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THE YEAR THAT HAS ENDED

By Mr. GEORGE SLOCOMBE.

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THE year which has just ended has witnessed remarkable events in the history of India. No visitor who had the rare opportunities of friendly and intimate contact with the Indian people which were permitted to me, could fail to note as I noted the strange and profound changes taking place in the national consciousness of India, and in her attitude to some of the greatest problems of her own life as well as of her relations, present and future, with the British people. The political evolution, through the first stage of which India is now passing, will have important consequences for all the Eastern peoples. The year which is about to begin will undoubtedly see this evolution carried several stages farther.

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It seems impossible to me that the time should be far distant when India becomes a great political democracy, self-governing and mistress of her own destiny. I refuse to believe, however, that when the time comes the British people will deny their assent to this necessary and, I believe, inevitable development. I believe that a self-governing India will be not more remote, but even nearer than now to the political life of England, and that the leaders of India, who have learned the lessons of political freedom and parliamentary government in the heart of a Western democracy, will not renounce their cultural association with the English people when those lessons are applied in India. The moment calls for courage and imagination in England, and for patience in India.

ONE DAY

BY

MR. GOVINDA KRISHNA CHETTUR, M.A.,

Principal, Government College, Mangalore.

One day I shall walk in at your front door,
 And call you by your dear name as of old—
 Though I had thought to do so never more—
 And tremulous in that all familiar home,
 Wait for your coming, silently, untold.
 And you will come, O surely you will come,
 With tripping feet, and song, eyes wild adream :
 But seeing me a-sudden standing there,
 Within the shadow of Love's setting beam,
 Will you remembering how we two were wise,
 Once on a time, and loved beyond compare,
 Leap to my arms with cry of glad surprise?—
 Or yet, will you remembering, shrink away,
 More wise with wisdom of a later day?—

WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?

By Mr. THOMAS JESSE JONES,

Educational Director, Phelps—Stokes Fund, New York.

THE policies of governments are evidently still in the process of formulation. The evolution of the essentials of government is a process of reconciling them with the essentials of civilization, whether they are analysed into four essentials or into any number that conforms with the researches and experiences of the analyst. In Britain the evolution is called "muddling through"; in the United States it has been described as "edging through"; in Germany it is said to be a laborious process of deliberate conformity to thought, sometimes real, sometimes artificial; in France it is reported as the flight of philosophic feelings modified by generations more or less scientific. Of all these approaches, sound policies seem to have resulted more frequently from "muddling" and "edging" than from the other processes. At bottom it appears that "muddling" and "edging" are a fairly lucky combinations of experience and facts, even though the facts have been assembled by haphazard methods, nor far removed from "chance acquaintance with truth." Possibly the most interesting and significant quality of the so-called Anglo-Saxon type is the refusal to take theories of government or theories of anything too seriously. This is happily illustrated by the good-humored definition of democracy which the late Dr. Wallace Buttrick once gave: "Democracy," said he, "is that conception of society which believes that one man is as good as another, *if he is.*" This may be called good humor, but it is also good science and sound sociology. Conceptions of government have always had a tendency to crystallize into permanent forms. High-sounding theories, attractive shibboleths, and plausible catch-phrases have caused endless friction and misunderstandings.

In the words of a keen and sympathetic student of national and international affairs: "What is

required now is organizing intelligence, synthetic thinking on a terrestrial scale, a plan of common relationship to the means of life prepared not in terms of a parish or of a nation, but of the globe." Through the terrific trials of the greatest war in human history, the League of Nations was launched; the World Court has been initiated; the Locarno Agreements were made possible; the paraphernalia of war are coming under control; and the absolutisms of Empire and Alliances are being replaced by the understanding and mutual faiths of the Commonwealth of Nations and the co-operation of civilized nations. Such realizations of Utopia depend ultimately upon a genuine awareness of the essentials of civilization by every responsible citizen and by every nation.

The Round Table Conference

RT. HON. LORD OLIVIER, K.C.M.G.

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

I am sorry that I have not been able to send you, as invited, a contribution to your Special Number of the Indian Review. But it has seemed to me impossible to say anything that during the last few months, would have been either opportune or advantageous: in view of the inconceivable and intransigent attitude of the Congress Party, which is the only obstacle to a hopeful view of the Indian constitutional problem. I attended the opening of the Round Table Conference last Wednesday: which was impressive, and should have been an occasion for hopeful confidence: but which seemed regrettably incomplete and imperfectly balanced. I feel sure, however, that the Conference will arrive at a reasonable, and what should be an acceptable, Report and the progress will be made towards ensuring a solid contribution towards the unification of a policy satisfactory to all aspirants to Indian Self-Government. I think, and I have long thought, this tactical leadership of the Congress Party deplorable. The loss of C. R. Das was from that point of view an immense misfortune. May the New Year be a happier epoch for Indian Nationalism!

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,



15th Nov. 1930.

Some Memories of Lord Birkenhead

BY

SIR ROSS BARKER,

Chairman, Public Services Commission.

THE last decade of the nineteenth century produced from among the under-graduates of Oxford and more particularly from among the



SIR ROSS BARKER

prominent members of the Oxford Union Society an unusual number of men who have since become famous. To mention only those who became Presidents of the Union there were the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres at one time a favourite nominee for the Viceroyalty of India, Lord Warkworth the heir to the Dukedom of Northumberland, whose brilliant promise as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, was cut short by premature death, Hilaire Belloc Earl Beauchamp then the orthodox exponent of

Conservatism and now a leader of the Liberal party, Lord Bradbury, whose fame as a financier at the Treasury brought him a peerage long before the normal age for retirement, Sir Archibald Boyd Carpenter (as brilliant an orator as his father the Bishop of Ripon) who has divided his life between politics and war, Professor Phillimore the Greek scholar, F. W. Hirst the economist, the Earl of Donoughmore and John Buchan, and lastly Sir John Simon and F. E. Smith.

Of this galaxy of talent three came from Wadham, F. W. Hirst and Sir John Simon and F. E. Smith, and the college was made still more illustrious by the possession of that great athlete C. B. Fry. Sir John Simon and F. E. Smith travelled along the road to fame almost hand in hand and it would be difficult to find a case in which two men so essentially dissimilar have had such similar careers. Each was a scholar of Wadham, each a President of the Oxford Union, each became a King's Counsel in the same year, each entered Parliament in the same year, each obtained a colossal practice at the bar, each became solicitor-general and attorney-general, each became a Major in His Majesty's forces during the War, each became a cabinet minister and each became deeply involved in the affairs of India. If the parallel is not quite complete and Sir John Simon has never been Lord Chancellor it is not for want of the opportunity, an opportunity which may possibly recur.

It is doubtful whether observers of that day would have ranked F. E. Smith as the most brilliant of the stars in that constellation. As an orator at the Union he modelled himself perhaps a little too obviously on Joseph Chamberlain. He

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SOME MEMORIES OF LORD BIRKENHEAD

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was incomparably the finest debater in the cut and thrust of debate, in his gift of sarcasm and in the sledge hammer blows he levelled at his adversaries. Critics, however, were disposed to regard his glitter as rather metallic and his thought as rather superficial. Many preferred Hilaire Belloc who gave vent to philosophic generalities with an amazing eloquence and a slightly Gallic accent which added to its charm or Sir John Simon even then the essential type of the best of liberalism, well informed, humane and endowed with a fund of knowledge coupled with a vein of idealism. F. E. Smith differed from the rest rather in the breadth of his interests. He was equally at home in the Union, in a town and gown rag, in the hunting field, in the ball room at Blenheim or at a game of football and one of the writer's first recollections is of his dragging a leg damaged at the latter game across the court yard of the Union premises. As he told us later, his under-graduate career left him laden with debts and provided by way of compensation with a first class in the Law school and a little later the Vinerian scholarship, the most coveted legal distinction in the University. These distinctions did not serve to relieve him of an unfounded suspicion which endured till he became Lord Chancellor that he had no profound acquaintance with law. A little book he wrote on International law at this date, in order, it is said to procure funds for his marriage scarcely added to his legal reputation. He had no great liking for examinations but they represented a fence which had to be jumped on the road to success. He made up his mind to pass them with a minimum of difficulty and as he said on one occasion, "There is nothing about the way to pass examinations which I do not know."

He became a Fellow of Merton and to all appearance had settled down to the life of an Oxford don. He was not called to the Bar till he was twenty seven years of age and at that age only

twenty years separated him from the Woolsack. His first successes were in his own neighbourhood of Birkenhead and Liverpool. They were rapid and phenomenal. The late Lord Mersey when on circuit was asked by a friend what was the purpose of certain gigantic buildings then under erection in Liverpool. He replied that he did not know but he thought they must be new chambers for "F.E."

After two unsuccessful attempts F. E. Smith was returned to Parliament in 1906, in that momentous election which witnessed the complete defeat of the Conservative party and their exclusion from office for nearly twenty years. The defeat seemed to close the avenue of political advancement to the new member. During the next eight years F. E. Smith won almost equal fame, in the House of Commons as the most adroit sniper at a firmly entrenched Liberal ministry, in the Law Courts as the first advocate of his day, and in Ulster as Galloper Smith a protagonist in the struggle against Home Rule for Ireland. His activities in the latter direction assumed so military an aspect that shortly before the Great War not a few stern unbending liberals were advising Mr. Asquith to put F. E. in the tower for fomenting armed rebellion against the crown. With the Great War came another metamorphosis and two Majors of the King's Own Oxfordshire Hussars, F. E. Smith and his great ally Winston Churchill joined the expeditionary force in France. "F.E." served with the Indian Corps. The life of the camp was exactly to his taste and his good fellowship won him great popularity. No doubt he would have become a great soldier had not the formation of the first Coalition Government brought him back to England to take office for the first time as Solicitor-General in 1915. The Attorney-Generalship followed in the same year and within four years he was Lord Chancellor. As Attorney-General he was reputed to take his duties rather

lightly but he was invaluable to the Government. He was an acid debater with whom opponents feared to cross swords and he had the rare gift of measuring exactly the variable and mercurial humours of the House of Commons. One instance may be mentioned. A dull bill was being debated in the House. An amendment was moved involving a point of great legal intricacy. The amendment won unsuspected support; the Government spokesman received a very unfavourable reception and the most devoted adherents of Government raged against it. The House was in one of its obstinate moods, things were looking bad and a cry went up for F. E. As was not unusual he was not to be found in the precincts of the House but eventually he was discovered at his club and hurried down to the House. He went to the permanent official, whose duty it was to explain matters and the official began "As you know, the law on this subject is as follows." F. E. replied, "My dear Fellow, you ought to know by this time that I do not know any law." With this the official shoved a paper into his hand which gave a brief explanation of the point. F. E. sat down on the Treasury bench barely glancing at the paper and in two minutes he rose to face a thoroughly hostile House. In less than two minutes more the House was in complete good humour. He made a good joke and the House laughed. The House does not like law and he skated skilfully round the legal point. He passed from the law to the broad humanities of the question involved. The House agreed, the crisis was over and F. E. returned to his club. He had no previous knowledge of the matter and his skill in mastering with extraordinary rapidity a very complicated point and then in handling a recalcitrant House was quite amazing.

That staid and eminently polite body the House of Lords regarded his elevation to that Chamber with undisguised alarm which was shared by the

general public. The Lords do not give a ready welcome to Gallopers and it does not like debaters whose favourite method of dealing with adversaries is to flay them alive, until the audience are unable to survey with equanimity the tortures of the victim. The Law Lords, over whom he was to preside, while they appreciated his virtues as a cross-examiner, were dubious about his merits as a lawyer. Within a very few months he had won the profound admiration of the House, laymen and lawyers alike. To use an expressive phrase they were feeding out of his hand. Many of his judgments as Lord Chancellor were memorable and perhaps two may be mentioned. Ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth a succession of lawyers in a large number of cases had held that bequests for masses for the dead were illegal. It was one of those propositions which no lawyer had ventured to doubt probably for two centuries or more. Some litigant was bold enough to carry the question to the House of Lords. Lord Birkenhead in a judgment of vast learning extending over more than a hundred pages in the law reports decided that they were legal and what is more surprising carried his colleagues with him. In another case involving a point in the law of mortgages, which was certainly not his subject, Lord Birkenhead gave so wonderful a judgment that his colleagues the Law Lords, led by the veteran Lord Haldane, who had no reason to love him, adopted the unusual course of congratulating him on his pronouncement. It was not only as a law lord that he excelled. He presided over the deliberations of the House with great dignity. The representative of Government in the House of Lords is more or less a maid of all work defending the action of all departments of Government and dealing with matters with which he is quite unfamiliar. Lord Birkenhead was never at a loss. He discussed all subjects with an equal mastery and he would make a speech of three quarters of

an hour without a note on a subject he had tackled for the first time that afternoon. In comprehensiveness, lucidity and wisdom it would far surpass the speeches of those who had devoted years to the subject.

A less attractive aspect of his activities was to be found in his debating methods. Of all the men of the day he had an unrivalled gift for invective. In an even unemotional voice he would heap scorn and contumely on his adversary; his tongue was like a lash, and, if he ever failed to exterminate his adversary, it was because the savagery of his methods evoked pity rather than contempt for the unfortunate object of his oratory. He spared neither great nor small and among a host of others Lord Buckmaster, Lord Parmoor, Lord Danesfort, Earl Bathurst, Lord Arnold and in the Commons Mr. Joseph King linger in the memory as sufferers at one time or another from this terrible chastisement. If truth must be told his methods of controversy were not entirely fair. He used to select the weakest point in the case he was advocating and assert with emphasis that it was not weak at all and that the correctness of his view was incontrovertible. No one but a block-head could possibly disagree with him and that was the end of it. In his more unfortunate moments and especially in later years after he had quitted office he occasionally lapsed into personalities which were offensive to good taste, as when he twitted a colleague with an inadequate practice at the bar. These outbreaks were not due to any lack of good nature on his part or to any unkindness of disposition. The fact was that he was gifted by nature with a terrible tongue and it was as necessary for him to use it as it is for a great artist to paint or a great violinist to play the violin. He could not put a bridle on himself. In addition to this he had to a remarkable degree the lawyer's gift of believing himself right in every cause he advocated and of thinking that those who disagreed with him were fools or

knaves. Last year in a letter to the TIMES he admitted he was wrong on a certain point connected with the Maybrick case. The evidence was too strong for him but the admission pointed to a decline in his fighting powers.

In truth a man who was so well able to make friends and keep them had little reason to shrink from making enemies. Men who had conceived a violent antipathy to him, while they knew only of his public career, men, who were quite unlike him in type, became his devoted admirers as soon as they came within the range of his personality. He was a good mixer finding himself readily at home among all classes of men and there was scarcely any department of the national life with which he did not come into relations. He was a prince of good fellows and to hear him deliver an after dinner speech in a rollicking mood was an education in conviviality. But he was much more than a good fellow. He was a large hearted, generous man in whom nothing small or mean found a place. He was the best of friends to his friends and neither their misfortunes nor their errors nor even personal injuries to himself were able to break the bond or to dissolve ties going back to a distant history marked by the progressive success of Lord Birkenhead and the increasing ill-success of his friend. His loyalties to institutions with which he was connected were almost passionate and ranked in order of date. He had a strange affection for the House of Lords. When the battle was almost lost he resisted effectively, the admission of women to the chamber. Visitors to India who were invited to pay him an official visit were puzzled to find that the only Indian topic which really seemed to perplex him was the devolution of a Hindu peerage and on this subject he used eagerly to ask for advice. Taking precedence over this was his loyalty to Gray's Inn. He was its Bench and its Treasurer and he was never so happy as when he was dispensing its hospitalities

on a Grand Night to the great men of England and proposing the splendid toast of the Inn, "To the glorious pious and immortal memory of the Good Queen Bess." He was very proud of being the first Lord Chancellor from the Inn since Bacon; and there was a quite untrue story that on his elevation to the Woolsack he ordered the portrait of Bacon in the hall of the Inn to be taken down and his own substituted. But his earliest and his greatest love was for Oxford for which he retained a passionate admiration. In the last conversation the writer had with him it was his official duty to talk about India in that rather gloomy room in the India Office where he sat smoking a cigar some ten inches long after lunch. Talk about India soon palled and somehow it shifted to Oxford. He suddenly began praising its beauties and said the ten most beautiful views in Oxford were such and such. He then enumerated them and it seemed an extraordinary example of his intellectual power that a man long separated from Oxford who ranked rather as a practical fighter than a poet, artist or idealist, should be able to give at a moment's notice a catalogue of beauties which it would baffle a life long resident of Oxford to produce. Then he said an unexpected thing. "In a few years time", he said, "there is nothing I could wish for more than to be the Warden of my old College".

The last years of his life must have been years of some disappointment. He missed a second term as Lord Chancellor, a thing he could do to admiration, and became Secretary of State for India. He was not well suited with his caustic mind for an office in which the soft answer which turneth away wrath was so important, and his previous career had been so vivid that the writing of despatches could be nothing but tame. He demitted his great office and, as no one seemed prepared to give him a testimonial, he, in characteristic fashion, wrote one for himself in which he said the future would recognise the

services he had rendered to India. It may be so.

After that this least commercial of men went into commerce and took up chemicals. The Oxford College would have been the better place. It would require a great writer to do full justice to his memory. Ibanez could have painted him with a broad brush as a Titanic and Protean figure wielding great power and equal to the greatest emergencies. Sinclair would have loved to paint in detail the steps by which this child of a poor home in a provincial town rose to be one of the greatest figures in England. Those who saw him frequently in his many and varied activities and were able to compare him with his fellows could hardly doubt that he had the finest brain in England, an instrument so perfect that it seemed completely adapted to all the many uses to which he put it. Those who knew him intimately could testify to the greatness of his heart. There was one quality which few would attribute to him and that was the gift of reverence. In fact however he had a great reverence for things though little for men. He loved England and all it stood for and understood it in the infinite variety of its loveliness as few men have understood it. He had a real reverence for learning and his contributions to it are not to be despised; and he respected the traditional institutions of his country as those do who have few traditions behind them.

FOURTEEN ENGLISH JUDGES. By the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead, P.C., D.L. Under the microscope of the author's keen and analytical mind these famous judges (from Francis Bacon to Lord Halsbury) are seen in their lives and acts and judgments. Mirroring the legal, political and social aspects of many centuries, the book throws much light on great fights and momentous decisions. Price Rs. 18-12. Postage extra.

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The Composition of the Federal Assembly

BY PROF. HARICHARAN MUKERJEE,

(Midnapore College.)

ACCORDING to the recommendations of the Simon Commission the Legislative Assembly is to be enlarged and is to be christened the Federal Assembly. In its composition it will embody the federal principle as it will not consist of members directly returned by the constituencies but indirectly by electoral colleges *viz.*, the provincial councils of the different provinces. According to the Commissioners this arrangement will result in much good. Firstly, it will have the door open for the inclusion of the Indian States when they in the fullness of time will think it worth their while to enter the federation. Secondly, it will facilitate the establishment of intimate relationship between the electors and their representatives *i.e.*, the provincial councillors and the members of the Assembly, a thing which is quite out of the question under the present circumstances when on account of the unwieldiness of the constituencies spread over vast areas there can be no contact between the voters and their representatives. Thirdly, it is claimed that this arrangement will make it possible for Mr. Layton's scheme of a Provincial Fund to work when the different contingents from the provinces will maintain their collective individuality from the rest and will be able to voice forth provincial grievances. The distinguished authors can not claim any originality for propounding this scheme, credit being due to the authors of the Nehru Report (chapter VII, para 8) who developed it in all its details but recommended it for the Council of State to be called the Senate and not for the Legislative Assembly. But being applied to the latter for which it was never intended the scheme will be open to serious objections. In the federal legislatures all over the world we can detect two different principles at work *viz.*, the federal principle and the national principle. Accordingly one

of the houses of the legislature, invariably the upper, embodies the federal principle the members being returned by the constituent states on a uniform basis to allay the suspicions of the lesser states that they won't have an equal voice as their bigger neighbours in the determination of the national policy or the management of national affairs. The lower house embodies the popular or the national principle the entire body of the citizens of the states sending their representatives directly to it. This is done to counteract the centrifugal tendency in the states and to hasten the process of their unification by engendering a common sense of citizenship. This is so in the United States of America, Switzerland, the Commonwealth of Australia and with certain modifications also in the Union of South Africa. But nowhere do we find that the lower house embodies the federal principle as has been here suggested in the Simon Report. Under this proposed scheme both the houses will, to a certain extent, represent the federal principle (the Council of State containing a large nominated element like the Canadian Senate) direct popular representation finding no place at all in the federal legislature. It seems probable that the Commissioners were driven to this necessity from their eagerness to introduce the federal principle by leaving the door open for the admission of the states coupled with their anxiety to retain the Council of State as at present constituted on account of the valuable services it had rendered in the past. The proposed scheme will detract from the sovereignty of the people by depriving them of a coveted privilege, *viz.*, of electing their own chosen representatives to the central legislature. In America in the years immediately succeeding the formation of the federation the President was first elected by the Congress and then by the state legislatures. But

the people did not like this usurpation of their right and took it in their own hands. Moreover the more elections there are, the better it will be for us for they are the best educators. In some of the states of America notably in Massachusetts and New York the ordinary elector is called upon to go to the polls as many as 10 or 12 times in the course of one single year (Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, Chap. LXI) and for this reason the American elector is unquestionably the most intelligent voter in the world. Moreover in the present state of the country it will be nothing short of a disaster to make the provincial councillor the member also of an electoral college for sending representatives both to the Federal Assembly as well as the Council of State. In the absence of an intelligent electorate holding him strictly accountable for everything that he will do or say, or imposing on him their mandate the provincial legislator is likely to forget his representative character. The provision also that the latter may be a member of the Federal Assembly is not likely to make for success for, in his case there may be a clash of duties and allegiance over and above the practical inconvenience sometimes resulting from both the legislatures, the central and the provincial being concurrently in session.

The second advantage which is claimed on behalf of this system is also illusory. The relationship existing at present between the ordinary elector and his representative in the provincial council is no more intimate than that which exists between the former and the Assembly member though the latter necessarily represents a wider electorate than the provincial councillor. Ordinarily speaking it makes very little difference whether one member represents two hundred thousand persons in the provincial council or two millions in the Assembly. The state of things existing at home betrayed Sir John into this error. Nowhere in India do we find the member

after election, nursing his constituency, taking an active part in its social and political life or maintaining contact with it through correspondence, etc. The only effective check which is imposed on him and keeps him informed of the needs of his constituents is an influential and ever-vigilant press ready to call a member to account when he will forget his duties to them. So it is evident from this that the proposed scheme will have no countervailing advantage.

The only alternative lies in taking courage in both hands and following the precedent of the great federations of the world and introduce the national principle in the Assembly and the federal principle in the Council of State by doing away with nominations and the official block altogether. The latter (the Council of State) will solely consist of the representatives of the different provinces and the states (when these will enter the federation) on a uniform basis the smaller ones amongst the latter jointly sending a certain number of members. The Federal Assembly will be composed of the representatives of the provinces of British India and of the States too on the basis of population subject to a minimum. All the provinces and States (when the time is ripe) will be divided into a number of single-member districts but none of these latter will cross a provincial or a major state boundary. This arrangement will also serve admirably well for the functioning of Mr. Layton's scheme for there will be always provincial contingents of members competent to speak on provincial needs and voting for the taxes which will go to the Provincial Fund, though not elected by the provincial legislatures.

But insistence upon legislative security as is being guaranteed by the Council of State under its present constitution and distrust of the popular chamber scarcely fit in with the introduction of the federal principle which is the very essence of democracy. The choice is to be made once for all and the risk taken. But will British statesmanship rise to the occasion and show the rare courage that is now demanded of it?

INDIAN SOCIETY IN 2030

BY MR. V. B. METTA

WHAT will Indian Society be like in 2030? Will it remain what it is to-day, or will it change fundamentally?

It will change fundamentally.

India is no more unchanging than any other country, Eastern or Western. The Vedic Indians were very different from the Puranic Indians. The former were healthy children to whom the forces of nature appeared as living beings with beautiful bodily forms of their own. They became ecstatic over Ushas, and admired the strength and benevolence of purpose of Surya. But the Puranic Indians had become fanciful and so they wove round their deities legends which were not always complimentary to those deities. The pre-Buddhist Indians believed in individual worship and the sanctity of the caste system. But Buddhist Indians did away with caste and evolved the ideal of congregational worship. The art of the Ajanta Caves is the art of a people who have seen too much of life: and so it tells you in a side whisper that life is a mere bubble not worth caring about. But the art of the Moghul period is the art of a people who love life and who are resolved to make the most of it. Kalidasa loves art, nature, women, and everything else that is beautiful in life. But the Indian poets of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century—both Hindu and Moslem—seem to see nothing but the hollowness of life and seek peace in God.

Just as the Indian outlook on life has changed in the past, so it will change in the future. Western influence is spreading all over the East and is modifying the whole conception of life of the Easterners. India has changed a great deal under British rule. You have only to look at the pictures of Bombay or Calcutta or Madras of the beginning or middle of the last century to realise this. A hundred years ago hardly any Indian dreamt of

putting on the Western dress. To-day thousands of them do so.

Changes due to Western influence on Indian society have however been comparatively superficial up till now. But in the century to come they will become fundamental and modify the whole Indian outlook on life.

In spite of Mr. Gandhi's efforts to prevent Industrialism from taking root on Indian soil, it will take root. There are forces of life which we do not understand and over which we have no control. And when Industrialism has taken firm root here it will create individualism. And with individualism the caste system will break down. For, the individual will dine with and marry anyone he likes. Civil marriages will become fairly common, since Indians will marry anyone they like, regardless of his or her caste or creed. The religious distinctions which are unnecessarily accentuated in India to-day will then disappear. The influence of a new religion like Bahaism will perhaps enable all Indians to realize the essential unity of all old religions.

With the coming of individualism the joint-family system will disappear. The elders in Indian families who have been taking themselves a little too seriously up till now will not give themselves so many airs then. At present they do not always realize that the younger members of their families have their points of view, which, though different from theirs, might be just as good as and sometimes better than their own. And the younger members will not invest the elder members of their families with the halo of infallibility which they do now. It is not at all improbable that there will be a B.Y.T. (Bright Young Things) period in India. Young Indians of either sex will tell their elders frankly that their conservatism is not wisdom, that their physical incapacity to enjoy themselves does not necessarily make them

virtuous, etc. Perhaps some of the older Indians will take to imitating the younger folk like their confreres of the West. And it will not be bad for them. It will make them a little less serious: or to put it less euphemistically, less dull.

But the B.Y.T. period will not last long. The Indian temperament and the basis of the Indian philosophy of life preclude the idea of the B.Y.T.'s remaining the top-dogs for ever. Indians are always nearer the realities of life and nature than northern European races and so they cannot be romantic for any length of time. They do not wish, like Westerners, to realize the ideal which their fancy or imagination has created. They wish to idealise the real. The B.Y.T. period will be a symbol of the passing of the Old and the coming of the New Period in Indian social history.

At present, different Indian communities exaggerate the differences which separate them from one another. And the dresses which they put on are symbols of this love of exaggerating trifles. But in the India of 2030 the different communities will see all the points that they have in common with one another and so they will put on the same kind of dress. The Indian dress of the future will be a combination of the Eastern and Western dress of to-day. Hindustani will become

the *lingua franca* of India, and will be taught in schools all over the country. Indians will use the Roman script for all public and secular purposes, reserving Devanagari and Perso-Arabic script for religious purposes.

The ideals of Indian art and literature will change a great deal. Until about fifty years ago Indian poetry was mostly religious. But since then it has been becoming more and more secular. And it will become still more secular in years to come. It will deal with everyday life, nature, art, and everything else that appeals to the senses of man. Story-writers will leave the realms of the romantic and fantastic and depict human beings as they are with their admixture of good and evil, high and low, noble and ignoble qualities. Artists will also depict everyday life in a naturalistic way. Of course there will be artists who will want to go back to the ideals of the past and paint in the Ajanta or the Moghul style. But they will not be many. The Time Current will be too strong to allow many more of such types to come up to the surface.

Indians have been called a sad people. Perhaps in the next century, with the change in their mode of thinking, feeling, and living they will become less sad.

THE MONSTER

BY MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

A man stands on a small raised platform, gazing at the crowd that idly gathers round him. With blazing eyes and a deep yet musical voice, he commences to address them. His first words are scarcely heard, for the little crowd is not yet interested, and no one pays much attention to the speaker. Most of those assembled, if they thought at all, would explain, if asked why they were there, that they might just as well be there as elsewhere.

The voice rises higher and higher, and a deep intensity of feeling is displayed by the speaker in

all his words and gestures. The crowd grows, attracted by the magnetism of the central figure that is being poured forth, until those on the outskirts are standing on tiptoe or trying to push nearer to the centre, each one asking the other. "What is it? What's he talking about?" But no one answers, for the crowd itself scarcely seems to know. All they have heard is that someone has wronged someone, somewhere, but who, or in what way, or where, none can say.

Soon, however, the crowd's indifference has changed. A wave of strong emotion sweeps

over it, and a tense feeling of resentment and anger and bitterness takes hold of it. Still no one knows what he is resenting or why he is angry. He only knows that he is. An almost imperceptible swaying of the multitude takes place, as the speaker's voice rises and falls. Even those who cannot hear seem to become part of the swaying multitude. Queer wisps of vapour, without a nucleus, appear over the crowd, as the emotion grows and spreads. Soon these vapourous wisps converge towards a centre. A big cloud is formed and a thread-like substance appears within it. The cloud hovers over the assembly, swells and diminishes; rises and falls, and rises again; grows opaque, then again becomes unsubstantial, then opaque once more. It grows in density, until a strange form, neither human nor animal, neither terrestrial nor celestial, yet composed of all these elements, can be clearly seen within it. Blindly it seems to be held in place by the assembly, keeping to the centre of the crowd, but gathering its life-force from every throbbing member of the multitude. Streams of quivering light, flecked with the colour of passion, play constantly around it, and lightning-like shafts of fiery hue beat in upon it, intensifying it, feeding it, until its earlier diaphanous appearance is entirely gone. It has grown to monstrous proportions and now glows with a hot red light, obscuring the glory of the day.

But the speaker is exhausted. His voice grows tired, the body slacks, and he is silent. For a few moments he stands looking in a somewhat dazed fashion at the crowd that his voice has called together. In some semi-conscious way he expects them to disperse, for having spent himself he no longer desires their presence, nor has he any further need of them. He seeks a way out through the crowd, his only desire to be alone and rest.

But the crowd does not move. It seems to be bound together by some strong but subtle tie,

and waits, panting and pulsating, for it knows not what. Then, from the figure of the cloud, streams of fire come pouring back upon the people. The figure appears to be trying to direct them, urging them on to action. A passion of anger seems to fill it. It sways to and fro, to and fro. Each man feels it, feels the urge that is put upon him. Destroy! destroy! only in destruction can this feeling be appeased. Dull, smouldering hate looks from the eyes of the crowd, as each member of it begins to push and demand, "Out of my way" of his neighbour. No paths, however, can be found for the crowd is too closely packed, too closely linked together by its own terrible force, to find peaceful separation possible now. A blow is struck, another; curses and wild calls let loose hysteria in the crowd. Blow follows blow; cruel and yet more cruel grows the fight. Blood flows, and the crowd, yelling, cursing, jostling, and fighting, sways hither and thither. But no longer now come sparks of fire from the cloud-figure. It has grown dull and thin, the central thread can no longer be seen. The figure shrinks and is seen no more; the cloud breaks up and entirely disappears.

The crowd, too, has grown weary, the fire of its anger all spent. The fight dies down and ceases. The people look with bewilderment upon the havoc they have wrought. Each man looks in a shame-faced puzzled way into the face of his neighbour. "What was it all about?" he seems to be asking, as he sets wearily to work to help the injured or collect the dead. "What was it all about?"

No answer comes to his question for no one knows the answer that the crowd, from its own uncontrolled emotion, had created for itself a master, and with anger and hate had endowed it with life and power. Until that life and power were spent again through human agency, the master claimed his creators to do his will. Some among them blamed the speaker for setting fire to the passions of men, and then leaving them to suffer. But these people were wrong. The speaker could not have called into being the figure that had mastered the crowd. The crowd had created its own Frankenstein.

Some Historic Boycotts

BY MR. J. S. PONNIAH,

Lecturer, Madras Christian College.

FEW perhaps are aware of the wealth of romance that lies in the much-used slogan, boycott, at the present time. The word owes its origin to the name of one, Captain Charles Cunningham Boycott, an English agent in charge of the collection of the rents on the Irish estates of his landlord, the Earl of Erne. He was the first of his comrades to be put out of all social intercourse, assaulted and finally assassinated, under circumstances narrated below. The unfortunate victim has however the consolation of having given to all the European Languages a new word which has become so very popular.

Organised boycott—the system of combining to have no relations, social and commercial, or in legal parlance “exclusive dealing is always associated with a political struggle. It is not a mere economic weapon. It is like a double edged sword, capable of cutting both ways. At least three times in her history Great Britain had to face this dangerous movement. The fortunes varied in the different cases according to the varying circumstances: but in no case was it without enormous consequences.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES

Under the intolerable “colonial system” of the 18th century born of the Mercantilist Doctrine, the American Colonies were subjected to all sorts of iniquitous restrictions on their manufactures and trade. But the occasion for a conflict with the mother country came with the passing of the Stamp Act in 1765, to raise revenue from the colonists. A year later, Townshend imposed duties on Tea, Glass, Wine, Oil, Paper etc. The Colonies were determined to resist this taxation. A Stamp Act Congress met at Philadelphia attended by two delegates from each of the nine Colonies and passed resolutions urging the repeal

of the Act and the Townshend Duties. Riots also occurred at many places.

But more potent than the riot and the resolutions was the boycott of British goods, organised by the merchants. An American historian writes thus: “In march 1765, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania merchants agreed not to import British goods, to countermand orders, and refused to sell British goods on commission until the Stamp Act was repealed. Hundreds of people organised into associations as “Sons of Liberty” refused to wear or use British articles and agreed to encourage domestic manufactures”. Even George III remarked that the enemies went about clothed in homespun. The effect was immense. Imports decreased tenfold. Adam Smith wrote: “The movement struck the people of Great Britain with more terror than they ever felt for the Spanish Armada or the French invasion.” The “shop keepers of England” brought pressure upon Parliament and had the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties repealed to the great joy of the colonists.

But in the meanwhile the inevitable storm broke out and the war of Independence was declared. The war was, however, won by the armies on fiercely contested battlefields and not by the merchants at their counters. But their “non-importation agreements” renewed year after year won for the colonists economic independence. The Colonies had no raw materials, no skill, no capital and little credit facilities to start with. But before the war ended, a large number of industries had been built up. Sheep raising was systematically extended and wool for manufactures was thus obtained. “Boston gave assistance to the textile enterprise at the Manufactory House. Private societies in New York and Philadelphia encour-

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aged linen manufactures. Prizes were offered for products of home industries such as woollen and cotton cloth, stocking, leather, shoes, whisky, iron ware and paper hangings” (Jennings.).

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

But by far the biggest boycott, perhaps that the world has ever seen, was launched by Napoleon by his Berlin Decree dated, November 21, 1806. He called it the sword that will pierce the heart of England and bring her down to her knees within six months. In a sense the Continental System of Napoleon was much more than a boycott. It was a regular naval warfare with boycott as the main plank. For the Decree ordered the seizure of all British goods and ships that entered any of the ports of his Empire and those of his allies. Popular imagination was awed by this sudden thunderbolt of Bonaparte. England retaliated by her Order in Council (Jan. 7, 1807) to the effect that “all trade in articles produced by countries other than England and the ships and goods carried by those countries were unlawful and therefore liable to seizure.” Thus even neutral ships were threatened in the open seas. Napoleon denounced the Order as a “barbarous code” and issued the Milan Decree whereby all ships that touched any British port could be seized by France and her Allies. This was not a mere “schoolboy declamation”; for Napoleon was at this time master of all ports between Memel and Ragusa.

The effect on England was the great commercial crisis of 1810. The writer in the *Cambridge Modern History* remarks, “the Bank of England Notes fell sharply. The loss in exchange averaged 30 per cent. The price of wheat went up to 116 sh. England was on the verge of a famine.” France took to manufacturing. Napoleon ordered his scientists to devise a substitute for sugar whose importation had been prohibited. The scientists succeeded in a short time in inventing beet root sugar. Immediately 80,000 acres were thrown up for the cultivation of beet and 6

Technical Schools were opened for research. Another marvellous success achieved was the invention of a substitute for indigo from woad. Italy also received the stimulus and supplied several of the articles that had been prohibited by the Decree. “Genius, even in its vagaries” wrote a contemporary, “produces marvellous results.” Not without reason was therefore Napoleon expecting every day the collapse of the Little Island.

But the expected never happened. The system was doomed to failure, because the boycott was one-sided. Napoleon had not prohibited the export of goods especially corn to England from any of his vast dominions. The enemy could not therefore be starved out. Again the Allies were never wholehearted in their support for Napoleon. The Northern states, Germany, Sweden and Russia carried on a large amount of illicit trade with Britain which Napoleon with his inadequate naval resources could not suppress. Further England diverted her trade more and more to the South American Colonies and the East. This more than compensated for the loss of the European market. But above all it was on the despotism of Bonaparte that the fortunes of the boycott depended; when that fell everything else fell.

THE IRISH STORY

Much interest centres round the Irish boycott, the most recent example of success obtained by a nation-wide movement. The land system of Ireland was so harsh that the capitalist English Landlords could evict without compensation the miserable Irish tenants if they failed to pay the exorbitant rack-rents which they demanded. Time and again Irish patriots in Parliament moved in vain for a mitigation of this evil. The redress came however only with the organisation of the “Land League” under Parnell. A systematic boycott of British goods and the English landlords was carried out. “It was by the use of boycott,” writes Mr. Stephen Gwyn in his “History of

Ireland," "combined with a refusal to pay rents that those reforms were brought about for which Butt as a Home Ruler and Sherman Crawford as a Unionist had vainly argued in Parliament."

INDIA'S POSITION

Whatever be the ultimate results of the present struggle of India the boycott movement, one of the most powerful by-products of the Civil Disobedience campaign will go down into history as the most memorable of events and will take a place among the historic boycotts. Perhaps no other country is in such an enormous position of vantage. India's foreign trade is worth over 600 crores of rupees, and the boycott of British goods alone would mean a tremendous loss of the export trade of Britain. But at the present time it is neither widespread nor even effective. The masses of the consumers and the entire business community should take to it voluntarily. Much more important than that, India must develop her own manufactures, lest she suffers a loss in her export trade or experiences want and destitution for

many of the commodities for which she is now dependent on the foreign countries. Hence the immediate effect of the boycott is bound to fall far short of the expectations of its promoters. Much less is it capable of winning political independence.

But the economic value of the boycott is going to be of immense significance to this country. For this alone is capable of supplying the most powerful motive to the promotion of industries. It can achieve what tariffs and bounties have not achieved. The slow but the steady industrialisation of India would certainly receive the greatest stimulus from this nationalist movement.

Its political value is not going to be a whit less for the future. As Sir Padamji Ginwalla, declared the other day, Indian trade is the most potent instrument for bargaining of political power. With its enormous foreign trade a Nationalist Indian Government can secure valuable privileges from the British Ministry for the economic and political progress of India.

AN EXILE'S LAMENT

BY DR. H. W. B. MORENO

O H, to be back in Ind, my native land,
To scan the green-leafed mount upon the plain,
The rush of living waters from the rain,
Leaping o'er rocks, or sluggish down the sand;
To hear the ring dove's coo or parrot band
Scream shrill upon the mango grove again;
To gaze upon the waving golden grain,
Or by the north-west irrigated strand,
To see the stars shoot clear across the sky,
While on the ground gleam tongues of smoke-wreathed fire.
As gathered round the swarthy faces pry,
To catch the tale of some lost Chief or Sire;
There would I speak of love and conquest high,
From many a record, which no ear can tire.

ON FOODS

BY MR. UPTON SINCLAIR

[In response to a request for a contribution to this REVIEW, Mr. Upton Sinclair, the well-known American writer has allowed us the use of the following interesting discourse on Foods, which forms the subject matter of a chapter of one of his publications. Mr. Sinclair's observations on this subject of universal interest are so practical and suggestive that we have no doubt they will be read with interest by all.—ED., I.R.]

A few years ago there died an old gentleman who had devoted some twenty years of his life to teaching people to chew their food.



MR. UPTON SINCLAIR

Horace Fletcher was his name, and his ideas became a fad, and some people carried them to comical extremes. But Fletcher made a real discovery; what he called "the food filter." This is the automatic action of the swallowing apparatus, whereby nature selects the food which has been sufficiently prepared for digestion. If you chew a mouthful of food without ever performing the act of swallowing, you will find that the food gradually disappears. What happens is that all of it which has been reduced to a thin paste will slip unnoticed down your throat, and you may go on putting more food into your mouth, and chewing, and can eat a whole meal without ever performing the act of swallowing. Fletcher claimed that this is the proper way to eat, and

that you can train yourself to follow this method. I have tried his idea and adopted it. One of my diet rules, to which there is no exception, is that if I haven't the time to chew my food properly, I haven't the time to eat; I skip that meal.

The habit of bolting food is a source of disease. To be sure, the carnivorous animals bolt their food, but they are tougher than we are, and do not carry the burden of a large brain and a complex nervous system. If you swallow your meals half chewed, and wash them down with liquids, you may get away with it for a while, but some day you will pay for it with dyspepsia and nervous troubles. And the same thing applies to your habit of jumping up from meals and rushing away to work, whether it be work of the muscles, or of brain and nerves. Proper digestion requires the presence of a quantity of blood in the walls of the stomach and digestive tract. It requires attention of your subconscious mind, and this means rest of muscles and brain centres. If you cannot rest for an hour after meals, omit that meal, or make it a light one, of fruit juices, which are almost immediately absorbed by the stomach, and of salads, which do not ferment. You may rest assured that it will not hurt you to skip a meal, and make up for it when you have time to be quiet. I have been many times in my life under very intense and long continued nervous strain; for example, during the Colorado coal strike, I led a public demonstration which kept me in a state of excitement all the day and a good part of the night several weeks. During this period I ate almost nothing; a baked apple and a cup of custard would be as near as I would go to a meal, and as a result I came through the

experience without any injury whatever to my health.

I have been on camping trips when I had a great deal of hard work to do, carrying a canoe long distances on my back, or paddling it forty miles a day. On the mornings of such a trip I have seen a guide cook himself an elaborate breakfast of freshly baked bread, bacon, and even beans, and make a hearty meal and then go straight to work. My meal, on the contrary, would consist of a small dish of stewed prunes, or perhaps some huckleberries or raspberries, if they could be found. I will not say that I could do as much as the guide, because he was used to it, and I was not. But I can say this—if I had eaten his breakfast at the start of the day, I would have been dead before night; and I mean the word "dead" quite literally. I know a man who started to climb Whiteface mountain in the Adirondacks. He climbed half way, and then ate lunch, which consisted of nine hard boiled eggs. Then he started to climb the rest of the mountain, and dropped dead of acute indigestion.

There are few poisons, which can affect the system more quickly, or more dangerously, than a mass of food which is not digested. The stomach is an ideal forcing house for the breeding of bacteria. It provides warmth and moisture and you, in your meal, provide the bacteria and the material upon which they thrive. Under normal conditions, the stomach pours out a gastric juice which kills the bacteria; but let this gastric juice for any reason be lacking—because your nervous energy has gone somewhere else, or because your blood-stream, from which the gastric juice must be made, has been drawn away to the muscles by hard labour; then you have a yeast-pot, with great quantities of the gases and poisons. In acute cases the results are evident enough: violent pains and convulsions, followed by coma and the turning black of the body. But what you should understand is that you may produce a milder case

of such poisoning, and may do it day after day habitually, and little by little your vital organs will be weakened by the strain.

It does not make any difference at what hour of the twenty-four you take the great bulk of your food. It is one of the commonest delusions that you get some strengthening effect from your food immediately, and must have this strength in order to do hard work. To be sure, there are substances, such as grape-sugar, which require practically no digesting; you can hold them in the mouth, and they will be digested by the saliva, and absorbed at once into the blood stream. But unless you have been starved for a long period you do not need to get your strength in this rush fashion. If you ate your normal meals on the previous day, your blood-stream is fully supplied with nutriment which has been put through a long process of preparation, and you can get up in the morning and work all day, if necessary upon what is already in your system. To be sure, you may feel hungry, and even faint, but that is merely a matter of habit, your system is accustomed to taking food and expects it. But if you are a laborer doing hard work, you can easily train your self to eat a light meal in the morning, and another light meal at noon, and to eat a hearty meal when your work is done and you can rest. Two light meals and a hearty meal are all that any system needs, and you can prove it to yourself by trying it, and watching your weight once a week.

I have tried many experiments, and the conclusion to which I have come is that there is no virtue in any particular meal-hours or any particular number of meals. For several years I tried the experiment of two meals a day. I was living a retired life, and had little contact with the world, and I would make a hearty meal at ten o'clock in the morning, and another at five in the afternoon. But later on I found that inconvenient, and now I take a light breakfast and two moder-

ate-sized meals at the conventional hours of lunch and dinner. I can arrange my own time, so after meal times I get my reading done. Sometimes, when I am tired, I feel sleepy after meals, but I have learned not to yield to this impulse. I do not know how to explain this; I have observed that animals sleep after eating, and it appears to be a natural thing to do; but I know that if I go to sleep after a meal, nature makes clear to me that I have made a mistake, and I do not repeat it. I never eat at night, and always go to bed on an empty stomach, so I am always hungry when I open my eyes in the morning. I never know what it is not to be hungry at meal times, and my habits are so regular that I could set my watch by my stomach.

Another common habit which is harmful is eating between meals. I have known people who are accustomed to nibble at food nearly all the time. Shelley records that he tried it as an experiment, thinking it might be a convenient way to get digestion done—but he found that it did not work. The stomach is apparently meant to work in pulses; to do a job of digesting, and then to rest and accumulate the juices for another job. It will accustom itself to a certain regime, and will work accordingly, but if, when it has half digested a load of food, you pile more food in on top, you make as much trouble as you would make in your kitchen if you required your cook to prepare another meal before she has cleaned up after the last one. Three times a day is enough for any adult to eat. Children require to eat oftener, because their bodies are more active, and they not merely have to keep up weight, but to add to it. The simplest way to arrange matters with children is to give them three good meals at the hours when adults eat, and then to give them a couple of pieces of fruit between breakfast and lunch, and again between lunch and supper. I have never seen a child who would not be satisfied with this, when once the habit was established.

I have already spoken of the cooking and serving of food. I consider that the "gastronomic art," as it is pompously called, is ninety-nine per cent. plain rubbish. To be sure, if foods are appetizingly prepared, and look good and smell good and taste good, they will cause the gastric juices to flow abundantly, as the Russian scientist Pavlov has demonstrated by practical experiment with the stomach-pump. But I know without any stomach-pump that the best thing to make my gastric juices flow is hard work and a spare diet. When I come home from five sets of tennis, and have a cold shower and a rub-down, my gastric juices will flow for a piece of cold beefsteak and a cold sweet potato, quite as well as for anything that is served by a leisure class "chef." Needless to say, I want food to be fresh, and I want it to be clean, but I have other things to do with my time and money than to pamper my appetites and encourage food whims.

If you have a grandmother, or ever had one, you know what grandmothers tell you about "hot nourishing food"; but I have tried the experiment, and satisfied myself that there is absolutely no difference in nourishing qualities between hot food and cold food. If you chew your food sufficiently, it will all be ninety-eight and six-tenths degree food when it gets to your stomach, and that is the way your stomach wants it. Of course, if you have been out in a blizzard, and are chilled, and want to restore the body temperature, a hot drink will be one of the quickest ways, and if the emergency is extreme, you may even add a stimulant. On the other hand, if you are suffering from heat, it is sensible to cool your body by a cold drink. But you should use as much judgment with yourself as you would with a horse, which you do not permit to drink a lot of cold water when he is heated up, and is going into his stall to stand still.

The Problem of Population

BY PROF. C. N. VAKIL, M.A., M.Sc., (Econ), F.R.S.

IN connection with the population problem in different countries as well as in the world as a whole we frequently hear of the advocacy of the practice of birth control as the important solution out of the difficulty. There are natural and inevitable limitations to the increase of the means of subsistence which are known to grow at a comparatively smaller speed than population. The economic effort of the world has to be directed to see that the equilibrium between the two is maintained at a reasonable level, in the absence of which there is bound to be misery and suffering. In those countries where a fairly high standard of living has been reached because of a period of prosperity, the problem is sometimes that of maintaining that high standard which has a tendency to go lower. The problems of unemployment with which people in the United Kingdom and other countries in the West are faced at present, are due to the fear that the general standard of living will be lowered if sufficient means of employment are not found for the large numbers who are without work at present. In countries like ours, the problem is quite different; we have a normal state of unemployment on a tremendously large scale of such a character that we have been accustomed to take it as a normal feature of life and do not therefore make that noise about it as people do in the West. In view of the comparative poverty of India and China, people in the East are living in large numbers on the margin of subsistence and are very often dying out in thousands at the slightest touch of adversity. The problem before such countries is either to increase the means of subsistence or to reduce numbers or to adopt both the remedies simultaneously; in other words, to bring about that desired equilibrium between population and production in which people can live a reasonably good life.

In order to get out of such difficulties, the remedy of birth control is known and practised in

the West; in the East it is known only to the few and practised by fewer still. The validity of the practice has however not been universally established because there is a great deal of controversy regarding the baneful effects of the practice among medical men as well as sociologists. The consideration of the question from the Indian point of view has not yet received that attention which it deserves. Systematic studies on the population problems of this country are few; it may be of interest, however, to point out that the latest book on the subject entitled "Population Problem in India with special reference to Food supply" by B. T. Ranadive (Longmans Green & Co.) investigates the problem in some detail and comes to the conclusion that there is a growing maladjustment between production and population in this country for the last 60 years, and that one of the principal remedies is recourse to the practice of birth control.

Anyone trying to understand Malthus's Principle of Population and the modern literature on the subject will meet with the idea that Malthus was opposed to the practice of birth control and that this practice is of more recent origin and would have been condemned by Malthus. To those who are interested in this controversy and to the students of the history of economic thought, Professor Norman Himes of Clark University, has rendered a great service by the publication of an annotated edition of an interesting book, first published in 1822 by Francis Place.* The book is entitled "Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population including an Examination of the proposed remedies by Mr. Malthus and a reply to the objection of Mr. Godwin and others." It is obvious that this was a work written during the time of Malthus when his famous Essay was the subject of contemporary controversy. The principal

* "Place on Population" edited by Norman Himes. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

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opponent of Malthus in this controversy was Godwin. Though we know to-day that the central theme of Malthus is generally accepted and that justification for it has been found in more recent history, it was difficult for people in those days to appreciate the truth between the controversies of Malthus and Godwin and their respective followers. Francis Place who had begun life in very humble circumstances but who gradually worked himself up to an independent life took part in this controversy and exercised a good influence as a social reformer. Place felt that the positions of both Godwin and Malthus were extreme; that there was an element of truth in each. From the experience of his own early life and of contemporary events, he came to the conclusion that human institutions can be controlled by the concerted will of men and that they had a good deal to do with the existence of either poverty or prosperity. It was this conviction that led him to work for social reform in many directions, one of which was the advocacy of birth control. "Illustrations and Proofs" written by Place is the product of a man whose early life was spent in making

a living and whose literary training was made up in an unsystematic manner in the latter part of his life. The work is in consequence heavy and dull and did not attract great attention at the time. More than his book however the influence of Place was due to the practical propaganda which he carried on including the foundation of the international birth control movement. Some of his pamphlets attracted attention in America and in course of time, the American disciples of Place succeeded in influencing thought in England.

From the point of view of the modern birth control movement, and the systematic study of the population problem, it may be said that the work of Francis Place has hitherto remained in complete obscurity though it deserved a much better place. Students of economics and sociology will find the work of Professor Himes very useful because in addition to the labours involved in editing an almost forgotten volume, he has given a very lucid introduction and illuminating notes on various points which are obviously the product of laborious research on this highly interesting subject.

THE STREET PHILOSOPHER

BY

MISS PADMINI SATTHIANADHAN

A striking feature in the Bazaars of India, is the idler, whom I would like to call the street philosopher. He is seen in almost every little wayside shop, either smoking his strong beedi, or chewing beetle-nut. Sometimes he is a young man dressed in passably clean white clothes, and sometimes he is an old man clad in bedraggled dusty garments. But, whether young or old, he is generally there sitting in those tiny booths, upon a wooden stool, or on the floor, just doing nothing in particular; except spitting at periodical intervals into the already dirty street.

What a characteristic, familiar sight are these bazaar streets to those who know India. Almost every town has these crowded narrow roads, hedged in on either side by shops of every description. While walking along a country road, one is entranced by the green fields and the slender swaying palms all around, and the purple, blue-grey hills reposing in all their peaceful majesty in the far-away distance, and then, quite suddenly, one becomes aware of the existence of a congested mass of humanity, and a number of houses huddled together, with men, women, children, dogs,

cattle and poultry all mixed together in happy confusion everywhere. We have stepped in quite suddenly from the luxuriant green country, into a dusty town, or perhaps village.

The first impression that one receives on entering one of these bazaar streets, is one of disgust; but somehow I think it has become too much the habit, on the one hand to go into raptures over the magnificent beauty of India's scenery, and on the other somewhat to despise its masses of humanity. To the foreigner especially the average poor Indian is an object of contempt. And yet, are not the poorer classes of India one of her most loveable features? Are not these crowded streets, with their animals and men all moving freely together, with their dust and peculiar odours, with their Mohommadans, Hindus, and Christians all mixed up, with their beggars and merchants and urchins and old men all in close proximity to each other, and their busy men and idlers all approving each other in silent co-operation, possessions which we Indians ought not to be ashamed of? For they show to the whole world the inner spirit of India, which does not consist in the achievement of material prospects, as it is in Europe to-day; but a spirit of calmness and serenity and acceptance of Fate. The idler, therefore, does not hesitate to be idle. Why should he worry? God has given him a few hours to spare, and so he enjoys those hours in silent contemplation of everything around him.

What does he think about? What is his philosophy? For surely he must philosophise about something during all those hours of silent meditation. Or, does he just think of nothing in particular? Perhaps his philosophy consists in the admirable theory of not thinking at all. What would he do if we suddenly offered him "An anna for his thoughts"? He would probably make up something at once and claim his Anna and we should have to be satisfied with his answer. Well,

well, such is India among the poorer classes. A delightful place, spontaneous, impulsive, perfectly natural and silently humorous.

How different is a Bazaar street in India to the clean, paved streets in England, with their glass-windowed shops on either side. What spotless well-managed business concerns they are, compared to our badly-managed, dusty, carelessly kept little stalls! "Tick, tick, tick, tick" the sounds of thousands of busy hurrying feet reverberate on the pavements of London:—men and women intent on business, anxious to progress in their worldly ambitions, and out here, people lolling about with open mouths, and a happy unconcern. Verily, "East is east, and West is west."

But, will it not be a happier time when the two meet a little more closely; when we learn some more of the practical worth of England, and imbibe the spirit of efficiency and responsibility from them; and they in their turn, begin to realise that life is not after all a mere hectic rush to reach the final goal of material happiness; but that a few breathing spaces of inaction and unconcern can do no harm; when in fact, India willingly borrows a few business men from England, and England a few street philosophers from India.

As I write this article, I see two or three shops in front of me, down below, in the street. Some people are talking and gesticulating in them; but the philosopher is there all right, silent and listening intently to the conversation. Should he be given some work to do, or should he be left alone? Time must solve this question. Perhaps, a hundred years hence, all the street philosophers will have disappeared; but with them will vanish a part of the spirit of India, the spirit of happy unconcern, serenity and peace of mind under all existing circumstances, the social acceptance of what God has given us.

India and the Cape in the 18th Century

By MR. S. A. ROCHLIN,

Cape Town, South Africa.

IN that field of South African historical research devoted to Asian contact with this country very little work has been performed in evaluating the real relationship between the meeting of Eastern and Western cultures and peoples in this land. More so is this to be seen in the region of books penned by eminent Asiatic personalities, some of whom passed the Cape on their way to Europe, and who, too, left an account, either in print or in manuscript, of their impressions of this part of the world. Hardly anything is known of these literary works, and it would be well if some scholar were to tackle this aspect of Africa and through this means increase India's prestige in the southern hemisphere.

At any rate, we have the case of one well-known eighteenth century gentleman who wrote something about the Cape, and, concerning whom nothing has been told us either by Theal or Mendelsohn, South Africa's greatest bibliographers. This gentleman's manuscript is in the Persian language. His name is Itisam-ud-din. Sometime in the 1784's he issued this manuscript under the title of "Shigurf Namahi Velaet" or "Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe."

This Itisam-ud-din, apparently, was an educated man. He was a native of Bengal—the first of his countrymen to cross the Indian and Atlantic oceans on their way to England—and was well connected with the Indian intelligentsia of his generation. He was also employed by the contemporary English authorities in India to conduct negotiations on their behalf with the Mahratta, and entered the service of General Carnac in 1765. The greatest point in his career was in the years 1765-7 when he accompanied Captain Swinton to Europe in order to present a personal letter of a great Mogul Prince to King George III. And it was on this mission that he rounded the Cape and this is how he interestingly describes his sojourn here in 1765, in all probability, he being the first of his race to do so:—

For two weeks we lay at anchor at Cape Town. * *

The Cape itself is a promontory of the country of the Black. The country round the Cape is under the Dominion of the Dutch, who have built near the sea a beautiful city, and there planted different varieties of European and Indian trees, such as the vine, apple, nashpatee, quince, pear, banana, mangoes and plantain. The inhabitants plant cypress and box trees in their gardens and along the walks, and are great horticulturists. Before the Dutch settled at the cape, it was a wilderness, and the Hottentots and Bushmen of the country were like the caste of Tumblers in India; they carried their houses along with them; and men, women and children, to the number of seven or eight thousand, with horses, sheep, and cattle were in the habit of coming to the Cape from another country, and having remained there for three or four years, afterwards moved off in another direction. The clothing of the Hottentots is undressed skins, and their diet raw and half-raw meat, also milk, mutton and wild fruits. They are of a good stature and corpulent, and are so swift and active in the chase, that they catch with ease wild boars and deer. They dig deep pits in the elephant's haunts and when these animals come from the jungles and hills to graze, they make a great noise with musketry, and drive them in the direction of the pits, into which they fall, and in a few days they die for want of food and water, and the Hottentots dispose of the ivory tusks to merchants.

The Dutch purchase men, women and children in Bengal. I visited some of these slaves, and although they had forgotten the Hindee and Bengalee languages, yet we were able to converse by signs. They used to fish for me.

But Itisam-ud-din was not the only Indian of importance to write something about the Cape of Good Hope. About a half century later, to be exact in 1803, we find one Mirza Abu Taleb Khan issuing in Calcutta his "Massir-ut-Talibi fi Bilad-i-Ifranji." It is, in so far as this country is concerned, a most interesting account of contemporary life here; in fact, Mirza Abu Taleb Khan had a more enjoyable time at the Cape than was the case of Itisam-ud-din. It was translated from the Persian into English in the year 1810 by Charles Stewart under this title: "Abu Taleb Khan, Mirza: Travels in Asia, Africa and Europe in the Years 1799-1802." It was reprinted in 1814 when the London QUARTERLY REVIEW, declared that Mirza Abu Taleb Khan's work was "not only a curious but a very agreeable present to the Western world."

All this serves to reveal the dictum that from an early age Indians took an interest in the affairs of a growing South Africa. Of course, this fact is well emphasised in modern day relations between South Africa and India, becoming more important as the years roll on,

Birds in English Poetry

BY MR. H. S. RAO, M.A.

"BUT for poetry" says Matthew Arnold, in one of the most illuminating discourses of his "Essays in Criticism," "the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches itself to the idea: the idea is the fact." Another poet wrote of poetry that it is "emotion recollected in tranquillity." In speaking of poems that have been written about birds in English literature, it is important for us in this country to remember the conception of poetry given by Arnold. It is difficult for us to know the habits of English birds and to that extent catch the spirit that animates many of the most beautiful lyrics in English poetry. But poetry does not concern itself solely with fact. It is not the scientist who can catch the 'breath and finer spirit of all knowledge,' but the poet, who weaves his experiences of life into a many-coloured web of loveliness. When we read of the nightingale, 'the light-winged Dryad of the trees' singing in some "melodious plot of beechen green and shadows numberless," it is not so much the picture of the nightingale that haunts us, the atmosphere of perfect joy and ecstasy that wears out of the life of the poet and the innumerable poetic suggestions of the music of the nightingale which transport us into a wonderful world of romance,

The same that often-times hath
Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas and fairy lands forlorn.

It is therefore the idea, the suggestion and the atmosphere that appeal to us. Most poetry of nature calls us to a higher region of beauty and loveliness, and in that sense it is more precious than the knowledge the scientist gathers by faithful observation. To illustrate the point, in Matthew Arnold's exquisite lyric 'Philomela,' the bird has no real life except what the poet has endowed it in his imagination and the poem might have been written by a man who had never seen

a nightingale, because it sings of the nightingale of legend and classical mythology, and more than that of the emotions of sorrow and joy that alternate in human life and which are suggested by the song of the nightingale.

There are, however, many poems in English, real bird-poems that give us not only a description of the bird, its characteristic habits and its place in the landscape, but also make us by a kind of subtle poetic realism, feel the real bird in the verses. The real bird is the basis of the poem and the feelings evoked by it are incidental to its description. One such poem occurs in Palgrave's "Golden Treasury" the lovely lyric ascribed to Bornfield, where we have a beautiful imitation of the nightingale's note.

She, poor bird, as all forlorn,
Leaned her breast up-till a thorn
And there sung the dolefullest ditty
That to hear it was great pity.
Fie, fie, fie, now would she cry:
Teren, teren, by and by.

In the Elizabethan lyric, with its perfect joyousness and its 'fine careless rapture' we have some of the loveliest expressions of the music of the nightingale, and the best lyrics of the period catch the very spirit of the bird. They recreate and make articulate in our minds the emotions and ecstasies which are aroused by the bird and their rapturous notes. In Lyly's play, 'Alexander and Campaspe' the poet by a subtle artistry of words and rhythm conjures up the very essence of the various notes of the birds.

What bird so sings, yet so does wail?
Oh, it is the ravished nightingale!
Jug, jug, jug, jug, jug, teren, she cries;
And still her woes at midnight rise.
Brave prick song! who's it now we hear?
None but the lark, so shrill and clear:
How at heaven's gate she clasps her wings!
The morn not waking till she sings.
Hark, hark, with what a pretty throat
Poor Robin red-breast tunes his throat!
Hark, how the jolly cuckoos sing,
Cuckoo, to welcome in the spring.

Most of the bird-poems in Elizabethan literature are merely conventional but in most of them we

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have, nevertheless, the highest flight of fancy,—the poet's ecstasy of delight in the realisation of perfect beauty. The bird is a frequent source of illustration of a mood of nature or a human emotion and it is remarkable how the poet almost uncannily concentrates a mood of nature in one or two exquisite lines of description. For instance, in the Winter song in 'Love's Labour's Lost,' unsurpassed for its realistic representation of the winter scenes, we see how the mood of nature is described in a few vivid lines and how the bird plays a very vital part in the suggestion of that mood:

When icicles hang by the wall,
And Dick the shepherd blows his nail,
And Tom bears logs into the hall,
And milk comes frozen home in pail,
When blood is nipt, and ways be foul,
Then nightly sings the starting owl
Tuwahoo!

Tuwhit, tuwhoo, a merry note, etc.

I know no poem which interprets the winter scene so beautifully. This lyric must of course be taken with the other lyric in the same scene which represents the mood of nature in spring and the joyous refrain of the song of cuckoo heard

When daisies pied and violets blue,
And lady-smocks all silver white,
And cuckoo birds of yellow hue,
Do paint the meadows with delight.

To deal in greater detail the bird-poem in Elizabethan literature is beyond the scope of this article. All these bird-poems, in one way or other are singularly rich in musical charm and are the product of an age when music and poetry were united as they never have been in English poetry since. Rich in music and lyrical sweetness, it must be admitted, that many of these lyrics lack in, what Pater called 'the soul-fact' which is the matter of all imaginative art. Poetry, according to Pater is the representation of such fact as connected with soul. The highest type of nature poetry is that which not merely represents fact, but expresses the poet's experience when he sees 'into the life of things,' and adds to those experiences what Wordsworth calls

The gleam,
The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration, and the poet's dream.

Nature poetry of this kind never wastes words in uninspired description. A line or two bring before our eyes not merely the picture of a landscape, but its innumerable suggestions that haunt us ever afterwards,

The visions of the past,
Sustain the heart in feeling.

The poet first subjects his mind to the scene or the object in nature, and then he withdraws into his deeper self to understand its meaning. Lines in Wordsworth such as,

Wall flower scents
From out the crumbling ruins of fallen pride.

bring out more vividly than any set description of fact, the absorbing emotions of the human heart, when contemplating an object in nature. So the bird in the poetry of Wordsworth, Shelley, Meredith and Keats, is not merely described but transfigured before the 'inward eye, which is the bliss of solitude.' The greatest bird-poems in English poetry are those written by these poets. The poems in praise of birds written by Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats are a class by themselves as they have much in common, besides helping us to compare the very different genius, character and method of the three poets. Wordsworth's "Ethereal minstrel, pilgrim of the sky," though it has many faults, is nevertheless a beautiful poem, singing as it does, of the 'still sad music of humanity' which is never completely absent from Wordsworth's poetry. The skylark is transfigured into a 'pilgrim of the sky' that pours upon the world a flood of harmony and the bird becomes a

Type of the wise, who soar, but never roam—;
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.

There is not much spiritual insight in the poem; the next poem deals with the cuckoo for which Wordsworth had a great affection. The cuckoo is transfigured again 'sinking inward into himself from thought to thought.' In every aspect of nature, in every bird and flower, Wordsworth finds

thoughts 'that do often lie too deep for tears.'
His cuckoo,

Though babbling only to the vale
Of sunshine and of flowers,

brings to him a 'tale of visionary hours'; he
spiritualises it into a wandering voice, a mystery

Still longed for, never seen.

There is nothing so haunting in English poetry
as the lines in the "Solitary Reaper" that speak
of the notes of the bird,

A voice so thrilling ne'er was heard
In spring time from the cuckoo-bird
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides.

There is a suggestiveness, reaching far beyond
the physical sense in these lines that describe the
far-off note of the cuckoo amidst the silence of
the seas. The great power of suggestiveness
which characterises Wordsworth's poetry of nature
is beautifully seen in his "Reverie of poor Susan"
where the song of the thrush heard in the crowd-
ed streets of London takes poor Susan back to
her happy fields.

Shelley's "Ode to the Skylark" is one of
his greatest lyrics, and is characteristic of his
genius. There is in this Ode, as in Shelley's
character, an element of ethereal beauty, of rest-
less longing which is at once the strength and
weakness of his poetry. Shelley's skylark is
different from Wordsworth's, as it is obvious to
any reader, as the bird is a symbol of an illimit-
able longing for an ideal. It mounts 'on profuse
strains of unmeditated art,' so high, that earth is
lost sight of and it becomes a vision, beautiful but
impalpable, floating like an 'unembodied joy.' In
Shelley's poem, the bird as it lives in our physi-
cal world, has no existence; it becomes only a
symbol and into this symbol the poet weaves his
vision of life, his insatiable thirst, ever new and
ever seeking the sweeter waters of the fountain of
life. The Ode throbs with life, life's beauty and
idealism which can never grow stale. The pro-
foundest facts of life, as Shelley saw them, are
interwoven with the theme of the bird, and as we

all know, the poem draws to a close with the lines
that shall endure as long as the language shall
live,

We look before and after
And pine for what is not,
Our sincerest laughter
With some pain is fraught,
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest
thought.

How different this Ode is from Words-
worth's! Shelley's is by far the greater poem, for
the swift-glancing movement of the verse seems
to make articulate for us the very beats of the
living wings of the bird and at the same time
making it altogether a symbol, a vision of a 'new
earth and a new heaven.'

Of Keats's "Ode to a nightingale" I have
already spoken. Keats was a great lover of the
nightingale. Readers of Shelley's "Adonais"
will remember the line,

Thy spirit's sister, the lorn nightingale.

Keats' Ode has the concentration and power of
the soul's melancholy which is the chief quality
of his lyrics. The nightingale's plaintive song
gives rise to a flood of emotions in the mind of
the poet and takes him away from 'the wear-
iness, the fever and the fret' of life. There is in
English poetry no finer or truer picture of the
haunting melody of the nightingale and its roman-
tic associations than the lines which I have
already quoted. The lines spread the glamour of
romance over the plaintive beauty of the bird's
song. The nightingale is the symbol of joy,
ecstasy and immortality.

Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird!
No hungry generations can tread thee down.

The poet's emotion then becomes subdued and
tranquil, as the plaintive anthem draws to a close
and the Ode falls to a soft refrain, before it closes,

Adieu, adieu, thy plaintive anthem fades,
Past the near meadows, over the still stream,
Up the hill-side; now 'tis buried deep
In the next valley-glades:
Was it a vision or a waking dream?

In George Meredith we get the most beautiful
bird-poetry written in the 19th century. The

picture of the lark we get in his "Lark Ascend-
ing" is unsurpassed for its livingness. The lines
that describe the rapturous music of the lark are
the most beautiful, to my mind, in English bird-
poetry of recent times:

He rises and begins to round,
He drops the silver chain of sound,
Of many links without a break,
In chirrup, whistle, slur and shake,
All interwoven and spreading wide,
Like water dimples down a tide,
Where ripple ripple overcurls,
And eddy into eddy whirls.

Meredith's poetry is remarkable for its concen-
trated force and in the haunting effect of the
repetitions which subtly convey the sights and
sounds of nature. The "Lark Ascending" is
the concentrated essence of the loveliness of the
song of the bird,

An ecstasy to music turned.

The lark is spiritualised, as the skylark is in
Shelley's Ode and Meredith concentrates not mere-
ly on the song of the bird, but speaks of its innu-
merable associations with human life,

The starry voice ascending spreads,
Awakening, as it waxes thin,
The best in us to him akin.

The song of the bird is a glorious hymn of love,

Singing till his heaven fills,
'Tis love of earth that he instils,
And ever winging up and up,
Our valley is his golden cup.
And he the wine which overflows
To lift us with him as he goes.

Again contrasting the passions of men with the
rapturous melody of the lark, he says,

We want the key of his wild note
Of truthful in a tuneful throat.
The song seraphically true
Of taint of personality.

And then he speaks of men,

Whose lives by many a battle dint
Defaced and grinding wheels on flint,
Yield substance, though they sing not, sweet,
For song our highest heaven to greet,

because, as he beautifully says, their joy of life is
as deep and full as the lark's,

Because their love of earth is deep.

There are many other poems of Meredith that
throb with this ecstasy of thought and feeling—

many poems, full of picturesque imagery and
wealth of suggestion, that interpret the music of
the birds. "The thrush in February" is a sweet
lyric ringing with the music of the thrush heard
on a clear, beautiful evening in February,

Then Earth her sweet unscented breathes,
An orb of lustre quits the height;
And like blue iris-flags, in wreathes
The sky takes darkness, long ere quite.

The loveliness of the song of the thrush, its
exulting note and utter joyousness, is spread over
the whole poem. The song is a symbol of glori-
ous promise that leads men on 'from bestial to
the higher breed'; it sums up Meredith's deliberate
philosophy of life, his faith in the human race
and immortality,

That life begets with fair increase
Beyond the flesh, if life be true.

The poet's wonderful optimism is at the basis
of his faith which he sums up in these lines of
concentrated power and beauty,

Love born of knowledge, love that gains
Vitality as Earth it mates
The meaning of the Pleasures, Pains,
The life, the Death, illuminates;
For love we earth, then serve we all;
Her mystic secret then is ours.

No lover of Meredith will ever forget his "Love
in Valley," that wonderful treasurehouse of poetic
images which live in the memory of the reader
with the haunting power of an exquisite dream.
How can we forget the picture of the bird, brought
out in such power and beauty, as in these lines,

Lovely are the curves of the white owl sweeping
Wavy in the dusk lit by one large star
Lone on the fir-branch, his rattle note invaried,
Brooding over the gloom, spins the brown eve-jar,

or the picture of the doves that

Through the long noon coo, crooning through the
coo?

The "Young Princess" rings with the melody
of the nightingale,

When the South sang like a nightingale
Above a bower in May.

The delicious strains of the 'bird of passion'
pervade the whole atmosphere of the poem;

Sang loud, sang low the rapturous bird
Till the yellow hour was nigh.

To have captured the melody of the nightingale, the thrush and the lark, that the verse sings itself as we read, and to have done all this with exquisite power and beauty, which are inseparable from all great art, is the highest achievement of Meredith as a poet.

I must close this short article with a brief reference to the bird-poetry of Tennyson. Tennyson is the greatest master in English poetry of 'nature pictures.' Nature and human passion are always woven together, as readers of "The Miller's daughter", "In Memoriam" and the "May Queen" will have noted. Tennyson was fond of birds and flowers. In his nature poetry we have a series of intimate pictures of various birds.

The building rook'll caw from the windy tall elm-tree,
And the tufted plover pipe along the fallow lea,
And the swallow'll come again with summer o'er wave.

Every line is a complete picture of the bird. The most beautiful bird-song in Tennyson is the lyric in the "Princess" which is remarkably lovely in its movement,

O! Swallow, swallow, flying, flying south.

As Stopford Brooke has said, "Its wing-beating and swift-glancing verse is like the flight of the bird that has suggested it, so harmoniously is the assonance arranged." Tennyson's immortal elegy, "In Memoriam" contains many nature descriptions. In one which begins

By night we lingered in the lawn,

We have a glorious description of summer twilight "itself drawn in the very mood of such a twilight,"

The bats went round in fragment skies
And wheeled or lit the filmy shapes
That haunt the dusk, with ermine capes
And woolly breasts and beaded eyes.

No reader of "In Memoriam" will ever forget the wonderful little address to the nightingale which seems to express the rapture at once of pain and victory over it:

Wild bird whose warble liquid sweet,

I do not know of any other song in English poetry that sums up the nobler aspect of passion and imagination and breathing that delicate suggestion of the haunting melody of the nightingale than this song.

How sensitive Tennyson was to the music of the birds can be seen from these lines in his "Geraint and Enid" where he gives two comparisons of the effect on Geraint of Enid's voice and which are the noblest instances we can give of that sweet delicacy in Tennyson's treatment of birds in his poetry,

And while he waited in the castle court,
The voice of Enid, Yniol's daughter, rang
Clear thro' the open casement of the hall,
Singing: and as the sweet voice of a bird
Heard by the lander in a lonely isle
Moves him to think what kind of bird it is
That sings so delicately clear and make
Conjecture of the plumage and the form:
So the sweet voice of Enid moved Geraint;
And made him like a man abroad at morn
When the first the liquid note beloved of men
Comes flying over many a windy wave
To Britain and in April suddenly
Breaks from a coppice gemmed with green and red,
And he suspends his converse with his friend,
To think or say, 'There is the nightingale.'

'The coppice gemmed with green and red' irresistibly reminds one of Browning's exquisite spring lyric, "Home thoughts from abroad" where the very mention of the chaffinch sets one's heart throbbing with the ecstasy of a spring morning. The description of the thrush in the same poem is one of the most intimate and haunting of all bird-pictures. Browning brings to bear on his description a new understanding and a new affection for the bird. It is poetry of this sort that makes

Our hearts in glad surprise
To higher levels rise.

Tennyson's great power of depicting a human emotion against the background of nature is beautifully seen in the noble simile where Arthur dreams on the day before he dies, and the ghost of Gawain appears, and the shrill voice fades away like

Wild birds that change
Their season in the night and wail their way
From cloud to cloud.

JUDGE DWARKANATH

BY MR. V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

THE first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court was Babu Sambhoonath Pandit who was appointed as Judge when the Judge-designate Babu Romaprosad Roy died before he could assume office. Babu Sambhoonath was Judge from the constitution of the High Court till his death in June 1867. And on Babu Sambhoonath's death, Babu Dwarkanath Mitter was offered the vacant place, although he was then only 33 years of age.

Dwarkanath was born in the village of Angunasi in the Hooghly district of Bengal in 1833. He had his early education in his village school; and in his seventh year, he was sent as a pupil to the Hooghly Branch School; and he was promoted to the second class of the Collegiate School when he was only thirteen years old. He had a brilliant career at the College and won Government scholarships in every examination. He held the Junior Scholarship in the years 1847 to 1849 and the Senior Scholarship till 1850. He also obtained special scholarships. At the public examination at the end of the collegiate course, he stood first among the successful candidates from all the Colleges in Bengal. Babu Dwarkanath did not confine himself, however, merely to success at the examinations. He had a passion for the English language and for Mathematics. At college he won the Gold Medal for the best English essay in 1853; many Europeans of his day used to admire his English and pronounce it to be superior to that of most Englishmen. His passion for Mathematics led to his friendship with Babu Sreenath Dass; Babu Sreenath was a brilliant mathematician; even when he was a student at College, he was appointed to act as a teacher of Mathematics in a temporary vacancy; and after his course was over, he became the professor of Mathematics at the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. But his friendship with Babu

Dwarkanath induced him to take to the legal profession. For, notwithstanding Babu Dwarkanath's love for Mathematics, his heart was set on becoming a lawyer. His father was a law agent practising in the Hooghly courts and Dwarkanath's passion for law was therefore inherited from his father.

After his Collegiate course was over, Babu Dwarkanath was not immediately able to join the law course and appear for the Law examination. His father died about that time and the whole burden of maintaining the family shifted to young Dwarkanath's shoulders. So, he was forced by circumstances to accept the place of a clerk on Rs. 120 a month in the office of the Junior Magistrate of Police at Calcutta. But he did not long remain at the clerical desk. As soon as circumstances could allow, he began not only to prepare for the Law examination himself but induced his friends Babu Onookool Chandra Mookerjee and Babu Sreenath Dass to do so. All of them obtained their Diploma in 1856. Babu Dwarkanath was enrolled as a Vakil of the Sudder Dewany Adalut on the 30th March, 1856 and his two friends shortly afterwards. Babu Onookool became a Judge of the High Court; Babu Sreenath lived to a ripe old age retiring from the Bar in 1906 after fifty years of practice. He was known as "the Nestor of the Vakil Bar" and he used to talk frequently about Babu Dwarkanath, the friend of his youth and speak highly of his abilities and of the warmth of his friendship. The few details that the present generation know about Babu Dwarkanath are mostly due to the kindly references that Babu Sreenath used to make of his companions at the Bar.

Babu Dwarkanath worked in the chambers of Babu Romaprosad Roy; opportunities do not always attend on the young juniors at the Bar; but

in Babu Dwarkanath's case, an early opportunity occurred within six months of his joining the Bar. His leader Babu Romaprosad Roy was engaged arguing another case; and the Judge insisted on Dwarkanath getting along with the case in his leader's absence. This was young Dwarkanath's opportunity. The ability with which he handled that case, established his reputation as a brilliant lawyer and successful advocate; and from that day, his position at the Bar was secure. An European contemporary of his referred to those early days at the Bar of Babu Dwarkanath in these words:

While engaged in the forensic arena, whether with me or against me, I well remember how his zeal, his conspicuous ability and honest pleading challenged the admiration of all and especially my own admiration. Those years of advocacy were his initiation to the position which he at last attained.

With the death of his leader Babu Romaprosad Roy and with the elevation of Babu Sambhoonath Pandit to the High Court Bench, Babu Dwarkanath Mitter became the accredited leader of the Vakil Bar at Calcutta. The pages of the *Weekly Reporter* and the *Bengal Law Reports* bear ample testimony to his extensive practice and to the great part he played in the shaping of the Hindu Law and of the Law of Land Tenures in Bengal. In what is known as "the Great Rent Case" he successfully argued on behalf of the ryots, pitted as he was against a combination of the best talents of the European Bar backed by the landed aristocracy. It is interesting to note that as an advocate he was fearless and independent and that his able conduct of the cases entrusted to him contributed largely to the building up of the excellent reputation of the Vakil Bar at Calcutta in those days. Babu Dwarkanath was a hearty supporter of the poor man's cause and we are told that in many cases, he refused fat fees from the richer litigants and appeared for practically no fees for the poor opponents who had just cases. In "The Great Rent Case," he not only appeared before the trial court and the Divisional Bench, but argu-

ed before a Full Bench of all the fifteen Judges of the High Court continually for seven days. The Chief Justice Sir Barnes Peacock was struck by his remarkable skill in the conduct of that case and consequently Babu Dwarkanath was offered the place of the Government Pleader which fell vacant shortly afterwards. The Government Pledership, as it proved, was only stepping stone to the High Court Bench.

As a Judge, Babu Dwarkanath was as fearless and independent as he was as a lawyer. His judgment in "the Malda Case" is a fearless exposition of the evils of personal government and of the vagaries of the departmental officials. His fearless characterisation of the conduct of one William Tayler as "a fraud" led to a strong agitation among the Europeans at Calcutta. Soon after the judgment, Mr. Tayler applied for a review of judgment suggesting that the fraud was by his agent and his defence was also unauthorised. Both the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mitter refused the review, the Chief Justice on the ground that there was nothing in his judgment which needed to be reviewed; Mr. Justice Mitter on the ground that the proper course was for Mr. Tayler to take action if so advised against his agent and that on the evidence in the case, he could not come to any other conclusion nor pass strictures on the agent who was not represented.

Thereupon two letters were published by Mr. Tayler in the *Englishman* of Calcutta attacking Justice Dwarkanath, on the 7th and 12th April 1869; the Chief Justice read them on the evening of the 12th April and "considered it necessary to vindicate the honour and character of my honourable colleague and the dignity of the Court." He consulted Babu Dwarkanath early next morning and as Mr. Tayler had arranged to sail for England that morning, he immediately had him arrested and brought before the High Court to answer a charge of contempt of Court.

The full report of the judgment of the Chief Justice in these contempt proceedings was, along with the report of the contempt case against the Editor of the *Englishman* which followed, unearthed in 1917 in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* case. As the judgment of the Chief Justice in these cases show in what high regard Mr. Justice Dwarkanath was held by him and by the other Judges of the High Court a few passages may be cited therefrom:

If the character of any other of the Judges had been similarly assailed, I should have thought it necessary to adopt a similar course. But it appeared to me to be especially necessary in the present case when the attack had been made upon a native gentleman, the only one of his countrymen who had a seat on the Bench of the High Court.

Judges, although they agree as to the judgment which ought to be given in a particular case, do not always agree in the reasons for arriving at that conclusion, or one Judge may have an additional reason upon which the other has expressed no opinion. There is no reason why a native gentleman, who by his abilities has raised himself to the Bench of the High Court, is to be maligned and slandered because he has the independence to express an opinion of his own or even to differ from the Chief Justice. What would become of the independence of Judges if this were to be allowed?

* * * * *

I knew him before he was raised to the Bench. I have sat with him frequently as a colleague; and I believe that I have had as good an opportunity as any one, of forming a just estimate of his character. Though now speaking in his presence, I may be permitted to say that he is a man of ability and learning; very unassuming, yet high-minded, independent and always ready to maintain his opinion so long as he conceives it to be right and equally ready to abandon it if convinced that it is wrong. He is a man to whom I am sure it would give pain to injure the reputation or to wound unnecessarily the feelings of any one. He is the second native gentleman who by his own abilities has raised himself to the high position of a Judge of the High Court.

Mr. Tayler admitted contempt and apologised; and the Chief Justice sentenced him to imprisonment for a month or till further orders and to the payment of a fine of Rs. 500. * * Mr. Justice Mitter's conduct throughout this case was highly praiseworthy and added to his reputation as a fearless and independent Judge. The Chief Justice remarked:

I am free to admit that I alone am responsible for all that has been done in this matter, though my honorable colleague does not desire to be relieved from any part of the responsibility.

One hears the voice of Dwarkanath echo these words of the Chief Justice:

And now I wish to declare publicly and emphatically that the Judges are not and cannot be, influenced in the discharge of their duty by any attack made upon them by the press. Nothing that has been said by the press upon this subject, and nothing that can be said, no fear of the threatened storm, can ever divert me or my honourable colleague from pursuing the plain straightforward course which our consciences dictate. No unfair criticisms can disturb my equanimity nor in the slightest degree affect my happiness. They are based on the consciousness that the honest and conscientious discharge of my duty has ever been the ruling principle of my life. That is a foundation too strong to be undermined by critics; who attempt to criticise that which they do not understand, or to be shaken by storms which it is in their power to raise.

Babu Dwarkanath Mitter's judgments show that he was an able exponent of the Hindu law as laid down in the Smritis and in the Dayabhaga. He was not a believer in Social reform by judicial legislation. His judgments are an able exposition of the doctrine of spiritual benefit on which the Dayabhaga scheme of inheritance is founded and have been approved of by the Privy Council. He it was who laid down that a minor Hindu can adopt if he had attained the age of discretion. He said:

Every act done by a minor is not necessarily null and void. Those acts only which are prejudicial to his interests can be questioned and avoided by him after he reaches his majority. But no such prejudicial character can be predicated of adoption in the case of a childless Hindu and as under the Hindu shastras a minor who has arrived at the age of discretion is not only competent but bound to perform the religious ceremonies prescribed for his salvation, we cannot hold the adoption made in this case to be invalid merely because the adoptive father was, in the eye of the law, a minor.

Mr. Justice Mitter helped also in the growth of the other branches of the Indian Law, which was then in the formative stage. He laid down, for example, the principle that a person should not be adjudged guilty on the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice; and in doing so, differed from his colleague on the Bench. In the case of *Gidhari Lal Ray*, his judgment on the many intricate points of law were fully adopted and endorsed by the Privy Council.¹

Justice Mitter's judgments in other branches of the law were held in as great regard as were his

judgments on Hindu Law. Particularly in Criminal law, we find him taking a strict and proper attitude on the admissibility of evidence against the accused. In an early case, reported in 3. Bengal Law Reports, the question arose whether in revision a Judge can interfere with the verdict of 'not guilty' pronounced by a Jury. It was held by one Judge that the High Court could interfere in revision because 'trial by Jury' was in its infant stage in India and required the supervision of the Judges if failure of Justice is to be avoided. The answer to this is found in the judgment of the Chief Justice with which Justice Mitter concurred: "If the country is not ripe for trial by Jury, it would be better to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, than to have trial by Jury shorn of the safeguards which it provides. But when it is being tried experimentally, and the Legislature has declared that a verdict of acquittal is not to be set aside upon appeal, or reversed upon revision, we ought not to put such a construction upon the express words of the Legislature as to deprive that mode of trial of one of its most important and essential principles." As an example of Justice Mitter's grasp of the essential ingredients of an offence the case of the *Queen vs. Doyal Bawri* can be cited. In that case, the accused Bawri was convicted of "attempting to cause mischief by fire, knowing that he would thereby destroy a building used as a human dwelling." Mr. Justice Glover on appeal was for affirming the conviction. He thought that the possession of an instrument to commit mischief by fire and the going about of the person with it are sufficient to raise a presumption that he intended to commit the act and had already begun to move towards execution. But Mr. Justice Mitter differed from this view and rightly. He held that the mere possession of an instrument to commit mischief by fire was by no means sufficient to warrant a conviction for "attempting to cause mischief by fire to a

building" as the overt act "towards the commission of the offence" required by law did not exist. The judgment in this case shows also that unlike the generality of Civilian Judges, Mr. Mitter acted on the wholesome maxim of Criminal law, that it is rather better that ten guilty persons escape than one innocent man be made to suffer; at the same time, his judgments show that he did not suffer from that mentality, which is alleged to be found in some Judges, of reluctance to find a person guilty and sentence him even where his guilt is proven.

Mr. Justice Mitter was anxious that the courts of justice should maintain a high reputation for speedy administration of substantial justice. It has been remarked by the Privy Council that the difficulties of the Indian client begin after getting his decree. One of the difficulties in the way of execution of decrees was the dismissal, without proper reasons, of execution applications for the purpose of showing disposal. This practice seems to have prevailed even in those early days and in a number of judgments Justice Mitter has condemned this practice in strong terms. Thus, in the case 3 Bengal Law Reports, appendix, page 17, he begins the judgment by saying: "This case affords a glaring instance of the gross injustice that is so often done to decree-holders in this country, by the arbitrary manner in which execution cases are generally dealt with by the lower Courts"; and again at page 19: "It may be all very well for judicial officers entrusted with the execution of decrees to sell their monthly returns by striking off every execution case at random on the last day of the month, but there cannot be the least doubt that such proceedings on their part are productive of the greatest hardship and injustice to the decree-holders, whose cases are thus struck off. We do not see any reason why the hearing of execution cases should not be conducted in accordance with the rules laid down in the Code of Civil Pro-

cedure; why, in fact, proper dates for the hearing of those cases should not be fixed, and notice thereof given in due time to all the parties concerned; or why, when an execution case is for some reason or other put off on a particular day, a fresh day should not be fixed for its hearing exactly in the same way as is done in the case of original suits; or why again, applications relating to execution of decrees should be dealt with in the first place, by that most meaningless and mischievous order, "let it be kept on the record," and then struck off on the last day of the month. It is high time that this practice should be at once discontinued, or otherwise all the time and labour we employ in passing our decrees, are absolutely thrown away, inasmuch as we shall have afterwards to declare that they are all barred by limitation. It is notorious that the troubles of a suitor in this country only begin when he has obtained a decree." These stringent remarks of Mr. Justice Mitter went a long way towards bringing about a discontinuance of this objectionable practice. Truly was it said of him:

No judge inspired us with more confidence for high intellect, for none had we a higher respect, and there are few indeed, if any, who, we felt more certain, would take the most accurate and at the same time the widest view of every question that was placed before him for decision.

But Mr. Justice Mitter did not remain long on the High Court Bench. His health was always poor. In April 1868, he had an attack of cholera which very nearly proved fatal. In 1872, he had a virulent attack of Dengue and in November 1873 he was discovered to be suffering from cancer of the throat; he could not continue on the Bench and in January 1874 he retired to his native village only to die on the 25th February amidst his relations. In private life, Dwarkanath was a very meek gentleman and his manners were unostentatious. He had genuine feelings of love towards his narrow circle of friends. Although he was raised to a high position early in life, he was singularly free from all pride and vanity. Under an apparently rough exterior, he

concealed a noble and generous heart. He revered his mother and used to hand over to her absolutely all the large income he had at the Bar and his salary as a Judge. His private life was not all happiness. He lost his best friend Harish Chunder Mukerjee in 1868 and his wife in 1871 and although he married again, his days of matrimonial happiness had ended.

Babu Dwarkanath was not only interested in Mathematics but also in Philosophy. He was a warm admirer of Comte, and learnt French late in life in order to study Comte's works in the original. He accumulated a large library of French books. His interest in Mathematics led him to translate Comte's *Analytical Geometry* into English. He attempted a fusion of the teachings of Comte and of Hinduism; and he kept himself in constant touch with Congreve and other Positivists on the topics of philosophy. His passion for English literature is seen in the fact that on the day before his death, he had his favourite passage from "Queen Mab" read over to him. The last words that he wrote were against this passage and they were, "Live for others". To that motto, he lived up to, in the few but crowded years of life that was given to him.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD FORT, BOMBAY,
E. Oct. '31,

EIGENSINN OR OBSTINACY

A COMEDY IN ONE ACT

Translated from the German by

DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D.

Roderich Benedix, the author of this German play, was born at Leipzig on January 21, 1811. He began his life as an actor and stage-director, but at the age of 48, he devoted himself solely to writing. Although he cannot be ranked with the classical German dramatists like Goethe, Schiller, Grillparzer etc., yet his plays show a high stage technique. Among his best known plays are: *Das bemooste Haupt* (The old head), *Doktor Wespe* (Doctor Wespe), *Die Hochzeitreise*, (The honey-moon), *Die Zaertliche Verwandten* (The fond relatives), *Eigen-sinn* (Obstinacy), *Das Stiftungsfest* (The foundation festival). He also contributed articles on Oratory which are of great practical value. He died at the age of 63.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

Ausdorf	—	A rich private gentleman.	Alfred	—	Husband of Emma.
Katherine	—	His wife.	Henry	{	Alfred's servants and engaged
Emma	—	Their daughter.	Elisabeth	}	to each other.

[Room in Alfred's house. In the centre a partly laid table. On the right another table on which stand glasses, flasks, table-cloth and every other thing necessary for the spreading of the dinner. On the left a small hand table and a sofa and on its right a small table with a newspaper.]

FIRST SCENE.

(HENRY AND ELISABETH.)

Henry.—[He is busy laying the table and hums a song.]
Elisabeth.—[From outside] Henry! Henry! Open.
Henry.—[Opens the door.]
Elisabeth.—[Enters with two dishes of cold meat in both hands and puts them on the table.]
Henry.—Come, I shall help you. [Takes from her one dish.]
Alfred.—[Enters from the right, stops at the door and overhears the following conversation.]
Elisabeth.—Mr. and Mrs. Ausdorf are coming to lunch.
Henry.—And they will be delighted to see how happy the young couple is—Hm! a father-in-law, to be sure, I cannot give you—
Elisabeth.—Never mind, nor I.
Henry.—I think we both are quite sufficient for each other. [Looks at everything.] Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Elisabeth.—Yes.
Henry.—What?
Elisabeth.—Nothing—I said yes.
Henry.—That is nothing, you must also say.
Elisabeth.—What?
Henry.—“Thank goodness, the table is laid.”
Elisabeth.—Why?
Henry.—Because it is but proper.
Elisabeth.—How absurd?
Henry.—When one has finished doing a thing, one says—“Well, that is right”, or “God be praised”, or “Thank goodness, the thing is done.”
Elisabeth.—Nonsense!
Henry.—It is no nonsense, no absurdity. It is a pious custom that one always says something similar when one—
Elisabeth.—Ah! Spare me your absurdities!
Henry.—[earnestly] Elisabeth, it is no absurdity; you must not be such a free thinker, [gently] Come, and say with me—Thank goodness, the table is laid.
Elisabeth.—No!
Henry.—For my sake.
Elisabeth.—I will not.
Henry.—[becoming warm] You will not?
Elisabeth.—No!
Henry.—Whenever I ask you for something, you always say: I will not,

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Elisabeth.—Yes! Yes! Yes! When I do not want to do a thing, then I will not, even if you ask me ten times!
Henry.—What am I to make of you to-day? I might request you ten times and you will always say: No?
Elisabeth.—Yes, if you demand such an absurd thing.—
Henry.—It is no absurdity; but that is not the question. You should only say it because I wish it.
Elisabeth.—I will not do so.
Henry.—[threatening] Elisabeth!
Elisabeth.—[in the same tone] Henry!
Henry.—Now you must say it.
Elisabeth.—[laughs] I must?
Henry.—[with determination] yes, I demand it.
Elisabeth.—I suppose you are dreaming. Or did you get out on the wrong side of the bed this morning?
Henry.—No joking! I am in earnest. You shall say: Thank goodness, the table is laid.
Elisabeth.—[pertly] Shall I say that?
Henry.—Yes.
Elisabeth.—[placing herself in front of him] I shall? I must?
Henry.—You shall and you must.
Elisabeth.—I will not say it at all.
Henry.—[with suppressed anger] Elisabeth, I request you.
Elisabeth.—I will not.
Henry.—For the last time I request you!
Elisabeth.—I will not, I will not, even if you do your utmost.
Henry.—Well, we shall see to that!
Elisabeth.—We shall see to that.
Henry.—[in front of her, angry] So, you will not yield to my request and refuse obstinately?
Elisabeth.—Yes!
Henry.—You will not leave your obstinacy?
Elisabeth.—No.
Henry.—Then you must! [catches hold of her wrists and pinches.]
Elisabeth.—Au!
Henry.—Say it!
Elisabeth.—No—Au! Au!
Henry.—[repeating to her] Thank goodness, the table is laid.
Elisabeth.—No! No! [disengages herself, strikes him on his hands and breathes upon the pinched parts] you horrid fellow! to pinch me like that—and yet I will not say it!
Henry.—Good. Between us all is over.
Elisabeth.—Be it so.

Henry.—Do you give me up so lightly?
Elisabeth.—If you want to make a fool of yourself.
Henry.—[requesting] But can you not utter a few words?
Elisabeth.—But I will not, I will not, I will not.
Henry.—Well, then go to—
(A bell is rung).
Elisabeth.—We shall settle that by and by [goes towards the left].
Henry.—[follows her, holds her hand at the door and stops]. Elisabeth.—Thank goodness, the table is laid.
Elisabeth.—[stamping her foot]. No! [Exit]
Henry.—Obstinacy, thy name is woman! Request, threat, force, everything in vain! I believe I could have killed her but still she would have never said it.
Alfred.—[enters laughing]. Let her live for the present, Henry, whether she says it or not.
Henry.—[ashamed]. Ah, Sir! You have heard—?
Alfred.—[still laughing and merry]. A part of your quarrel—Yes, yes, the girl is obstinate.
Henry.—Ah, generally she is good-natured—I do not know what she has taken into her head to-day.
Alfred.—Who can ever tell what women take into their head! Well, go away now and get a bottle of Madeira. My father-in-law likes to take a glass at lunch.
Henry.—[aside]. She will have to say it still! [Exit].
Alfred.—I wonder why Emma has not yet dressed! She has already rung. Ah! here is she.

SECOND SCENE.

[ALFRED AND EMMA]

Emma.—[from the left] My parents are late; I thought that they would come earlier.
Alfred.—[seating himself before her] Do you miss them?
Emma.—[looking at him with suspicion] The question was inconsiderate—
Alfred.—Yes, Yes, it just escaped me—[laughs and remembers suddenly]. Here I have just—[laughs.]
Emma.—What have you just?—It must be very funny—
Alfred.—Have overheard an extremely comical thing.
Emma.—Overheard? Ay, ay, indeed Sir!
Alfred.—[still laughing] quite by chance. As I came out of my room, I heard an excited con-

versation; I stopped. Henry and Elisabeth had just arranged the table; Henry was quite satisfied with himself and said: 'Thank goodness, the table is laid. He demanded the same from Elisabeth, for one must say so when the work is finished.

Emma.—How silly!

Alfred.—Elisabeth refused and Henry insisted. They got into a formal quarrel; he wanted to force her, but she remained obstinate, and would not say it.

Emma.—[taking Elisabeth's part] Well, it still remains a question as to who was most obstinate, Henry or Elisabeth?

Alfred.—He only requested her to say so!

Emma.—It was an absurd demand.

Alfred.—But so harmless that the stiff-necked refusal cannot at all be justified.

Emma.—[warmer] quite as little as the obstinate demand! I do not think that Elisabeth was wrong.

Alfred.—[laughing] Let us not quarrel over it. With us it certainly could not happen!

Emma.—[looks at him suspiciously.]

Alfred.—Were I to request you so much for something you would surely do it.

Emma.—[smiling] Hm, hm!

Alfred.—[with certainty] I am convinced you will do it?

Emma.—And if I were not to do it?

Alfred.—If you were not to do it? Such a thing is unthinkable; I can bet for it.

Emma.—Do not bet!

Alfred.—Let us try it at once.

Emma.—[hastily] No, let us not try it.

Alfred.—I request you, dear Emma, just say: 'Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Emma.—Don't! you are childish!

Alfred.—Please, please, say it.

Emma.—[irresolutely] what a demand!

Alfred.—Please, dear wife, just say: 'Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Emma.—No, I will not say it.

Alfred.—Please, please!

Emma.—[more resolutely] No, No!

Alfred [with surprise] You will not say it?

Emma.—[resolutely] No.

Alfred.—[slowly rising] You could refuse my request?

Emma.—But it is childish to say such a thing!

Alfred.—[stands] Childish or not, that does not matter. It is only the question whether you grant my request.

Emma.—You are wrong to make such a request

Alfred.—That may be; Only you do me wrong by refusing it

Emma.—[stands up, more resolute and excited] I do wrong? This is the first time that you have said such a thing to me!

Alfred.—This is also the first time that you refuse my request.

Emma.—And the first time that you so childishly and inconsiderately request.

Alfred.—Childish? Inconsiderately? Which words am I hearing? Is it the language of love?

Emma.—Can love demand foolishness?

Alfred.—O! I have not yet demanded, I have only requested!

Emma.—[significantly] So!—And if you were to demand?

Alfred.—Then—[stops short].

Emma.—[more significantly] And if you were to demand?

Alfred.—[hesitating] Then you will certainly not refuse it.

Emma.—[resolutely] Well, then I would refuse!

Alfred.—What?

Emma.—So! You will demand something from me? So, you will humiliate me? To a request I could perhaps even yield, but to a demand, never! [rings the bell.]

Alfred.—Goodness! how violently you behave towards me? Is it the tone in which a wife speaks to her husband?

Emma.—Do husbands make such foolish requests to their wives?

THIRD SCENE.

[THE SAME, ELISABETH, AFTERWARDS HENRY].

Emma.—[to Elisabeth who enters] I have forgotten my handkerchief.

Elisabeth.—[exit].

Alfred.—Emma, do not carry the matter too far which was a joke.

Emma.—Am I doing it? It is you who are turning a joke into earnest.

Henry.—[brings a bottle of wine and puts it on the hand-table.]

Elisabeth.—[brings the handkerchief to Emma and is about to go.]

Henry.—[asks her passing by, through gestures—Will you say it?]

Elisabeth.—refuses also through gestures with certainty and exit.]

Henry.—[follows her threatening].

Emma.—[turns herself from Alfred and is busy working.]

Alfred.—[stands on the right of the table and takes up the newspaper, turning from Emma. The moment Henry and Elisabeth have disappeared, he looks over the paper at Emma, who does not look towards him. He throws the paper on one side and softly] Have you considered? Will you give up your obstinacy?

Emma.—[throws away her work and violently] What? obstinacy? You know that I cannot stand that word; I am not obstinate; at least in this case. I am not at all so. On the other hand it is you who are so obstinate as to doggedly insist upon this foolishness!

Alfred.—But Emma just think that I have nothing to do with this absurdity. I want you only not to refuse any request of mine.

Emma.—And I request you to put an end to the matter.

Alfred.—But I have requested you first and my request comes first. I had never thought that you could ever say 'No' to me! I cannot bear the idea!

Emma.—So? I shall never say No? Always only: yes, yes, yes! Look, you are just like other men. You do not want a loving wife to be a friend having equal rights with you. You demand that your wife should be your slave.

Alfred.—What an exaggeration!

Emma.—No, no, so begins the subjugation: with the demand of blind obedience. But I will not be made a slave, no, never. I shall defend my right to the last breath; I shall never be threatened and never submit to brute force.

Alfred.—[in a light tone] "And he shall be thy master" says the Scripture.

Emma.—[Catching the word] Do you not see that I was right? You want to be the master, I am to be a slave, you will order, I shall obey. Oh! I acknowledge your mastery as long as it is proper and I shall obey you in all reasonable things, but never if your commands are unreasonable.

Alfred.—[earnestly]. These are not the expressions which one uses towards another whom one esteems.

Emma.—Nor are such things demanded from a wife whom one esteems.

Alfred.—But in joke—

Emma.—Oh! You have turned it into a bitter earnest (weeping). A short time back you told me: 'Never shall I change,' and already you stand before me as a cold, feelingless

husband who considers his wife as his subordinate!

Alfred.—[With an inward struggle. Do not weep! You know that tears irritate me!]

Emma.—[sobbing] I cannot help it when you force them from me!

Alfred.—[ironically] What a monster have I become already! I force tears from you! Poor, unfortunate woman! that your luck chained you to such an unworthy fellow!

Emma.—That is right; add some irony to your cruelty. Who would have said it to me an hour ago? I rose so joyful, I felt so happy, and now—

Alfred.—[ironically] Only say that there exists no woman more unfortunate than yourself.

Emma.—[weeps and does not speak].

Alfred.—[aside] This provoking weeping! Now, if the parents come, what will they think? [controlling himself] Emma, Emma—, wife—dear child—come, let us be friends again!

Emma.—[takes the handkerchief from her eyes and looks at him questioningly] Friends?

Alfred.—It is silly that we should spoil so fine a morning.

Emma.—Do you see it?

Alfred.—Nobody has a lesser reason to quarrel than we!

Emma.—[with soft reproach] And yet you were so unkind to me!

Alfred.—Now, see! I meet you half way, I offer you my hand, let us be friends [goes to her and reaches her his hand].

Emma.—[looks affectionately and slowly raises her hand and lets it drop in Alfred's] You naughty fellow, to tease me so!

Alfred.—[requesting] And for the sake of our love will you please speak out those words?

Emma.—[abruptly withdraws her hand] What? Still?

Alfred.—You will not?

Emma.—But Alfred,—

Alfred.—I have met you half way, have offered you my hand; now it is your turn to yield on your side.

Emma.—[struggling with herself] Now, you insist upon it? You will begin the quarrel anew?

Alfred.—[requesting] Finish the quarrel—speak out those words and I am satisfied.

Emma.—[after a short struggle] No! and once more No!

Alfred.—[with suppressed anger] No?

Emma.—[decidedly] No.

Alfred.—[talking himself more and more into a rage] Well, good, very good. You know that you can oblige me, but you will not do it. My desire may be an absurdity, but still it is my desire—you will not fulfil it. It may be an obstinacy of mine to demand such a thing from you, still love should submit, should yield—but you will not do it. The silly words cannot be of any consequence to me, but they were a proof of your love for me if you said them, and I attach much value to this proof. I have requested you, have demanded from you, I have exhausted every argument—but you remain obstinate! And you profess to love me? You who cannot overcome your obstinacy to please your husband? Go, go, and never tell me that you love me [walks in passion].

Emma.—[leaning against the table] You reproach me with obstinacy? And with what right? You yourself admit that it is an absurdity to demand those silly words from me, and yet you insist upon this absurdity? It would degrade me if I were to consciously commit a foolishness, and still you demand in decided tones this degradation? Is it love? You know that your demand hurts me [passing from her first decided tone into a gentler one and at last weeping], that your unreasonable requests pain me—but that does not move you, you will insist. Your cruelty forces out my tears, but they leave you cold—my entire being revolts against your demands, but you must doggedly insist upon your will. Where and on whose side is the obstinacy? Where is the want of love?

FOURTH SCENE

[THE SAME. HENRY].

Henry.—[announcing] Mr. and Mrs. Ausdorf [stands behind the table, ready to serve.]

Alfred.—[somewhat uneasily whispers to Emma] Dry your tears. What will they think of you?

Emma.—[drying her eyes.] For my part they may know what has happened; I think myself innocent.

Alfred.—Consider your duties as lady of the house; One must show a friendly appearance to one's guests. [Goes to meet his father-in-law and mother-in-law].

Emma.—[dries her eyes and likewise goes to meet her parents.]

FIFTH SCENE.

[THE SAME AUSDORF, KATHERINE, LATER ELISABETH.]

Ausdorf.—Good morning, children, good morning! Well, how are you?

Alfred.—[giving him the hand] A hearty welcome to you! [takes his hat and stick.]

Emma.—[embraces her mother and gives her hand to father.] Welcome dear mother, dear father.

Katherine.—Ay, my child! I have not seen you long since. You visit us so rarely.

Emma.—Dear mother.

Katherine.—I know, my child, I know; a young wife has more to do than to think of her mother.

Ausdorf.—[friendly and jovial] That is the way of the world, dear wife,—but Emma still sometimes thinks of us! don't you, child?

Emma.—Always, father, always.

Alfred.—[embarrassed, anxiously watching Emma, who avoids his look] Shall we not sit down?

Ausdorf.—No objection, my son. It is a long way to you and I bring with me tired legs and sound appetite. [sits on the right at the table].

Alfred.—[makes a sign to his wife to sit down on the chair on left, and himself stands behind the chair on the right near Ausdorf].

Emma.—[sits intentionally between her parents on the chair on left.]

Elisabeth.—[places a dish on the table and goes back.]

Henry.—[retains her and asks as before by gestures whether she would utter those words.]

Elisabeth.—[slaps his hand, disengages herself and exit.]

Ausdorf.—[filling a wine-glass, comfortably] Ha, ha! wife, you have placed yourself between the young people; that is a capital idea of yours; for, if they sit side by side they are quite lost to their guests. There! touch the glasses, you young people: Many days like the present.

Alfred.—[pours the wine, takes the glass, but hesitates.]

Emma.—[puts down the glass and wipes a tear from her eye.]

Ausdorf.—What is this? You don't join in the toast? Ha! my son, you look embarrassed and the young wife has a tear in her eye? [laughing] Has a domestic scene taken place?

Alfred.—[motions to Henry. Henry Exit.]

Katherine.—How can you ask so delicate a question? Let the children make up themselves.

Alfred.—A trifle, a joke—not worth speaking of. My good Emma is a bit too touchy.

Emma.—[bursts into tears] That too! I shall be reproached with touchiness also!

Alfred.—In the presence of our parents you should a little—

Katherine.—Calm yourself Emma, such things do happen.

Emma.—I know it is wrong that I can't control myself—I have tried and have struggled with myself, but I am deeply offended.

Katherine.—[taking her side] Ay, ay, my son!—

Ausdorf.—Pat! wife, don't interfere with the matter that concerns the children alone.

Alfred.—[excited] According to Emma's utterance it really seems as if I have offended her in an unheard of manner. You may yourself decide, I shall relate the matter to you.

Ausdorf.—Leave it alone my son. We don't meddle in your domestic quarrels [continues to eat and drink.]

Alfred.—I must justify myself just before you.

Ausdorf.—It is not necessary.

Alfred.—You might suppose.

Ausdorf.—[still eating] We suppose nothing.

Katherine.—Be quiet, perhaps it leads to an understanding. [Kindly] Speak out my son.

Alfred.—This morning I overheard our Henry who demanded of Elisabeth that she should say "Thank goodness, the table is laid," and he quarrelled with her violently when she would not say it. I related it laughing to my wife; I said to her coaxing that she would not be so obstinate. I requested her in joke that she would please utter those words. She refused and with so decided an obstinacy, with so remarkable stubbornness that we exchanged a few serious words.

Emma.—[still weeping] Here, you are also hearing: stubbornness, obstinacy, touchiness, he accuses me of everything. You can bear witness that I was never obstinate.

Ausdorf.—[humorously sighing]—Well, well, child.

Katherine.—[seriously] No, husband, you do Emma wrong; she has never been obstinate. Comfort yourself, child! We do not want to

meddle in your affairs; you will get reconciled by and by.

Emma.—Ah! He still insists upon it that I shall utter those words.

Katherine.—How, my son, do you still insist upon it?

Alfred.—[struggling within] Pray, let us drop the matter.

Ausdorf.—[humorously] Yes, I also request you not to spoil my appetite. You are a fool Emma, and you, my son, you must also pardon the somewhat wilfulness, of a young wife. Surely, she will get over it as my old woman. Look at her, she does not know what contradiction is. She fulfils all my desires, and if I had demanded of her, she would have said: Thank goodness, the table is laid." She would do it at once.

Katherine.—[excited] That she would not do!

Ausdorf.—Why?

Katherine.—You would not ask it.

Ausdorf.—If I were to ask it?

Katherine.—Then I shall not do it.

Ausdorf.—[between joke and seriousness] Ah! wife, you don't say so seriously?

Katherine.—Quite in earnest.

Ausdorf.—Would you refuse to fulfil my desire?

Katherine.—[decidedly] Yes.

Alfred.—Pray, let us talk of something else.

Ausdorf.—No, I never heard of such a thing; it must be settled. [requesting]. Dear Katherine, say once "Thank goodness, the table is laid."

Katherine.—Let me alone!

Ausdorf.—Please say it.

Katherine.—No.

Ausdorf.—[humorously, by and by becoming serious, but not violent] I say it everyday aloud and aside with all my heart, when I see the table ready—"Thank goodness, the table is laid. You say it once!

Katherine.—No.

Emma.—Dear mother!

Ausdorf.—Katherine!

Katherine.—[more decidedly] No!

Ausdorf.—Kitty!

Katherine.—No!

Ausdorf.—Kitty!

Katherine.—I will not do it.

Ausdorf.—[stands up] No, that is past joking. Will you set a bad example to your daughter through your obstinacy?

Alfred.—[stands up] But I request you—

Katherine.—[stands up] Here we have the old experience; men stand by one another when

the suppression of women is concerned. The father takes side against his own daughter!

Ausdorf.—I do not take any one's side, but my own. The difference between my daughter and her husband does not concern me. I have to settle the matter with you and I demand of you to say those words.

Katherine.—How can you demand an absurdity from your wife!

Ausdorf.—Whether an absurdity or no, is not the point. This demand is the touchstone of obedience. Similarly Gessler, whom the Swiss people should have greeted, hung up his hat for nothing else, except to test the obedience.

Katherine.—Right! and because that was a ridiculous, absurd and unworthy demand, the Swiss people rose up against their tyrants.

Emma.—And we submit as little as the Swiss people.

Katherine.—We also can rise up in revolt against our husbands.

Emma.—We are wives and no subjects.

Katherine.—With Turks a wife may be a subject but we live in a Christian State.

Emma.—Men want to introduce the Turkish customs here also; for their behaviour is quite Turkish.

Katherine.—[more and more angrily] But we are no slaves and know how to defend our rights!

Emma.—Blind obedience is the virtue of a slave!

Katherine.—We examine first, whether the commands are good and then we obey.

Emma.—And so absurd a demand fulfil we never, never, never!

Katherine.—Never! Never!! Never!!!

[both women turn away and whisper together. Ausdorf and Alfred try to speak in the beginning, but not being able to make themselves heard, become silent and are somewhat abashed.]

Ausdorf.—[aside to Alfred] There! we have got it. We have excited the whole sex against ourselves.

Alfred.—[aside] What shall we do?

Ausdorf.—[aside] Dear son, do what you please. The whole matter spoils my lunch. And if I don't take my lunch with proper peace, then I can't enjoy the dinner.

Alfred.—[aside] But still, we can't yield!

Ausdorf.—[aside] My son, it is a quarrel in which nobody gains any thing; I have allowed myself to be led away. I have been slightly angry, but now, my peace returns back. The women are not quite wrong. After all it is real-

ly as obstinate to demand something stubbornly as it is to refuse it stubbornly.

Emma.—[aside to mother] Had I known that the mother would lead us so far, I would have taken it as a joke in the very beginning and would have done according to his will—now, I can't do it any more.

Katherine.—[aside to Emma] On no account should you have submitted to his tyranny for ever!

Emma.—[aside] He shall see that I have a strong will!

Katherine.—[aside] Right. No step of weakness. My husband shall be astonished; he will have to request for a long time before I come round.

Emma.—[aside] Do you stand by me, dear mother?

Katherine.—[aside] Rest assured.

Ausdorf.—[aside] The cleverest man yields—

Alfred.—[aside] I should like to, but the honour—

Ausdorf.—[aside] Pooh! mere words. The submission is painful, and we like to call it sense of honour.—Settle the matter again by means of a joke.

Alfred.—[aside] Yes, a joke—I shall put an end to it [quickly exit on the right].

Ausdorf.—[aloud] Listen, children. Your league is too powerful for me. I shall first strengthen myself by means of lunch to continue the battle [sits; quite sincerely] Thank goodness, the table is laid—one has only to begin. [eats].

Emma.—Dear mother, shall we not also—?

Katherine.—Yes, yes, let us not lose our lunch through foolishness [sits].

Alfred.—[comes back with two shawls in his hands, friendly] Dear wife, we shall put an end to our quarrel; I request your hand for peace. I realise that I was the principal cause of our quarrel. In expiation of my sin I present to you one of these shawls. [opens and lays them both before her in his hands].

Emma.—[a little ashamed] Alfred, I don't know—

Alfred.—Choose!

Emma.—At this moment—

Alfred.—Choose, choose, child!

[Emma points towards one as if unwilling, and immediately withdraws her hand].

Alfred.—The one on the right?

Emma.—[nods].

Alfred.—[lays the other on the table and puts the shawl round her] So, it is very becoming to you. [A few steps from her] Now, I have come to meet you three parts of the way— — —?

Emma.—[struggles inwardly for a moment, then speaks suddenly] Thank goodness—[whispers in his ear] the table is laid [hides her face in shame.]

[Henry enters, brings a dish, puts it on a side table and with serviette on his arm stands ready for service.]

Ausdorf.—Well done, children, Well done!

Alfred.—The peace is established.

Emma.—For ever!

Alfred.—Never will anything happen.

Emma.—Never!

Ausdorf.—That is right, let us drink!

[Elisabeth brings a basket of fruits, puts it on side-table. She and Henry sulkily turn their backs to each other. Alfred leads Emma to the table and fills the glasses.]

Katherine.—[already gone to the table and looks at the other shawls; now she taps on the shoulder of Ausdorf] Husband!

Ausdorf.—Hm?

Katherine.—Look here!

Ausdorf.—What?

Katherine.—There is another shawl.

Ausdorf.—Is there?

Katherine.—Shall we not also reconcile?

Ausdorf.—With the shawl? That is too dear for me.

Katherine.—But consider.

Ausdorf.—I hope you will do it for less, wife. So young a man can't bear the ill-humour of his wife and so he brings a sacrifice to reconcile her—when he comes to my years, he also doesn't do it any more!

Katherine.—Fie! how detestable!

Emma.—I hope not.

Alfred.—[interrupting, smiling to Henry] Now, Henry have you settled with Elisabeth?

Henry.—Ah! Sir, she still refuses.

Elisabeth.—[embarrassed] But Sir,—

Emma.—[laughing] You must submit Elisabeth, you must say those words.

Elisabeth.—You know,—

Emma.—We know everything.

Katherine.—Yes, Yes! You have spoilt our whole morning by it. As punishment you must say it publicly. Out with it then [repeating to her slowly, word by word] Thank goodness, the table is laid.

[All break out into a loud laughter].

Katherine.—[astonished] well?

Ausdorf.—[laughing] Now, you have after all said it, wife!

Katherine.—[Strikes her face] Well, so the matter is at an end. [presents her hand to Ausdorf]

Alfred.—Now, Elisabeth, it is only you who remain.

Elisabeth.—[struggling inward, abashed] I can't.

Emma.—I shall see to it that in three weeks your marriage takes place.

Elisabeth.—[joyfully] Marriage? Thank goodness!

All.—Well?

Elisabeth.—[who does not realise that she has already said the half of it] Well?

All.—Go on, go on!

Elisabeth.—What?

Henry.—[requesting] Speak out the rest also!

Elisabeth.—[realising] Ah, I see! [looks on all by turns].

All.—[pressing] Go on, go on!

Elisabeth.—[quickly] The table is laid. [hides her face in the apron and runs away]

Henry.—[follows her]

All.—Bravo! Bravo!

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E. April '31.

WORLD EVENTS

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

THE writer of World Events wishes to send to all his readers this month Christmas Greetings and best wishes for health, happiness and prosperity all through the coming year. It is a joy to be living in these days, and to realise that we are in the midst of movements and have a part in events which are making history. Problems that we are considering and decisions that we are called upon to make are going to mould world life and thought for generations to come.

"We are living, we are dwelling,
In a grand, but awful time;
In an age on ages telling,
To be living is sublime."

The year 1930 will go down in history as of more than ordinary interest. It opened with the Naval Limitations Conference; although France and Italy could not see their way to go so far as the other powers, Great Britain, United States and Japan were able to make some progress and did arrive at agreement in limiting their navies. In May there was organised and began work the Bank of International Settlements which is destined to have a big influence on world banking in the future. In September the annual meeting of the League of Nations Assembly was held, when M. Briand of France put forth his plea for the United States of Europe. October saw representatives from all the governments of British countries throughout the world gathered together in London for the Imperial Conference; while in November the Round Table Conference began its sessions, which has for its objective the tremendous task of working out a satisfactory constitution for the future governance of India. All through the year there has been the unhappy situation of the falling world price level which has been like a plague affecting every country; and to make matters still worse the figures revealing unemployment in Germany, Great Britain and the United States have mounted higher than has ever been known before. In these respects the retrospect is a sad picture; but we have great hopes that the bottom of this depression has been reached, and that 1931 will show a recovery.

RUSSIA

One writer has referred to Russia recently as a great enigma. This is true that the Russian common people have risen against the slavery which held them as by chains of steel in the old

despotic Czardom, and under the inspiration of Karl Marx whose gospel they have taken literally they are trying to build an advanced socialistic state. It is the greatest experiment of socialism that the world has yet seen; we can say with a degree of truth that Russia is the field on which the principles of extreme socialism are being tested, and as goes Russia probably many other countries will go before this century comes to an end.

The latest move in Russia is the Five Years Plan: it was begun by the Soviet Government on October 1, 1928, and is to continue until September 30, 1933. The Plan aims at a three-fold objective: rapid industrialisation and large-scale production, the complete state socialisation of agriculture, and the elimination of all forms of capitalist organisation throughout the country; this is to be done within five years. All the energies of the Government are to be directed to the successful carrying-out of the programme, and all the national activities and resources are to be utilised for this one and all-important object—the complete socialisation of the Soviet Union, and that as rapidly as possible.

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN AFRICA

South and Eastern Africa have a growing racial problem ever before them; there are three distinct races competing the white man, the Indian, and the native; amongst the natives there are a number of different tribes. We know something about the serious situation between the white man and the Indian, but there is also a situation arising between the native and the white man. The white man includes the Dutch, the English as well as their descendants and the question is that of "rights," and who shall rule. The policy of the British Government in Eastern Africa, that is in Kenya, is to recognise the native interests as occupying the place of first importance. That principle has been officially announced and is being followed by the British Government.

General Hertzog, Prime Minister of the South African Union, has recently expressed strong opposition to that policy. The British position was arrived at without consulting South Africa; what is troubling General Hertzog is that if "equal rights" and the paramountcy of the native interests are allowed in Kenya and are not granted in South Africa there is almost certain to be trouble in South Africa, because the natives there will

demand similar treatment to that received in Kenya. Insistence on "equal rights," General Hertzog says, would have the grave result of alienating the white settlers from the natives, and creating between them a barrier of hatred which would be far more dangerous than any "colour bar."

WILL ITALIAN FASCISM LAST?

That is the question which many people are asking; the Italian political exiles are putting it in a little different form, for they are asking how much longer can it last? What the writer saw in Rome and throughout Italy last year, and the recent success of Fascism in Germany is indicative that it may remain for a long time, even extending to other countries as well. The anniversary of the famous march on Rome is celebrated every year; at that time Signor Mussolini takes the opportunity of reviewing the movement and indulges in some prophecies regarding the future. Mussolini has produced a new spirit in Italy, and whether the political organisation will be continued after the driving personality of the Duce is removed it is to be hoped that this new spirit will survive and continue. A recent writer has summarised the effects of the movement in Italy as follows:

In place of the chaos, disappointment, and despondency which he found in 1922 he has aroused a sentiment of national unity such as Italy never felt even during the struggles of the Risorgimento. For this new spirit, in so far as it represents the national rather than the narrowly party achievements of the Duce, Italy must long remain gratefully influenced by Fascism.

GERMAN ECONOMY

"Honour to whom honour is due" is the attitude of the English press towards the new German budget which they describe as "an heroic budget." Germany has been hit hard by the present world trade depression, for in addition to her huge reparations payments, she has a large unemployment list which she is helping with a Government dole in the face of diminished purchasing at home, and a serious fall in exports abroad. Instead of sitting down and crying over the situation, or rebelling against conditions as preached by the Fascists, the Chancellor—Dr. Brüning, and the Minister of Finance—Dr. Dietrich have persuaded the German Reichstag to accept a policy of economy all round. It will mean much sacrifice on the part of many, but the majority are willingly accepting the policy, and are facing the future with hope. According to Dr. Oskar Wingen this is the way that the German people are meeting their financial problem;

In the 1930 Budget, economics amounting to 170 million reichsmarks had already been made. In the budget for 1931, expenditure is to be curtailed by roughly 1,000 millions reichsmarks. The salaries of public officials are being reduced by 6 per cent. The emoluments of the Reichs-President, the various Reichs Ministers and the Reichstag deputies are to be diminished by 20 per cent. A cut of 300 million marks is to be made in the material expenses of the Reichs administration. The Federal States and the communes will receive 300 millions less from the Royal taxes than in the current year, and the consequent diminution of their revenues will force them to a corresponding restriction of expenditure. * * *

Naturally, this programme of retrenchment is not exactly popular. However, in all classes of the population, it is recognised that radical measures must be adopted for the reform of public finance in Germany. Consequently, despite its much-debated provisions, the new financial programme has on all hands, increased confidence in the German Government. Abroad, too, confidence is felt in Germany's capacity to overcome the difficulties of her present situation, especially as her finances are at bottom, thoroughly sound.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT CENSURED

The role of Government is very difficult to play in these days of trade depression, as the Governments of Germany, Australia, and the United States are experiencing. No less true is it of the British Government, but Mr. Stanley Baldwin's censure motion was defeated at a recent test of strength. His motion censured the Labour Government for its failure to formulate effective proposals for the extension of Empire trade, and refusal to consider the offers of preference made by the Dominion Ministers, and also for their lack of vision and courage. The motion gave the Government an opportunity to defend itself and Mr. J.H. Thomas, replying, said that,

the principal demand of the Dominions was that Britain should agree to tax foodstuffs while they modified the existing arrangements. They wanted Britain to change her principles while they only changed certain details. The Imperial Conference had consolidated the present Imperial constitutional position and opened the way for consideration of economic problems. He refused to subscribe to the view that only materialist considerations bound the Empire together. They did not exclude any path which would tend to bring happiness and comfort to the people and mean the strengthening of those ties of kinship and friendship which was the greatest and most lasting of all.

The present session has a long agenda containing several highly contentious bills, such as the Trades Dispute Amendment, raising the age of school leaving with maintenance grants, land valuation, and perhaps the new Government of India Bill. If the Labour Government can escape shipwreck with such a load in stormy waters they will achieve a signal victory.

INDIA'S TRADE WITH CEYLON

BY PROF. S. C. BOSE, M.A.

(Sir Parashurambahu College, Poona.)

I

CEYLON is a little island with a small population and a limited amount of trade. The volume of India's trade with Ceylon has never assumed more than moderate dimensions, though it has shown continuous progress for over half a century. The following figures are illustrative of the growth of Indo-Ceylonese trade since 1875:—

(VALUE IN LAKHS OF RUPEES)

	Export to Ceylon.	Import from Ceylon.	Total amount of trade.
1875-76	166	54	220
1880-81	178	55	233
1890-91	268	71	339
1900-01	496	77	573
1905-06	570	67	637
1910-11	820	73	894
1915-16	939	96	1,035
1920-21	1,138	191	1,329
1925-26	1,522	169	1,691

The above figures will show that the growth of our trade with Ceylon has been mainly due to the rising exports from India, the imports therefrom being quite negligible. Thus, during the fifty years from 1875-76 to 1925-26, the export of Indian goods to Ceylon rose by 1,356 lakhs of rupees, showing an average annual increase of 27.12 lakhs; but the import of Ceylonese goods during the same period showed an average annual increase of 2.3 lakhs only.

The imports from Ceylon are therefore quite insignificant. These consist of spices, tea, old gunny bags and seeds, of which spices represent the greatest value.

Of the articles of export from India, rice is, by far, the most important, this single commodity contributing to about half of India's total exports to Ceylon. The other articles of importance are cotton manufactures, other food grains besides rice, coal and cake, fish, manures, oilcakes, spices and tea. In this connection it may be noted that the export of tea to Ceylon is greater than the import we receive therefrom and that of spices is equal in value. The export of tea is only apparent, however; because it is usually re-exported to other countries from Ceylon.

II

The causes of the growth of India's export trade with Ceylon will be evident from an examination of the nature of the foreign trade of Ceylon,

which will also reveal the causes of our insignificant import trade with that Colony.

The most important industry of Ceylon is tea. Since the eighties of the last century, the cultivation of tea has progressed by rapid strides so that Ceylon at present stands second only to India as an exporter of tea. For a long time, this single article has been representing half of the total exports from Ceylon. Another industry which has shown considerable growth is rubber which comes next after tea in her export trade. As both these are agricultural industries, the large output of these two crops for export purposes has very seriously encroached upon the fields growing food-grains. The result has been that with the gradual advancement of the tea and rubber industries, the major portion of the arable land in Ceylon has been devoted to their production. The food-supply has, in consequence, fallen short of the demand. Added to this is the fact that the extension of the tea and rubber plantations led to the immigration of a large number of labourers from outside, especially from the Madras Presidency, who have to depend for their food-supply upon India. Ceylon has therefore found it necessary to import a steadily increasing quantity of food-stuffs which make up more than half of her total imports, mainly from India.

But Ceylon has very little which can meet the demands from India. The bulk of her exports consists of articles of which India herself is a great exporter. The import of Ceylonese goods into our country has therefore been quite nominal.

This is why a constant demand for food-grains has brought about a growing export trade with Ceylon, while there has been very slight progress in our imports from that country as these consist of such goods as have little demand in India.

A very important point to be noted in this connection is that while from our point of view, the exports to Ceylon are quite small in comparison with India's total exports, these occupy the most dominant position in Ceylon's import trade from the latter's point of view. For example, in 1925, these represented a little more than 3.5% of our total exports; but of Ceylon's total imports, the same amounted to about 50%.

III

As already observed, Ceylon has only a small amount of trade. Her exports consist mainly of tea, rubber, copra, cocoanuts and cocoanut oil

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THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

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(these four amounting to 93.75% of the total in 1925), none of which has a chance of finding a market in India. But in her import trade, India's share is about 50 per cent. and it is therefore clear that Indo-Ceylonese trade is important from Ceylon's point of view only. The real importance of India in Ceylon's trade is even greater than is indicated by the mere percentage share. For, our exports consist of food grains which are of vital importance to Ceylon, though from India's point of view it is not so.

The importance of Ceylon in our trade is rather of a negative kind. That is to say, Ceylon plays an unfavourable part in the growth of India's export trade inasmuch as the exports from that country consist of articles which compete seriously with similar Indian products and therefore hamper the export of the latter. For example, had it not been for Ceylon, the export of Indian tea would have shown much more progress than it has done. The question may therefore be raised as to how far it is judicious to allow a

country to compete thus in respect of the output and export of commercial agricultural products by regularly meeting her deficiency in food-supply. For, it would not have been possible for Ceylon to expand the cultivation of tea to such an extent as she did, if she could not have relied on an increasing supply of food-grains from India. Because she has found a regular supplier of food-stuffs in her next-door neighbour, she has been able to devote the bulk of her arable land to the cultivation of commercial crops for export purposes.

To conclude, India can easily afford to lose the Ceylonese market for her goods; but not so Ceylon. The import of Indian goods is of vital necessity for the welfare of Ceylon's industries and for feeding her labouring population. If Ceylon would, therefore, go in for discriminating legislation which might lower the political status of the Indian immigrants, it is worth consideration whether India cannot retaliate by refusing to feed the people of Ceylon with her food exports.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

IN our last Number we gave an account of the opening session of the Round Table Conference amidst circumstances of great splendour and magnificence. The second plenary session was held at St. James' Palace on the 17th November and was presided over by the Prime Minister who outlined the purpose of the Conference and promised an "untrammelled debate." The Conference decided that the Prime Minister should preside and Lord Saussey be the Deputy President while a panel of six Chairmen was also elected. After some discussion, the President announced that the press should not be admitted to the general discussions but should have full and impartial information from three officers of the secretariat, controlled by a committee consisting of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Rushbrook Williams and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION

Opening the general discussion on the future form of Constitution for India Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru delivered a magnificent speech which made a great impression on the House. "India is determined to achieve a status of equality with the other three members of the Commonwealth, which will give her a Government not merely responsible to but responsive to the popular voice" said Dr. Sapru and added amidst

cheers: "We are here to add, if we can, a bright chapter to the history of the relations of England and India."

On the subject of Commerce, Sir Tej Bahadur said Indians did not wish to rob Europeans of their capital; they would welcome any suggestion Europeans might offer to safeguard their rights and interests.

The Maharajah of Bikaner said he was convinced that the States would make the best contribution to the contentment and prosperity of India in a Federal system of Government.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar, speaking for "Young India," asserted that if India were given Dominion Status to-day, the cry for independence would die naturally in a few months.

Behind the scenes there was considerable discussion first on the Hindu-Moslem question which was considered on the basis of what is known as Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points and Dr. Moonji's counter proposals. The business Committee of the Conference also set up a Federal Relations Committee to consider and decide on the constitutional issues.

THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION

The Maharajah of Alwar who opened the discussion on the 18th preferred the expression "the United States of India" to the word "federation". He wanted the treaty rights of

the Princes to be frankly discussed. It was England's turn, he said, to help India to reach the position of a Dominion within the Empire.

Sir Muhammad Shafi emphasised the strength and extent of the national movement, and urged that India should be enabled to rise to its full stature. He spoke strongly in favour of a federal system embracing the Princes, and welcoming the policy expressed by the Maharaja of Bikaner. He confessed his inability to conceive of a federation which did not include the States; but Moslems, he said, were convinced that responsibility, with reservations, during the transition must be introduced from the centre.

The Maharajah of Rewa advocated cautious advance and the avoidance of precipitation and short cuts.

Lord Peel speaking for the Conservatives, remarked that his own views on India's future did not greatly differ from those who so passionately expressed their own aspirations. He denied that there was any indifference to India in Britain but he dwelt on the anxieties created by the non-co-operation movement, the talk of independence and the threats of debt repudiation. He also endorsed the federal idea which has made such vast strides in the last few weeks, and brought his speech to a close on the strong note that India should be brought sooner or later into equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

Sir Hubert Carr favoured the federal idea but was frankly sceptical of the possibility of immediate responsibility of the centre. Colonel Gidney who spoke for Anglo-Indians, asked for economic protection for his community for twenty-five to thirty years if possible in a Bill of Rights.

The Chief of Sangli outlined the position of the smaller States, claiming that in the essential features it did not differ from that of the other States, with which their rights were identical. Speaking for these States he asserted that if a federation were agreed upon the smaller States would assist.

FOURTH PLENARY SESSION

The proceedings of the 19th which centred mainly round the problem of the minorities were marked by considerable warmth. The Maharajah of Patiala joined the Maharajah of Bikaner in sharing the vision of a United States or Federation of India. "A Federation is impossible without sacrifices by British India as well as ourselves," declared the Maharaja, but the Princes were prepared to make the necessary sacrifices. They readily responded to the eloquent appeal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to recognize that they were Indians first and Princes afterwards.

Dr. Moonje declared that the British people and Indians had reached the parting of the ways and that India would not be satisfied with anything less than full responsible government. He said "Hindu means all-India".

Sardar Ujjal Singh raised the point as to whether, if a Federal Government is established, the residuary powers will rest with the Provinces or with the Centre.

Sir A. P. Patro, who made a special plea for the agriculturists and small landholders in South India, stated that if, while changes are being made, only the intelligentsia of India were provided for and the cultivators and agriculturists forgotten, they would be sorry for having had anything to do with the Constitutional modifications.

Maulana Mahomed Ali, who said he was committed to complete independence and that they would leave the Conference only with Federation established, referred to the communal question as the real problem, but added that Hindus and Muslims were determined not to be divided. For the first time majority rule would be introduced in India, and he, belonging to a minority, would submit to it.

FIFTH PLENARY SESSION

The discussion was continued on the 20th. The Nawab of Bhopal spoke first and supported the idea of a United Federal India. He reciprocated Dr. Sapru's view that the States would furnish a stabilizing factor in the Constitution but there must be no question of subordination of the States to the rest of India. He was cheered when he pointed out that communal tension was practically non-existent in the States, and no rift existed among the Princes as between Hindus and Mussalmans.

Other notable points in the discussion were the Princes' strong repudiation of the doctrine of paramountcy as expounded in the Butler Report; Mr. Joshi's plea for a declaration in the constitution of the fundamental rights of workers; Dr. Ambedkar's plea for unitary government and a government which will not mean for the Depressed Classes merely a change of masters.

Begum Shah Newaz who supported the Federation proposal urged the Conference to give Indian Women an adequate share in the administration of the nation.

Sir Mirza Ismail said that by agreeing to join an all India Federation the Princes had done an incalculable service to the motherland.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar urged fiscal management for India, to make her own experiments in her own way. Fiscal policy, he said, could

never be regulated to the best prosperity of India, unless those in charge were animated by purely Indian standpoints and ideals.

Lord Reading who followed was listened to with close attention as he is supposed to be holding ultra-conservative views. Thus, while welcoming the prospect of a united India, and accepting the idea that the natural implication of the Declaration of 1917 was Dominion Status, he seemed to shade this statement off by hinting that the constitution and the status of India cannot immediately be made equal to those of the other Dominions.

The Maharaja of Nawanagar corroborated the fact that the national movement in India was in no way confined to the literate classes.

Sir P. C. Mitter, representing the landlords, wanted self-government but like other minorities; he desired separate representation in the Provinces and the Central Government. He also demanded the suitable representation of rural areas with the object of improving education and economic conditions of the natives.



MR. K. T. PAUL

Mr. K. T. Paul favoured the immediate grant of Dominion Status with a strong Central Government.

Then Mr. M. A. Jinnah spoke discarding Lord Reading's legal posers by defining Dominion Status and responsible Government as "India wants to be mistress in her own house." Mr. Jinnah emphasised that the Simon Commission Report was dead and the Government of India's despatch was already a back number. A new star had arisen in the shape of the Indian

Princes, whose position even placed the demand of British India for Dominion status in the background, so that we were now thinking of the Dominion of All-India. They knew that Parliament must decide the whole question but he asked the three British parties represented at the Conference if they were afraid that Parliament would repudiate an agreement reached at the Conference. It would be a bold Parliament indeed that did so.

Sir Abdul Quayum demanded for the Frontier Province the same status as for the other Provinces in India.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri delivered a model speech confessing his conversion to the idea of a Federal India. Mr. Sastri asked, was not the Conference designed to conciliate the people from whom a disturbance was feared?

They are not hereditary criminals, savage barbarian hordes, or sworn enemies of Britain or British institutions. They are men of culture and honour. Most of them have made their mark in their professions and are our kinsmen in spirit and blood. It is the sense of political grievance that has placed them in the position which we view with such distrust and disapprobation. Remove the discontent and you will find them alongside of you, working the new constitution that we shall frame. Therein lies the strength of the situation to-day. It is easy to bring our enemies round.

Then proceeding he made a moving personal reference.

I am on the side of Law and Order. I have never been within the proximity of the gaol, but I am a political agitator. I know how near I am to those whose methods I join with you in condemning to-day. Often in my life has Government viewed my activities with suspicion and set its "spies" upon me. My life has not been one of unalloyed happiness. My way has not been free from thorns and, Mr. Prime Minister, your experience is not altogether foreign to them. Let us not be carried away in this matter, then, too much by a sense of self-righteousness. Very little indeed divides those who now champion Law and Order and those who, impelled by the purest patriotism, have found themselves on the other side.

Mr. Sastri concluded:

Adopt measures born of conciliation and set the Constitution of India in proper order, and we, whom this political difference has unhappily divided, will find ourselves once more co-operators for the welfare, contentment and ordered progress of India.

Mr. Sultan Ahmed regarded the demand for the establishment of British institutions as a tribute to the work of Englishmen in India.

Mr. H. P. Modi asserted the need for economic freedom.

Mr. Fazlul Huq emphasised that the real problem before the Conference was to achieve the fullest self-government consistently with the responsibilities of the British.

Sir Phiroze Sethna declared that India would be satisfied with nothing short of Dominion Status with transitional safeguards. Replying to Lord Peel's remarks regarding vested interests, Sir Phiroze gave numerous instances in recent years of preferences and those which were practical monopolies to Europeans. He hoped that when he returned with a Constitution, Indian and European merchants would work together side by side for the advancement of India, England and the Empire.

Sir Akbar Hydari said that Hyderabad would in no way lag behind other States in helping to realise the form of Government satisfactory to Indian aspirations.

With Sir Chimanlal Setalvad expressing his confident belief that constitutional reforms would immediately bring responsible men to the front, the Conference rose.



H. H. THE AGA KHAN

THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION

The General discussions concluded on the 21st with a moving speech from the Prime Minister. Capt. Sher Muhammad Khan, Mr. Jadhev and Col.

Haksar expressed themselves on different aspects of the problem confronting the Conference.

The Aga Khan drew attention to the complete unanimity among the speakers in favour of full Self-Government. There was no reason, he said why, if a Federal scheme were produced acceptable to the Princes, the Hindus, the Muslims and the smaller minorities, India should not at this moment start on the basis of full responsibility.

Mr. Chintamani paid a tribute to the manner in which the British delegates had listened to unpalatable truths. He said the Labour Government was committed to establish India as an equal partner in the Empire and hoped that Lord Reading would agree more with the Liberalism of Gladstone than that of Sir John Simon.

Mr. MacDonald wound up the discussion with a speech, which according to reports was delivered with much earnestness, force and emotion. It contained several pregnant points, notably those indicating that Mr. Sastri was not the only man who had changed his mind, the Prime Minister's deprecation of harking back on the past, and his recognition that as regards status all were working on the same plane. Especially notable also was his further declaration that the attitude of the Princes had revolutionised the situation and he went on to say:

Your problem and my problem is to sit down together and supply practical answers to those questions which can be embodied in an Act of Parliament. (Applause). This constitution, this Federation or whatever it may be, must meet two fundamental requirements.

Firstly, it must work. There is no good producing a constitution which won't work. That won't get you out of your difficulties and won't get us out of ours. The other point is this. The constitution must evolve. You are not in a position here to produce a static constitution that your grandsons, great-grandsons and great great-grandsons will worship as though it is one of your sacred inheritances.

Therefore, the constitution must work, the constitution must evolve. It must be a continuing thing, and in the evolving, Indian opinion and Indian experience must be the more important initiating power.

Thus ended the plenary session which appointed various Committees to deliberate upon and advise the Conference on the outstanding issues before it. As the Committees are meeting at frequent intervals and as discussion and negotiation are still going on, as we write, we reserve the review of the work of the Committees and the progress of the Conference, to our next.

The Future Government of India

By Mr. S. SATYAMURTI, B.A., B.L.

IN this article I propose to take, as my theses, the two declarations of Lord Irwin, the Viceroy,—one, that the natural issue of India's constitutional development is Dominion Status, and the other that it is the intention of himself, his Government, and of His Majesty's Government, to help India to be the mistress of all her affairs, except of those for which it may be found she is not ready immediately, to assume full responsibility. I am not quoting the Viceroy's words, but I am giving their spirit.

From that point of view, if Dominion status be achieved by India to-day, there is no doubt that the demand for Independence will lose considerably in volume, although a school will always continue to exist as it does in Ireland to-day. The reasons for this statement are that, in practice, it will be found that there is no difference between Dominion status as it is understood to-day, and Independence or the substance of Independence, as Mahatma Gandhi called it, recently. All the dominions to-day exercise unquestionable paramountcy in all their internal affairs, including the Army and Foreign affairs. Even as regards Foreign affairs, every Dominion has made it perfectly clear, and Great Britain has accepted it, that she will not be responsible for any war or peace, which Great Britain may commit herself to, without the full and free consent of that Dominion. Above all, the right to separate from the Commonwealth has been established, beyond doubt.

Then we turn to the question of those matters in respect of which, what are known as transitional safeguards, are required. I dismiss the claim of vested interests as one not very relevant because if their claim is to continue to be protected against the paramount interests of India, they cannot be considered. If, on the other hand, the claim is for just and equitable treat-

ment, I think every patriot will recognise that the future Government of India will certainly protect such interests.

I know that very much is made of the so-called "repudiation of debts", by the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress. The resolution is not one for repudiation of debts. It simply asks for an impartial tribunal being appointed to examine the obligations incurred by Great Britain on behalf of India, with a view to seeing how far they are binding on India. In this, there is no threat of repudiating all or any obligations. Such questions are to-day being discussed between the Government of India and the War Office of Great Britain. I venture to suggest that there is no danger to the private investor, of losing his money invested by him *bona fide* in Indian debts. The only question will be, who will be liable to pay—India or Great Britain.

Then, the Europeans are constantly asking for protection against discriminative legislation. In so far as the Europeans claim it, as foreigners temporarily so-journing in this country, India can give no guarantee. But, in so far as Europeans claim this protection, as born and domiciled citizens of India, they need have no fear on that score. All citizens will be equal before the law, in Swaraj India. The next point on which transitional safeguards are considered necessary is the question of external defence and the foreign affairs of India. The Simon solution of the Army has been rejected by everybody concerned, as absolutely impossible. The Government of India's solution is slightly better. But the solution offered in the Nehru Report is about the best. India can have no objection to have a fixed army budget provided the policy, directing the defence and the foreign affairs of India is subject to the control of Indian people. India also wants that arrangements should be made for

the rapid indianisation of the Army, in all ranks and in all arms. If really the fear of the friends of India's freedom is *bona fide*, they ought to be satisfied with this. And the fact that there is likely to be a federation of Indian States with British India makes the rapid indianisation of the Army much easier, than it would have been otherwise.

Another problem which faces us is that of the Indian States. The problem has, however, become very much less serious than it threatened to be some time ago, by the patriotic and courageous attitude of the Indian Princes. I congratulate them respectfully on that attitude. They will find that their future is much safer in the hands of their countrymen than in the hands of any foreign power, however benevolent.

The Princes are naturally anxious about their internal autonomy. But a Federated India has no desire to interfere in their internal affairs. The Princes must however, remember that the wave of democracy cannot be stopped from entering their states. The fullest guarantee of their full internal autonomy is the consent of the people whom they govern.

In all matters of common concern, it ought to be possible for a properly constituted federal legislature, to settle them amicably. I would only ask the Princes to remember that the plea for the perpetuation of absolute British Raj in our country is inconsistent with a *supreme* federal Government in India.

We have, of course, the question of minorities always with us. In my opinion, the only minority which justly requires protection, until it can stand on its own legs, is the minority of the Depressed classes. I would give them all the protection they need, set apart public funds for their education and for the raising of their social status. As regards other minorities, the only protection they can honestly and rightly want is for their culture, religion, language, and social customs, so

long as those customs are not against public morality or the safety of the State as a whole. Such protection can easily be given to them. As for the public services, I recognise that, thanks to the phenomenal poverty of the country, the problem of unemployment among the educated classes who now take a leading part in public life, is so great that they attach great importance to it. The solution which has been so far tried may continue to be tried, viz. that all communal inequalities in public service should be gradually reduced at the initial stage of recruitment, subject to efficiency. This problem will soon lose its significance, when Indians become politically and economically free and their sons and daughters find new and other honourable venues of service and employment.

As far as the Legislatures are concerned, if joint electorates are agreed to I for one will not quarrel about the number of seats, assigned to minorities. I earnestly trust that Indian leaders will have the statesmanship and the foresight to see that separate electorates are inconsistent with any genuine democratic form of Government. After all, we must treat these communal problems as temporary, evanescent ones, and trust to the creation and the rapid development of common economic and political interests, to soften and ultimately eliminate these communal differences.

I have one last thing to say. Often, I hear Englishmen and some Indians even to-day talk of the need for perpetual British connection. I attach no importance to it, one way or the other, unless Great Britain rises to the occasion, and remembers that "time is one thing and eternity is another." If to-day India's claim to be a self-governing dominion be immediately recognised, there is a chance of India and Great Britain continuing to be friends and partners. But if "the moving finger writes and having writ moves on," one cannot predict the future; for, when a great nation makes up its mind to attain its freedom there is no power on earth, no, not even Great Britain, which can stand in its way.

The Making of Books

BY MR. B. NATESAN

CHAPMAN and Hall celebrated their centenary this year and it is but fitting that a record* of their achievements should be put in a handy and permanent form. This is done by Mr. Arthur Waugh who has been connected with the firm for over quarter of a century as its Managing Director. Doubtless, Mr. Waugh has scoured every available source for details of the early years of the House, and the result is a book of absorbing interest.

For the century that is covered by the activities of Chapman and Hall has been a period of far reaching changes in the methods and standards of publishing, and in narrating the story of the struggles and vicissitudes of this House from its modest beginnings in the Strand to its present magnificent premises in Covent Garden, Mr. Waugh has recounted the whole history of the trade itself. Publishing which was originally a simple enough transaction between author and publisher has passed through many stages in which the Reader and the literary Agent, no less than the Libraries and Booksellers have played considerable part. And Mr. Waugh takes us through the perpetual changes and throws a flood of light on the progress of book-making and bookselling and the allied arts, which must be of special interest to the trade. Of course the trials and triumphs of a fellow publisher are full of lessons, and the warnings of experience are not without point even in the more complicated circumstances of our own day. Mr. Waugh's penetrating analysis of conditions and his luminous study of the publishing trade are full of suggestiveness which comes home to the practising publisher with all the vividness of particularity.

But what is of even more interest to the lay reader and the student of letters is the story of

* A HUNDRED YEARS OF PUBLISHING. By Arthur Waugh. Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London.

many agreements and disagreements with authors like Dickens and Trollope. Here Mr. Waugh is at his best, and his picturesque details of the many famous writers who have had dealings with Chapman and Hall will repay perusal.

Half the book is devoted to Dickens and Forster—and rightly so—for together they made the firm's reputation and its wealth in the early years of its struggle. And it is a pleasure to recall the figure of Dickens—"that eager, impetuous, restless young man, with rich, brown, luxuriant hair, high forehead and eyes wonderfully beaming with humour and cheerfulness," running through the pages of the MONTHLY MAGAZINE with his first article in print. Thackeray "walked into one door of the little office in the Strand just as his great popular rival Dickens walked out of the other." There was Carlyle "beginning to emerge out of the long twilight of neglect" whose *French Revolution* brought "more honour than honorarium"—the dear old Carlyle who used to share with the office boy "his slice of cake and a glass of sherry;" Trollope, clad in his pink coat, "tramping into the office as soon as the doors were open, with a sheaf of proofs in his great side pocket;" or who could forget the striking head and clearly chiselled features of Meredith with "his bright red tie contrasting sharply with the iron grey hair" and the galvanic effect of his conversation? Or John Morley either, that "firm, erect and meditative" figure, calling for his letters at a high desk, turning them over with an eagle eye and "as often as not slipping a shilling into the young assistant's hand as he strode off the strand?" These are pictures to treasure up in our minds.

And there were a host of other writers who congregated into the House—the Brownings, Clough and Proctor and Bulwar Lytton; Ainsworth and Kingsley and Gaskell; Hardy and

Gissing and Gosse; Edward Clodd, Clement Shorter and Robertson Nicoll; and then the *Fortnightly* team with their uninterrupted stream of bracing literature and criticism for three score years and five; who would not be proud in such company?

Mr. Waugh, however, takes a very sober and thoughtful view of the past. He remembers wistfully like Morley "the disparity between aim and performance, the unfulfilled promises, the wrong turnings taken at critical points," books published which should not have been accepted or *Mss.* rejected which made the fortune of another firm. Meredith was afraid of *Ouida* and *Erewhon*; he declined *East Lynne* and Shaw's *Immaturity*. Surely, whatever their merits, these can hardly fall in with "the shining integrity of his literary ideals."

Every publisher of intelligence has two sets of books in his list, the books that make his money and the books of which he is proud to be the publisher. Messrs Chapman and Hall judiciously interposed Poetry and the classics and the books of their choice with their money making enterprises. That accounts for their reputation and their success.

In discussing the fortunes of the House one is struck with the loyalty of its staff and the magnanimity of the proprietors. Throughout the book we see that those who sought Chapman and Hall never left them. Forster and Meredith, W. L. Courtney and Mr. Waugh himself served the firm with distinction for thirty years. Matz the Dickensian came into the office as a boy of fifteen, and put in a record service of forty years. And of Moody it is said: "It was his ambition to complete a quarter of a century with the firm of his devotion; and it almost seemed as though, when that record was reached, he had grown too weary to go on"—and he died of heart failure while away on duty in June 1928.

IN A HUNDRED YEARS OF PUBLISHING, Mr. Waugh has written a book of deep and moving interest.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENT. By C. D. Larson. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

COLERIDGE AS PHILOSOPHER. By Prof. J. H. Muirhead. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT OF INDIA. By A. C. Underwood, M.A., D.D. Williams & Norgate, Ltd., London.

FEDERAL INDIA. By K. M. Panikkar. Martin Hopkins, London.

GLORIOUS KORAN. By Marmaduke Pikhall. Alfred Knopf, Ltd., London.

EIGHT VICTORIAN POETS. By F. L. Lucas. University Press, Cambridge.

MYSORE CITY. By Constance E. Parsons. Oxford University Press, Madras.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS-TEN YEARS OF WORLD CO-OPERATION. Secretariat of the League of Nations, Geneva.

THE LION TOOK FRIGHT. By Louis Marlow. Victor Gollancz, London.

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STATES. By Diwan Bahadur A. B. Latthe. Aryabushan Press, Poona.

MOSAIC. By G. B. Stern. Chapman & Hall, London.

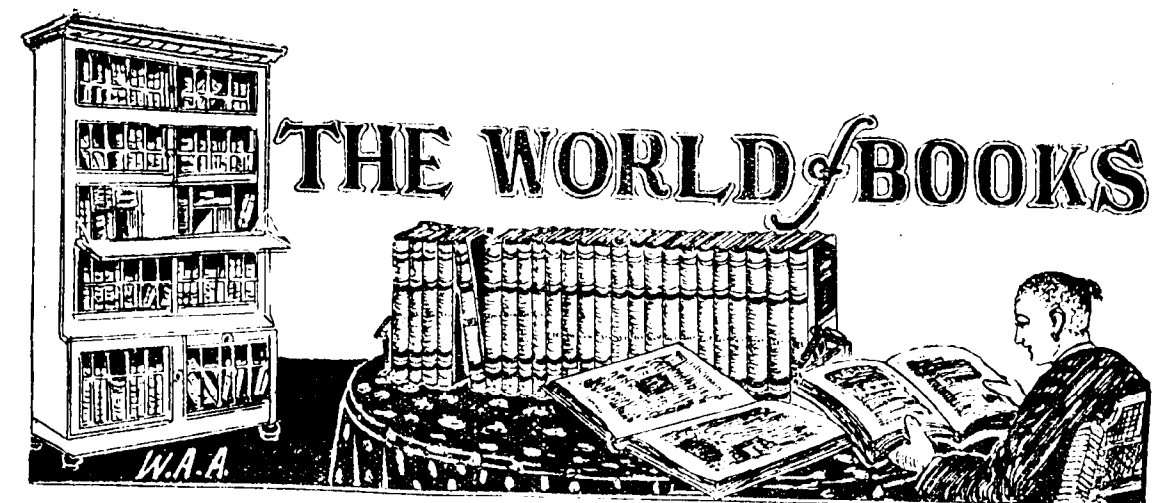
WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. Government Press, Bangalore.

ALL ABOUT SEPARATION OF BURMA. A Symposium. Major & Co. 53, 125th St., Rangoon.

BOMBAY TO-DAY & TOMORROW. Ed. by Clifford Man Shardt. With an introduction by H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

A STUDY OF THE MAHAVASTU. By Dr Bimala Charan Law. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

BIOGRAPHY FOR BEGINNERS. By E. C. Bentley and G. K. Chesterton. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.



BLenheim. By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans Green & Co., London.

England owes much to the Trevelyan family. They have carried on the Macaulay tradition, and now for three generations, have continued their broad and masterly survey of English history. This volume is the first of a trilogy, dealing with the England of Queen Anne. Blenheim is the climax, not the theme of this volume. The first hundred pages deal with the social and economic condition of the country, (a fascinating four chapters) and the effects of the accession of William and the Act of Settlement. The last days of this Dutchman who ruled England so wisely are graphically described. The author's judgments are concise and clear. William "had done services to England greater than those rendered to her by any save a very few of her native Princes. But he had been cold to Englishmen, not hiding his preference for his native land and people. So his meed over here had been admiration always, gratitude sometimes, but seldom love."

"That Queen Anne is dead" is a proposition which is generally put forward to confound those who tell old tales. But Queen Anne lives again in these pages. We see her, dowdy and fat, incapable of exercise, worn out by child bearing, racked with gout and dropsy, carrying on her duties with heroic conscientiousness, and above

all, caring for the unity and strength of the State. Slow of wit, she yielded greatly to the clever sharpness of Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, whose devoted husband was to bring glory to the period. In fact, the story of the Marlboroughs is one of the main themes of the second half of the book. Their mutual devotion, their voluminous correspondence, their remarkable influence on the Queen—these are a romance in themselves.

With the beginning of the War with France, Marlborough's character and talents gradually dominate the scene. The navy presents a picture of mingled incompetence, bravery, and good fortune; the army, under the leadership of Marlborough, a picture of method, organisation and leadership. Other men appear in this volume. There are brilliant Cameos of Bolingbroke, Nottingham, Godolphin and Defoe. But Marlborough overshadows them all. His care for his men, his tact with his allies, his brilliant strategy, his personal bravery, and his magnanimity in victory, all these things mark him out as the most remarkable man of his time. The famous march to the Danube, and the battle of Blenheim, which gave him power, are described vividly and with much local knowledge. Their account illustrates well the statement the author makes that he cannot "abandon the older ideal of history that was once popular in England, that the same book should make its appeal both to the general reader and to the historical student." We may hope he never will.

DECENT FELLOWS. By John Heygate. Victor Gollancz, Mundanus, Ltd., London.

The storm with which this novel has been greeted by Etonians is possibly not unjustified as regards the generally accepted theory that "You must not let your school down." It must have needed bravery on the part of Mr. Heygate to write as he has. It is possibly not a true picture of Eton life from the point of view of the average boy. Probably it is far from true as regards the average house at Eton. But there is not unusually a great difference between one house and another in the same school, and it is a mistake for any man to think that his own house typifies his school. This becomes increasingly so, the larger the school is.

It is now more than a decade since "The Loom of Youth" was published, and one remembers the violence of the abuse with which it was greeted. It is difficult to estimate the result of it since its publication, but it cannot have failed to cause a heart-searching on the part of many headmasters, and difficult questions from the governors of many school boards. The famous school concerned continues with untarnished reputation, perhaps even enhanced by the reaction after the first results of that book.

As regards the book itself there is much to be said for "Decent Fellows." The strong language, the discussions among boys of immorality and drunkenness, and the tone sometimes shown are unfortunate, and in any sense true, need and are no doubt receiving careful consideration. It is a great fault if a school is too proud to face criticism and to cleanse itself if it be necessary. No school can be perfect, and every school has its bad patches, though it is very unpleasant to be reminded of the fact. Anyone with reasonable understanding will view Eton's wrath with sympathy.

The particular value of the book does not lie in its grubby details. It lies in its picture of the

reasons that lead a boy to wild escapades, the seeking after notoriety, the fear of being unpopular or unusual, the fear of being considered a 'sap' or diligent worker, the absence in most boys' minds of any real basis of what is worth while and what is not. The ever-present difficulty of a boy's relations with his parents is well shown by Mr. Heygate. The pompous father who has forgotten his youth and the sentimental mother both give themselves endless heart-burnings about their son's conduct and progress. No solution is suggested. Perhaps the only solution is that parents must be young, if not in years at least in outlook.

AT THE BACK 'O' BEYOND. By Richard Remnant. W. R. Chambers, London.

"Weary of the pleasured round of England's leisured class", Captain Reginald, the hero of the book seeks adventures in the sun-struck regions of Hindustan. His brave exploits are the subject matter of eight separate stories and the scenes are variously laid in picturesque Burmah, the Nepalese Terai and the Western Ghats. In all the stories, the author carefully preserves the local colour and takes pains to impart a sustained interest to the soul stirring adventures. Unfortunately, Mr. Remnant sometimes changes the garb of a story-teller and plays the part of a political moralist. In one of his chapters, referring to Mahatma Gandhi, the author writes "Never was a man so zealous, so sincere, never a man so foolish." Elsewhere speaking about the non-violent non-co-operation movement, Remnant raves as follows:—"Non-violent Non-co-operation was to be blazoned in letters of blood and fire, of murder and rape and forced apostasy at the point of the sword." One cannot fail to see through these choice remarks the interested dielhard and the sun-dried bureaucrat, out on his mission of denouncing India's national aspirations not through the press, not from the platform but through the medium of a book of adventure.

THE PAINTED MINX. By Robert W. Chambers. D. Appleton & Co., London & New York.

Brisk narrative, entertaining dialogue, and the facile, brilliant description that we expect from Mr. Chambers combine to give us a delightful book. The period of the War of Independence, some seven years, was not entirely devoted to fighting. Long periods of stagnation, as in modern trench warfare,—though without trenches, was similarly taken up with attempts to lighten life. The theatre, actors and plays of New York in 1780, so charmingly described in this novel, cannot fail to remind one of the concert parties behind the line in Flanders and Artois in more recent years, and of the added morale given to troops by them. Wars in every generation have much in common, but perhaps one of the greatest differences to-day is the disappearance of feminine influence owing to the long range of guns and weight of shell fire, which has removed all women from proximity to the region of actual bloodshed. This perhaps detracts from the sense of reality of former warfare to us to-day, but "The Painted Minx" in its true picture of those times is all the more entertaining.

MAHATMA GANDHI. The Man and His Mission.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1. To Subs. of I.R., 12 As.

In this, the eighth edition of Mahatma Gandhi's sketch (published within six months of the last edition) the life story of this great Indian is given in considerable detail and we have a clear and succinct account of his varied activities in South Africa and India, a sketch of the Non-co-operation movement, his last arrest and internment, down to the Slocombe interview and the peace negotiations conducted by Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. The book contains some notable appreciations like those of Mr. Sastri, Dr. Holmes, Prof. Gilbert Murray and others, as also an appendix containing the rules and regulations of his well-known Satyagrahashrama.

TALES FROM NORSE MYTHOLOGY. Retold and Illustrated by Katherine Pyle. J. B. Lippincott Co., Adelphin, London.

Miss Pyle has already made her mark in story writing, by her *Tales from Greek Mythology* and *Fairy Tales from India*. In this book, therefore she does for the Norse folk, what she has done so inimitably for Greek Mythology and Indian legends. There are five and twenty favourite old Norse legends in all retold with all the charm and simplicity of her manner. Here we read how the world was made and how the gods and giants followed. And then the ever old and ever new stories are there of Odin, the All father and Figg, his wife; of Thor and his hammer, of Sif with the golden hair, of Freya the beautiful and all the strange and wonderful happenings in Asgard and Jotunheim—which have been the theme of countless songs and plays. Printed in bold type and on featherweight paper and handsomely bound in cloth, this is quite a beautiful gift book for children.

RELIGION AND SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.

By G. B. Scott. The Mitre Press, London.

This is an interesting account of the religion and history of the Sikhs by a writer who has seen service in the Province of which he writes with some authority. Indeed the historical portion and the lives of the Gurus are written with evident sympathy and considerable understanding. But it is a great pity that the author chose in the closing chapters of the book to dabble in current politics. He seems to have taken his opinions from the MORNING POST and Sir Michael O'dwyer. And it would be sheer waste of time to attempt to controvert his uncalled for and utterly irrelevant observations on the Indian demand for Swaraj. There are a dozen photographs in this book.

GULAB SINGH: FOUNDER OF KASHMIR. By K. M. Panikkar. Martin Hopkinson, London.

Mr. Panikkar's Memoir of Maharaja Gulab Singh throws light on a little known chapter in the history of nineteenth century India. One of the most remarkable men of his age, Gulab who was originally an attendant at the Court of Ranjit Singh, carved out for himself a Kingdom, which apart from its extensive area, is perhaps the loveliest part of India. For to the lovely Valley of Kashmir, he added territories which together form a kingdom larger than Great Britain. Mr. Panikkar has had exceptional opportunities to ransack original documents and authoritative papers on the period and we have in this volume a connected narrative not only of the great transaction which created the State of Kashmir but also a vivid account of the life and fortunes of a great soldier-statesman of the nineteenth century.

HIGHWAYS HAND BOOK. The Highway Education Board, Washington.

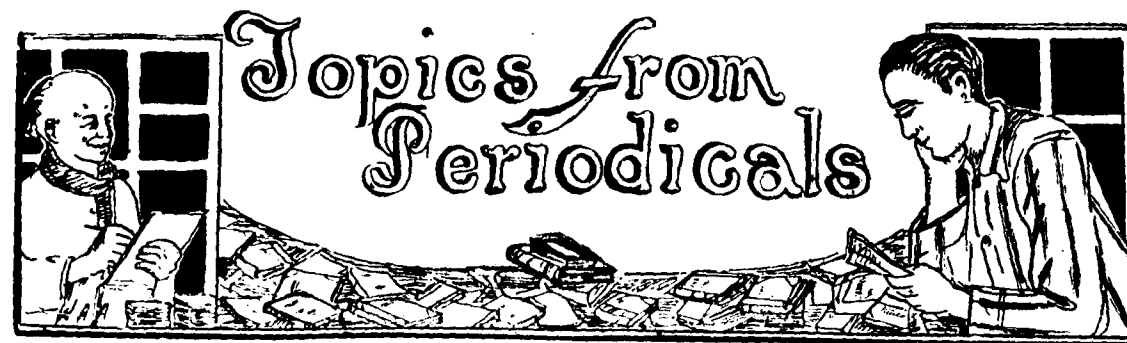
This is a neat little hand-book of 97 pages divided into ten Chapters intended as a statistical study of Highway development in the United States of America. As Thomas M. Macdonald the Chairman of the Highway Board says in the introduction, "the building of the modern highway system has no counterpart in the public works of any nation." The booklet has a special value in these days of auto-mobiles and globe-trotting. It gives the reader an idea of the longest paved roads in the world, the largest Highways mileage, the shortest road and the most narrow street, the proportion of the United States Highways to the rest of world. It offers excellent tips to the police, municipal authorities and other traffic regulators regarding the advisability of uniform signals and sign-boards. The book is a treasure house of information for the students of Economics and Statistics, because of the various Graphs and Tables giving the total road mileage, road income and expenditure.

THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH. By Dwight Goddard. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London.

This is an excellent elementary manual of the doctrine of the Buddha which the author describes as "the Buddha's Innerway to Enlightenment and Peace of Mind." He rightly says that "such things as Karma, Reincarnation and Nirvana were accepted in India centuries before Gautama's Day." He says also: "Other things, such as the nature of the Godhead, the immortality of the soul and any self-conscious life after the death of the body, he warned his disciples against, because they were unprovable and their discussion tended to dissension and unrest of mind." These passages show the real weakness of Buddhism, whatever may be the author's views on the point. The merit of Buddhism lay in its ethic and its sublimation of pity and compassion. Its non-acceptance of soul and God and Veda led to its disappearance from India, whatever were its great trans-Indian victories. Its founder was greater than his doctrine. His Golden Path is well described and discussed by the author as three adventures, viz., through restraint of physical desire to emancipation, through right mind-control to enlightenment, and through concentration of spirit to tranquillisation.

THE QUEENS OF KUNGAHALLA. By Selma Lagerlof. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

Selma Lagerlof is a Swedish authoress and the Nobel Prize-winner in Literature in 1909. She is the author of several books, two of which are now available in the Eclectic Library. The Queens of Kungahalla was published in English in 1899 but now appears for the first time in its popular form. The stories besides their high literary merit possess the simple charm of fairy tales. We congratulate the Publishers in inaugurating the Eclectic Library which we hope will supply the English knowing public with the best literature of all countries.



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Prof. Gilbert Murray who is an enthusiast for the League, writing in the *HARPER'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE* for September, clears certain misunderstandings regarding the real value of the League of Nations. There are some who think that by a powerful combination of nations and pooling of international resources, economic and military, the recalcitrant nations might be forced to fall in with the verdict of the League. That is not the correct estimation of the League's work. Its main work has been in the direction of teaching the nations to confer and talk things over before they fight.

Members of the League must confer before going to war, and it seems likely since the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Pact that they will soon be bound not to go to war at all—there are exceptions at present under both instruments. They must obey a decision of the Court, and must not resist a unanimous recommendation of the Council. The Council must meet and consider what shall be done if any nation makes war in breach of its Covenant, and the members must be ready to treat the Council's recommendation as a matter of the gravest importance, though not absolutely compulsory. These are the things they must do; and if they do not? Well, if they do not, presumably the Council considers what should be done. And that no doubt will depend on circumstances.

Henceforth if France or Britain does a wrong to Haiti, Haiti can give them at The Hague. The reign of law is established in the sphere of Law. Apart from the merely legal or coercive possibilities of the League, Prof. Murray draws pointed attention to the temper of mind that the League is expected to create in the world.

I am not denying the possibility that the League might have to exercise the *ultima ratio* of coercion, combined action with all arms for preventing an aggressive war or restoring a broken peace. But if that ever happened the League, and world peace with it, would very nearly have failed.

GANDHI AND LINCOLN

Gandhi has often been compared to Lenin. Lenin's idealism and his relentless pursuit of it coupled with his self-abnegation have indeed something in common with Gandhi's. But Lincoln approaches Mr. Gandhi more completely. A writer in the London *SPECTATOR*, reviewing Mr. Gandhi's autobiography, observes.—

In his impersonal courage and his colloquial approach to politics he resembles Lincoln. Lincoln stuck to it, that he fought because he meant to save the Union, in any case and at any cost. But he brushes aside a whole field of legal quibbling when he said that, all the same everyone knew that slavery in some way or other was at the bottom of the quarrel. At the bottom of the present quarrel is the doubt—present on both sides, after all our statesmen have said—as to whether the Round Table Conference is meant to see the Indian peoples in position that will satisfy their self-respect, with the safeguards necessary to ensure an ordered transition, imposed not by outside choice but after discussion with India's representatives. There is little chance that anything would now persuade Mr. Gandhi to help in a settlement. But a statesman who limited him in his contempt of being possibly misunderstood in a phrase when his main contention jutted out like a naked rock could still save the situation. This man had bewildered us, because he has so often thought as if he were an Englishman; and it was from us that he learnt that frankness was the way to safety.

DEPRESSED CLASSES IN SOUTH INDIA.

The ASIATIC REVIEW for October has an interesting article from the pen of Mr. F. E. James, on the advancement of the outcastes in the Madras Presidency. Mr. James considers the position of these unfortunate people and discusses it in the social, educational, economic and Political spheres. The first attempts at their reclamation, he says, were made by Christian Missions and nearly half the children of the depressed classes are in the Christian Mission schools. Socially indeed the depressed classes are not allowed to participate with the other classes. But the progress in recent years is quite evident.

Mr. Gandhi's espousal of their cause has had considerable effect in many parts of the country. "How dare we treat any fellow-man as untouchable?" he asks. At the Sabarmati Ashram he sits down to meals with the untouchable boys who are his proteges. In Travancore, largely at his inspiration, a large number of caste people offered passive resistance and went to jail to secure the right of the untouchable to walk on a certain road in the vicinity of a temple. This fight went on for months until the Maharani-Regent removed by one stroke of the pen a disability which the outcastes had suffered from time immemorial.

Even the Hindu Mahasabha, the stronghold of Hinduism, has passed a resolution to the effect that "every Hindu to whatever caste he may belong has equal social and political rights." The National Congress at the instance of Mr. Gandhi has also placed the removal of untouchability in its programme.

But still conservatism is rampant in the villages, where comparatively little change has taken place in the social relationships of the people, though in the towns, it is true, the social amelioration of the untouchable is proceeding faster.

With regard to their educational progress, Mr. James points out that in 1895 there were 30,000 depressed class pupils in schools. In 1920 there were 150,000 depressed class pupils in schools. To-day there are over 230,000. Over 100,000 of these are in Christian Mission schools, and a number are in the schools maintained by such excellent societies as the Depressed Classes Union, the Poor Schools Society, the Social Service League, and the Andhra Deena Seva

Sangam. Most of these are only in the primary stage, there being only 2,647 in middle schools, and 47 in colleges in 1927. Only about 7,500 of the 230,000 reading in schools are girls, which means that only one out of every 400 of the female population goes to school.

The Madras Government has during the past ten years shown the way to economic improvement. No Government in the world could completely solve this economic problem,

but demonstrations have been made in Madras, and on the whole, money has not been stinted. And in this year's budget the Government has provided £105,000 for the uplift of the depressed classes.

The Government has assigned them lands for cultivation and steps have been taken to provide them with accommodation.

Over 55,000 house sites have been provided by this method since it was first introduced, and over £135,000 have been advanced by Government in loans for this purpose. In the year 1928-29 over 6,000 house sites on a total acreage of 800 acres were aligned.

On the political side the importance of securing the representation of the depressed classes on public bodies is being increasingly realized in Madras. In fact, Madras has gone further in this matter than any other province. There is also improvement in regard to representation in local bodies. Thus it may be said that considerable progress has been made in recent years in the condition of the outcastes in Southern India.

Public opinion is more enlightened, education is slowly but surely spreading, social disabilities are being removed, the way to economic uplift is being shown, and political power is being grasped. In this progress Christian Missions, the Government, and social service organizations are playing an important and noble part.

THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL

This welcome annual, is as bright and vivacious as ever. There are stories of travel and adventure and descriptive scenes accompanied with pictures, singularly well printed. The half a dozen colour plates are got up in such style and splendour that one might go in for a copy of the annual if only for the sake of the pictures which deserve to be framed and preserved. The pictures representing such varied figures as Akbar and Shivaji and Pratap and Ranjit Singh and Lord Clive are not only valuable in themselves but reminiscent of interesting periods of British Indian history. We congratulate the publishers of the annual on the splendour of its execution.

THE CROWN AND THE EMPIRE

Symbolism has played a great part in the destinies of mankind. Loyalty to the "cross" or the "crescent" has made and unmade empires and affected the lives and fortunes of millions of people. And so the "Crown"—the symbol of British monarchy—"evokes a passionate loyalty among millions to whom forms of Government are merely a matter of verbal controversy." So writes Sir John Marriott in the October *Fortnightly*. That a certain danger lurks in symbolism, as applied to politics, is not to be questioned.

One of the most distinguished of English jurists has warned us against the use of the particular term which is the subject of the present analysis. "You will certainly read," said the late F. W. Maitland, "that the Crown does this and the Crown does that. As a matter of fact we know that the Crown does nothing but lie in the Tower of London to be gazed at by sight-seers. No, the Crown is a convenient cover for ignorance: it saves us from asking difficult questions, questions which can only be answered by study of the Statute book."

Now, by the "Crown" we sometimes mean the "king," the Personal occupant of the throne; sometimes one of the organs of Government, the "executive"—the body of ministers to whom so many of the practical functions of the crown have been transferred. It is even applied to the Departments of state "which form the permanent as opposed to the political executive."

It is a commonplace of criticism that the powers of the "Crown" i.e., the executive side of Government have in recent years dangerously extended. We in India, living under the regime of ordinances need hardly be told of it.

But while the powers exercised in the name of the "Crown" are increasing, the power of the person who wears the Crown is steadily diminishing. That at any rate was the opinion of Prof. Lowell of Harvard who wrote in 1908:—

There can be no doubt that the political influence of the Sovereign faded slowly to a narrow and fainter ray during [Queen Victoria's] reign. . . . as a political organ [the Crown] has receded into the background. . . . One may dismiss, therefore, the idea that the Crown has any perceptible effect to-day in securing the loyalty

of the English people, or their obedience to the government.

But Sir John Marriott holds that the "Crown" has also gained. The rapid development of colonial nationalism, "while weakening the connection between the Dominions and the Imperial Parliament, has strengthened the tie between each separate Dominion and the Imperial Crown." Speaking as an ardent nationalist at the Imperial War Conference on April 16, 1917, General Smuts said:—

The Governments of the Dominions as equal Governments of the King in the British Commonwealth will have to be recognised far more fully than what is done to-day, at any rate in the theory of the Constitution . . . ; the young nations are growing into Great Powers and it will be impossible to attempt to govern them in future by one common Legislature and one common Executive.

But there are centripetal forces operating as well, and the General himself gave expression to the significant sentiment:—

"How," he asked, "are you going to keep this Commonwealth of nations together? If there is to be this full development towards a more varied and richer life among our nations, how are you going to keep them together? It seems to me that there are two potent factors that you must rely upon for the future.—The first is your hereditary Kingship. . . . You cannot make a Republic of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If you had to elect a President, he would have to be a President not only here in these islands, but all over the British Empire—in India and in the Dominions—the President who would be really representative of all these peoples; and here you would be facing an absolutely insoluble problem.

But the decentralisation process was going on at each successive meeting of Imperial or international gatherings and attempts were made to make the most of "kingship." But how can a single constitutional sovereign act "on the advice of six executives responsible to as many legislatures."? The dilemma is answered in the words of James Madison, a quarter of a century after the declaration of independence.

"The fundamental principle of the Revolution was, that the Colonies were co-ordinate members with each other and with Great Britain, of an Empire united by a common executive Sovereign, but not united by any common legislative Sovereign. The legislative power was maintained to be as complete in each American Parliament as in the British Parliament. And the royal prerogative was in force in each Colony by virtue of its acknowledging the King for its executive magistrate, as it was in Great Britain by virtue of a like acknowledgment there. A denial of these principles by Great Britain and the assertion of them by America produced the Revolution."

EUROPEANS AND INDIAN REFORMS

Mr. A. H. E. Molson, sometime Political Secretary to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in India, contributes an article under the caption "Non-official Europeans and the Indian Constitution", to the October number of the ENGLISH REVIEW. The writer says that because the bulk of the imports and exports of India passes through European hands, it will be surely obvious that the prosperity of India depends mostly on the policy of the Government of India itself. The writer is not for transferring the entire responsibility to the Central Government. He says :—

"It may be surmised that the European community at the Round Table Conference will reiterate their grave apprehensions as to the effect of transferring law and order, and they will point out what a volume of expressed Indian opinion is either opposed to it or consents to it only subject to considerable restrictions. They will then concentrate upon securing that adequate safeguards shall be provided."

Mr. Molson is of opinion that at a time when a great experiment was being tried in the provinces it would be unwise to start democratic changes in the Government of India. He continues :

"They (the European community) believe that the Federal Constitution, which, it has long been apparent, must be India's ultimate goal, will need a strong Central Government: the constitution of Canada and not that of Australia should be taken as the model. It is, in their opinion, essential therefore that the provinces should be the testing and teaching ground of responsible government, and that for the present the Government of India should not be tampered with."

The writer is against India's passing any legislation discriminated against British interests. He concludes :

"No apology is needed for writing at length on the need for protecting British commerce in India.

It would, indeed, be strange if at a time when all parties are agreed upon the need for new markets for British goods to be found overseas, the richest of all our existing overseas markets were allowed to be lost through inadvertence. The fact that much of the British capital in India is invested in industrial undertakings does not mean that in case of whole or partial expropriation the loss would fall only upon rich shareholders. Apart from the right of every British subject to the support of the British Government in defending his property lawfully acquired in other countries, the British commercial and industrial community in India is the principal influence in obtaining so large a proportion of India's imports from Great Britain. If the non-official British in India, and their possessions, are to be sacrificed on the altar of a shortsighted political expediency, the effect will soon be apparent outside the Labour Exchanges in the industrial cities of England."

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FITTER FAMILIES IN INDIA

Under the above caption, Mr. Vinayak Roy contributes an article to the Sept-Oct. number of the HINDUSTAN REVIEW in which he points out that the important question that immediately faces us in India is her manhood. With a noble tradition and in spite of inestimable resources, India, he says, is not only in the depth of poverty, but also in the agony of apparently inescapable bondage.

Her political problems are faced with such internal heterogeneities of which no parallel has so far been found in the annals of history. Considering the heritage of her great civilization and her glorious past the solution of India's problems may aptly be considered as a world issue and in that task she needs the assistance of the whole world offered out of perfectly disinterested motives.

From a study of eugenics as applied to India, says the writer, it is apparent though the population of India has been steadily increasing, the virility of the race is tending towards a downward course.

Our first aim therefore in the realization of the new pulverising ideal that has been set up before us should be the attainment of physical fitness; and in the task that is thus placed before us the society of the present generation should see that only healthful and optimistic couples forward as their dues to the future generation robust and healthy children, able to shoulder the responsibilities in the different spheres of life. * * *

If India cannot attain that virility to withstand the onslaughts of stronger races and more vigorous and enterprising nations that are knocking at the door, without doubt, she will ultimately succumb in order to make room for others.

For the purpose of this regeneration, the task has primarily to be undertaken by the children of the soil. Both the mind and the body have to be developed to a greater extent than has hitherto been the case. Education, both literary and cultural, should be carried to the remotest corners of the country. The leaders of society have a heavy responsibility before them. By the process of continuous elimination, the sturdiness of the race will have to be cultivated again. Fitter families in the first place should spring up where mere vegetation in human existence has so far prevailed. Those families should give birth to a generation whose sacrifice, stamina and vitality will awaken in India the rejuvenated song of national self-realization.

If India, out of sheer negligence or lethargy or self-conceit neglects this question, concludes the writer, who knows like many other historic races of the world, the country will be extinct in course of time, and like Africa and the Americas, will be a cradle of the white civilization of the West!

MOHAMMAD'S APPEAL TO YOUTH

Brigadier-General R. D. B. Blakeney, writing in the ISLAMIC REVIEW for November, makes an appeal to the youth of the day to contribute its share to the advancement of mankind. Indeed the possibilities of youth are great. He says that the youth of the great nations are being brought up in the crassest materialism, denying the possibility of any life other than that in which we strive and suffer, and repudiating the claims of religion which, in its final expression, is the link binding us to nobler and greater spheres of existence.

Hitherto Christianity has been the main object of attack, but signs are not wanting that ere long the creed of Islam will have its turn. "Both Buddha and Christ taught the inadequacy of material achievement, but in each case their teachings were subsequently perverted by priestcraft." It was left to the Great Apostle Muhammad, he says, to "stop the retrograde movement."

The younger generation of to-day, he continues, is much more advanced and they have a clearer and more sensible view of things than the old, crude and dogmatic opinions of the schoolmen of intervening centuries. But youth cannot do the work of the middle-aged without due training. That training is afforded in the teachings of Muhammed. "His plan, like everything truly great, was amazingly simple at first sight, but closer examination disclosed its magnificent potential.

The bulk of mankind had to be taught to think in the abstract. Hitherto all was selfish fear and self-protection; the unseen forces of Nature were crudely fashioned into idols, whose grinning malignity demanded propitiation and bribes.

Short indeed was the shrift he meted out to these, and over their misshapen fragments he taught that, as the Divine Power was all in all and on every hand, it could not and must not be limited.

THE WEAPONS OF NON-VIOLENCE

Mr. George Slocombe of the DAILY HERALD, whose despatches from India created a stir in British political circles, describes in the New York NATION the weapons adopted by the followers of Gandhi in their non-violent fight against British bureaucracy. He is convinced that the struggle is nation-wide and not confined to a few sections of people here and there—as is generally misrepresented abroad. There is no mistaking the national character of the nationalist movement in India, he says.

The fever of nationalism has spread to all classes and all communities. Bankers and mill-owners, lawyers and professional men, bazaar traders and mill workers alike have plunged into the struggle with a passionate conviction that the time has come to stake all on winning the coveted prize of liberty. Even the peasant in the villages, those innumerable villages, with their intense personality and infinitely stratified local life which are peculiar to India, reacts to the emotional wave that reaches him from the towns.

Thus even the peasant has at last been awakened to the consciousness of the struggle hitherto principally waged in the towns. Mr. Slocombe instances the case of the Guzerat villages where under the lead of Mr. Patel, the peasants have taken up the Government's challenge with a determination scarcely suspected.

The force of a dimly understood national solidarity has him in thrall. He has been caught up in the wave of mystic, emotional, and political sentiment which is sweeping over India like a new religion, a religion of which the prophet, leader, and deity is Mahatma Gandhi.

Tolstoyans are familiar enough with the method of the passive resisters. But Gandhi has carried the doctrine of non-violent resistance several stages, although perfectly logical stages, farther. His resisters are no longer merely passive.

They initiate an attack upon what they consider to be evil instead of merely resisting the encroachments of evil. They offer legal violence, if not physical violence, to British law and authority in India. The destruction of toddy-producing palm trees, and the raids of government salt works, the production of illicit salt, the social boycott of Indian tax collectors, police, and other officials of the government—carried to the length of barricading house doors, denying food and water, and even closing the mouth of village wells—and the active and successful boycott of British goods are developments of the Tolstoyan creed by which the war is actively carried into the enemy's camp.

Mr. Gandhi is no novice in the use of the unusual weapons. He employed them with success during his South African fight. This non-violent resistance is not an ingenious recourse of a political opportunist.

He believes in non-co-operation and non-resistance with a passionate sincerity. They are fundamentals of the same religion of love which drives him to criticize the faults of his own people as earnestly as he criticizes those of the British.

What has been the net result of the struggle during these last months? Mr. Gandhi has accomplished a triple miracle in India.

He has taught the meek and humble Hindu, who shudders at violence with a physical as well as a moral revulsion, to become a Stoic able to endure the blows of police lathis without tear and without shrinking, and even with a fanatical joy. And what is even more remarkable, he has taught the fierce and warlike Pathans of the Northwest Frontier and the incredibly proud Sikhs of the Punjab, to whom a blow is a deadly insult to be washed out only in a blood, to fold their arms under a rain of lathi blows without protest or retaliation. The third miracle is the steady elimination of the religious and race prejudices which have hitherto divided India and the breaking down of the immemorial caste system.

Mr. Slocombe then describes his experiences in India where he had seen the remarkable exhibition of men and women of all denominations join in the struggle, and suffer together.

I have seen Hindus, Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees lying side by side in the same ward of a hospital suffering from similar lathi wounds, eating from the same dishes and drinking from the same drinking vessel. I have seen high-caste Hindus break their caste to drink water offered by a low-caste Nationalist volunteer. I have seen thousands of high-caste Hindu women who have broken their purdah to picket liquor shops and foreign-cloth stores, and to lie all night in the streets under the heavy monsoon rains when a procession had been banned or halted by the police. I have seen them rush under the uplifted arms of the police to take on their own shoulders the blows intended for the young men-volunteers of the Nationalist movement. To these people Gandhi is a prophet and an inspired leader, the incarnation of their own national aspirations, the very soul of awakening India.

In conclusion Mr. Slocombe adds that the deadliest of the weapons is the boycott of British goods. And all these weapons have been used with considerable effect. In the face of these facts Mr. Slocombe says that it is no longer a question of India's capacity for self-government.

Whether they are fit for it or not, it is too late to argue the matter now. They have already decided that they are fit to rule themselves, and they have begun to make foreign government impossible in India.

NANA FADNIS

The MODERN REVIEW for November contains a short life sketch of Nana Fadnis by Mr. G. S. Sardesai. Historians may assess the worth of Nana in whatever way they choose but there is no denying the fact, says the writer, that two obscure Brahmin families from the West Coast, the Bhats and the Bhanus leaving their home in search of fortune and working in mutual co-operation, succeeded for nearly a century, though after strenuous efforts in fulfilling Shivaji's great ambition, i. e. to capture and wield an almost imperial sceptre over India, the only instance of a successful Hindu Swaraj after the hallowed suzerainty of the ancient Guptas.

The following account of the Nana will be found interesting:

Possessing a weak and delicate constitution, Nana was not fitted by nature for the rough and tumble of camp life. He was tall and thin, not very fair in complexion, remarkably grave in countenance, and unusually reserved in manners. It is said he was hardly ever seen to laugh or joke. In the dispatch of business he trusted more to his pen than to his tongue. He was always sparing in promises, but once he committed himself to any particular course of action, even his opponents were sure that he would stick to his word at all risks. His younger cousin Moroba Fadnis was of a totally different nature and so jealous from the beginning of Nana's rise that he intrigued against him in season and out of season and had on that account to waste his precious life in a long imprisonment of a quarter of a century from which he was released by Baji Rao II only after the death of Nana.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist in estimating the character and achievements of Nana Fadnis, there cannot be a doubt that the last stage of his active career, namely, the five years after the unfortunate death of the young Peshwa Madhoo Rao II, was a series of blunders, a rapid downhill slide, which nearly wrecked all the good work that he had done previously. His resignation and complete retirement from politics would have been better not only for his own interests but also for those of the state. Like many other notable personages in history, Nana committed the mistake of considering himself indispensable and paid the penalty for his vacillation by undergoing confinement and indignities at the hands of his unscrupulous master Baji Rao II and the inexperienced youth Dault Rao Sindhia. The huge fortune that Nana had long toiled to amass, only served to excite the cupidity of all who possessed the strength to snatch it away and it eventually vanished away so quickly that, at his death, the Arab mercenaries whom he had employed to guard his person, clamoured for the long arrears of their pay and refused to permit his body to be removed for cremation, until their claims were satisfied.

DANCING IN INDIA

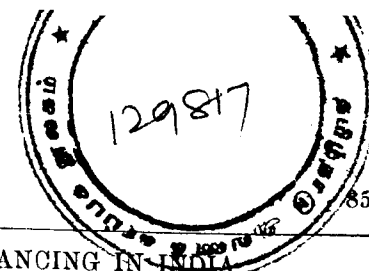
"Traditional Dancing in India" is the subject of an article in the current number of the EMPIRE REVIEW, wherein the writer, Ruby Sharpe draws special attention to the characteristic dancing of the Khattacks or Pathans in the British territory on the border of the west of Indus. Virile and full of grace, it expresses, as no words could do, their fierce determination, their power of devotion to some shadowy call to self-sacrifice, their passionate sense of victory underlying apparent defeat. Wearing voluminous peg-top trousers of snowy cotton, elaborately patterned silk waistcoats, and hand-made silk *lungis* wound carefully round their heads and arranged to show the beautiful coloured stripes of the ends in an enormous bow at one side, a number of dancers move in a circle, taking rather short steps and raising each arm alternately. Occasionally, they execute a wonderful pirouette, whirl their swords above their heads, or sink slowly upon their heels towards the ground.

Usually these dances are performed round a huge bonfire and the flames play on handsome bronzed faces and gleaming swords, bringing them into strong relief against a background of frowning hills and deep rivers that whisper of all primeval instincts. And, as they flicker and fall, they light up a spectacle than which nothing could be more in keeping with that mysterious spirit of the North-West Frontier of India which for generations has called to Englishmen and found an echo in their hearts.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE, the official organ of the Corporation of Calcutta is surpassing itself in its sixth anniversary number. Year after year Mr. Amal Home, its Editor, has given the public an annual distinguished alike by the richness and variety of its contents. The present issue which is sumptuously got up contains articles on various aspects of civics and is adorned with pictures and portraits in colour. Mr. Amal Home is as enterprising as ever and we find contributions from eminent people both in India and abroad.

Another interesting feature is the messages of greetings and good wishes from Lord Mayors and Mayors of Western cities and heads of numerous civic associations in America.



WORK OF THE I. L. O.

Dr. P. P. Pillai contributes an article on the above subject to the current issue of the INDIAN LABOUR JOURNAL. One of the ways in which the International Labour organisation at Geneva has already proved, and will continue to prove helpful, says Dr. Pillai, is by furnishing the Indian Labour movement with that solid basis of knowledge and experience on which alone a strong working class movement can be built. He says :—

The portals of Geneva are always open to the working classes of this country, and in the measure in which other workers' organisations resort to the I. L. O. for enriching their store of wisdom and experience will be found their efficiency and their capacity to respond to the ever-increasing needs of their growing clientele.

So marked has been the influence of the I. L. O. on the course of labour legislation in this country that an acute critic has expressed it as his deliberate opinion that 'the development of Indian public opinion on labour questions has been greatly stimulated and encouraged by Geneva, and that but for Geneva many of the measures of social reform which have now found their way to the statute book might not have been initiated at all.'

The Indian working class movement has already gained some victories in its long war against poverty and social injustice. There is also another aspect of the work ahead of us, says Dr. Pillai, in which the help of the I. L. O. will prove to be of paramount importance.

The whole country is now agitated over the future political constitution of India, and we are all anxiously looking forward to the establishment of democratic political institutions. Now, every civilised government having a democratic system has, as a necessary corollary, recognised as a preliminary duty the provisions of educational facilities for the people. If every citizen is to have some share in determining the destinies of his fellows, it is necessary that he should be adequately equipped for the exercise of this responsibility. With an uneducated population, we will find that though we may have the forms of democratic government, the substance of democracy will still be wanting. The dangers of

democracy are the real dangers of civilisation. They are diminished by anything that increases the possibility of intelligent citizenship, that helps to secure conditions in which those who exercise political power may fit themselves for their great responsibility. Can it be denied that the efforts of the International Labour Organisation to obtain sufficient wages for the worker to enable him to maintain himself on a decent scale of living, leisure for the comprehension and exercise of his duties as a citizen, relief from the pre-occupation of uncertain employment, protection against industrial risks and their demoralising consequences, security against exploitation of women and children, are a real contribution to the basis on which the democratic structure of our country may be built?

The writer concludes by saying that the I. L. O. can not only help the Indian worker in his fight to obtain fair conditions of life and work, but that it can also contribute substantially to the establishment of a real democracy in this country.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE POLITICAL APPRENTICESHIP OF INDIA.

By Mr. Vasudev Rao. [The Hindustan Review, Oct. 1930].

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By Prof. P. J. Thomas. [Indian Journal of Economics, Oct. 1930].

THE RECALL TO AN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY. By Rev. W. Meston. [The Madras Christian College Magazine, Oct. 1930].

THE INDIAN REFORM PROBLEM. By the Rt. Hon. Lord Islington, G.C.M.G. [The Empire Review, November 1930].

A NOVEL AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY IN THE PUNJAB. By S. Kashmera Singh, M.A. [The Khalsa Review, November 1930].

SOME ASPECTS OF TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. Binode Behari Dutta, M.A., Ph.D. [The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Anniversary Number 1930].

Questions of Importance

LORD SANKEY ON FEDERATION

Lord Sankey, Deputy Chairman of the R.T.C. has prepared a list of heads of subjects for discussion by the Federal Committee. The list which has been published is as follows :—

- (I) Component elements of the Federation.
- (II) Type of Federal Legislature and number of Chambers of which it should consist.
- (III) Powers of the Federal Legislature.
- (IV) Number of members composing the Federal Legislature and, if the Legislature is of more than one Chamber, of each Chamber and their distribution among the Federating units.
- (V) Methods by which representatives from British India and from the States are to be chosen.
- (VI) The constitution, character, powers, and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.
- (VII) Powers of the Provincial Legislatures.
- (VIII) The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Provincial Executives.
- (IX) The provision to be made to secure the willing co-operation of minorities and special interests.
- (X) The question of establishing a Supreme Court and its jurisdiction.
- (XI) Defence forces.
- (XII) Relation of the Federal Executive and Provincial Executives to the Crown.

MR. JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points which have been the subject of considerable discussion at the Round Table Conference may be summarised as follows :—

- (1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces.
- (2) Uniform measures of autonomy should be granted to all provinces.
- (3) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.
- (4) In the Central Legislature the Mussalman representation should not be less than one-third.
- (5) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the N. W. F. Provinces.
- (6) Full religious liberty that is liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.

ADVERSE LEGISLATION

(7) No bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of the Hindu or Muslim communities in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community.

(8) Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency.

(9) Reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Provinces and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.

(10) Provisions should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the State and in the self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(11) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of the Muslim religion, culture and personal laws and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language and charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

MUSLIMS IN THE CABINET

(12) No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim ministers of at least one-third.

(13) No change be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

(14) That in the present circumstances the representation of Mussalmans in the different legislatures of the country and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable and further the Government being pledged not to deprive the Mussalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Mussalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the manner specified above they will not consent to joint electorates with or without conditions.

A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

A draft constitution has been prepared by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, in collaboration with Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER, as embodying the minimum demands of India.

Their scheme contemplates the immediate introduction of Dominion Status and the initiation of arrangements for the transfer of all departments of the Central Government to responsible Ministers within a maximum period of ten years. It provides for the entry of the Indian States into the Federal scheme immediately, for those who like to do so, and in course of time for those who are not prepared to enter the Federation immediately.

INDIA'S DEMAND FOR DOMINION STATUS

THE RT. HON. SASTRI

The following are excerpts from the Rt Hon. Sastri's speech at the Round Table Conference :

The fear which is in the minds of many British people when they contemplate a large advance in constitutional status, is that any polity that we may construct here, or that we may lay the foundations of, may pass, as respects its machinery, into the hands of those who now belong to the Congress Party and who brought about a serious situation which led to the summoning of the Round Table Conference. I do not think the fear unreasonable; it is natural. I think we who speak for India are under the obligation to meet that fear, ought in earnest to try to convince the British people, either that the fears may be countered by cautionary measures, or that the fears have no foundation in fact. Much has been said by my friend who spoke on this side about very large and considerable sections of the population, whom Congress propaganda has not touched so far, who remain loyal to the British connection. May I add another source of comfort? Who are these people from whom we fear disturbance. No doubt, they have caused trouble so far. Are our measures here not designed to conciliate them? Are these not pacificatory steps that we are taking? Are they not calculated to win over once more their hearts to ways of loyalty and ordered progress?

Therein lies the strength of the situation to-day. Our "enemies" are not bad men; they are good men whom we have alienated by unfortunate political happenings. It is easy to bring them round. Let us make an honest attempt, and, by God's grace, our work shall be rewarded both here and in India.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

In the course of his speech at the Round Table Conference Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said :

We have come here across the seas in the midst of the gibes and ridicule of our own countrymen. We have already been described in our country as traitors to the cause. We have come here in the midst of that opposition, but have brought with us the determination to argue with you, to discuss with you frankly and freely, to make our contribution to the solution of the problem, to make ourselves heard but also to hear you and to invite you to make your contribution, so that in the end we may say that those who have already forecast the future were really false prophets. In that spirit I wish to present my case before you.

No greater mistake can be made by British statesmen and my British friends—and I claim I do possess some friends among the British—than to imagine that India stands to-day where she did even ten years ago. I think the idea of the progress India has made during the last ten years could not have been better described than in the gracious words of our Sovereign on the opening day of this Conference. We have travelled a very long distance. Let that be realised. Let this time-worn theory, that we are only a handful of men be abolished for good. Mr. Jayakar and I, during the months of July, August and September, were constantly travelling from one end of the country to the other. We saw with our own eyes, we heard with our own ears, signs and ories which it would have been impossible for me or him to imagine. When I read in the English press description of the situation in India, my heart sinks.

I am not making a reference to these things with the object of frightening you. I am not holding out any threat. I am simply stating facts. I make an absolutely honest confession that, so far as I am concerned, I have realised from the beginning the grave dangers of the civil disobedience movement to my country. But while I have realised the grave dangers of that movement, I have also realised the importance of placing a true interpretation of what it really represents. I beg you on this occasion to rise superior to the small administrative view of this question and to take a broad statesmanlike view of the unrest you find in India.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

Mr. Chintamani in his speech at the Round Table Conference appealed to all the three British political parties to help the cause of India. Addressing the chair he reminded Mr. Ramsay MacDonald :

In the preface to your book (THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA) I read : "India's needs cannot be met by an adjustment here and an adjustment there. They have to be viewed in their wide sweep." In 1928, presiding at the British Commonwealth Labor Conference in London you said : "I hope that within a period of months rather than years there will be a new Dominion to the Commonwealth of our Nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the British Commonwealth. I refer to India." And your Party, in 1929, on the eve of the election, said—and this is what your Party is committed to : "The Labor Party believe in the right of the Indian people to Self-Government and Self-Determination, and the policy of the Labor Government would be one of continuous co-operation with them with the object of establishing India at the earliest possible moment, and by her consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

THE STATES' DEMAND

In a letter to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, Col. Haksar pleads that a federation is the only form of Government for all-India that is likely at present to appeal to the States and suggests that such a constitution will appeal also to British India and, if adopted now, will be not merely workable but will be worked by the States and the provinces alike in a way that no unitary constitution can ever hope to be.

Col. Haksar says that the States see clearly that a federal legislature and executive dealing with nations of common concern to British and Indian India could hardly be so neglectful of the latter's interests as is the Government of India as now constituted.

The idea is also likely to be attractive to British India since, without such federal institutions a United India is impossible and without a United India, Dominion Status is unachievable.

British India will have to surrender some authority at present exercised on her behalf by the Government, with whom she is out of sympathy since the States cannot be expected to enter any Federation except on the basis of co-equal partnership.

PRINCES' TERMS FOR FEDERATION

The States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference have made considerable progress with their Federation Scheme, and consultations have occurred, sometimes among themselves and sometimes with British Indians. Although no final scheme has taken shape the Princes have practically decided on some lines on which they are to proceed, including :

- (1) The desirability of all States joining the Federation,
- (2) Equal representation with British India,
- (3) Necessity of representation of States in the Federal Ministry,
- (4) Leaving Defence and Foreign Relations outside the scope of the Federal Parlia-

ment, and only matters of common concern to be dealt with by the Federal Executive and Legislature and

- (5) The establishment of a Supreme Court.

The report drawn up by Ministers is now being revised by an enlarged committee. There is no idea at present of drawing up a comprehensive scheme, but whatever decisions may be reached will be regarded as a guide for negotiation with other parties.

There are indications that efforts will be made to raise questions concerning States subjects. Questions like freedom of speech, Habeas Corpus, the establishment of popular Legislatures, the limitation of the privy purse and fixing a Prince's civil list, which will interest both Princes and their subjects, will be raised, and, it is expected, that the Princes will be requested to formulate definite answers.

THE NIZAM'S ARMY

In pursuance of a *firman* issued by the H. E. H. the Nizam, the Hyderabad State Army is now being reorganised in accordance with a carefully drawn up scheme. Part of the scheme, which is now being given effect to, has been prepared by Commander Nawab Osman Yar-ud-Dowlah and is confined to the formation of new units with the existing personnel and does not entail any financial or numerical increase.

The Army will now consist of :—

- The Hyderabad Imperial Service Lancers.
- The Golconda Lancers
- The Cavalry Training Corps
- The Bodyguards Squadron
- "A" Battery, Horse Artillery
- "B" Battery, Nizam's Field Artillery
- The Nizam's Own Infantry
- The 2nd Asafnagar Infantry
- The 3rd Saifabad Infantry
- The 4th Golconda Infantry
- The Infantry Training Company
- The Arab Palace Guards

INDIANS IN AFRICA

Mr. S. A. Waiz, Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association recently visited Simla and had an interview with the Hon. Sir Fazli Hussain, the member of the Government of India in charge of the portfolio on questions affecting Indians overseas. In particular he called Sir Fazli Hussain's attention to the situation in South Africa and East Africa. The Hon. Member gave Mr. Waiz a statement in the course of which he said :—

SOUTH AFRICA

"Early in February, 1930, the Union Government, as a result of a number of recent judicial pronouncements, set up a Select Committee of the House of Assembly to enquire into these questions and to propose such legislation as it might deem fit. The Government of India have always been conscious of the importance of Indian interests involved, and it was for this reason that they deputed Mr. J. D. Tyson, who was at the time Secretary to their first Agent—the Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastry—in South Africa, to make suitable representations to the Committee in regard to the safeguarding of legitimate interests of the Indian population and to give the Indian community such assistance as it might need for placing its views before the Committee. As you know, the Committee's report, together with its conclusions, which were embodied in a Bill, were placed on the Table of the Legislative Assembly of the Union on the 13th May and the Bill was read for the first time on the 14th of that month. As soon as the Select Committee's report and draft Bill reached the Government of India, they represented to the Union Government that they should be allowed adequate time to examine carefully the far-reaching provisions of this measure. Our representations met with a favourable response and it was decided to postpone further consideration of the Bill until the following session of the Union Parliament which in all probability will commence in January next. The spirit in which our request was met was but another indication of the friendly relations that had been established by the Cape Town Conference. Our Agent in South Africa has been and is hard at work, discussing the Bill with Indians and others, formulating views and reporting us the situation as it develops from time to time. We sought last July the advice of the Standing Emigration Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature on the provisions of the Bill. The advice given by them has been found most valuable and every endeavour is being made to prepare the Indian case as thoroughly as possible."

Sir Fazli Hussain then goes on to say that the delegates of India at the Imperial Conference have availed themselves of the opportunity to discuss the situation informally with General Hertzog in London and expresses the hope that friendly negotiations will bring about a satisfactory settlement honourable and equitable to the Indians in the Transvaal.

EAST AFRICA

As regards East Africa, Sir Fazli Hussain points out that the conclusions of His Majesty's Government which are set forth in the white paper issued in June last, represent a considerable advance on the former position.

The Indian community has always attached great importance to the principle of a common electoral roll, and the Government of India have always lent their full support to this view. We still adhere to the opinions expressed in this regard on former occasions and, therefore, naturally welcome the declaration that the establishment of a common roll is the object to be aimed at and attained, with an equal franchise of a civilisation or education character open to all races. The proposal to leave the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council substantially unaltered is also satisfactory. As regards the scheme of Closer Union, I am aware that apprehensions are entertained in certain quarters that if the three territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are brought together for purposes of administration, the spirit of Kenya white settlers, which is one of political domination, and that in particular the interests of Indians in Tanganyika, which is administered under a Mandate, might be affected prejudicially. We shall arrange to apprise the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, when it is constituted, of the views of the Indian community on all these matters. We are told that it will be for the committee itself to decide what procedure it should adopt in regard to the fulfilment of the task to be entrusted to it. When that procedure has been decided, we shall take steps to see that our views are placed before the Committee in the most suitable manner.

Referring to certain recent speeches made in South Africa and in London Sir Fazli Hussain says :—

I can very well understand that the reports (as they appeared in the press) of the speeches having caused great dismay to Indians. I myself felt astonished and, to be frank, horrified at some of the sentiments as reported in the Press, and only hope that the full speeches will show that the effect produced in the minds of the readers was due to certain passages having been divorced from their context. I am reluctant to believe that in view of the great world movements of thought on these subjects, any of the great Dominions would be prepared to sanction what would seem from the telegraphed reports to be so serious a departure from the principles of British justice and fairplay that have been more than once enunciated by His Majesty's Government.

Though our task of safeguarding the interests of Indians overseas is one of very great difficulty and delicacy, it is one on which as a rule not only Indian opinion is united, but on which Indian public opinion is reflected in the views the Government of India formulate. Your Association may rest assured of our continued vigilance and of our determination to do all we can to promote the interests of overseas. We know the righteousness of our cause and feel confident that when this is brought to the notice of the statesmen on whom rests the responsibility for these matters, they will recognise its justice.

BRITISH COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

Mr. Huseinbhoj Lalji, President of the Bombay merchants' chamber, speaking at its last quarterly meeting on Nov. 15th observed :—

It has been several times claimed by the British commercial community here that they have benefited this country to a very large extent. It is true that they have started some big factories and carried on a large business. The acid test is whether these activities have been started for the economic salvation of India, and, if so, may I ask them if they have at any time co-operated with the leaders of Indian public opinion and leaders of Indian trade and industries with reference to the Industrial development of the country? Have they helped the building up, on sure and stable foundations, of such Indian Industries as may be considered "key" industries? In their evidence before the Tariff Board with regard to the several enquiries instituted by this body, have they pressed for industrialization on a much larger scale in this country, and asked for definite and liberal protection to Indian industries? What was their attitude with regard to State-management of railways, a question on which the whole of the Indian commercial community was united? Answers to these questions will clearly show whether the British Commercial community in this country has really stood for the development of Indian trade and industries, and has worked for India's economic regeneration.

SWADESHI, AN ARTICLE OF FAITH

The sacrifice and suffering of sixty-three thousand Indians including Mahatma Gandhi, the high priest of Nationalism will go in vain if we do not take Swadeshi as an article of faith, urged Mrs. Dharmvir, an English lady by birth opening the Swadeshi Bazaar at Lahore. They should feel ashamed she said, that they still felt the need of opening a swadeshi bazaar at this critical juncture of India's history.

A RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA

"If the civil disobedience movement continues Provincial Governments might find themselves at the dawn of a new constitutional day, so crippled in material resources that they will be powerless to undertake any constructive programme," said Sir George Schuster, Finance Member, Government of India, in the course of a speech to a Conference of Finance Secretaries at Simla. Sir George mentioned the steps India should take not only for her own prosperity, but for the benefit of the world. What the country requires, he said, is the foundation of a sound central or federal Reserve Bank which, based on national support, would co-operate with the central banks of the world in a sound currency policy. He ascribed the present low prices in India to the extremely difficult conditions created by the political situation in Bombay, and emphasised that the country might gain greatly from co-operation with the British Empire.

DECLINE OF BRITISH EXPORTS

In the House of Commons, replying to Commander Kenworthy, Mr. Benn said that the boycott of British goods in India was weakening throughout India generally but was still effective in Bombay. He was circulating figures showing the falling off in British exports to India which showed in September quarter a decline of 43.6 per cent. compared with 1929. The decline in British exports to places abroad was 25.8 per cent.

LANCASHIRE MERGER

The scheme is nearing completion for the formation of another big amalgamation of Lancashire cotton trade. The merger will affect about fifty spinning mills controlling 4,000,000 spindles in the coarse spinning section of the industry in Rochdale and Oldham Districts. The amalgamation is expected to be the second largest combine in the Lancashire cotton industry.

THE JUTE CRISIS

The Deputation of Zemindars, headed by the Maharaja Tagore which waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bengal recently at Darjeeling in connection with the jute crisis, has issued a statement with His Excellency's approval.

It says that Government will distribute loans amongst the cultivators wherever justified, for their subsistence during the period of distress and for the purchase of agricultural implements and seeds.

It is further stated that Government will initiate propaganda to enlighten the cultivating classes on the present situation and to impress upon them the necessity of drastic restriction in the area to be sown during the coming year.

AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

"I am very much interested in agriculture and fascinated beyond measure at the things I have seen in India, especially her villages. Most certainly I should think India to be one of the richest countries in the world if one were to take into consideration the material that is available for working the enormous resources that are or seem to be as yet not even looked into" said Professor Francis B. Sayre, son-in-law of the late President Woodrow Wilson in the course of a recent interview at Allahabad.

"I spent a perfect day at Naini" continued Prof. Sayre, "visiting the Central Jail and later, saw Higginbotam's Agricultural Institute. If you could have farms and agricultural institutes like that and people took more living interest in them, India will change and change too as she has never done before. The point is to make your grain and cereal and crop grow to double their present size and without much expense."

Asked as to how this was to be achieved and whether he was for large scale extensive farming with tractors and grain elevators, as in U.S.A. or out in Russia, Prof Sayre said: "No, No. What I mean is more intensive cultivation with small

modern improvements in labour and machinery. The present state of cultivation in India and the agricultural implements used in the same are, according to him too primitive for words, but he is very hopeful of agriculturists here. "What the agriculturist wants is a little guidance and instruction and change of outlook. Then you will have a different India. That is what I feel", concluded the professor of International Law, who takes practical interest in agriculture and the living realities around him.

TREATMENT OF CATTLE DISEASES

A preventive treatment, entirely new to Britain has just been begun by the Ministry of Agriculture in an attempt to check the spread of foot and mouth disease, and to minimise the slaughter of animals which, in six years, is estimated to have cost the taxpayer about £5,000,000 in compensation to farmers. The treatment is an injection of a serum under the skin of animals which have been in contact with sufferers or exposed to the danger of infection, says a report in THE CEYLON OBSERVER. It has the effect of immunising the animal so treated for 10 days, during which their yards and stables can be disinfected. The treatment is at present being given under conditions of secrecy at one of the three centres where there is an outbreak of the disease. One is at Pirbright, Surrey, another is near Leeds, and the third is at Stokesley, near Darlington.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR AGRICULTURE

The Madras Government have sanctioned the deputation of six students for three years to the Agricultural College, Coimbatore, with scholarships of Rs. 25 each per mensem, if necessary, with effect from July 1930 and of two students per annum in subsequent years until further orders. The candidates should as far as possible be men domiciled in the Agency tracts. The Director of Agriculture will select the candidates and decide on the necessity of the scholarships in consultation with the Agents.

RADIO-THERAPY

In presenting their first annual report the National Radium Trust and the Radium Commission set forth their plans for the future, urge the need for a larger number of practitioners, fully qualified to practise radio-therapy, and issue a word of warning against "the creation of false hopes" in estimating the value and efficacy of radium in the treatment of malignant diseases.

"Radium," it is remarked, "is not yet established as a 'cure' for cancer; while it holds out a good promise of beneficial results and certainly of alleviation of suffering, it is at present a very dangerous weapon and one which unless used with the greatest skill, care and precaution may easily be productive of more harm than good."

HEARING FOR THE DEAF

"I have studied more than 4,300 cases," says Dr. Marcel Vigneron, of New York University, "and not one was totally deaf." When hearing is impaired by illness most people stop using their ears, and deafness increases, whereas proper exercise, as he has demonstrated, tends to restore the injured organs, just as an injured arm may be restored by exercise. Television also may prove helpful, to a limited degree, to deaf persons. Seeing each other at opposite ends of a two-mile line in laboratories of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, two totally deaf persons carried on a conversation by reading the movements of each other's lips.

RAMAKRISHNA MISSION HOSPITAL

The Ramakrishna Mission has established in Rangoon a free hospital which has been giving medical aid to thousands every year, the total number of patients during 1929 being 1,31,010. The ninth annual report of the institution shows that the Sevashrama receives considerable financial help from the Rangoon Corporation which granted about Rs. 6,000 during 1929 for repairing some of the existing wards and building additional ones.

INDIAN HOSPITAL IN LONDON

A scheme for establishing an Indian Hospital in London was launched at a reception held at Veeraswamy's Restaurant by the Indian Medical Association (of Great Britain) and Dr. Irving C. De Zilva. The scheme was cordially supported by the delegates to the Round Table Conference and the Indian Doctors in England. It is proposed to start a hospital with 40 beds, a proportion of which will be reserved for Indians. It is proposed to provide Indian post-graduates with appointments, train Indian women as nurses and give Indian doctors facilities for specialisation and research. The initial capital expenses are estimated at £12,500 and the recurring annual expenses for the first few years will be £4,500.

DRUGS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. P. Hingston, Superintendent of the Maternity Hospital and Professor of Midwifery in the Medical College, Madras, in the course of his evidence before the Drugs Inquiry said that there ought to be some legislation Committee to control the potency and purity of drugs and chemicals manufactured locally and imported from abroad. Special boards should be formed to test such drugs coming on the market to see that they came up to the standard. He also expressed the opinion that all dispensaries should have qualified chemists to dispense their drugs.

TUBERCULOSIS CURE

The Aga Khan presiding over a meeting at the Ritz Hotel, London on the 9th Dec. announced that the test of Spahlinger vaccine for the immunisation of cattle against Tuberculosis conducted by the Norfolk supervision Committee of Control had proved its efficacy beyond doubt.

Signatories to the document attesting to the value of Spahlinger's work include the Aga Khan, Marquess of Crewe, Dr. Shiels, Sir Archibald Weiball, Sir Arthur Stanley and Mr. Gilbey.

SIR C. V. RAMAN

On the eve of his departure to Europe Sir C. V. Raman delivered an interesting lecture on the "Scattering of light" in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay, on November 19.

Justice Mirza, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University, presided. Distinguished among those present were Justice Madgavkar and Dr. Meldrum, Principal, Royal Institute of Science.

The Vice-Chancellor, in his opening remarks, congratulated Sir C. V. Raman on the distinction that he had earned by winning the Nobel Prize, and thus adding lustre to India. "We are all proud of Sir C. V. Raman, who has brought the Nobel prize to India a second time."

Sir C. V. Raman after thanking the President for the kind sentiments observed that Science was an international subject, in which there was no division of caste or creed. All Science-men were fellow-workers in a common cause, fellow-servants in the search for Truth. He supplemented his lecture with interesting slides. Sir C. V. Raman showed on the screen, a picture of Prof. R. W. Wood, famous American Scientist, snapped in his laboratory conducting experiments and producing anti-strokes in Raman lines of Benzene. The picture produced by Prof. Wood, was a unique tribute to India. Sir C. V. Raman narrated how he and his students successfully challenged the 19th century physicists' description of light as some kind of electro-magnetic wave. Sir C. V. Raman said his experiments had built a bridge between Chemistry and Physics, which enabled one to ascertain and distinguish between different kinds of chemical forces.

Sir C. V. Raman reached Stockholm on December 10th. King Gustav and other members of the Royal family were in a distinguished gathering at Concert House, Stockholm on the occasion of the presentation of the Nobel Prizes on the same day.

After an address by the President of the Nobel Foundation and a musical intermezzo by the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra, the President of Committee for Physics delivered a short lecture on the importance of Sir C. V. Raman's scientific work, and the King presented the distinguished Madras with the prize amidst great applause.

DR. BOSE ON THE ASSENT OF LIFE

"From plant to animal we thus follow the long stairway of the ascent of life. The barriers which separated the kindred phenomena are now thrown down, plant and animal life being found to be multiple unity in the single ocean of being. In realising this is the sense of final mystery of things lessened or deepened. Science cannot but waken in us a deeper sense of awe and her own advances gain for us a step in that stairway of rock which all must climb who desire to look from the mountain tops of the spirit upon the promised land of Truth," said Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose enunciating some of his principal discoveries at the anniversary meeting of the Bose Institute at Calcutta on the 1st Dec.

Among other striking experiments it was astonishing to watch the plants supposed to be without any rhythmic activity recording their pulse beat which was unaffected by drugs as the pulse beat of the animal heart. No less startling was demonstration of the movement of sap in the plants which was shown not only to ascend upwards but could also under special circumstances be made to descend downwards.

INDIAN SCIENTISTS IN CONFERENCE

The eleventh annual meeting of the South Indian Science Association concluded its three days' programme at Bangalore on the 17th Nov. Dr. W. E. Watson presiding.

The proceedings which were mostly in the Committee, concluded with a presentation address to Sir C. V. Raman on the latter's proud achievements in Science.

TAGORE'S MESSAGE

In a message delivered to the New York Press Association Sir Rabindranath Tagore is reported to have said:—

"I am proud my countrymen to-day, under their great leader Mahatma Gandhi, have disdained to imitate violent methods of modern military nations in their struggle for freedom but



SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

made moral integrity and spirit of sacrifice the directive power of their non-violent movement. By accepting spiritual force as their chief weapon, they have already proved their superiority to the primitive mentality of unashamed pillage and manslaughter which persists in most countries to-day and I have no doubt that if our countrymen can keep fast to this heroism of non-violence, in spite of violent provocation they will have no difficulty in establishing the freedom which is already theirs in so far as they are true to their central ideal.

I can tell you that the whole world to-day recognises the greatness of India's spiritual struggle for liberty. India has proved that human history has come to a stage when moral force has to be acknowledged even by politics."

THE PUBLISHER'S CHOICE

Lieutenant-Colonel John Murray, D.S.O., head of the great publishing firm of Mr. John Murray, addressing the Librarians' Conference on the subject of publishing said:

"Really the publisher is an ordinary business man with a liking for literature, pursuing an honourable trade and, we hope, conscious of its responsibilities. A bad book published can do unlimited harm.

"Naturally a publisher wants good books which sell well—but that is not too easy to attain. Books from a publisher's point of view may be classed as those which he knows are good and which he knows will sell well, and those which are bad and which he knows will not sell well. Between these come the books which he knows to be good but won't sell well, those which he knows to be bad but will sell well, and those which he would quite like to have on his list but is very doubtful of the prospects.

"A publisher should bring out some good books *pro bono publico* even though he does not expect them to sell well.

"A publisher wants to be a prophet, he usually only succeeds in being a gambler—especially in these days of high prices demanded.

"How does he get what he wants?"

"It may be said that some publishers are born with books, some achieve books, and all have books thrust upon them."

PUNJAB LITERARY LEAGUE

"Guru Bernard Shaw" is how G. B. S. has subscribed himself in a letter of good wishes to the Punjab Literary League.

The Punjab Literary League was started at Lahore for the dissemination of literature and art. A number of messages of welcome, goodwill and co-operation from a number of eminent continental literary men of world-wide reputation like Mr. Bernard Shaw, Prof. Gilbert Murray and John Galsworthy has been received.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

MR. ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR'S ADDRESS

In the course of his Convocation Address to the Andhra University, Dewan Bahadur Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate-General, Madras, said:—

The universities are no longer to be merely places of polite and genteel learning. They have to be the "reservoirs of the intellectual forces of the nation and the clearing house of intellectual ideas." The State can no longer stand aloof from



MR. ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR

the universities but must place unreservedly its resources without in any way impairing the academic freedom which is the breath and nostril of a true university. The universities in their turn owe a duty to the tax-payer to bring themselves into intimate touch with the life of a nation and to satisfy the moral, intellectual and practical needs of a society. There is no subject which can be ruled out of the category of university subjects and of university instruction. The humanities, pure science, science in its application to industry, have all a claim upon the universities. * * *

The graduate of a university must realise that he is under a triple duty. He owes a duty to himself, a duty to those less fortunately circumstanced than himself, a duty to the society of which he is a member and to his country. As for himself, he must start life with the feeling that his education really commences with his degree. Education is a process, not a curriculum or the completion of a curriculum. The unfolding of the human mind is a continuous evolution and the search for the truth is never complete. Secondly, the educated man owes a duty to spread the light that is vouchsafed to him to others less fortunate than himself. He must put back into the pool a bit of what he has got. In the case of a good number of you, I know that your education is the result of supreme self-sacrifice on the part of your parents who had to stint even the necessities of life. * * *

Realise that it is an accident that you have been given a chance in life which has been denied to most others similarly circumstanced like you. Thirdly, you must make a point of giving of your best to the service of your country and be able to help the development of a higher type of society, and you must be inspired by the lofty ideal of leaving the world at the end of your careers richer and better than you found it. While it is your duty to cultivate a lofty patriotism, while you may be zealous of your self-respect and a certain manliness in dealing with others, I appeal to you not to fall a victim to communal rancour or factious fight. In public life, beware you do not appeal to the lower instincts of your fellow beings; but cultivate a broad humanism which is above caste, creed and race.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Senate of the Calcutta University at its recent meeting passed a resolution protesting against the proposal for withdrawal of Government grants amounting to Rs. 1,29,000 to different colleges.

ILLEGAL PROCEDURE

"The whole procedure of the police has been vitiated by wrongful trespass and other irregularities", remarked Mr. Kunja Behari Roy, Sub-Judge in disposing of a civil suit brought by Mr. Lachin Mea and several other Moslems against Sub-Inspector (Gopal Chandra Phockan (new Inspector of Police in Silchar), Inspector Bipin Bihari Das, Sub-Inspector Abhya Charan Sarna (since degraded) and eleven other police officers, Panchayets and village chowkidars, seeking to recover damage of Rs. 3,000 from the defendants which had been decreed with costs. It was alleged that the plaintiffs had been illegally arrested and assaulted.

A HIGH COURT REVERSAL

The Calcutta High Court has set aside the order under Sec. 144 issued on Mr. B. N. Sasnal prohibiting him from entering Midnapur district.



LADY CHATTERJEE

Lady Chatterjee, the wife of the High Commissioner for India, is among the candidates who have passed in Hindu and Muslim law in the Michaelmas Bar examination.

SENTENCE ON MR. BRELVI

Found guilty under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act on two charges, for publishing the "Jawahar Day" programme of the Bombay "War Council" Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE was sentenced to five months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 250 or in the alternative, to six weeks' further imprisonment by Mr. Khandalawala.

Mr. S. P. Kapadia, printer and publisher of the paper was awarded five months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 150, or in default six weeks' further imprisonment.

The case arose out of the publication in the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, of November 15 and 16 of the "Jawahar Day" programme as arranged by the "War Council" of the B.P.C.C.

Mr. Brelvi, who was undefended took no part in the proceedings.

JUVENILE COURT IN MADRAS

It has been decided to establish a juvenile court in the Madras City under Section 30 of the Madras Children's Act consisting of a salaried Magistrate and an Honorary Magistrate. The question of establishing similar courts in the districts will be considered later after gaining experience in the working of the new court in the City. It is understood that police officers attending this court will be required to wear ordinary dress.

WHIPPING OF PICKETS

"Whipping under the Picketing Ordinance is illegal." This was the opinion given by Mr. T. J. Y. Roxburgh, Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta on Nov. 1, when it was brought to his notice that the Ordinance did not provide for any such punishment.

The Magistrate added that no such punishment would be inflicted in future upon offenders convicted of picketing.

Personal

LATE SIR P. RAMANATHAN

Sir P. Ramanathan, the distinguished Indian leader of Ceylon whose death occurred on the 28th ultimo at his residence in Colombo, was very near completing his four score years. Sir Ponnambalam, says a contemporary, was a widely travelled and highly cultured gentleman who had



SIR P. RAMANATHAN

taken a most active part in the public life of his country. He held very distinguished offices and rendered conspicuous service to his country. He was a member of the board of education for long years and acted three times as Attorney-General of Ceylon. He was an active member of the Ceylon University Council. He built and endowed in 1913 a residential college in Jaffna for Hindu girls. He also opened another college later on for boys. He had written several treatises on philosophy, religion and ethnology.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, accompanied by his daughter, Kumari Krishna Nehru and his personal physician Dr. Atal, arrived in Calcutta on the 18th November, for treatment of his ailments. He was X-rayed at Chittaranjan Seva Sadan and subsequently examined by Sir Nilotan Sircar, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, Dr. A. G. Ukil, Dr. Jihraj Mehta and by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, who, by special arrangement, was permitted to leave Alipur Jail for a few hours. Pandit Motilal has been advised sea-voyage for a change.

THE ARREST OF WOMEN

Two women of the Nehru family were arrested on a charge of being members of an unlawful assembly in connexion with a women's procession at Allahabad in the first week of November. They are Miss Shyam Kumari Nehru, an Advocate of the High Court, and Miss Krishna Nehru, the younger daughter of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Miss Shyam Kumari Nehru, and Miss Krishna Nehru, were tried and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50 or, in default, to undergo one month's simple imprisonment. They declined to pay the fine; but in the meanwhile someone had paid and the ladies were freed.

LORD HARDINGE

Lord Hardinge, ex-Viceroy of India, arrived in Bombay on the 27th of last month, by the "Viceroy of India" and has visited Hyderabad, Mysore, Madras and other cities.

Interviewed by THE TIMES OF INDIA, Lord Hardinge stated that the object of his visit to India was to meet his old friends and see New Delhi, and that it had no political significance whatsoever.

Lord Hardinge will remain in India for three months.

Political

THE R. T. C. COMMITTEES' PROGRESS

The special correspondent of the LEADER cables from London under date Dec. 9, that the Round Table Conference will adjourn on Dec. 23 for four days and will resume immediately after the Christmas holidays with a view to complete work by the middle of January at the latest.

It is expected that a minorities committee, probably presided over by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, a defence committee presided over by Mr. Thomas, and a public services committee presided over by Mr. Lees-Smith will shortly be set up.

The chances of a Hindu-Mahomedan settlement do not seem to be bright; for as we go to press we learn that the informal Conference of Hindu-Muslim leaders at Chequers has proved inconclusive. Further efforts are, however, being made by the Nawab of Bhopal and the Liberal leaders who have formulated fresh proposals containing their maximum concessions.

At the meeting of the Committee on the 8th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru directly raised the question of the legislative powers of the central legislature, urging the removal of the present limitations. He also emphasized the desirability of the princes making the federation real by agreeing to administrative co-ordination in the central federal services. Sir Muhammad Shafi generally supported him.

The basis for an All-India Federation has been laid down by the Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference whose interim report has been published. It recognises that all the parties will have to make many sacrifices for the sake of a larger unity, specially in the case of States.

The report contemplates a two-chambered federal Legislature, its enactments having full force and effect throughout the units comprising the federation. Certain points, such as the position of the Crown, have been left over for further examination.

The report of the Burma sub-committee contains six conclusions. They relate to the acceptance by Government of the principle of separation coupled with a declaration that Burma's constitutional advance will not be prejudiced, to the interests of the minorities, finance, defence, the administration of central subjects and a trade convention.

Mr. H. P. Mody and Mr. Shiva Rao record that they are unable to endorse the first recommendation relating to a Government announcement without qualification.



SIR PHILIP CHETWODE

The New Commander-in-Chief who took charge of his office at Delhi on November 29th. Sir Wm. Birdwood the retiring Com.-in-Chief sailed for England the same day.

HOBBS ON CRICKETERS

Hobbs who is now in India, with Sutcliffe at the invitation of the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagaram, was asked his opinion about many well-known



Mr J. B. HOBBS

players and, while he kept reserved in most cases, he spoke very highly of Frank Tarrant, the famous Australian and Middlesex cricketer who has now



MR. H. SUTCLIFFE

retired. While he was talking about Frank Tarrant one of the spectators interrupted and asked if he had seen the much talked of fast

bowler Gilbert, the aborigine of Queensland, whose deliveries are so fast that batsmen cannot follow the ball. Hobbs turned round, smiled and said: "No I have not seen him and if critics of his game mean what they say about this new bowler's express deliveries, this aborigine bowler is either in a class by himself or must be playing at night."

BRITISH MOTORIST'S FEAT

Jack Dunfee, British holder of World's 200 Miles Speed records for all types of cars, with the assistance of Dudley Froy, broke five more records on the Montlhery Track in Paris. Driving a three-litre British Sunbeam, he covered over 330 miles in three hours and averaged 117.20 miles an hour for the first fifty miles. Dunfee beat the existing three hours' record by over five miles an hour.

GERMAN SPORTS CLUB

The number of active members of German sport clubs was, on August 11, 631,000 and supporting members 9,265,000. These numbers together form 34 per cent. of the population against some 7 per cent. before the War. Germany had in August 31 Stadia or more than all other continental countries put together.

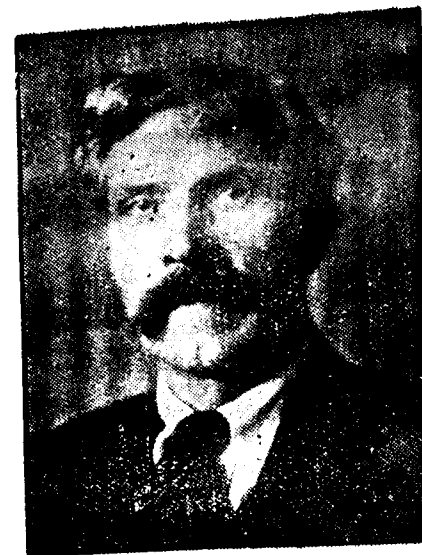
SCHNEIDER TROPHY RACE

It was announced by the International Aeronautical Federation, after a meeting in Paris on Dec. 12th, that an agreement had been reached between the Aero Clubs of Britain and France and Italy regarding the entries for the next year's Schneider Trophy Race. This means that the contest will definitely be held next year in British waters, probably in the Solent.

DEATH OF FAMOUS CRICKETER

J. T. Tyldesley (57) the famous Lancashire and England Cricketer, died on the 27th of last month. He played for England in the Test matches 26 times against Australia and five times against South Africa.

MR. CHURCHILL'S INDISCRETIONS
Mr. Winston Churchill has again made one of his blazing indiscretions; this time, a thoroughly wicked and ill-timed speech on India. The



MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD

speech has been denounced by responsible men of all parties. The TIMES, in the course of a leading article, says that "Mr. Churchill is no more representative of the Conservative party than the assassins of Calcutta represent Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference and his speech will have just as little influence on British policy." The paper goes on to observe that Mr. Churchill has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing and that he still remains the same ignorant but omniscient subaltern of 1896. The NEWS-CHRONICLE calls on Mr. Baldwin to disown the views of his erstwhile colleague; and the Maharajah of Bikanir joins the chorus of denunciations with a statement in which he says it is not statesmanship to dream that India could be content with permanent subordination to a bureaucratic system of Government or be held in subjection by a policy of blood and iron.

The Prime Minister, speaking at Reading under the auspices of the Indian Empire Society called the speech "mischievous from beginning to end." The Premier said:—

Yesterday Mr. Churchill showed neither wisdom nor discretion. Everybody knows—I do not care whether you agree or disagree with us—everybody knows that in process of time, on account of our education, the education we have given them, on account of our giving them political literature—the speeches of Edmund Burke, chapters of Macaulay's history, political essays by the late John Morley and so on—we have brought the Indian people, however mixed as they are consisting of a variety of strata as they do, composed to such a large extent of religious communities which do not mix, nevertheless, we have brought that people up to such political consciousness that they have become aware of the fact that self-respect alone compels them in accordance with our education and example to ask from us a much larger measure of self-government than they have had hitherto.

As always happens—on this occasion there are people who would run too fast—as always happens, on this occasion there are conflicts between idealistic pioneers and the more static governing powers of the country, and to-day, we have boycotts which I believe are unnecessary. We have political agitations and law-breaking which I believe, so far from helping us to give self-government, are only putting impediments in our way, but nevertheless, a practical statesman keeps his head cool and takes an objective not a subjective view of his problem. . . .

They have come to discuss with us a means to a further political evolution. The Viceroy, one of the greatest India has ever had, is supporting this movement as a matter of wisdom and not as a politician. The Viceroy who controls the situation is not a Labour man. He is not a Liberal. He is a Tory. There is no political party principle involved in this matter, and at this moment, when the Conference is on, when the Mussalman, Sikh, Hindu, depressed class, Indian Christian and British commercial representatives are all sitting round tables and stating their causes and exchanging views, Mr. Churchill selects this moment to make a speech mischievous from beginning to end, with no constructive idea or proposal in it and expressive of nothing except the antiquated relationship between the Imperial authority and the people who came under its sway, which was blind to every modern movement in politics and stiff-necked with regard to the handling of people whom we ourselves had enlightened in political affairs and aspirations.

How the Congress, how the elements in India who wish this Conference to fail, how the elements in India who have been finding during the last four or five weeks the handling of the Conference has been so good that they are ceasing to have the driving power of lawlessness, how to-day, they must have blessed Mr. Churchill for giving them an opportunity for rousing up prejudices in India again against the British Raj?

We will leave Mr. Churchill alone. I think we have got such a good hold over Indian opinion that we can even afford to allow Mr. Churchill to make the speech he did yesterday, but if he will take my advice he will not repeat it.

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

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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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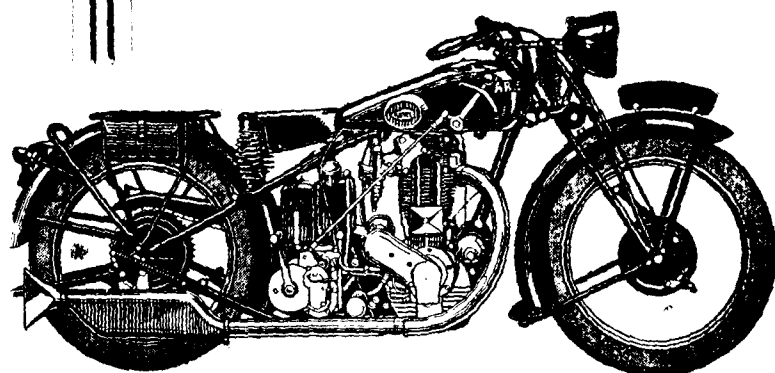
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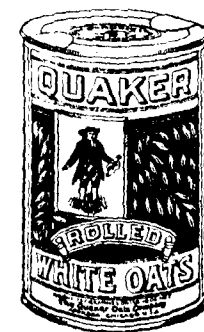


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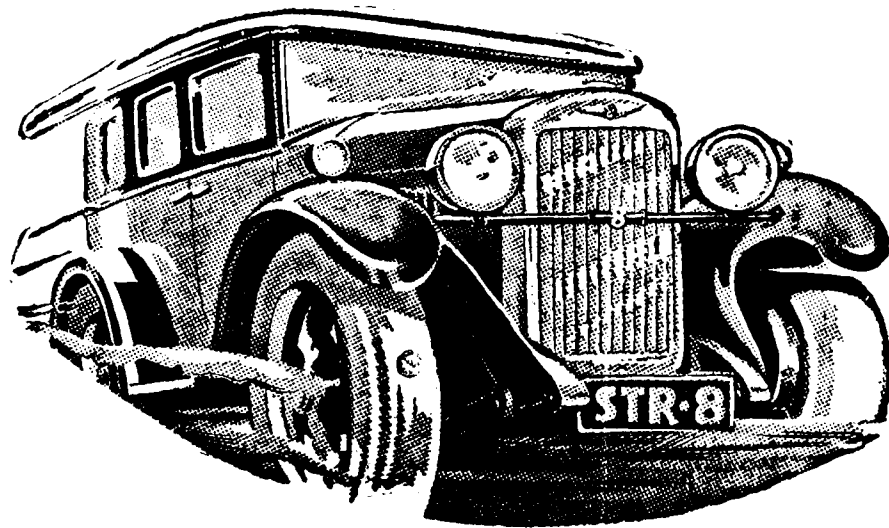
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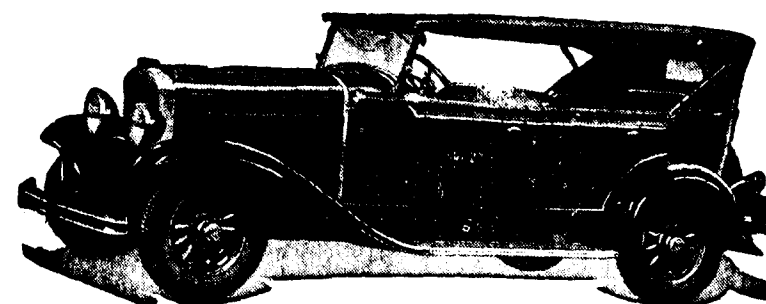
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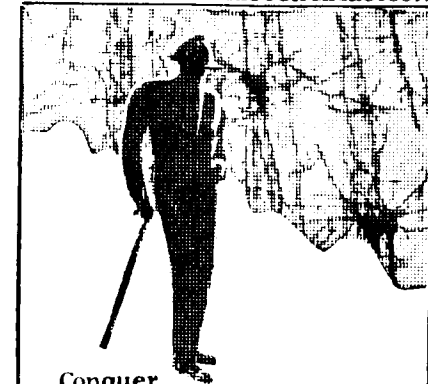
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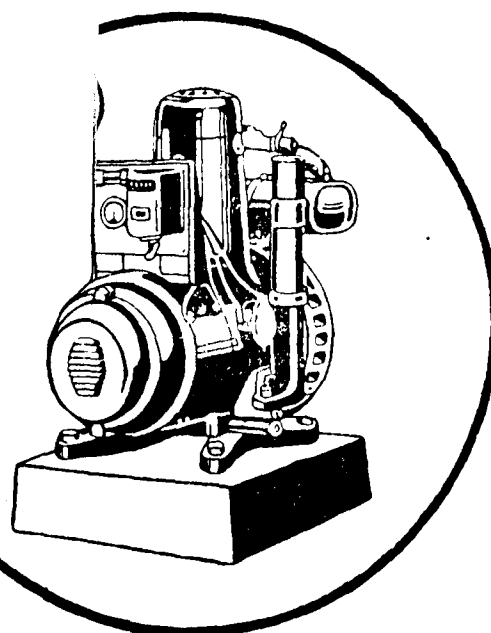
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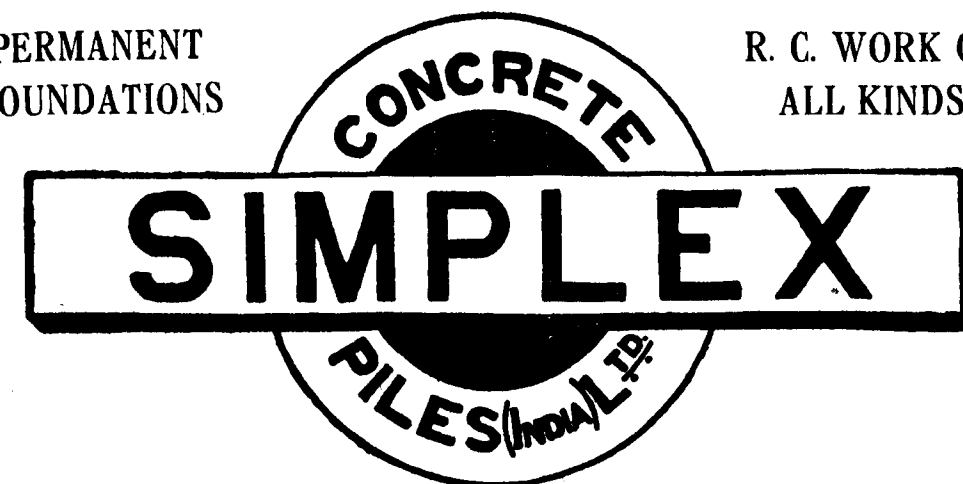
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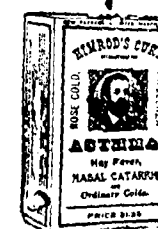
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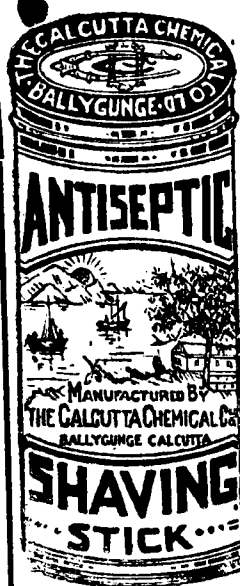


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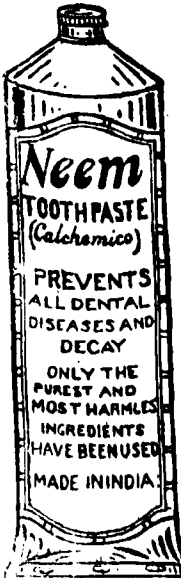
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"Kaiser-i-Hind"	11,518	27th " "	"Maloja"	20,837	31st " "
† "Mooltan"	20,847	3rd Jan. 1931	"Mantua"	10,946	7th Feb. 1931
"Rajputana"	16,568	10th " "	"Comorin"	15,132	14th " "

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STEAMERS	TONS	SAILING ABOUT
S. S. "Padua"	6,000	13th Dec. 1930.
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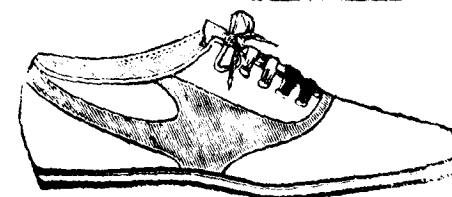
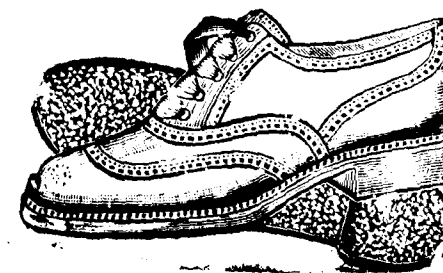
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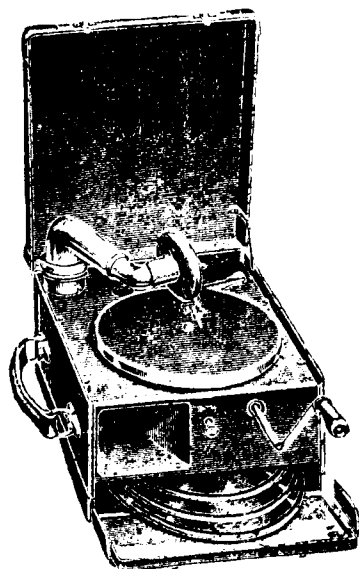
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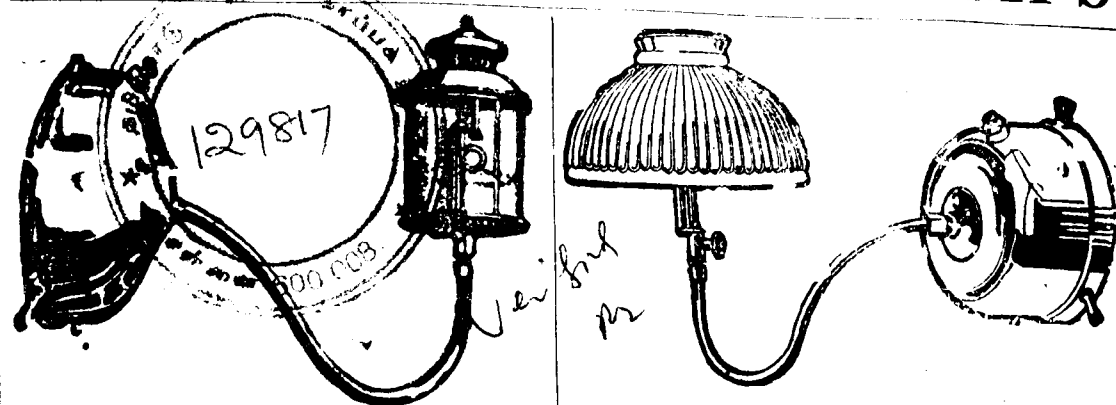
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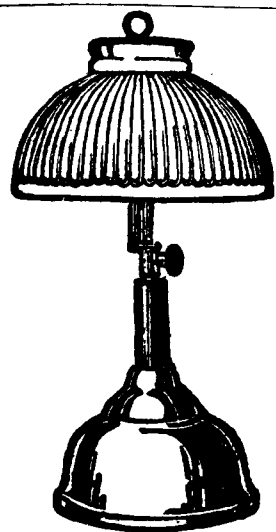
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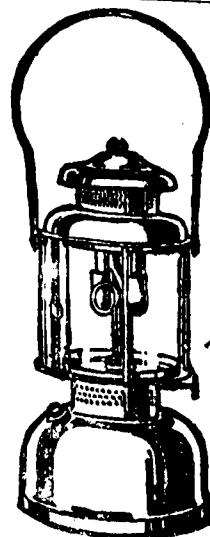
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