable wonder to Europeans—and that is the fire-walking ceremony so common among the Hindus in India and their emigrates in different parts of Asia and Africa. People pass through terrible ordeals in the name of religion and the mortifications they undergo are beyond all the possibilities of physical or psychological laws. The Soutris lacerate their bodies with hooks and knives, walk across a pit of glowing embers ankle-deep in the ashes, and, after the ceremony is over, remove the hooks and skewers from their flesh which shows no blemish, neither scar nor blister.

Mr. E. L. Roberts gives in the April issue of the UNITED EMPIRE a vivid and picturesque account of one of these functions in Natal. Men and women in strange costumes appear on the scene, with music and tumbrils which play upon the emotions of the multitude to a high pitch of frenzy and religious ecstasy. A wave of excitement rippled over the throng. The fire in the pit leapt in great bounding tongues of flames. Six tons of firewood were blazing fiercely, and the air became hot as a furnace and heavy with smoke.

The Soutris, or fire-walkers, arrived and sought the river for the purification ceremony during which they immersed themselves. After this had taken place, the Soutris and their attendant priests began to chant weird invocations, while needles were driven through their tongues, and hooks and pins lacerated their flesh. One fire-walker placed his feet on sandals studded with two-inch nails and drove the spikes through the flesh. Others passed long rapiers through their bodies. These preparations produced great bursts of religious fervour, and the whole performance was the more remarkable in that the devotees appeared to feel no pain and not a drop of blood flowed from the wounds.

And then fifty or sixty of the fire-walkers pass through a pit of blazing fire—encrusted with a layer of red-hot embers.

Throughout this ordeal they seemed to feel no pain, and after a few minutes, the scars from the wounds disappeared. The priest spoke a few words of praise to each of the Soutris and invoked a blessing before they returned to their friends in triumph. Then followed a scene of great joy and excitement and the ceremonies were concluded by a festival and merry-making.

stand where we stand, to look about and then try to be of some use.

Men have been very fair to the women's cause in India more fair than the men of other countries have been. Women have, and will always have, the support of all genuine lovers of freedom and fair play, where their schemes of Reform are concerned.

But, let us have decent marriages first. Then let us talk of Divorce. Otherwise, we shall be putting the cart before the horse.

Will every educated mother or woman make it possible for her daughter to choose the line of work or activity she wishes to take or allow her the freedom to choose her partner in life?

The need of divorce arises, says the writer, only when it is possible first for a young man to meet another young woman in a perfectly natural way. What is wanted is an 'atmosphere'. He concludes:—

Let us make it possible too, to bring your young people more and more together. The divorce, or the necessity of separation, will come later on. It is on these lines, it seems to me, that reform must take place.

WOMEN AND NATIONAL FREEDOM

The women in India, says Mrs. Cousins, in the pages of the STRI DHARMA, are now using the economic weapon of saving for India's needs the money that is being drained out of India by foreign manufacturers of cloth, by spirituous drink and military expenditure. Amongst such women, there are Government servants who teach, nurse and superintend hostels. There are others who are independent like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi, Sarabhai and others who are in the forefront of politics. All their work is one work, says Mrs. Cousins, namely, the freeing of Mother India.

As long as we all face the same way, as long as we all keep mutual respect and love, as long as we understand conditions and differing temperaments, experience, limitations, as long as our attitude is that of zealous service for India and humanity, every act of every day can be a part of the eternal Satyagraha, and so long we women and men will stand behind one another in a deep phalanx in which those at the back are as much a necessary part of the Great Push as those at the front.

It is essentially a time in which each woman must review her own life and give to India of her uttermost—she must give more than ever before, of thought, of changed action (as in refusing to wear foreign cloth, and in learning to spin), of time to teach others, or to organise for others, or to take the places of women who are free enough and brave enough to risk imprisonment.

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PUNISHMENT FOR BREAKING SALT LAW

The manufacture of contraband salt by civil resisters is a technical offence of which the seriousness is practically the same everywhere, whoever may commit it. Yet, the punishments inflicted on the accused are comparatively light in some cases and very heavy in others.

The legal punishment prescribed for this offence, says the Editor of the MODERN REVIEW in his notes, is either a term of simple or rigorous imprisonment or fine, or both.

But very numerous are the items of news in the dailies from all provinces and many towns and villages which inform the public that there is illegal and extra-legal punishment, too, in the shape of assaults by policemen on men, women and children. Some firing has also taken place. All or the majority of these news cannot be false. The people of India never had any training or practice in the manufacture of war lies, either in times past or in modern times.

It is said that large crowds cannot be dispersed without the use of some force, which may, in some cases, include the shooting down of men with fire-arms. Whether shooting was necessary on any particular occasion can be discussed only with reference to that occasion. But these men are not turbulent and do not offer any resistance to arrest.

They only defend their salt when it is sought to be snatched away from them. But if they are arrested, *spe facto* they cease to defend their salt, which can then be taken away by the police along with their persons. Therefore, there is no reason why they should be assaulted. The law does not authorise the police to assault them or any other class of offenders. But it may be taken as a fact that salt-law-breakers have been beaten by the police in very many places. *Communiqués* are issued by the Government to correct mis-statements in the press, but news regarding police assaults on *Satyagrahis* remain officially uncontradicted.

Now it is not possible to test the legal validity of these punishments as the *Satyagrahis* do not care to defend themselves in a court of law; but it is all the more obligatory on the part of the executive to see that the law is observed scrupulously both in the letter and spirit.

Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code punishes the bringing of the Government into hatred or contempt or the excitation of disaffection against the Government. That shows that Government wishes to be respected. One means of securing that respect is to see that its laws are respected both by its own servants and by non-officials. But if the police be allowed to beat any

man in an illegal or extra-legal way, the law ceases to be respected.

Hence, if it be the intention of the Government that the *Satyagrahis* should be punished, some by being sent to jail or fined or both, and some by being thrashed by the police, the law should be so amended as to include the latter among legal punishments. But if that be not the intention of the Government, such assaults should be put a stop to and the assailants among the police should be punished either as ordinary offenders or at least departmentally.

It may be contended, he continues, that it is not possible to accommodate cloth and feed the ever-increasing army of *Satyagrahis* and so the Police have taken to beating them. If so, argues the Editor, beating with lathis should be "legalised and regularised". That would be a fine thing for a civilized Government to do!

But the real remedy does not lie in the multiplication of forms of punishment and in increasing their severity but in freeing India. That is our point of view. If Britishers do not want to let go their hold on India, they should at least govern as if it were free.

THE SIKH VIEW OF LIFE

"India is on the way to become a nation; but if she is to reach the goal successfully, she must evolve a truly Indian view of life—a view which is neither purely Hindu nor Moslem, nor Sikh, nor Christian, but a true synthesis of them all"—writes Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh in the March-April Number of the KHALSA REVIEW. The Sikh Gurus regard human life as a period of unique opportunity. They do not divide human existence into four periods as, for instance, the Hindu seers do into four ashramas.

The Gurus do not believe in dividing mankind into classes or castes—*varnas*—and prescribing duties appropriate to each class. They have one common *upadesh* for all. From the most lowly to the highest, without distinction of birth, wealth or sex, they expect certain things—a life of usefulness, work, up-right, honest, truthful and devout living; a life full of worldly pursuits and not of isolation and asceticism; a life not of self-abnegation and self-denial but of dedication to the service of man and love of God. The Gurus do not ask their disciples to give up the life of a householder or to abstain from worldly enjoyments—live with your wife and children, with your friends and relations. Do not shrink

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS CHINA

"The road to ruin in China" is the subject of a thought-provoking article by Mr. J. O. P. Bland in the pages of the ENGLISH REVIEW. Those who have studied the causes of the steady deterioration of our position and prestige in China," says the writer, are aware that the policy of patient conciliation pursued by successive Governments in recent years has been to a great extent inspired, and often initiated, by certain political idealists, whose opinions have carried far more weight in Downing Street than those of the British of the Far East":

As matters stand to-day, it is not surprising that the Government, largely composed of men without personal experience of Oriental races, should follow the facile path of graceful concessions in view of the fact that their line of action, or inaction, is usually based upon the opinions of the F.O. School of thought, whereof the fountain head is Chatham House. To put the matter plainly—with Sir Frederick Whyte as adviser to the Government at Nanking, and Sir John Pratt as the chief authority on China at the F.O.; with that indefatigable and persuasive pacificator, Mr. Lionel Curtis, now directing his attention to Chinese affairs; and all the "liberalizing" influence of inveterate theorists, such as Sir Charles Addis and Professor Toynbee, in the background—a policy of lamentable surrenders was inevitable. The personnel of the delegation selected by Chatham House to represent Great Britain at the Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in itself sufficiently indicates the opinions now fashionable in the highest circles of academic politics. All things considered, therefore, the British merchant in China (whom the "high-brows" regard as an unfortunate anachronism) should perhaps be grateful that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has not yet seen fit to withdraw all our armed forces from Shanghai. As regard the immediate future, remembering Mr. Curtis's notable contributions to the cause of "dyarchy" in India and that of Dominion Home Rule in Ireland, it may fairly be predicted that the result of his present activities will be manifested in further concessions or compromises, all theoretically unimpeachable, but all in practice disastrous, for the reason that they will fail, as usual, to take into account the real objectives and the "dominant morality" of the Oriental politicians with whom he is dealing.

your worldly duties—earn your own livelihood, support your family, bring up your children properly, take your share in the work of your community, city and country, help your poor brethren with money and service, uphold your ideals—secular and religious—even if it be necessary to lay down your life for the purpose. And all the time keep on thinking of your Creator loving Him and His creation, worshipping Him and none else, meditating and repeating His Name, and happy in His *raza* or *bhava*,—dispensation! Such is the life that the Sikh Gurus enjoin on their disciples.

The writer gives a few episodes from the lives of the Sikh Gurus. And a story is told of Guru Nanak and of his disciple Bhai Lehna—later on Guru Angad. Guru Nanak after he returned from his tour of preaching settled down at Kartarpur as a farmer. He used to go to his fields and work there like ordinary cultivators.

He taught his disciples the value, dignity and sacredness of labour. That was, as a matter of fact, the first lesson that Guru Nanak taught Bhai Lehna—who was to become in course of time Guru Angad—when he became his disciple. When Lehna reached the Guru's house after making up his mind to serve his apprenticeship he was told that the Guru was in his fields cutting grass. Lehna went there and found Nanak with two big loads of grass, dripping with muddy water, tied up ready to be taken home for the use of the cattle. Nanak was persuading his sons to lift them and carry them to the house; but they were making excuses thinking that the work was not worthy of their status and position. The Guru then looked up towards Lehna—and there he was, unmindful of his new clothes, in the spirit of service and devotion, ready to carry the huge loads on his head to the house of the Guru. And who does not know of the service that Guru Amar Das in his old age performed as a disciple for his Guru? It is the examples of Gurus Angad and Amar Das that have created in the minds of the Sikhs, young and old, boys and girls, men and women, rich and poor, princes and paupers—the spirit of *sewa*, dedicated service that distinguishes them and puts them in a category by themselves.

The Gurus taught another valuable lesson to the Sikhs by personal example. And as for illustrations, Prof. Gurmukh concludes by drawing our attention to the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev who was subjected to cruel tortures by Emperor Jahangir. The most important element in the teachings of the Sikh Gurus is their practical and universal character and their religion is one of the most pragmatic of religions.

WAR POWERS OF THE U.S.A. PRESIDENT

The March Number of the POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY opens with a very interesting article on the "War Powers of the President of the United States with special reference to the beginning of hostilities" by Mr. Charles C. Tansill of the Washington University. This subject has an added interest owing to the fact of the recent acceptance of the Kellogg Pact by the nations of the world which has focussed attention upon the powers of the President of the United States with reference to the formulation of American foreign policy. The rôle of Congress in this programme for world peace has been definitely a secondary one: a mere acquiescence in the decision already reached by the Executive. But if the President, through his control of foreign relations, can effect international peace, he can also involve the United States in such difficulties with other nations that war will necessarily result despite the anxious efforts of Congress to preserve peace.

Mr. Tansill continues:—

The much-vaunted doctrine of the separation of powers, a doctrine hailed by our founding fathers as a political panacea *par excellence*, was not given rigid application in the Constitution of the United States, and at times it has been difficult exactly to delimit the respective jurisdictions of the executive and legislative departments. In recent years the rôle of President of the United States has assumed a heightened importance, and to many acute observers it appears as though Congress were being pushed farther and farther into the background. America's increasing interests in the region of the Caribbean has demanded effective governmental support which has been extended mainly through the executive department. In Haiti, in Santo Domingo and in Nicaragua, American investors have looked not to Congress but to the President for action in their behalf. The despatch of American warships and the landing of American marines seem so closely related to actual warfare that many opponents of presidential action have vigorously asserted that the American Executive has usurped a power properly belonging only to Congress, which is the war-making power.

With a national enemy in arms against the Federal Government, says Mr. Tansill, it behooved the federal judiciary to assist the Executive in the efficient conduct of hostilities.

Such an attitude has been typical for the judiciary has always been loath to interfere in any way in the settlement of so-called "political" questions. And as between the Executive and Congress it has usually been recog-

nized by the latter that the successful prosecution of war demands "in the highest degree the promptness, directness and unity of action. . . which alone can proceed from the Executive." It is apparent, therefore, that not only does the Executive largely control the events that lead to hostilities, but even during the course of a conflict resulting from his policies, his rôle is still the dominant one. Although Congress is empowered to prescribe the size and equipment of the military establishment, yet it is the Executive alone, by virtue of his powers as Commander-in-Chief, who decides just how the war shall be waged.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

HOYSALA BEQUEST TO INDIAN ART. By Dr. B. Subrahmanyam. [The Triveni—January-February 1930.]

THE APOSTLE THOMAS AND INDIA. By M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B. A., M. R. A. S. [The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. April 1930.]

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION. A Symposium. [The Khalsa Review, April 1930.]

THE PILGRIM OF INDIA. By M. Romain Rolland. [Prabuddha Bharata, April 1930.]



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

Questions of Importance

THE LIBERALS' STATEMENT

An urgent meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India was held on 14th May at the Legislative Council Hall, Bombay. The Council has issued a statement on the present political situation of India. We give below the full text of the same:

"The Council considers it its duty to place on record their view of the situation in India as it has developed during the last two months. It deprecates and deplores the mass civil disobedience movement started at this juncture, and while it recognises that the leaders of the movement have pledged themselves to non-violence, it regrets to note that, in fact, it has created an atmosphere in which unruly elements in some places have taken advantage of the situation and committed acts of violence. The movement has accentuated the cleavage between the different sections of the community, and has evoked, in a marked degree, feelings hostile to a friendly settlement of the outstanding political issues.

All this has led to strong action on the part of the authorities in certain places, which has further inflamed public feelings.

The Council has heard with grave apprehension of the proposal to ask the people not to pay taxes, as it is likely to lead to serious hardships without, in any way, bringing the country nearer to Dominion Status.

IRRESPONSIBLE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The Council feels it its duty to point out that the response which the Civil Disobedience Movement has evoked is mainly due to the economic and political discontent prevailing, due to the present irresponsible system of administration. The Council point out that in the Government's zeal for law and order excessive force appears to have been used at certain places resulting in very serious loss of life. Some have been subjected to humiliating treatment. The sentences passed in many instances are unduly harsh and severe and unequal.

PLEA FOR ENQUIRY INTO SHOLAPUR INCIDENTS

The Council condemns the Sholapur outrages, but is not satisfied that the civil authority had so completely broken down that the situation could not be handled except by martial law. The Council trusts that there will be a thorough, independent enquiry into the events that happened at Sholapur, Peshawar and other places. The Council is of opinion that continued suppression of civil authority is not calculated to ease the situation.

SUPPORT TO SWADESHI

The Council welcomes strongly and supports all measures stimulating Swadeshi. It cannot, however, support any retaliatory measures carried into effect by picketing in such a tense atmosphere, leads to regrettable conflicts.

PRESS ORDINANCE CONDEMNED

The Council recognises that a certain section of the Press indulged in inflammatory language but feels that instead of passing a drastic Ordinance, the Government should have warned the Press against such writings and if the warning were unheeded, the Government could effectively have set in motion the ordinary law against the offending papers. In the circumstances and having regard to the manner in which the Ordinance has been worked, the Council urges the recalling of the Ordinance.

In the interest of preventing mischief resulting from ill-founded rumour, the Council feels that correct news should be supplied without delay. It calls attention to and deprecates the extent to which censorship is being exercised on dissemination of news.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

While the Council continues to be of the opinion that the Round-Table plans be adhered to, it feels that, in order to ensure success, it is not enough to announce the date of the meeting, but that the Government should lose no time in publishing the terms, making it clear that the object of the Conference is the establishment of a Dominion Status constitution, subject to necessary safeguards for such period of transition as may be necessary.

CREATION OF FAVOURABLE ATMOSPHERE URGED

To supplement this policy, and in the interest of the country, the Council urges upon the Civil Disobedience movement leaders to restore normal conditions by the cessation of those activities which are a challenge to law and Government. It would urge upon the Government to take every step to create confidence among the people and a favourable atmosphere to the success of the Round-Table Conference by releasing political prisoners, who were not guilty of any violence.

Lastly, the Council urges the expediency of the Viceroy conferring with the leaders of Indian opinion for the purpose of removing the present tension and facilitate the success of the Round-Table Conference."

Utterances of the Day

THE VICEROY ON THE OPIUM QUESTION

His Excellency the Viceroy made a stirring speech at the Black Spots Opium Conference on May 14, during the course of which he said:—

"In British India, as a whole, the average consumption of opium cannot be said to be high. It is higher, it is true, than what is known as the League of Nations standard of six saers per 10,000 of the population. But this standard is one that has been fixed for the needs of countries where the use of opium is confined to medical and scientific uses, and is therefore, strictly speaking, of little relevance to the conditions of this country. Nevertheless, the consumption, in this country as a whole, has now been reduced to less than twice this scale, and if certain areas where the consumption is abnormally high, the Black Spots as they have come to be called, were eliminated, there would be little cause for anxiety about the rest of the country. * * *

It is a solemn duty incumbent upon all civilised Governments to protect from one of the most insidious dangers that can attack mankind those who, through weakness of mind or body, have given themselves over to the misuse of drugs. I would urge you earnestly, therefore, to grapple with this problem difficult and elusive as it is, in the determination that through your efforts a lasting benefit shall, in due course, have been conferred upon the human race and that the good name of India shall shine undiminished before the world."

MR. HIRACHAND'S DIAGNOSIS

Mr. Wanchand Hirachand, who has relinquished of the title of C. I. E. was only announced the other day, spoke at length, at the second quarterly meeting of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce in Bombay held on the 1st week of this month. Speaking on the present political situation, he said:

"The present discontent in India is due to the miserable plight of the masses. The prices of our agricultural produce have generally gone

down and this means a considerable loss if we see that our total annual agricultural produce is worth about 1,300 crores of rupees, roughly speaking. In our exports of some 300 crores we are losing owing to this fall and I do not think Government has done anything to relieve the situation. Cotton has gone down by about 24 per cent.

"Things cannot remain where they are. The discontent is every day increasing, and if Government do not read the signs of the times, they will find that they are themselves to blame. Businessmen in particular do want peace: but to-day there is no peace in the land."

DUTY OF THE MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Addressing the second session of the Coorg Muslim Conference held at Virrajpet on the 13th May, Mr. S. M. Fossil who presided said:—

"Islam is never opposed to patriotism. On the other hand, the Prophet is reported to have said that patriotism should be part of your religion. Our Prophet was a great patriot. He was every inch an Arab. You must realise that you are Indians first, Indians next and Indians last. Every Muslim must make himself, to use an American phrase, "a hundred per cent. Indian". There is more in common between yourselves and Hindus than between yourselves and Arabs or Turks or Persians, or Egyptians or Afghans. You will have to throw in your lot with the Hindus and work with them, for, after all, India is much our motherland as it is of the Hindus."

MR. PATEL ON GUJERAT'S FUTURE

"Gujerat could, if it willed, liberate India," declared Mr. Vithalbai Patel, addressing a monster meeting on the river bank in Surat. He said that Gujerat led the country in the present struggle. He exhorted his audience to practise social boycott against Government servants who ill-treated them, and urged them to refuse to pay land revenue as long as Mr. Gandhi was not released, or Mr. Gandhi and Congress directed them to do otherwise.

THE YOUNG MAHARAJAH OF INDORE

His Highness the Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar was formally invested with ruling powers on the 9th of this month by Col. Heale, Agent to



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF INDORE

the Governor-General. In acknowledging the felicitations of Col. Heale and the Durbaris, His Highness announced that he would limit his civil list to 11 per cent. of the total revenue of the State. He also announced remissions of land revenue and other assessments with a view to conserving the finances of the State.

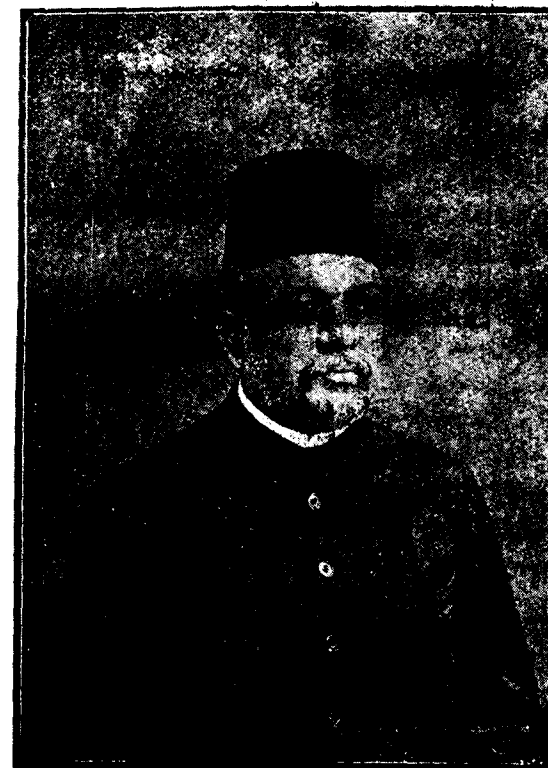
PATIALA ENQUIRY

A Press Communique announces that the Government of India have decided to order an enquiry into the allegations made by a committee of the States Peoples' Conference against His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala as well as against his administration. This decision comes as a welcome relief for the charges levelled against His Highness have been too grave and, as His Highness himself recognises, too often and openly made to be ignored with contempt.

MR. YAKUB HASAN IN CUTCH

Mr. Yakub Hasan, presided over the third session of the Cutch Prajakiya Parishad (Cutch Peoples' Conference) held recently at Anjar.

At his instance, a meeting of leaders of both Hindus and Mahomadans was arranged. The Hindus promised to stop playing music before mosques specially during the festival of Holi, and the Moslems in turn promised not to play chukker and akadhas in front of temples on the



Mr. YAKUB HASAN

last day of Moharram, but to pass by temples without stopping. This settlement of disputes, which caused great anxiety even to the Raj, is hailed with great satisfaction throughout Cutch.

SIR K. V. REDDI

Sir K. V. Reddi, Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, who had been in India on sick leave, left Bombay for South Africa



SIR K. V. REDDI

on the 23rd April by the S. S. KARAGOLA. His son, Mr. K. V. Gopalaswami, accompanied him, and he will be his Secretary during his term of office.

Interviewed by a representative of THE TIMES OF INDIA prior to his departure, Sir Kurma stated that although the situation in South Africa with reference to Indians there had somewhat improved during the past two years, there were still several problems which remained to be tackled. The chief amongst them was that relating to the trading licenses in the Transvaal. In this connection, Sir Kurma felt glad that during his absence, the South African Indians resident in the Union had a staunch friend in Mr. J. D. Tyeen who had been specially chosen by the Government of India to have the claims of Indians represented strongly.

Discussing the question of trading licenses, Sir Kurma said that the laws of the Transvaal were peculiar, and that the right of Indians to own or occupy immovable property was regulated by certain laws. According to them, they could not own lands or reside in many areas. Besides, trading licenses had been refused to Indians by certain municipalities which had to recommend the grant of certificates. The question was taken up by him during his stay there last year, whereupon a Select Committee was appointed "to inquire into the position created by certain recent judgments of the Supreme Court regarding residence on, or occupation of, fixed property by Indians or other persons, belonging to native races of Asia on Proclaimed Grounds in the Transvaal and the question as to how far the intentions of Parliament are being given effect to."

TWO INDIAN STUDENTS IN GERMANY

The Honorary Secretary, India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," Germany, have announced to the Indian public that the stipend for agricultural studies in the University of Hohenheim has been awarded to Mr. S. S. Tiruvengkatachari of Madras, and that the stipend for higher studies in the field of Engineering in the University of Stuttgart has been awarded to Mr. Phanindra Kumar Mitra of Dacca. As announced four months ago, both these stipends consist of free tuition.

RETURNED EMIGRANTS

The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. J. Gray, Labour Commissioner, who were recently constituted into a committee to inquire into and report on the condition of Indians landing in India under the scheme of assisted emigration, have submitted their report to the Government of India.

INDIANS IN FIJI

Vocational training for 5 1/2 per cent of the Indian population of Fiji as compared with the 3 1/2 in India, was advocated by the Governor Sir A. G. M. Fletcher in opening the Legislative Council on the 13th of this month at Suva.

DEPRESSION IN TRADE IN INDIA

An extraordinary general meeting of the Bombay Piece-goods Native Merchants' Association was held on the 10th of this month in Bombay, when several resolutions were passed. One of the resolutions ran as follows:—

"In view of the boycott of foreign goods throughout the country and in view of the prevailing political situation, this meeting is of opinion that a very serious and alarming crisis has arisen for the Mercantile Community in India, and accordingly, this meeting desires to warn its members of the critical situation that lies ahead. This meeting also draws the attention of the Secretary of State for India, H. E. the Viceroy, the Trade Commissioner for India, the Member for Commerce and Industry, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and the Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, to the grave political situation in India, and urges upon them to make use of their power and influence to bring about an acceptance of the national demands and effect an amicable settlement. This meeting hereby warns that in case the political situation is not eased at the earliest moment, a graver situation for the Manufacturers and businessmen is likely to arise, in which case the members of this Association will be most reluctantly compelled to consider the advisability of cancelling all outstanding orders."

The other resolutions condemned the high sentences passed on the Satyagrahis and the alleged high-handed action of the police towards the Congress volunteers.

£9,000 FALL IN PROFITS

A drop of about £9,000 in trading profits for the year was due mainly to the disturbed political conditions prevailing in India, said Mr. Mence Wilkinson, Chairman and Managing Director, presiding at the annual meeting of Whiteaway, Laidlaw and Co., Ltd., in London on May 9th.

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce has received a cable on April 1930 from the Delhi Cotton Piece-goods Association saying that, in view of the present political situation, especially the boycott of foreign piece-goods, the Association warns all shippers and manufacturers that any goods shipped will most probably be not only refused but will also be unsalable.

The Bombay Native Piece-goods Association has telegraphed that, for the same reasons, they believe that a serious and alarming crisis has arisen for the mercantile community in India and urge Mr. Benn, Lord Irwin and the Manchester Chamber to use their influence to bring about the acceptance of the National demands and an amicable settlement. If the situation is not eased, the Association foresees a grave situation, in which they would be reluctantly compelled to consider the cancelling of all outstanding contracts.

BOMBAY MERCHANTS' DECISION

The following resolutions were unanimously passed in the joint meeting in the Malabar Hall on the 7th instant under the auspices of the Punjab Krishna Association, the Multani Piece goods Merchants' Association and the Multan Commission Agents' Association, presided over by Lala Ramchand Parmanand of Seth Nikaram Parmanand.

(1) The above associations express their regret at Lord Inchcape's anti-Indian propaganda and whereas Lord Inchcape is connected with the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., the above associations resolve to boycott that company and not to load their cargo in its ships hereafter for Karachi line.

(2) The above associations also resolve to boycott foreign insurance companies and to insure their goods, etc., in the Indian insurance companies hereafter.

(3) The above associations draw the attention of other commercial bodies and request them to take similar steps in their committee to strengthen the cause of Bharat Swaraj movement, and thus support the Indian National Congress programme.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE

If the Japanese believe in the proverb 'Agriculture is the backbone of a Nation,' the Indian seems to feel that the Government alone is the backbone of his nation, and agriculture on which the whole structure of Government rests has been relegated to the background. It is high time that we set to work the "Back to the villages!" cry on sound economic principles. The two glaring defects of the economic life of our country seem to be:—

(1) Inadequate credit especially in the sphere of agricultural production.

(2) Comparing with the other countries and comparing with what could be effected, India lags far behind in the matter of production. It may not be easy to say these two facts, which the cause and which the effect. But realising as we do that productivity and credit are intimately related, we may make an attempt to solve it by increasing the credit and at the same time the productive power of the country. This can be done by a paper currency backed up by labour organised on co-operative principle as has been shown by the history of Scotland in the 18th century when banks by issuing £1 notes to its branches and through them to the farmers loans by a system of cash credits, were able to rescue the Scotch peasantry from an extreme state of poverty. Is it possible to apply similar principles to Indian conditions with success?

REFUSAL OF LAND TAX IN BARDOLI

In this great non-violent fight for complete Swaraj, launched with the imprisonment of our beloved Sardar Vallabhai Patel and sanctified with the sacrifice of numerous leaders and workers, our Taluk has hitherto contributed its mite, but now when the Government has captured Mr. Gandhi, the greatest man of the world, and the life of India, we farmers of Bardoli Taluk will not pay land revenue till Mr. Gandhi or Sardar Vallabhai Patel directs us to pay it, and, in doing, so, we

shall cheerfully endure all hardships from assaults, Jail and forfeiture of property, even to death."

The above resolution was passed at the Conference of the Bardoli Taluk held on May 10 in the Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli. Mr. Abbas Tyabji, Mr. Gandhi's successor, presided. Two days later when Mr. Tyabji was marching from Karadi towards Dharsena, he was arrested along with 59 of his compatriots.

CULTIVATION OF COCOA PLANT

In the House of Commons replying to Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Wedgwood Benn denied that the Government of India had recently authorised the cultivation of the cocoa plant and the manufacture of cocaine. No such action had been taken or, as far as he was aware, in any manner contemplated. The Dangerous Drugs Act merely made this legally possible. The Act was the outcome of the Government of India's efforts to strengthen the means at their disposal to carry out obligations under the Geneva Convention.

AGRI-HORTICULTURE IN COONNOOR

The Coonnoor Committee of the newly-formed Nilgiri Agri-Horticultural Society is as follows:

R. W. Hanson, Esq., C.I.E., F.R.H.S., President, Thomas Eugen, Esq., Vice-President, H. S. Thompson, Esq., Honorary Secretary, and Major K. R. K. Iyengar, I.M.S., Honorary Treasurer. Some 84 members have been enrolled, the rate of subscription being Rs. 12 per annum for each member.

There will be a number of privileges connected with membership, such as obtaining plants, etc., at cost price, and others at 33 1/3 per cent. discount. Members and their families will be permitted to attend the annual Flower Show free.

The Animal Show this year will be run by the newly-formed Society, and as the buildings and ground used last year near the Pasteur Institute, are not available, the Committee have secured the Cinema Buildings and the adjoining grounds for this purpose.

INDIAN DEGREES AND THE B. M. C.

A meeting of the Medical Profession of Bombay was held on the 5th April, in order to record its indignation at the recent decision of the General Medical Council in refusing to recognise the Medical degrees of Indian Universities. Sir Nasarvanji Choksy, C.I.E., M.D., presided. The following resolutions were passed.

I. That this meeting of the Medical Profession in Bombay emphatically condemns the decision of the Executive Committee of the General Medical Council in refusing to recognise the medical degrees of the Indian Universities based as it is on Anti-Indian bias.

II. That this meeting urges upon the Government of India the necessity of appointing immediately an Inter-University Medical Board consisting of the Representatives of the Government and of Indian Universities from their Medical Faculties, for determining and supervising medical education, qualifications and standards in Indian Universities.

III. That this meeting is of opinion that an All-India Medical Council be established by an Act of Legislature, and further suggests to the Government of India that the draft bill for the establishment of the same be circulated for public opinion before its introduction in the Central Legislature.

IV. That this meeting requests the Provincial Governments to amend the existing Medical Acts in such a way as to abolish the privileges conferred by certain sections thereof upon persons holding qualifications registrable under the British Medical Acts.

V. That this meeting is of opinion that admission to all the Medical Services of the country should be restricted to Indian Nationals holding Medical qualifications registrable in India and urges upon the Government of India that recruitment to the I.M.S. henceforth should not be by nomination but by a competitive examination to be held in India alone.

A MONKEY GLAND OPERATION

A monkey gland operation was performed on the 20th April at Chittaranjan Hospital, Calcutta, on an under-developed girl aged 22 who has so far shown no signs of puberty. The patient had taken various kinds of treatment and was examined by several eminent doctors in Calcutta previous to admission to Chittaranjan Hospital where she was kept under observation for a month. The monkey whose gland was taken for this operation belonged to the variety known as *Maccacus Rhesus*. The girl was chloroformed and the ovaries removed after opening the abdomen. The glands, removed from the monkey, were immediately transplanted to the abdomen of the patient under local anaesthesia. The whole operation including that on the monkey, we are told, lasted about half an hour.

HOW TO BE SLIM

"A Physician" writes to "The Daily Herald" on the new way to become slim. We should always be aware of the danger of becoming abnormally fat. It generally diminishes our vitality and makes us more liable to disease.

The mechanism of the body requires fat, and so we eat butter and fat meat, but we also manufacture it by eating starches and sugars. Thus we can control the tendency to put on fat by strict diet. The part of the body in which fat usually accumulates most readily is the abdominal wall.

You can minimise this accumulation by abdominal exercises of all kinds: walking, running, and sitting and standing with what is called the abdominal lift, e. g., "keeping the stomach in."

Exposing the naked skin to the light always helps to diminish fat. Boots and shoes that women wear tend to make them fat, the high heels and narrow toes preventing a firm and natural step being taken.

We draw the attention of our readers to the observations of Miss Joyce Gardner, appearing in our Sports page on this subject.

SIR J. C. BOSE'S TRIP TO EUROPE

Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose sailed for England on the 26th April.

Interviewed by the correspondent of the HINDU, Sir Jagadish was reticent about the chief object of



SIR JAGADISH BOSE

his tour. It, however, transpired that he had been writing another book relating to plants and life and that he wanted to spend a few days in a sequestered place to finish the book. Asked whether he had been invited by any University, Sir Jagadish Bose replied that he had received a number of invitations but had not decided to accept them. He was sure to attend the International Scientists' Conference in Geneva and would return to India in September.

Questioned whether he had made any interesting new discoveries about plant life, Sir Jagadish observed, that he had made about a hundred interesting ones. Pressed further to deal with at least one or two striking discoveries, Sir Jagadish said that all were striking ones, and were so closely related that it was not possible for him to refer to them at present.

The conversation then turned to the political situation. On learning of the state of affairs here, Sir Jagadish Bose said: "More disturbances will not bring us Swaraj. What we require is persistence which alone could get us self-government."

SIR OLIVER AND THE NEW PLANET

Referring to the reported discovery of the new planet, Sir Oliver Lodge said it was important as helping to complete the origin of the Solar system. Jeans, the astronomer, had a theory—the only acceptable theory at the present time—of the birth of the Solar system. The earth was a child and the moon a grandchild of the sun. All the planets were born at the same time under the influence of a visiting star, and a long streamer was drawn off from the sun," reports the MORNING POST.

"If the age of the earth were represented by a pillar of the height of Cleopatra's Needle, the time which man had been on the earth would be represented by the thickness of a penny put on that column. The lesson of astronomy was that humanity had a short past and a tremendously long future."

A NEW MACHINE

It would seem that we are promised an all purpose craft which will travel over land on pneumatic-tyred wheels, run down a beach and launch itself in the sea, dive under water and turn itself into a submarine and there would be unreef telescopic wings and leave either sea or land for the air. This "hush-hush" craft—said to be the result of the efforts of several Danish inventors—has a tapering, all-metal boat-like hull upon either side of which are telescopic metal wings. The wings can be drawn in or reefed alongside the body by mechanism inside the hull. The crew, closing water-tight compartments, can submerge their vessel and operate it below water like a submarine. On regaining the surface, the craft can either be manoeuvred like a ship, by means of an under-water rudder and screw, or its metallic wings can be unfurled and it can fly. Bypassing its body this craft carries amphibian gear with wheels which can be raised or lowered, enabling it to alight and travel on the surface of the ground.

THE REVIVAL OF THE PRESS ACT

The Viceroy has issued an Ordinance reviving the Press Act and adding certain provisions to it. The Ordinance gives power to the provincial governments to demand security from newspapers doing revolutionary propaganda. If the paper be found guilty under the law, the security will have to be forfeited, and after the security, the press also will be confiscated.

Accordingly, securities were demanded from all nationalist newspapers in Delhi and Calcutta. In Madras, all the vernacular dailies were asked to furnish the security. Protesting against this Ordinance, all the newspapers in Delhi and Calcutta suspended publication pending the decision of the Journalists' Conference.

The All-India Journalists' and Press Owners' Conference was convened in Bombay on May 15 with Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Editor of THE HINDU, in the Chair.

Mr. K. Natarajan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, said that the Viceroy's promulgation of the Press Ordinance had brought them together and made them realise the importance of the Indian Press having an organisation which could speak for itself, represent its views and protect its interests, whenever they were threatened or injured and hoped, before they parted, that steps might be taken to initiate such an organisation.

Mr. A. Rangaswami, in his long address, traced the history of the Press Act in India and showed how the Government was obliged to repeat it. Condemning the Ordinance, Mr. Iyengar said—

What is really required, and it is a sore need, is an effective fighting organisation, if not of the entire Press, at least of the entire Indian Press for the maintenance of 'just liberties' and it behoves us to regard it as one of the first duties of all of us on this occasion to seek to put such an effective organisation into working order. We have to call to our aid every honest and fearless journalist who believes that the maintenance of the liberties of the Press is vital to our existence as a nation, and that the latest assault upon those liberties made by the Government should be repelled by all the force and

strength at our command. The methods of agitation and effort to secure our ends need be circumscribed by no formulae so long as they are honourable and are consistent with the self-respect of honest journalists and printers. If there are any among us who believe that by making our representations before the Viceroy and the Government by means of a deputation or otherwise, we shall be able to help the cause, I for one am not prepared to rule out such a procedure in so far as the Press is concerned. If there is again a general feeling that pressure for the repeal of the Ordinance can only be brought by means of an agitation carried on in England or in Europe through a deputation on behalf of the Indian Press, I for one, will, provided it is feasible, not be against it. It may be that until the temper and atmosphere in which the Government are carrying changes and a new policy is set on foot, the chances for the total repeal of the Ordinance are not bright. But whatever might happen to the major political issue, the issue of the liberty of the Press has got to be fought out primarily by the Press and from its stand-point and conception of public interest and public duty; and I have no doubt that a persistent, vigilant and active organisation on behalf of the Press should carry on the plan of campaign that we may decide upon here continuously and unflinchingly until this Act is repealed. If we do this, I have no doubt that not only will the repeal of the Ordinance at an early date become a certainty but also the conditions of the existence of the Indian Press even under this Ordinance can be made less intolerable than they are now.

After prolonged discussion in the Subjects Committee, lasting over five hours, the Conference re-assembled the next day when it adopted unanimously a number of resolutions put from the Chair except one, appreciating the action of some newspapers and Press in Delhi, Lahore, Calcutta and other places, in suspending publications in protest against the arbitrary and improper use of the Ordinance and urging that it should be open to newspapers and Presses, who are hereafter called upon to furnish security and are members of the Conference not to furnish further security if their first security is forfeited.

Another resolution emphatically condemned the Press Ordinance as a measure which is subversive of the liberties of the Press and the rights of freedom of opinion and thought of all citizens, and demanded its immediate withdrawal.

As a mark of protest against the Press Ordinance, the Conference decided that there should be complete stoppage of all work in the offices of every newspaper, periodical, printing press and other allied trades, on the 20th and 21st of this month.

PROF. D. K. KARVE

Prof. D. K. Karve of the Indian Women's University, Poona, has returned to India after an absence of a year abroad during which he toured



PROF. KARVE

England and the Continent, the United States of America, China, Japan, Java and Malaya. The purpose of his tour was to visit the various University centres and educational institutions of the world, to take part in International Educational Conferences and to collect funds for the Women's University. In a statement he has issued on his return home, Prof. Karve says that the "total collections have come to Rs. 27,200 approximately, taking into account all the donations which were directly obtained through this visit, and the expenses are about Rs. 12,700."

THE UNIVERSITY AND ADMINISTRATION

"The University cannot certify that any student is competent to enter an administrative service," said Professor H. J. Laski at the recent Conference of the Institute of Public Administration.

"The University can offer to those interested in the work of the public services an organised body of subjects most of which already lie at the heart of its own curriculum, e.g., political economy, social philosophy, constitutional law and history.

"I must add to these the study of the administrator's function as a discipline involving principles. The University must seek to analyse, e.g., entrance to and promotion in the public services, the relation of the Minister to his officials, the proper place in a department of the professional expert as problems not less capable of philosophic discussion than judicial appointment, second chambers, the power of the Cabinet.

WHAT A UNIVERSITY SHOULD BE

A university should be the home of the untrammelled and the unafraid—where eager and sceptical spirits gaze at the phenomenon of mankind and at the far-flung world with frank ingenuous interest, writes Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick in the pages of the VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW. A university should be a place where nothing is taken for granted where everything must prove itself, where any kind of question may be asked, where freedom is unabridged to observe, to think, to write, and speak. . . . Over the doors of our universities might well be written these words: "Here is a home where brave spirits may search and understand." Too often there are no such words. Instead, there is a note scribbled on the gate-post in the language of Luigi Lucatelli: "Farewell, good Sirs: I am leaving for the future. I shall wait for humanity at the cross roads, three hundred years hence."

HALDANE MEMORIAL

As a memorial to Lord Haldane, a Trust Fund of £100,000 is being set up for the purpose of extending Adult Education.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST

In view of the incorrect versions of the warrant issued for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi which have appeared in the Press, the text of the actual warrant is hereby published for general information:—

"Whereas the Governor-in-Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has, under the powers vested in him by Regulation XXV of 1827, resolved that Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi shall be placed under restraint in the Yeravada Central Prison during the pleasure of Government you are hereby directed to secure the said Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and arrange to forward him as soon as possible to the Superintendent of the Yeravada Central Prison."

TEXT OF REGULATION 25 OF 1827

"Whenever the Governor-in-Council may deem necessary to place an individual under restraint, without any immediate view to ulterior proceedings of a judicial nature, it shall be lawful for the Governor-in-Council, provided always that, with reference to the individual, the measure shall not be in breach of British Law, to cause such individual to be apprehended in such manner as the Governor-in-Council may deem fit and when apprehended, to be delivered over to any officer in whose custody it may be deemed expedient that he shall be placed, with a warrant of commitment to such officer's address."

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION'S PROTEST

The Bombay Presidency Association, of which Sir Dinshaw Petit is President, passed a resolution on May 8 strongly protesting against the arrest of Mr. Gandhi without a fair and open trial, and deploring the use made by the Government of a century-old and obsolete Regulation for the purpose. The Council further opined that the existence of such a Regulation on the Statute Book was a disgrace to any civilised Government, and requested the Government to take early steps to repeal the said Regulation.

THE PESHAWAR DISTURBANCES

Pundit Motilal Nehru, acting President of the All-India Congress Committee, sent the following wire to H. E. the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, Peshawar, on May 8. "As acting President of the All-India Congress Committee, I have appointed a Committee, with Mr. V. J. Patel as Chairman, and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Kadir Kasuri, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew (since arrested), Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Dr. Satyapal (since arrested), Lala Dunichand of Lahore and Dr. Syed Mahmud, as members, to inquire into the recent happenings at Peshawar. This committee will arrive in Peshawar on Thursday, May 15, and will begin an inquiry on the same or next day.

I request that the Committee be allowed to proceed on their journey and do their work without interference or obstruction. I invite local officials to appear and lay their case before the Committee. I am aware that an official inquiry into the same events has been ordered, but, in the circumstances, such an inquiry will not inspire confidence and a non-official inquiry is highly expedient".

Pundit Motilal Nehru has received a telegram on May 10 from the Chief Commissioner, the North-West Frontier Province, regretting that it is impossible to allow the Peshawar Inquiry Committee to enter the Frontier Province and that steps will be taken to ensure that they are not admitted or allowed to remain in it.

PANGADUINE

FOUR TIMES AS GOOD AS
COD LIVER OIL.

An Ideal Tonic for all Weathers

MR. POLAK ON GANDHIJI

Writing to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, Mr. H. S. L. Polak says:

May I be permitted, as one of Mr. Gandhi's former closest associates in South Africa in the practice of passive resistance, with the privilege of enjoying his most intimate confidence and trust,



MR. H. S. L. POLAK

to suggest (the scepticism of some observers notwithstanding) that when he declares that he has, at no time, either by word or by action, intentionally departed from the principle of non-violence, he ought to be taken strictly at his word?

Mr. Gandhi has always elevated the doctrine of non-violence to the level of a spiritual principle, and he has consistently asserted that he regards its use, both in public and in private life, as an invincible moral weapon. He particularly contrasts his non-violence with the "violence" that he automatically associates with the Government that he is opposing. I can, for example, recall that, when anticipating a resumption of the march of the South African passive resisters due to begin on January 1, 1914, he warned his colleagues that they must be prepared for violence, bloodshed, and even death at the hands of the Government forces. He conceived then as now, these

to be the normal and natural method of Government in crushing a movement with which, being spiritual in its nature, Government could not otherwise understand how to deal. Only, he has argued, after the fruitless use of force, does Government ultimately succumb to the spectacle of self-imposed suffering and sacrifice, and thereby is persuaded to righteousness. His recent invitation to women to join actively in his campaign is no new thing. Regarding suffering and sacrifice as the characteristics of their sex, he has always welcomed and indeed urged the collaboration of his countrywomen in his great acts of sacrifice, as he regards them, knowing full well India's chivalrous response to such an appeal.

I am not concerned to defend Mr. Gandhi's actual choice of language. He has always placed his own interpretation upon the language that he has used, and he would say that his words should be interpreted in the sense of his widely proclaimed and constantly reiterated religious convictions. That others may place an entirely different construction upon his language is obvious and natural, but I submit that he is entitled to be believed when he declares that he has never deliberately and of set purpose departed from the spirit of his profoundest convictions. It would not be the first time in history that, labouring under heavy physical over-strain and the stress of overpowering emotion, a leader has uttered words none too carefully chosen, the meaning and purpose of which have been misunderstood by followers and opponents alike.

It has, however, always to be remembered, in considering Mr. Gandhi's psychology, that he is of the stuff of which martyrs are made, and that this would not be the first occasion in his long career of non-violent non-co-operation that he has contemplated and seemed indeed, to invite for himself and his fellow-workers wounds and even death at the hands of their "violently-minded" opponents in his active efforts to remove what he conscientiously regards as a grave and unendurable wrong.

H. M. THE KING

The newspapers in the United Kingdom, in their leading articles on the 20th anniversary of the



H. M. KING GEORGE

Accession of King George the Fifth, emphasise that His Majesty has seen more changes in the political, social and scientific world than any of his predecessors, the greatest event being the late War. While other thrones have tottered and fallen, the British throne stands firmer than ever before in the confidence of democracy.

DR. TAGORE ON INDIA

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who has hitherto refused to discuss events in India, breaks his silence in a long interview which he gave to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, on May 16, in which he advocates a meeting between the best minds of the East and West in order to reach a frank and honourable understanding, for, in their heart of hearts, the Eastern peoples still acknowledge the greatness of European civilisation, but the present complications cannot be dissipated by repression and a violent display of physical power, but by real greatness of heart which will attract a genuine spirit of co-operation on our side.

MR. SASTRI ON GANDHIJI

"Release Gandhi: proclaim a general amnesty, give a guarantee that India will be given Dominion Status at the earliest opportunity". These are the three suggestions which the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri made in the course of a lecture on "How to save India", delivered to the members of the House of Commons in London on May 15. The meeting was attended by members belonging to all the three Parties and was held in the largest Committee Room of the House of Commons.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri gave a brief outline of the Indian political situation and described the recent developments. He referred to the growth of the civil disobedience movement and pointed out that though there was a good deal of popular support behind Mr. Gandhi's programme, nevertheless there was a large section of Indian opinion that did not see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi, but still nobody could question Mr. Gandhi's sincerity, and he declared that Mr. Gandhi was undoubtedly the one leader who could truthfully be said to represent India's determined attitude to win Swaraj. Mr. Sastri then proceeded to point out the way out of the present deadlock.

He believed that if only the British Government would make a frank declaration that it was intended to give India Dominion Status at the earliest moment, Mr. Gandhi would accept the declaration and throw in his weight and influence on the side of settlement. He would then exert himself and would be even able to rally even the extremists, who were now clamouring for full and complete independence.

INOTYOL

FOR ECZEMA AND SKIN DISEASES.

SAFE TO USE, QUICK TO HEAL.

KING'S CUP RACE IN AVIATION

This year's Air Race for the King's Cup is to be confined to light planes. The course will be one of 750 miles round Britain and the contest will be held in one day instead of being spread over for two days as in the past. The date arranged is July 5th and the start and finish of the race will be at the Hanworth Aero-drome.

There is every prospect of a record entry and a number of women pilots have intimated their intention of piloting their own machines. As many as six planes will probably face the starter. Some champion airmen will be taking part: Lieutenant A. T. Worsely, who flew in a Supermarine S 6 to victory in the last year's Schneider Trophy Race attaining a speed of over 330 miles an hour, and Flight Lieutenant Stainforth, who piloted a high speed Gloster Napier at an equally high speed are flying together in the King's Cup Race. But as only light planes can be used, they will have to be content at the time with a speed of about 85 or 90 miles an hour. Using one of the Royal Air Force racing machines, they could get round in about two hours.

FLIGHT BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA

Mr. M. Engineer reached Karachi on the 11th May and has won H. H. the Aga Khan's prize of £500 for the first solo flight by an Indian between India and England. Some other conditions also existed for winning the prize, including that the flight must be completed within four weeks. The latter condition was not fulfilled by Mr. Manmohan Singh who took four weeks and four days in all, he having been detained at Lyons in France for three weeks.

Mr. Manmohan Singh has, however, achieved the distinction of being the first Indian to accomplish a solo flight between England and India.

Mr. Manmohan Singh was presented with a welcome address in a big silver bowl, jointly by the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber.

IMPROVING INDIA'S ATHLETICS

Dr. Otto Peltzer, the well-known German athlete and holder of many world-records, gave a most interesting and valuable demonstration on April 25 before a number of Calcutta athletes, including B. D. Chatterjee, L. Osbourne and athletes from St. Xavier's and Armenian Colleges.

The demonstration was a revelation to local athletes who saw what their faults were. His effortless running (gliding is perhaps the correct word to express the easy graceful rhythmic movement) was an object lesson to all those present. He freely gave advice and answered questions.

Dr. Peltzer said that, with a little more systematic training on right lines, there was no reason why India should not do better at the next Olympic games. He stressed the importance of training the athletes from the right age.

BILLIARDS

"Billiards is a game having tremendous social, as well as health-giving potentialities," said Miss Joyce Gardner, the London girl billiards champion, who played with Miss Watts, of Cardiff, in the semi-final of the first British Women's Billiards Tournament.

"For slimming", she told a DAILY HERALD reporter on the 2nd April, "it is unequalled. I can vouch for it, for in a six weeks' tour, playing four hours a day, not counting practice periods, I have lost a stone in weight." Miss Gardner has a break of 230 to her credit, and 28 breaks of over 100 in her three years at the tables.

COGNET'S HEMONEUROL.

(HEMOGLOBIN WITH KOLA NUT AND GLYCEROPHOSPHATE OF LIME)

FOR

Exhaustion through overwork or illness.

THE DELAY OF THE SIMON REPORT

Mr. J. L. Garvin, says the London correspondent of THE ENGLISHMAN of the 5th May, devotes two and a half columns in the OBSERVER to an exposition of the Indian situation in which he says that many authorities with the longest experience of control are convinced that, though the huge problem of India can be steered to a happy issue, things will go worse before they go better. He proceeds to denounce attacks on the Simon Commission for delaying its report and declares that there is not a vestige of justification for this.

The delay has done nothing whatever to cause or increase the present agitation. On the contrary, it was unavoidable. The delay, he says, has had its public uses and may give the report a better chance of bringing about at the right time a sane change of mind and procedure in India.

Mr. Garvin concludes:—"India, which would surely be lost in the next year or two by mere weakness, cannot be held by mere repression, but must be guided with unfaltering nerve and unswerving sympathy.

"It is time for the British people to understand that they are going to have a full chance to show what they are made of to-day. Not for a single moment do we doubt them."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Wedgwood Benn announced on the 12th of this month, that the first volume of the Simon Commission's Report (Historical Survey), would be published on June 10 and the second volume (The Commission's recommendations) would be published on June 24.

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA'S DECISION

After three days' strenuous discussion on the question whether Muslims should participate in the struggle for Independence initiated by the Indian National Congress, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind resolved on the 7th of this month that there is no reason why Muslims should keep aloof.

MR. JAYAKAR ON COMMUNALISM

In a letter dated May 8 to Sir Parashuram Patro, President, All-Parties' Conference, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, after expressing his inability to attend the meeting on May 15th, says:

"Your conference meets at Bombay at a critical time. Consequently, one main duty before the conference will be to take note of the present situation and possibly suggest a remedy.

"As regards the settlement of the communal question, you know my views which have been confirmed by recent events since I spoke at your conference in Delhi and it is idle to seek a solution for the communal question in this present-day atmosphere. First make the Round Table Conference a complete and hopeful reality and then your conference will be in a better position to arrive at a solution of the communal question, and your conference is obviously ancillary to the Round Table Conference."

But on the 13th of this month, the Viceroy announced that the meeting of the Round Table Conference would take place on or about the 20th of October.

EARTHQUAKE IN BURMA

Pegu town has practically been wiped out by the three terrible earthquake shocks that occurred there on the 7th of this month. Details of the devastation show that buildings collapsed like card-houses, burying the inmates and persons in the streets, and furious fires broke out as a result of electric wires fusing.

COGNET'S CAPSULES

(CONTAINS EUCALYPTOL, PURE, BEECH-WOOD CREOSOTE AND IODOFORM)

FOR

Coughs & Colds

Diary of the Month

April 18. Mr. Gandhi nominates Pandit Motilal Nehru as President of the A.I.C.C.
 April 19. The Bengal Ordinance has been revived.
 April 20. Messrs. K. Nageswara Rao and G. Rungiah Naidu are sentenced to 6 months' R. I.
 April 21. Sir R. E. Holland has been re-appointed to the India Council.
 April 22. Mr. K. M. Munshi has been sentenced to 6 months' S. I. and Rs. 200 fine.
 April 23. The Three-Power treaty on Naval disarmament is signed.
 April 24. The Military open fire on the mob in Peshawar resulting in 22 deaths.
 April 25. Mr. V. J. Patel resigns the Presidency of the Assembly.
 April 26. Mr. Mahadev Desai is sentenced to 6 months' S. I. for breaking Salt Law.



THE PRINCE OF WALES

April 27. H.R.H. The Prince of Wales returns to London after his long *safari* in Africa.
 April 28. Viceroy promulgates an Ordinance reviving the Indian Press Act of 1910.
 April 29. Mr. Kalelkar, Principal of the Gujarat Vidyapeta, is arrested and sentenced.
 April 30. The Calcutta Corporation elects Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who is in jail as mayor.
 May 1. Mr. Deva Das Gandhi has been sentenced to 1 year's R.I.
 May 2. Viceroy promulgates Ordinance for the trial of Lahore conspiracy prisoners.
 May 3. The nationalist newspapers of Calcutta stop publication.
 May 4. Mr. Gandhi is arrested under Regulation 25 of 1827 and is interned at Yerrawada.

May 5. H.E. the Viceroy opens the Opium Conference in Simla.
 May 6. Anglo-Egyptian negotiations begin.
 May 7. Bombay gives an enthusiastic reception to Mr. Patel, ex-President of the Assembly.
 May 8. Abbas Tyabji leads Volunteers.
 May 9. The Anglo-Egyptian relations break down.
 May 10. Mr. John Masfield is appointed Poet Laureate.
 May 11. H.H. The Begum of Bhopal is dead.
 May 12. Abbas Tyabjee and 59 volunteers are arrested.
 May 13. Viceroy announces the date of the Round Table Conference.
 May 14. Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi is sentenced to 1 year's S.I.
 May 15. All-India Journalists' Conference meets in Bombay.



MRS. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

May 16. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya is sentenced to six months' S.I.
 May 17. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is arrested and released.

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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.

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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."

P. T. O.

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."

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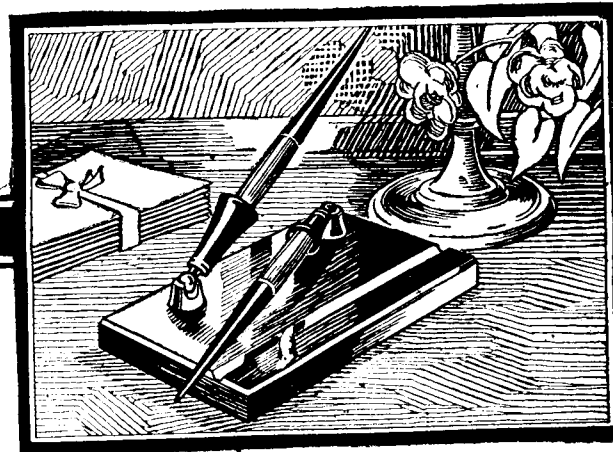
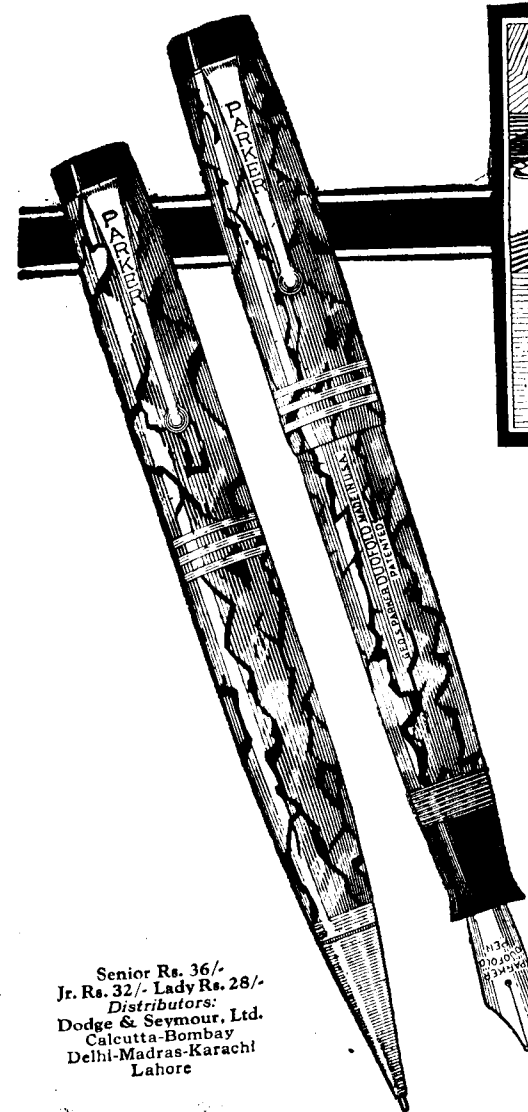
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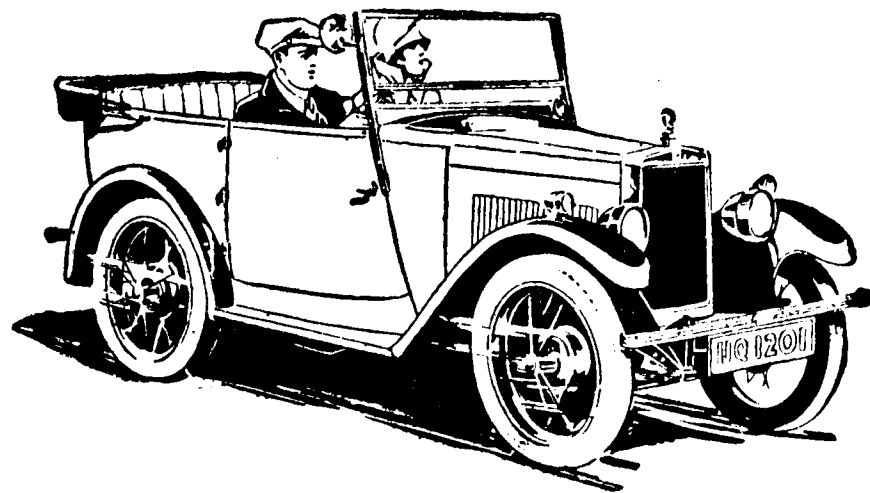
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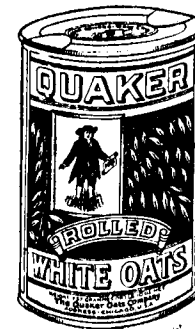
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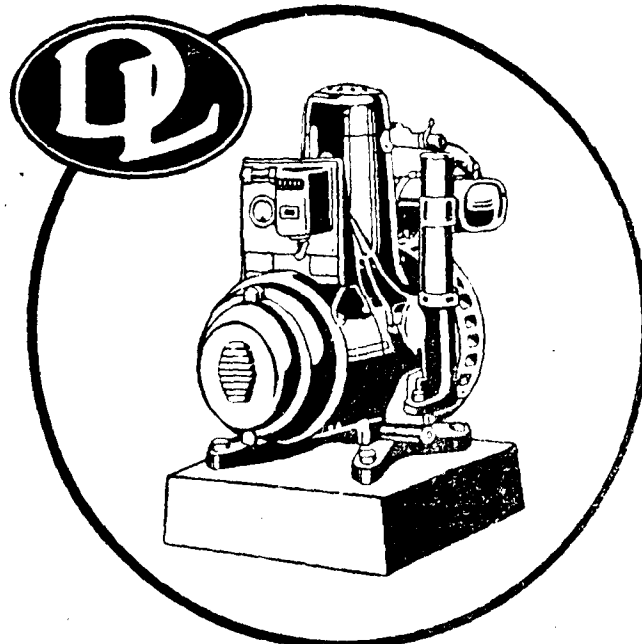
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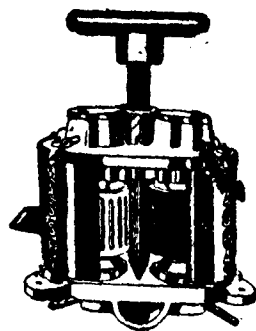
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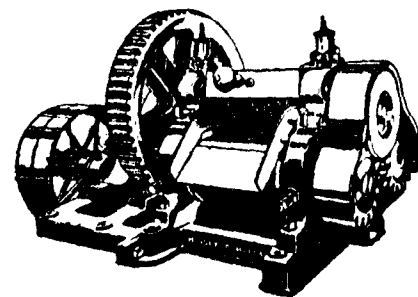
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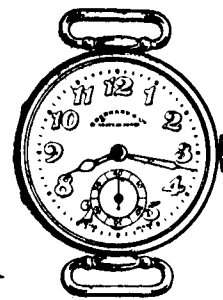
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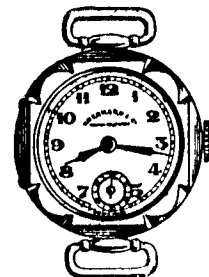
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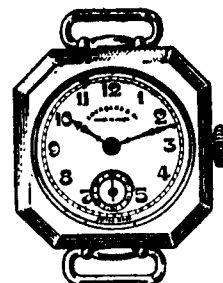
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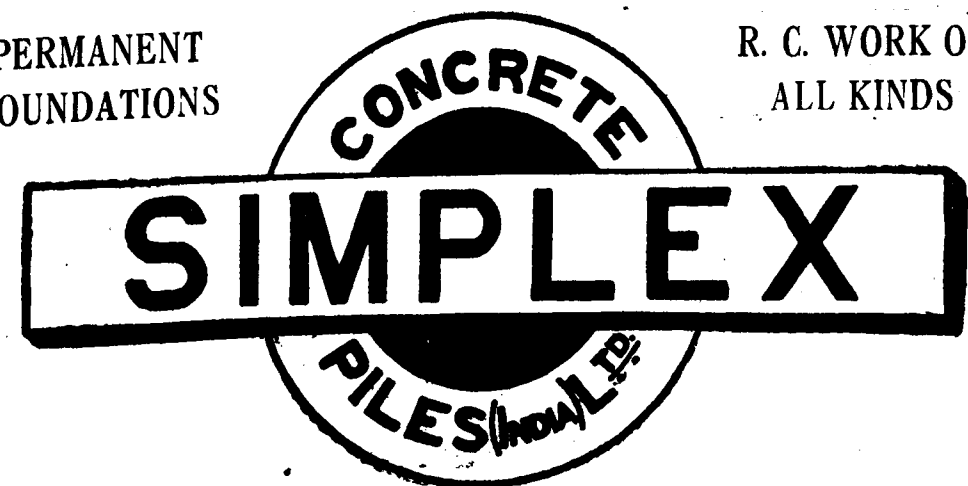
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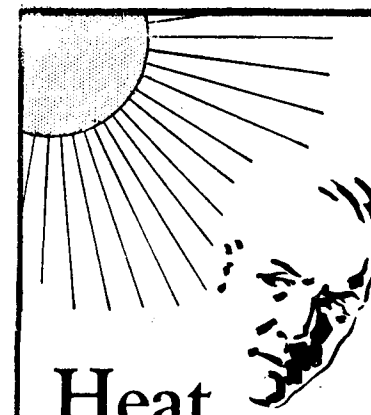
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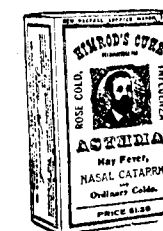
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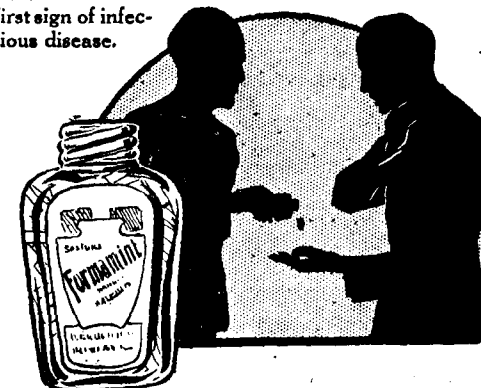
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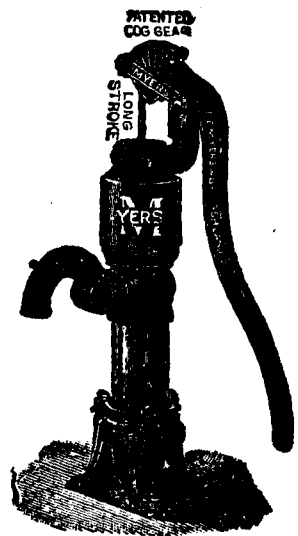
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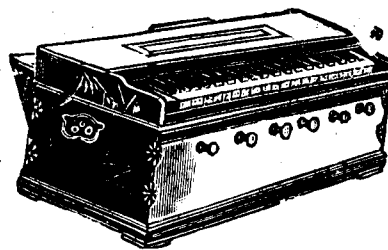
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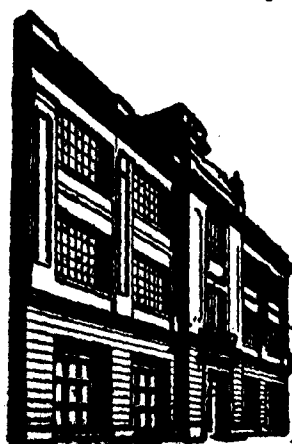
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