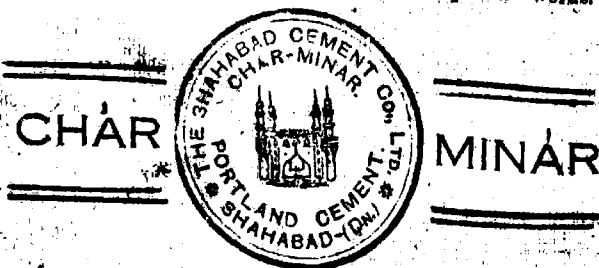


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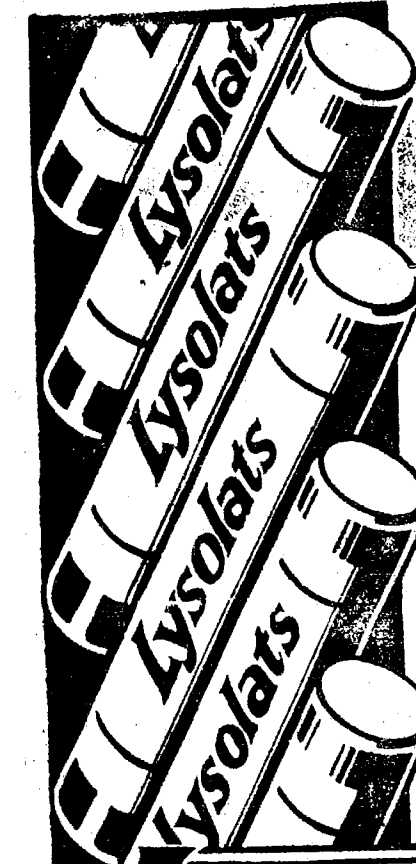
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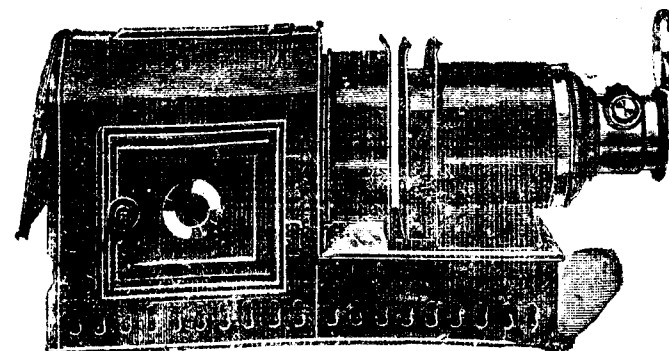
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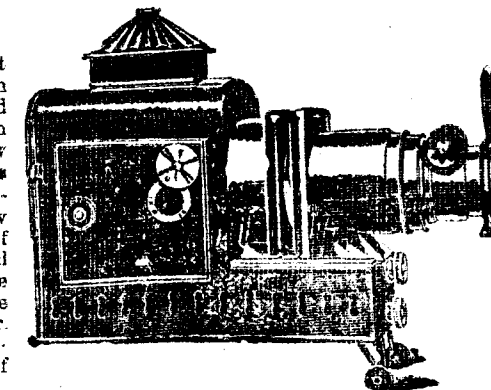
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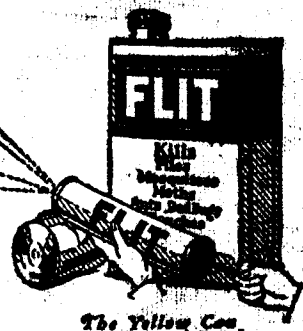
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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

VOL. XXXI.]

JUNE 1930

[No. 6.]

THE SIMON REPORT

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Report and the recommendations of the Simon Commission have met with condemnation at the hands of all sections of politicians in the country. Congressmen, Liberals, Mussalmans, Justicites, Parsees, and Sikhs, representatives of the land-owning classes and the commercial community—all alike have condemned them as disappointing, unsatisfactory, and reactionary. When for years past, the whole country has been agitating for Dominion Status, it is surprising that Sir John Simon and his colleagues do not even mention the words, and it would be in no way unfair to them to state that they do not seem to contemplate it for India even at a distant future.

Their so-called recommendations for the Provinces fall short of those recommended by some Local Governments such as Madras. The provincial autonomy suggested by the Commission is nothing but a camouflage. You will still have the non-votable items, and the Governor is given unlimited powers which will undoubtedly make provincial autonomy a huge farce.

The recommendations with regard to the Central Government are worse still.

The introduction of indirect election for the Central Legislature, the apparent failure to provide for any responsibility on the part of the Central Legislature, the removal of the entire subject of defence from the purview of the legislature, the failure to provide for Indianisation of the army at any reasonable pace, the retention of the India Council, maintenance of the Secretary of State's control and the retention of communal electorates are some of the most unsatisfactory features of the report.

But this is not all. The recommendation with regard to Fiscal autonomy is distinctly retrograde and cannot possibly be accepted by any responsible politician.

Commander Wedgwood and other frank critics have rightly pointed out that the Simon Report tries to undo all that Montagu achieved. Even among those who were bitterly opposed to the composition of the Commission and who had therefore severely boycotted it, there was some hope that the Commission would at least recommend provincial autonomy and responsibility in the Central Government except with regard to the army and foreign relations. Even those expectations have turned out to be false. Sir John Simon and his colleagues have toured India in vain. Either by sheer incapacity or otherwise, they have failed to appreciate the full significance of the Nation's demand for self-government. Their failure to realize the gravity of the situation in India and the thoroughly reactionary character of the recommendations have seriously aggravated the present tension.

The situation is really grave. And the only hope lies in the Viceroy and the Secretary of State making a declaration in no unequivocal terms that they will ignore the Simon recommendations and promise to the country at large that a scheme of Dominion Status for India will be discussed at the proposed Round Table Conference. This is the only way to solve the tragedy of the situation created by Sir John and his colleagues.

A SUMMARY

[The first volume of the long expected Report of the Simon Commission was published on the 10th June. It is mainly a report on the conditions in India as surveyed by the Commission. The second volume which was published on the 24th contains its proposals and recommendations. The Commissioners have specially adopted this procedure as they are unwilling to see their "proposals thrown into the arena of discussion before there has been time to examine and digest the survey of the present position." The Report, it may be added, is "unanimous on all fundamental matters" and is without a dissenting minute. Leaders of all sections expressed grave misgivings from the tone of the first volume as to the adequacy of the proposals that might be adumbrated in the second, to meet the demands of the situation. The actual recommendations show that those misgivings were fully justified. The following is a succinct summary of the two volumes adopted mainly from the official version of the Reports.—Ed. I.R.]

VOLUME I

It will be remembered that the boycott of the Simon Commission was carried out more thoroughly than any other boycott of recent years as Liberals, Congressmen, Mussalmans, Sikhs and all political parties alike joined hands in their united effort to keep aloof from the Commission. The Commission admits in the Report "that it was denied the direct testimony of some important bodies of Indian opinion," but "had the fullest opportunity of studying the Report of the Committee appointed by the All-Parties' Conference, commonly called the Nehru Report." In the Introduction to the Report, the Commission declares that the terms of the Declaration of August, 1917, constituted conditions under which it carried out its enquiry, but adds:

We are well aware that many Indian publicists look askance at the efforts of others to give an account of these matters, however straightforward and sympathetic that account may be. The purely British composition of our own body roused resentment in many quarters in India, a resentment which we did everything in our power to allay. We have learned enough of India to recognize and to respect the actually sensitive pride of her sons, but we trust that in the pages that follow, inspired as they are by a desire not only to discharge our statutory duty to Parliament but also to serve the cause of India's political progress, our Indian fellow-subjects will recognize that candour and friendship are close allies and will find an earnest of that good-will towards India as a whole which we are well assured will govern all impending discussions.

The Commission's task is thus defined:—

Our task is not to decide but to report to the King-Emperor, whose commission we hold and to the Parliament, which members. In the steps that will be reached, there will be full opportunity for the expression of the views of every section of responsible and representative opinion.

In the first chapter, the Commissioners give an account of the area, population and languages

of India, and observe in the course of that account:

It would be a profound error to allow geographical dimensions or statistics of population or complexities of religion and caste and language to belittle the significance of what is called "the Indian Nationalist movement."

True it is that it directly affects the hopes of a very small fraction of the teeming peoples of India. But nonetheless, the public men of India claim to be spokesmen for the whole, and in India the Nationalist movement has the essential characteristics of all such manifestations and it concentrates all forces which are roused by appeal to National dignity and National self-consciousness.

Chapter the second deals with the conditions in the country and the towns, and, in reference to the educated classes, remarks:

The Indian educated class presents a feature which must be regarded as unique, for here is a body of men educated, working, and in many instances, thinking in an alien Western language, imbued with that education the principles and traditions of Western civilization and policy and yet keenly conscious of its unity with the mass of the Indian people whose minds are set in the immemorial traditions of the East.

The causes of the Hindu-Muslim tension is discussed in Chapter III. On this point, the Commission observes:

Communal representation cannot be justly regarded as a reason for the communal tension, and there is no solid ground for supposing that if communal representation were abolished the communal strife would disappear.

The true cause of the tension, as it seems to the Commission, is the struggle for political power and for opportunities which the political power confers.

The next three chapters describe the position and the influences affecting the Depressed Classes, the Anglo-Indian community and the Europeans in India. Chapter VII is devoted to the women of India and contains an appreciation of the importance of the Women's Movement:

The Women's Movement in India holds the key of progress, and the results it may achieve are incalculably great.

JUNE 1930]

A SUMMARY

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Next comes a chapter on the Provinces of British India with the special features of each, and then another on the Indian States.

Particular interest attaches to Chapter X on the Army in India which contains observations which would no doubt be seen to have a bearing on the proposals made with regard to Indianizing the Army in Volume II.

We feel strongly that it would be a great disservice both to Britain and to India, for this question now to be shirked or for a method of treatment to be adopted which is confined to search for temporary expedients wrapped in soothing generalities which only serve to foment suspicions of the *bona fides* of the British policy. The formation of an Indian National Army drawn from India as a whole is a task of great possible difficulty. India is not in the ordinary and natural sense a single Nation. It is manifest that the peaceful unity of a self-governing India would be exposed to great risks if it relied for the purpose of maintaining and restoring internal order solely upon Indian troops drawn from selected areas and special races. If it is important for Indian politicians to face the real difficulties of the Indian Army question, it is equally important for those who realize these difficulties not to dismiss further consideration of the subject as useless by treating these difficulties as insurmountable.

There are 11 chapters describing the existing constitutional structure. The chapters are devoted to a description of the essentials of the Pre-Reform system, the division of subjects into Central and Provincial, and Provincial Legislatures, their composition and franchise and the working of Dyarchy. Part III, containing 6 chapters, describes the working of the Reformed Constitution, both in the Centre and in the Provinces. In one of these chapters, the Commission refers to "the inexpediency of fixing in advance by statute the dates at which reconsideration of the constitutional problem should take place". The Commission has some striking observations on the defects of the present franchise. With regard to the functioning of parties the Commission makes the following remarks:

The only really well-organized and disciplined party with a definite programme (though a negative one) is that of the Swarajists. Only in Bengal and the Central Provinces did they even temporarily achieve their initial object of making Diarchy unworkable, and in the Provinces they have tended everywhere in varying degrees to be transformed into an opposition of a more constitu-

tional kind and have not infrequently played a useful part as keen and vigilant critics.

The Commission's remarks with regard to Diarchy indicate that in its judgment Diarchy has not worked according to expectations. With regard to representation in the Central Legislature, the Commission finds that there is at present a divorce of the representative from the life of his constituency due to the largeness of the constituencies as well as their distances from Delhi or Simla:

The member tends to become less representative of his constituency than of active political or communal associations with which he is in intimate contact.

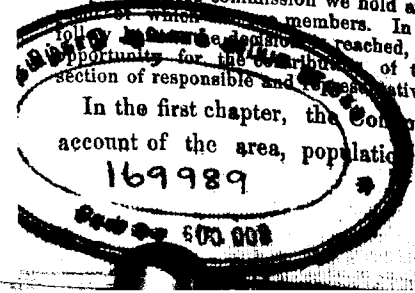
About the relations between the Assembly and the Executive Government, the Commission says:

Such a constitutional system might be supposed to have led to wholly irresponsible criticism from the Legislature and to complete indifference in the Executive, but the course of development has been otherwise. On the one hand, while the attitude of the Assembly has often been strongly influenced by its constitutional irresponsibility, it has co-operated with the Government in a good deal of constructive work. On the other hand, the Executive has been far from unresponsive to the criticism and suggestions of the Legislature.

Part IV describes the administrative system and Parts V and VI are devoted to public finance and the growth of Education. The Commission does not contemplate the cessation of British recruitment to the various public services in the near future.

The last part of the volume estimates the extent of political consciousness developed in the country and the force of public opinion.

In the last generation India has been swayed at one and the same time by the force of several conceptions which in Europe had followed a certain sequence. Indian political thought finds it tempting to foreshorten history and is unwilling to wait for the final stage of a prolonged evolution. It is impatient of the doctrine of gradualness. . . . With all its variations of expression and intensity, the political sentiment which is most widespread among all educated Indians is the expression of a demand for equality with Europeans and a resentment against any suspicion of differential treatment. . . . We are pledged to help India along her way. . . . In our view, the most formidable of the evils from which India is suffering have their roots in social and economic customs of long standing, which can only be remedied by the action of the Indian peoples themselves. They are much less likely to be remedied if the blame for their continuance can be put, however unreasonably, on others. It is only when difficulties of constructive policy are really faced, that the inadequacy of general phrases begins to be realized.



VOLUME II

The second volume dealing with the recommendations of the Commission contains twelve sections. The Commissioners in their introductory chapter recall points which their survey in the first Volume had brought out. They first deal with the mechanism of advance and say:—

The first principle which we would lay down is that the new constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development. We are profoundly convinced that the method of enquiry at stated intervals has had a most injurious effect on the working of the Reformed Constitution and on Indian political life. Whatever may have been the merits or defects of the constitution proposed as a result of the Montagu Chelmsford Report the time limit of ten years gave it the character of a makeshift affair and the working of the Constitution under the time limit inevitably breeds certain evil.

The first part enunciates the general principles of the Commission's proposals which show

that the central idea of the scheme is evolution towards an All-India Federation based on self-governing provincial units, the Viceroy to remain the Imperial representative in the sole charge of such subjects as the Army and the exercise of paramountcy over the Indian States, Provincial Governments to have unitary Governments with all subjects transferred to Ministers, whether elected or non-elected, subject to the reserve powers of the Governor especially as protection for minorities and against discriminatory legislation and for the maintenance of Law and Order.

The second part deals with Governors' Provinces and recommends enlarged Councils based on existing separate electorates and failing other agreement, keeps the Lucknow Pact arrangement but the franchise is to be tripled for which purpose a Franchise Committee is proposed. A Boundaries Commission is also proposed for examining Provincial areas. An elastic constitution is proposed for the Provinces which can grow.

The demand for Provincial Autonomy though due to distinct growth of provincial consciousness is to some extent due to other causes. In the first place, the Central Government is distant. "Delhi is far off." Secondly, greater advances conceded to provincial councils as compared with the Central Legislature have strengthened the demand to be allowed full scope in the provincial sphere and thirdly there is the wish of certain minority communities to take full advantage of their local majorities where these exist. But in spite of these developments, the present provinces are not ideal areas for self-government and the Commissioners are recommending the resettling of provincial areas.

Part III deals with the North-West Frontier Province and special areas. It proposes a Legislative Council for the North-West Frontier Province with powers of legislation and taxation, executive responsibility remaining with the Chief Commissioner. The administration of backward areas is to be handed over to the Central Government.

Part IV deals with the Central Government and proposes a Federal Assembly of about 280 chosen by indirect election by provincial Council members through a system of proportional representation, the function of the Assembly and the council of State to remain as at present. The upper Chamber is also to have indirect election. The Central Executive's relations to the Assembly remain unaltered except that the official element in the Assembly will be further reduced.

We think Indians are apt to be led astray by keeping the British Parliament so closely in view and have imagined that the Assembly in Delhi might develop into an All-India Parliament functioning after the model of Westminster. We consider that a precedent for a Central Government in India must be sought elsewhere if the ideal to be aimed at is federation to which the Indian States will one day adhere. The process or evolution in British India towards Provincial autonomy in matters of internal Government must be thoroughly carried out.

The Central Executive is to be appointed not by the Crown but by the Governor-General and may include a member or members from the Legislature. The distinction of votable and non-votable items will remain both in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. It is emphasised that the centre must be kept strong while the experiment is tried in the Provinces.

The Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be, must be armed with full and ample powers. We desire to give the fullest scope for self-government but, if there is a breakdown, then an alternative authority must operate unhampered. India is a land of minorities and the only practical means of protection of the weaker or less numerous elements is by the retention of an impartial power residing in the Governor-General and Governors of Provinces to be exercised for this purpose.

The Report emphasises that women's suffrage should be the cardinal part of the Franchise system.

Women should become members of Legislatures and that the Governor should have power to supplement the number of elected women if he thinks these legislatures should be predominantly elected bodies.

The Report proposes that the extent of supplementary nomination in the hands of the Governor should be limited to not less than five per cent. and no more than ten per cent. of the total fixed seats.

Power should be reserved in the hands of the Governor more particularly for the purpose of ensuring more adequate representation of women and of Labour, if he thinks this is required.

Part V discusses constitutional problems in relation to the defence of India and proposes that an agreement should be reached between India and Great Britain, that the Army earmarked for defence and internal security should be kept as Imperial Army under the Viceroy and that a definite fixed fund be paid to imperial authorities for its maintenance. The Commander-in-Chief is, therefore, to cease to be a member of the Government of India and will be under the Viceroy.

Part VI shows that Burma is to be separated from India but as in India the Army for North-east Frontier would be an Imperial Army.

Part VII indicates future relations with the Indian States and proposes a Council for Greater India to deliberate on matters of common concern.

Discussing the relation of their proposed scheme to the hopes of an All-India Federation the Commissioners say that the Committee on Army Affairs which they contemplate as a part of their scheme would be greatly strengthened if it could include the representatives from the Indian States.

They are just as much concerned to resist the assault upon the integrity of India as those who live in British India and, while they are entitled to rely on protection guaranteed to them by the British Crown, they have shown themselves willing and eager to recognise and serve the common interest. Advance cannot be hurried. Achievement will come about not by prematurely imposing constitutional devices however ingenious but by natural process of growth. Sooner or later, some such adjustment must come about. If any substance is to be given to the idea of ultimate federation and in order that decisions may not now be taken which might result in misleading hopes being raised we would urge that this wider aspect should not be shut out of view at the present stage.

Part VIII which is entitled "Indian Finance" adumbrates Mr. Layton's scheme for financial relations, a striking feature of which is the raising of a Provincial Fund by the Federal Assembly which is to be drawn from indirect taxes for distribution to the provinces on population basis.

The Ninth Part stands by the Lee proposals in dealing with the future of the Services and recommends the continuance of security services, the I. C. S. and the I. P. S. on the present basis.

The six years that have elapsed since the Lee Commission reported have not lessened the need for the British element in the Security Services. Communal tension has increased and it has never been seriously denied that the impartiality of the British Officer as between the conflicting communal interests, an impartiality which he owes to his origin, gives him a special value in the administration. It is not that his Indian colleague cannot free himself from communal influences, but the suspicion that he is partial makes it difficult for him to do justice either to himself or to the needs of the situation but apart from this the British Officer can for sometime render valuable service to the political progress of India and the Indian political life will surely gain from the advice and service of men in whom the practice of British democracy is instinctive.

Part X deal with the High Courts (including in this term the Oudh Chief Court and Courts of Judicial Commissioners of Central Provinces and Sindh). The Commission recommends

that charges of all High Courts should be put upon the Central Revenues and that administrative control should be exercised by the Government of the Central Revenue while proceeds of judicial stamps in courts of subordinate jurisdiction will remain provincial.

Part XI defines relations between the Home and the Indian Governments and proposes modification in the Constitution of the India Council. The Commission recommends

that the Governor-General and the Governor-General in-Council, will continue to be subject to the orders of the Secretary of State, who will be responsible to Parliament but in the Province the Secretary of State will have no concern except to keep himself informed by the Governor of everything that may relate to the ultimate responsibility of Parliament.

Part XII gives a general survey and conclusions. The scheme, thus aims at making temporary arrangements at the Centre without responsibility to the Indian Legislature pending ultimate Federation and keeping the administrative machine intact while experimenting provincial Self-Government in a qualified form.

A SYMPOSIUM

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD

THE Simon recommendations will, instead of easing the situation, aggravate it. It is not only disappointing but in important particulars reactionary. * * *

The Central Executive is to continue irresponsible, the Army is to be under Imperial Control and Indianisation may not come for a long long time. In the Provinces the provincial autonomy recommended, is merely in name. There are still to be non-votable items and the Governor is to have power of restoring grants and certification of bills. The Provincial Cabinet is to have one or two officials from the Civil Service. Law and Order is transferred but the C. I. D. is under the Governor. Mr. Lloyd George's "Steel Frame" is to be maintained. Recruitment to I. C. S. Police, irrigation, and forest are to be with the Secretary of State. All these emphasise that there is no substantial advance and the report deserves total rejection.

SIR PHIROZE SETHNA

The Simon Report is as notorious as MISS MAYO'S "MOTHER INDIA". The Indian public was perfectly justified in boycotting the Simon Commission from the date of its appointment. The new powers vested in the hands of the Governor, makes provincial autonomy a farce. There is no advance whatsoever in the Central Government. Until that is done there is going to be no peace in India.

SIR COWASJI JEHangIR

There will be few Indians who will accept any one of the recommendations. They talk of giving provincial autonomy but what they have recommended is more impracticable than Dyarchy as we know it at present. The most disappointing features are the retention of all financial control with the Government of India and Secretary of State and refusal of fiscal autonomy to India.

PUNDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

To read the Report is a crime; to purchase a copy a greater crime. The Simon Commission was a farce, but the Report is an even greater farce.

PANDIT MALAVIYA

No freedom loving man could consent to discuss even a single point of the Report.

SIR P. THAKURDAS

The Report does no credit either to the Commissioners or the Cabinet who are responsible for appointing it, and it must be unreservedly condemned by all well-wishers, both Indian and British, if they realise India's feeling at these reactionary, short-sighted and petty-minded recommendations.

MR. ST. NIHAL SINGH

Sir John Simon has laid an addled egg. Some Muslim separatists may relish its flavour, but it will nauseate most Indians.

MR. V. J. PATEL

We boycotted the Commission and have nothing to do with the Report. The recommendations are such that no sensible persons will approve of them.

MR. KIRKHABAI PREMCHAND

The so-called provincial autonomy recommended by the Commission is a misnomer and a camouflage as all the portfolios are not held by the Ministers, or elected members and responsible to legislature.

The recommendation with regard to fiscal autonomy is a distinct retrograde measure and wholly unacceptable. I regret that the Commission has gone backward.

MR. MALIK BARKAT ALI

The recommendations constitute most painful reading and must give profound shock to those who against terrible odds continued to believe in Indo-British co-operation as the best means for ending the constitutional deadlock.

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A SYMPOSIUM

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SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR

The Simon recommendations are quite unsatisfactory and will not satisfy public opinion. There is no evidence of constructive statesmanship and my view is that the Commission's entire scheme should be thrown into scrap heap. The report will only add to the discontent in the country and will greatly strengthen the following of Gandhiji.

The introduction of indirect election for the Central Legislature, the apparent failure to provide for any responsibility on the part of the Central Legislature, the removal of the entire subject of defence from the purview of the legislature, the failure to provide for Indianisation of the army at any reasonable pace, the retention of the India Council, the maintenance of the Secretary of State's control and the retention of communal electorates are some of the most unsatisfactory features of the report. I see no hope of easing the present situation in the country, unless the whole problem is considered by the Imperial Government on its own merits, and with a thoroughly open mind, free from any obsession, by the Simon Commission recommendations.

MR. M. A. JINNAH

I never expected that the Simon Commission would go far enough to satisfy Indian National aspirations and I am not disposed to attach any serious importance to these recommendations in view of the fact that the decisions lie in the hands of the London Conference, His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament. India must, if she wants to win freedom, get ready and prepare her case for the fight at the London Conference, to put down the Simon Report and its recommendations and assign them their proper place.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR

It would be a tragedy if the Report should have the effect of misleading public opinion in England. We must all now concentrate our effort on rejecting it.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR

It is clear that the Simon Commission has gone back several points even on the Montagu Reforms. The net result of their recommendations is a return to the Minto-Morley era.

SIR ZULFIQUAR ALI KHAN

Unless events take a turn favourable to Muslim demands the community's participation in the London Conference will bring no good.

RAJAH SIR DALJIT SINGH

The Report is unfair to Sikhs, who will only have 2 per cent. representation in the Assembly. Men may well cry, 'We asked for bread and thou gave us a stone.'

CAPTAIN HIRA SINGH

The representation proposed for the Sikhs and the handing of the defence question are disappointing.

DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO

The report as a whole will rather intensify the present political situation in the country than ease it.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

The proposals are the most arrogant and ironical answer to India's national demand for self government. The Government should repudiate the recommendations by defining the purpose of the London Conference.

MR. J. N. BASU

The Commission's scheme might have been useful in the '80s of the last century but is entirely out of date at present.

MAHARAJAH TAGORE

An injustice done to the landlords might well make them fear that their common interests were soon to be jeopardised. The landholders should have their special franchise restored to them.

DR. SUHRAWARDY

The Report will disillusion the minorities.

DR. SAPRU & SIR RAMASWAMY AIYAR

Those of us who refused to co-operate with the Simon Commission can now assert with confidence that our attitude was perfectly justified. Summaries that have been published of the second volume, especially with reference to the Army and the future of the Central Government are a negation of Dominion status or even an approach to responsible Government. We look neither surprised nor shocked because we expected nothing better from the Simon Commission. A detailed discussion of the report is needless, political India cannot look at it. The seal of silence having been now removed, Westminster and Simla must now come out with a generous declaration of their intentions and policy.

MR. H. P. MODY, M.L.A.

It is useless discussing a report which is affected by an altogether cramped outlook and which is so hopelessly lacking in any appreciation of the realities of the situation. India will simply refuse to look at it.

MR. LALJI NARANJJI

A cursory glance of the Commission's findings leads me to the belief that the Commissioners and Sir John Simon have been loyal to Great Britain which appointed the Commission. They have given no consideration whatsoever to the interests of India. India never expects anything from such Commissions.

MR. HUSSEINBOY A. LALJEE

The Simon Commission Report is very disappointing and is not likely to create the proper atmosphere needed at the present moment.

SANTOSH KUMAR BASU

The proposals are entirely retrograde.

MR. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

There has been no real attempt to meet the demands of the Muslims and other minority communities.

MR. J. MARLEY M.P.

If the Simon Report was the document we had been waiting for, its contents show that we had drifted into the present dangerous position for nothing. The hope of getting even the most reactionary Indians to come to the Round-Table Conference to discuss this report was gone. All that the report offered was a semblance of responsibility and that only in the Provinces, while leaving the actual control where it was.

Unless the Government rejected the Report as not binding on them, it would be hopeless to continue to offer a Conference. If we could do nothing better than this, it would be the end of amicable relations between Britain and India and all hope of co-operation must be abandoned.

MR. P. FREEMAN, M.P.

The recommendations are unacceptable to India. They are based on conditions of a year ago. They ignore India's claims and Britain's pledges to grant Dominion Status. The proposals are a bigger insult to India than the appointment of the all British Commission itself. Neither the Government nor the Labour Party are committed to accept the proposals.

COMMANDER WEDGWOOD

The report undoes all that Montagu achieved. The most serious set back is that the provincial ministers seem to be made responsible to the Governor instead of the elected councils. I still remain with Montagu and democracy.

HON. MR. A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

I must confess to a feeling of disappointment at the recommendations.

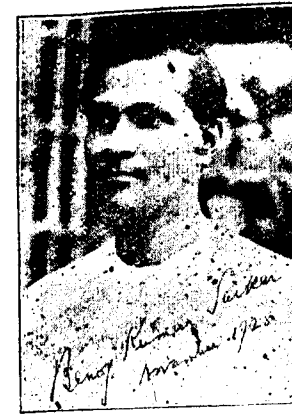
So far as provinces are concerned, the recommendations are below even those urged by the Madras Government. When it is stated that no change is advocated in the Central Government in the direction of making it responsible, it will be realised how much it is opposed to public opinion.

Equations in Civilisation

BY

PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

ON the eve of a new constitutional agitation, the political workers and economic statesmen of India are facing once more the commonplace philosophy which says that certain races are incapable of some of the desirable qualities of



PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

human beings. In one form or another, this platitude is the stock-in-trade not only of the thinkers in Europe and America but of a very large number of Indian intellectuals as well. While the foreigners claim that India is not capable of constitutional and economic advance along the standard lines as embodied in Western history, a section of our own thinkers is prepared to meet them half-way by admitting that it is not desirable for India to move along the same lines. The grounds advanced by both these groups of thinkers are identical, and may be taken to be fundamentally as follows: The spirit, tradition or culture of India is, we are assured on both sides, different from that of the West.

This attitude in regard to India *vis-a-vis* the West is not, however, an isolated phenomenon in modern thought. It is part of an all-embracing culture-philosophy which was born perhaps with

Hegel about a century ago and has never ceased to find expression throughout the last three generations.

Contemporary political and social thought is indeed sicklied o'er with the alleged distinctions between people and people on account of race, region and religion. But an objective approach to the realities of civilisation, epoch by epoch and people by people, would not fail to demolish the pseudo-scientific notions regarding the much-talked-of diversities in outlook, mentality, achievements, consummations and what not, that have been prevailing in the world of science for some long time. Notwithstanding the divergences of latitude and longitude, and notwithstanding the differences in the make-up of the blood among the different races, anthropology as well as modern and contemporary history furnish us with what may be described as equations or identities and at any rate similarities in the ideals as well as attainments of the historic nations of the world.

It is the purpose of this paper to invite the attention of scholars to some of these equations in the field of civilisation. In the place of the traditional ideas of racial and geographical differences in the types of civilisation in its fundamental features, we are presented with differences or distances in time only. The features of civilisation, pragmatically considered, are found to be the same. It is only proceeding step by step or rather stage by stage from epoch to epoch. The differences between the peoples are but differences in the stage or epoch. The equations that are being established here reveal but the distinctions between earlier and later, go-ahead and backward peoples. The same features are appearing to-day in one race or region, to-morrow in a second, and the day after to-morrow in a third.

The "curves" of life in political theory and practice as manifest in the modern East are more or less similar to those in the modern West. If one were to plot out these curves diagrammatically, one would notice that the Asian series ran most parallel to the Eur-American. The "trends" of evolution would appear to be nearly identical in the most significant particulars and incidents of thought and experience.

The "exactnesses" of the mathematical and "positive" sciences are, however, not to be expected in the human and moral disciplines. But certain socio-philosophical "equations" may still be discovered in a comparative estimate of the East and the West. By placing the Asian curves in the perspective of the Eur-American, one can establish a number of identities for the modern period, although, of course, not without "but's" and "if's".

But in any case, taking Asia as a whole one would come to the conclusion that the political philosophies in the different regions of the Orient are mainly but repetitions of Eur-American developments in their earlier stages. The following socio-philosophical equations may be established:

- (1) New Asia (c. 1880—1890) = Modern Eur-America (c. 1776—1832).
- (2) Young India (c. 1925—28) = Eur-America (c. 1848—1875).

In the first equation, Asia comprises Turkey and Egypt, indicating that the entire Orient from Tokyo to Cairo was witnessing a transformation roughly corresponding to the remaking of the West during the epoch of the "industrial revolution."

The second equation has special reference to India, indicating that Japan and Turkey as well as China, Persia and Egypt will have to be comprehended by separate, perhaps five different equations. There are, likewise, to be separate equations not only for Hejaz, Palestine, Syria and Iraq, but also for Afghanistan which has for some

time been enjoying limelight as a somewhat serious and sincere youngster attempting the alphabet of modernism in administration, culture, and economic life.

The modern East is about half a century behind the modern West. New Asia is born through (1) contact with and example of modern Western progress, (2) industrialisation, however slow and halting, and (3) hatred of foreign domination, intervention or concession.

The inspiration derived from the political and cultural achievements of ancient and medieval Asia is another formative force in the New Orient. This "romantic" appreciation of the past is, however, intimately associated with modern historical, archaeological and anthropological scholarship. Nationalism, in so far as it is an aspect of romanticism, is ultimately to be traced, therefore, in the main to Western education such as began to bear fruit among the pioneers of new life and thought in Asia between 1850 and 1886 and has been more or less democratised, filtering down to the masses since then.

The process of Asia's re-birth may be said to have begun c. 1850 and taken about one generation or so, thus:—

- (1) Western Asia (Turkey, Egypt and Persia): 1857 (Crimean War) to 1876, 1882, 1890.
- (2) Southern Asia (India): 1857 (Mutiny) to 1886.
- (3) Japan: 1853 (Commodore Perry) to 1867—1889.
- (4) China: 1842 (Nanking Treaty) to 1898.

Although modernization began to influence the Asian continent at different points more or less simultaneously during the decade from 1880 to 1890, the rate of growth for the different regions since then has been different.

For instance, the distance of some 50 years that existed between Japan and Eur-America, say about 1886, has been made up to a very considerable extent; so that for to-day the appropriate

sociological identity would perhaps be indicated by the following equation:

Japan (c. 1925-28) = Eur-America (c. 1905).

That is, while India continues still to be some 50 years or so behind the modern West in constitution, industrialism, etc., and the allied philosophies, —the distance that existed during the decade 1880-1890, Japan has succeeded in "catching up to" the go-aheads by about a whole generation. And to that extent, Japan to-day is ahead of contemporary India.

Within the limitations to which all sociological equations as attempts at measuring magnitude, bearing on "un-exact" sciences are bound to be subject, it should be equally possible to indicate, for the purposes of comparative social statistics, the rates of growth in the line of modernization for different regions of Eur-America as well. The entire West is not one in industrialism, democracy or the corresponding philosophies. To take one instance, that of Germany, we should find the following equations:—

- (1) Germany (c. 1848-75) = Great Britain (c. 1776-1832), but
- (2) Germany (c. 1905) = Great Britain (c. 1905).

The first equation says that about 1875, Germany was tremendously behind Great Britain, at least, by a whole generation. But by 1905 i. e., in 30 years, she first made up the distance and secondly caught up to the latter. She was indeed on the point of crossing the equation-limit. The War of 1914-18 should appear philosophically to be nothing more than the dramatic demonstration of this disturbance of the equation or societal equilibrium in the international field.

The societal equations discussed here involve two fundamental considerations in the problem of human progress. The first has reference to the fact that during historic periods, the evolution of mankind has been continuous, although not without ups and downs, cuts and breaks. And the second invites us to note that the societal

development has been in the main along uniform lines, although not without diversities in regional and racial context.

For earlier periods, the more or less approximate socio-philosophical identities or similarities may be roughly indicated as follows:—

- (1) East (down to c 1300 A.C.) = West (down to c 1300 A.C.) institutionally as well as ideologically.
- (2) Renaissance in the East (c 1400-1600) = Renaissance in the West (c 1400-1600).
- (3) 1600-1750. The new physical or positive sciences in the West constitute a special feature of the European Renaissance. Asian Renaissance produces fine arts, but no new positive sciences worth mentioning. All the same, no genuine societal differentiations are perceptible as yet. We may then institute the following two equations:
 - (a) Asia in positive science (c 1600-1750) = Europe in positive science (c 1400-1600).
 - (b) Asia in socio-economic life (c 1600-1750) = Europe in socio-economic life (c 1600-1750).

- (4) 1750-1850. Industrial revolution in the West creates a new civilization,—the "modern world". East and West differ substantially for the first time: Thus, Asia (c 1850) = Europe (c 1750).

About 1850 the "East" is behind the "West" by nearly a whole century.

The continuity and uniformity of societal evolution as well as the equations based on them can be illustrated further by reference to the phenomena of Bolshevism in theory and practice. The manufacturers of Bolshevism have claimed extraordinary things for their patent. And it is primarily because the face-value of these claims seems to be accepted by the "outsiders" that they have condemned it in no less extravagant

manner. The open repudiation of foreign debts (February, 1918) by the Bolshevik Government as well as the "reign of Red terror", temporary although it was, together with Bolshevik *camaraderie* with the colonies and dependencies including the concession-ridden regions like China, Persia, etc., have perhaps been the most potent sources of Eur-American antipathy to the Soviet regime in Russia.

But so far as theory or ideology is concerned, the fallacy on both sides arises from not recognising the fact that there are two Lenins, one, the commentator on and modernizer of Marxian metaphysics (*The State and the Revolution*, 1917), and the other, the statesman and patriot, the architect of the "new economic policy" (1922-23). Lenin, the statesman, is sharply to be distinguished from Lenin, the political philosopher.

In the first place, in the field of *Realpolitik*, practical politics, Bolshevism is essentially centralized nationalism and dictatorship or despotism of the few. There can not be anything new in this patent in the estimation of those who remember the achievements of the "nation-makers" of Europe in the nineteenth century. Bolshevism has accomplished for Russia in the second and third decades of the twentieth century what should have been done for her, as was done for Germany, about a generation or two ago. From this viewpoint, the following equation may sum up the developmental comparison:

Soviet Russia in politics (1918-28) = Bismarckian Germany (c. 1875-1890.)

In the second place, it should be observed, moreover, that Bolshevism in office, especially since the establishment of the N. E. P. (1923) is economically nothing but the latest form or phase of the "industrial revolution". As such, Bolshevism furnishes the characteristic features of the actual economic legislation and business organization in the advanced countries of the present-day world. The "state-capitalism" (cf. the na-

tionalized trusts and the Gosplan) organised under Bolshevism is to all intents and purposes recognisable in essential particulars as one or other type of contemporary "state-socialism" such as is prevalent in theory and practice, here and there and everywhere. One is easily reminded of Keynes's *End of Laissez-faire*, (1926). The two "categories" differ, but the "contents" of the two categories are virtually identical.

Bolshevism has to a considerable extent hastened the process of evolution, economic, legal and political, in Russia and indirectly also in other countries. But the consummation, associated with the so-called communistic-Sovietic complex in so far, at any rate, as the positive achievements are concerned, embody really the "next stages" of societal transformation such as might be naturally expected in Eur-America during 1905-1914, from the trend of developments in technology, pedagogics, public finance as well as constitutional and civil laws. Sovietization, no matter what be the theory underlying it, has but served to bring Russia in line with the progressive nations of Eur-America in economics, politics and culture. It is fundamentally a process in the modernizing of Russia.

The situation would yield the following equation:—Soviet Russia in economic statesmanship and social policy, especially the "N.E.P." and after (1923-1928) = Great Britain, France, Germany, etc., under post-War economic legislation (1919-1928).

In other words, in economic and social ideals and laws, Bolshevik Russia has succeeded in "catching up" to the vanguards of Western civilization. But in constitutional machinery, the forms of popular sovereignty have not as yet reached the Anglo-American standard. German paternalism of the last generation happens still to be the type suitable for the Russian demos. Altogether, however, it is impossible for Russia for quite a long time to attain to the German, British, American or French level of Civilization

and life's values, *per capita*. In Russia, as in India, the most serious drag upon progress is the vast number of population. The National wealth and income, the standard of living, the taxable capacity, the general education and technical efficacy of the millions of its inhabitants cannot be lifted within a small compass of time by any Herculean efforts up to the heights such as have been reached among those peoples through the cumulative efforts of generations.

In any case, communism of the Marxian theory, whether economic or political, should appear to be conspicuous by its absence in Soviet Russia, which to-day may best be described as but a constitutional-democratic (albeit dictatorial) state of the Western-European type. One may then ask: wherein lies the revolution? The answer will be as follows. The revolution is to be found chiefly in the attempts of the patriots, the lovers of their people, at "Whipping the country into shape" overnight. During the last ten years, the Russian statesmen have but sought to accomplish, in the course of days, weeks and months,—a great deal of all that the "Western world" has accomplished in a century or so in public and private law.

From Bolshevik Russia, we may turn to contemporary Italy and South-Eastern Europe. The equations of comparative industrialism would be no less valid for this region or regional complex. As a result of inductive study, one can come to the conclusion that Italy is a bridge between the mediæval and the modern. Italy continues to be an essentially agricultural country. So far as the industries are concerned, Italy has the same hard problem before her as any other semi-feudal semi-developed country, for instance, Japan... In the scale of social dynamics, Italy does not belong, therefore, strictly speaking, to the economic system prevailing in Trans-Alpine Europe (Teutonic States, France and Great Britain). Indeed, the Italian people is in terms of economic development but an elder brother, so to say, to the Balkan group. An analysis of the economic life in the Balkans would lead to the result that Yugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, etc., represent almost the same stages in economic evolution in which India finds herself at the present day.

Each one of the new States that lie between the German and Russian spheres and between the Baltic Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean is an India in miniature. Economically speaking, each of these States embodies the efforts of semi-developed and more or less chiefly agricultural peoples at imbibing the culture of more advanced Western Europe and America. They represent the processes by which Eastern Europe is tending to bid adieu finally to the lingering vestiges of the feudal-agrarian system, the mediæval economic organisation and technique which disappeared in England, the United States, France and Germany between 1780 and 1850.

Civilisation has been advancing from the West to the East. There is no other region to-day more significant for the development of India than the Balkans, Central-Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and Russia. The problems that are being fought over and settled in these territories are identical in every way with the problems that await solution and are challenging the patriots, industrial experts and social workers of India.

The conclusion from an examination of the earlier stages of "modern" banking in France and Germany from the stand-point of comparative bank statistics is equally significant with reference to the equations that are being discussed here. When one studies the European figures with special reference to Indian conditions, one should suspect that in banking, as in other aspects of economic and social (perhaps also cultural) development, India has yet to commence mastering the ideas of 1870 or thereabouts and traverse the ground covered by the moderns since then.

The cumulative effect of all these investigations may be embodied in the following futuristic equation:—"Whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the last half-century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia, and, of course, in India during the next generation or so."

The problem before applied sociology and economic statesmanship, so far as India is concerned, consists in envisaging and hastening the working-out of the "next stages" in socio-economic and socio-political life.

Chronological distance is the fundamental feature of the equations in comparative industrialism. The "scale" of economic evolution based on this equational chronology, so far as the great powers of to-day are concerned, should be as follows:

Germany and the United States are two rising cultural and economic factors in the world. But for all political purposes, these two countries, together with England, constitute a trio of the first class. To the same rank, but perhaps slightly lower in the scale, belongs France. It is these four nations that are creating the civilization of the contemporary world. The little states like Switzerland, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries are being excluded from this consideration as being small. But they are by no means of second grade.

The next class in the scale is constituted by three countries which, however, superficially, should be regarded as having hardly anything in common with one another. These are Italy, Japan, and Russia. The problem in each of these countries is to catch up to the industrialism of the first class and get emancipated from the survivals and relics of the mediaeval-feudal-agrarian conditions.

India comes just after these three countries, and were it not for the vastness of our population, we might almost have said that our developments, so far as they go, have already reached the stage attained by the second class of nations. For us, therefore, England, America, Germany and France are too high. It is Italy, Japan and Russia which, lying, as they do, just a step ahead of us, should be regarded as capable of furnishing practical object lessons in the working-out of one's way from mediaevalism to modernism.

The main currents of social philosophy as manifest in the Bengali, Hindi and other literature of Young India or in the body of its speculation through the medium of the English language are, generally speaking, representatives of the thought that prevailed in Eur-America previous to 1870-1886, say, somewhere between 1832 and 1870.

The constitutional, legal, economic and international experiences of the Western world since 1870 have hardly touched to any considerable extent the fringe of higher intellectuals in India.

The nationalistic philosophy of politics from the American Revolution (1776) to Joseph Mazzini (c. 1870) continues to furnish the chief spiritual urges in Indian public life and speculative idealism, confined as they happen to be within the circle of the "educated middle class". Even in 1928, elementary education is neither universal nor compulsory nor free. (cf. the Education Acts of 1870, 1878, 1891 in England).

The deepening and expansion of democracy such as have been achieved in the advanced countries of Eur-America under the influence of constructive socialism during the last fifty years or so, have succeeded in influencing the thoughts and activities of India to a very small extent. Educated India can indeed cultivate the acquaintance of modern and recent Eur-American ideals and attainments through schools, journals, travels and social intercourse. But Indian labour power is as yet as weak as capitalistic industrialism. Hence the fundamental limitations in the social and political thought and achievement of Young India.

The strands of Western thought such as are represented by the radical labour tradition from the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 down to the Bolshevik theories of to-day have but commenced in India to excite the interest of a few intellectuals and certain sections of the agricultural and working-men classes probably more as novelties, however, than as vital forces in social reconstruction.

If these identities and similarities in societal evolution have been ignored by scholars, whether antiquarians or modernists, the causes are to be sought fundamentally in the wrong logic that has been adopted in the study of cultural data from the different parts of the world. The correct logic would expose the fallacies of the comparative method as generally used by anthropologists, culture-historians, criminologists, as well as moral and political philosophers.

Their fallacies fall within three classes. First, for the purposes of comparative analysis, they do not take the same class of facts from the East and the West. Secondly, they do not apply the same method of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident. And last but not least, they compare the old conditions of the Orient with the latest achievements of the Occident, and manage to forget that it is only in very recent times that the same old conditions have disappeared from the Occident.

A reform of comparative sociology on the lines indicated would lead to a revolution in our ideas about the relations between Asia and Eur-America and serve to establish the race-questions and the theory of world-progress on the proper, objective and scientific foundations. On the strength of positive achievements in ideology and in institutions (item by item) the leading historical forces, processes and stages are found to have been, in the main, more or less uniform (no matter whether uni-linear, or multi-linear, divergent or convergent) in the East and the West.

Rationalization in Industry

BY MR. HECTOR SIMOES.

WHAT IS "RATIONALIZATION"?

RATIONALIZATION is a new word. It is a new science. It is the new form of industrial Government that is revolutionizing the industrial world, and sweeping before it the old order of things with its selfish outlook and its narrow spirit of fostering hatred between the Capitalist and Labouring classes. It is an honest effort towards providing us with the panacea for our economic ills.

From its embryonic stage, the structure of Society has been erected on the shifting sands of class struggle, which was brought about by the conflict of interests between master and slave, was continued between feudal lord and serf, sustained between landlord and tenant, and now exists between Capital and Labour, and will be prolonged until the interests which regulate society are not too exclusively under the control of a class or section.

Rationalization—the management of industry on common-sense principles—is the most modern attempt at the elimination of all cause and motives for class antagonism or class warfare as between employers and workers. Through the formation of industrial mergers, which is the principal feature in the process of rationalizing an industry, nation-wide ownership of important industries has been encouraged, and the participation of workers in the control and management of industries has been stimulated. With the spread of the spirit of democracy in industry, the barriers between the so-called classes of Capital and Labour are, consequently, being lifted. In some of the more advanced and progressive institutions, a very large percentage of the stock is owned by the workers themselves, and the very highest men are recruited from the rank and file. This is especially true

in America, the birth-place of rationalization, and the home of combines and super-combines.

EFFECT ON TRADE

In an effort to stabilise trade, the numerous small units representing a particular industry have merged themselves into a single large unit which, in virtue of its size and importance, is better able to control or combat the economic causes that lead to what were hitherto considered inevitable upheavals and subsidences in trade.

The results of extensive combinations and amalgamations have been felt, invariably, in reduced costs of common management, more systematic division of labour, standardization of processes and products, better and wider research, and more effective co-ordination of the services of transport and distribution with the needs of production and consumption.

The advantages of large combinations are theoretically very great. Capital can be employed more economically, and new capital more easily attracted; waste can be reduced to a minimum; unprofitable units can be closed down and work allocated to the most suitable plant; and economies can be effected in the advertising and marketing of a product.

With an improved outlook on the relationship between industry and those it serves, rationalization aims, in short, at the elimination of wasteful competition and unnecessary duplicating and overlapping of effort, the adjustment of production to the needs of consumption, and the eradication of those causes of alternate slump and boom which have been so detrimental to the stability of trade. Industry is now looked upon rather as a medium for rendering service to the community than as a channel for the exploitation of those dependent on it for their livelihood. Workers are being more and more looked to for co-operation as equal partners in an enterprise, and are provid-

ing an ever-increasing amount of the necessary capital. Wealth is consequently more widely spread in a multiplicity of shareholders in the modern combine than ever it was in the smaller units which preceded it, the benefits accruing to just those who directly contribute by their efforts.

Combinations may be of two kinds: vertical, which establishes the unified control of production hitherto separated and specialized, and of the successive stages of manufacture of a single product; and horizontal or lateral, whether the control of the production of a vast variety of apparently dissimilar products is centralized. In either case, the advantage of reduced overhead costs are felt in lower prices and increased trade.

It cannot be denied that large combines can be a source of evils in their ability to raise the prices of commodities. It is being realised, however, that unnatural inflation of prices, by restricting the market to be served, automatically destroys trade and renders man and machine idle; consequently, industrialists have been concentrating their efforts at progressively lowering costs to the consumer, thus serving an ever-widening market. Herein lies a solution to the problem of unemployment. Greater efficiency leads to lower costs, which are reflected in increased sales and output and the absorption of more and more workers; but the greatest efficiency can only be secured by widespread combination and the pruning of industry as a whole.

ADVANTAGES TO WORKERS

The existence of specialised callings, which a vast organisation with its elaborate sub-division of processes provides, is a necessary condition for making the best use of human power and for the most profitable utilization of particular natural talents; it promotes the development of natural aptitude by those who possess it and the acquisition of special skill by those who do not. The repetitive work entailed in specialization, far from

tending to debase and dehumanise the working man, as is sometimes suggested, increases his output and efficiency, which reflect themselves in higher wages and greater prosperity all around.

The saving of time effected in specialization and concentration on a single task is, itself, a powerful factor in lowering costs of production. A man continually employed on one job has not to get accustomed to another, and work has been so systematically planned that the necessity for instruction and guidance has been limited to the really difficult tasks which call for great skill and judgment. The time which would otherwise be devoted to learning a complicated process is spent in production.

The most efficient man is not the man who thinks most but the man who performs most with the least expenditure of thought; and it is the aim of a rationalized industry to make conscious effort and brain-work as nearly unconscious and instinctive as possible, leaving the higher energies for creative thought and work.

Industrial mergers, however, do not emancipate business executives from the necessity of cultivating those traditional requisites of success in industry—prudent investment, energetic management and technical ingenuity. The mere factor of size in industrial consolidations does not contribute to success; on the other hand, the necessity for competent management becomes evident.

International competition and rivalry is becoming so intense that the more advanced countries are mobilising the key industries, such as those of iron and steel, coal, ship-building, textiles, motor cars, etc., into single units capable of withstanding the strain of severe competition. Terrific efficiency campaigns are being launched to minimise waste, effect economies where possible, and tune up production to the point of maximum output consistent with demand. Not the least noticeable feature of this development is the growth of an *esprit de corps* between employers and employees, which augurs well for the future of industry.

The Salt-Tax Under British Rule

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

NEARLY one crore of rupees is drained annually out of the country on account of the importation of foreign salt. The policy of salt taxation is a heritage from the days of Muhammadan rule when salt duty was part of a general system of transit dues. Akbar is said to have abolished the salt tax along with other transit duties; but whether the abolition was carried into effect in the provinces is doubtful. On the eve of the establishment of British administration in Bengal, an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. was levied on Hindus and 2½ per cent. on Muhammadans upon all salt passing the town of Hughli on its way into the interior of the country. In 1760, the East India Company's servants first openly claimed to trade in salt, duty free; and this claim, when abused, led to the abolition of all duties by Nawab Mir Kasim. The Company, however, demanded that the Nawab should collect duties as before from the country merchants and from all others who had not the protection of the Company's *dastak*. The Court of Directors disapproved of these transactions and ordered that a new arrangement should be planned for regulating the trade in salt.

Even before the Company acquired the *Diwani* of Bengal and Bihar, they had imposed a salt-tax in their *jaghir* district in the double form of a ground-rent for the salt-works (*khalaris*) and a transit duty on the produce, both of which were later compounded into a single tax. Clive, during his second Governorship, formed a Society of Trade, for carrying on inland trade in tobacco, betel-nut and salt, for the benefit of the senior European Servants of the Company who monopolised its profits as an addition to their income. To mitigate the hardships of this rigorous monopoly, the prices of the commodities were fixed at Calcutta, while transit and town duties were abolished in order to ensure supply at a definite

price in each market. The Society was not approved of by the Directors who condemned it as being "too disgraceful and below the dignity of our present situation."

In 1768, an excise based on free manufacture and trade was substituted for the monopoly, subject to certain conditions. The system was vitiated by corruption and proved unfavourable to revenue. Warren Hastings resolved to assume the management of the production of salt which should be made for the Company in salt works in each district which were to be let in farm for five years. This was subsequently changed for the assumption of monopoly in a drastic form. According to the new plan, salt officials gave advances to the manufacturers who were to deliver their salt at an agreed price to Government. The difference between this contract price at which Government bought salt and that at which it was sold to the merchants was, in effect, the duty levied upon salt. This system was justified by its prolific revenue-yielding qualities, and the salt revenue quickly became the second most important item of the Company's receipts. Under this system, sub-monopolies of Indian merchants were created, as salt was auctioned by Government in huge lots; import of salt from Madras and Ceylon was carefully excluded; and till 1817 English salt was totally prohibited; while smuggling and illicit manufacture were developed into a fine art. Debendranath Tagore, Secretary, British Indian Association, sent up a petition to Government in 1838, in which he declared it was the poor ryots who, "owing" to their inability to pay the high price of so necessary a condiment, have brought themselves under the operation of this rule (Regulation XXIX of 1838) by preparing solely for domestic consumption a little salt upon their daily fires, in one of their ordinary cooking utensils, or by burning

little straw steeped in salt water." Henry St. George Tucker examined in 1827 the incidence of the salt duty particularly in its effect on its consumption by the poorer classes: and the Parliamentary Select Committee on Salt fully investigated the subject and submitted their report in 1836, in which they would prefer a combined system of customs and excise in the place of the existing monopoly. The Select Committee was naturally solicitous for a competitive trade between native and imported salt and was influenced by the English ship-owner as much as by the English manufacturer. The duty fixed on salt was diminished to some extent; and excise came to replace monopoly of manufacture to a large extent. The Charter Act of 1853 was marked by unsuccessful attempt of the Commons to insert a clause that the Company had no right to engage in any commercial undertaking, and therefore the continuance of the salt monopoly was unlawful. The Directors, apprehending the agitation of the question in Parliament, desired the Government of India to institute an inquiry as to the practicability of throwing open the manufacture and sale of salt, subject only to an excise duty. Mr. Plowden, commissioned by Government to investigate into the alternative possibilities, made a strong advocacy of the excise scheme, but could not effectively hasten the abolition of monopoly manufacture. The excise scheme could not develop in the face of the rising tide of foreign imports. Liverpool salt displaced to a great extent salt produced in the country under the system of Government manufacture which was formally abolished in 1863. Government manufacture did little good to the country. "It subjected its workers to inhuman servitude, and it fed or rather starved the consumer upon qualitatively the most questionable commodity at prohibitive prices, when, in the throes of competition, its expensive and uneconomic operation rendered it incapable of withstanding

the foreign onslaught." Above all, it spoiled the prospects of an indigenous industry's growth. In Madras, a monopoly was first mooted and advocated by the Board of Revenue in 1799; when some parts of the Presidency were permanently assessed in 1802, the exclusive right of manufacturing salt was reserved to Government. A monopoly was established in 1805 in order to meet the expenses of the new judicial establishment; and Government controlled the quantity of production which was sold to it at fixed prices and again resold to dealers also at fixed prices, the difference constituting the monopoly profits. In Malabar and Kanara, there was no restriction on the quantity of salt manufactured, but Government alone had a monopoly of purchase. The administration of the salt monopoly was under the control of a General Agent acting under the Board of Revenue and subsequently transferred to the Collectors of the Districts. On more than one occasion was a proposal made to diminish the monopoly sale price of Government in the interests of the consumer, but there was no success; and in 1844 when transit duties were abolished throughout the Presidency, the price of salt was raised to Re. 1-3 per maund, in order to compensate for the loss. Subsequently, it was reduced by the Directors to Re. 1 a maund. Importation had been prohibited in 1805 and later regulated under a heavy duty. In 1854, foreign salt was admitted to an equal competition with indigenous produce at certain specified ports; and the import duty was fixed at 12 annas per maund, this rate being deemed to be the average net profit accruing to Government from the monopoly sales.

The Salt Commissioner recommended in 1856 the substitution of an excise for the monopoly, similar to the scheme that was in operation in Bombay where a uniform customs and excise duty of 8 annas a maund was being imposed from 1837-38. He also pleaded that the export of salt by sea from the Presidency should be entirely

free. Elsewhere as in the Punjab and the United Provinces, salt paid duty on passing the inland customs line which was started in 1843 and developed into a huge barrier of impenetrable hedge stretching from the Indus to the Mahanadi, in order to bring under taxation the salt imported from Rajputana into Northern India. The customs line, which had grown, in the words of Lord Lytton, into a grave political and economic scandal, was abolished completely in 1879, and the salt rates were equalised throughout the country, the result being that the duty on salt in Madras and Bombay was raised to Rs. 2-8-0 per maund. Elsewhere, the salt tax was reduced to a substantial degree; and the reduction of rates produced very gratifying results. The Brothers Strachey declared in 1881 that a decrease in the rate of duty might be recommended in the immediate future, the Government having large surpluses on hand. Lord Ripon reduced the duty down to a uniform level of Rs. 2, thus diminishing the burden by 20% in the case of Madras and Bombay and by about 30% in the case of Bengal and Northern India. From the time of Sir Charles Trevelyan (1865), the opinion came to be held by Government, that if additional revenue was required, "a pure and perfectly unobjectionable resource would be found in a moderate increase of the salt tax." Sir Evelyn Baring, Finance Member in the Government of Lord Ripon, clearly indicated the intention of using the salt duty as a fiscal reserve. Early in 1888, when Government's financial position became bad, there was an increase of the salt duty. In 1903, when the finances were in a prosperous condition, the duty was again reduced to Rs. 2, and the act was followed by an increase in consumption. In 1905, and again in 1907, there were a reduction of 8 annas, and the salt tax was reduced to Re. 1 a maund throughout the whole of India. Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose looked forward to the total repeal of the salt tax which "is such a

heavy burden on those who are least able to bear it." The German War re-opened a chapter of increases in the tax. In 1916, Government raised it by four annas, and, in 1922-23, proposed the raising of the duty to Rs. 2-8 a maund; but the proposal was negated by an amendment to fix the duty at Re. 1-4; and Government accepted the decision of the Legislature. In the next year's budget, Government renewed its proposal which was defeated in the Assembly, though passed by the Council of State. It had to be certified by the Governor-General as necessary for securing financial equilibrium. In a debate raised in the House of Commons on this question, the Liberals condemned the certification in mild, but unmistakable, terms while several members of the Labour Party, including Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, condemned it in vigorous terms. In 1924-25, Government proposed to reduce the tax to Rs. 2; but the Assembly passed a resolution reducing it to Re. 1-4; and Government accepted the decision of the Chamber.

The Taxation Inquiry Committee investigated the subject of salt; it came to the conclusion that there was no reliable evidence that the quantity of salt used in the country was inadequate to the requirements of health, the consumption of each individual annually varying from about 10 lbs. in the Punjab to nearly 19 lbs. in Madras. The Committee also declared that the effect of the salt duty had not been such as to unduly restrict consumption, and there was much to be said for the continuance of the salt tax. They also suggested that the Tariff Board should inquire into the question whether India could be made self-supporting in the matter of salt supply, while Dr. Paranjpye wished that salt manufacture should be a rigorous monopoly in the hands of the State.

MONOGRAPH ON COMMON SALT—Containing the history of salt industry in India and the effect of the duty on salt, etc. Rs. 2. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

TOWN-PLANNING

BY

PROF. PRITAM SINGH, M. A.

"The great purpose of life in towns is to produce a finer and finer type of civilisation and civility. The very objective of civilisation is to build beautiful cities and to live in them beautifully."—Prof. Lethaby.

TOWN planning is the art of so planning the land upon which towns are built as to meet in the best possible manner the needs of the community. The scope of our subject is wider than the mere housing schemes which have to be co-ordinated with town-planning.

Earlier Greek and Roman towns were small in dimensions, and their plans aimed at symmetry as well as beauty. There used to be a public market place and a few civic centres in those towns. The classical and medieval towns were chiefly defence towns. In India, the walled towns of the Mogul times are an instance in point—Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi being very good examples.

With the commencement of the Industrial Era, towns began to expand. The introduction of machinery, the development of the railways, the extension of large-scale industry and rapidly increasing population are some of the causes of the expansion of modern towns. New towns have sprung up during the nineteenth century. Factories and houses 100 years ago were built without any definite plan, and speculators built residential quarters without any special designs. During the whole of this period, private profit was the chief consideration and every one was anxious to enjoy the increase in the value of one's estate. Even in Great Britain, Public Health Act was passed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The genuine town-planning schemes began in the beginning of this century, when Cadbury developed a well-planned residential area outside the town of Birmingham. The movement towards garden suburbs, such as we have in the Model Town of Lahore, is of much later growth. The

first Housing and Town Planning Act of Great Britain was passed in the year 1909, and it was amended only very lately in 1925. Local Authorities in England have the power to control the future development of a town, but they cannot re-plan the existing towns partly because of the cost involved, which is rather prohibitive.

In Europe, Sweden was the first to set an example in town-planning to the civilised nations of the world. A Building Law for towns was passed as early as 1874, which regulated the building of houses, streets, markets and other public places. This Act provided that a town plan must ensure as far as possible ample space and convenience for traffic, and for light and air needed for health. There were to be open spaces in the towns and a variety of construction and beauty was regarded as essential for æsthetic reasons. Every town above the population of 20,000 is subject to the action of this Law.

France has also contributed to the art of town-planning in the way of spaciousness and dignity in the laying out of streets. Paris, for example, was remodelled in 1853 under Napoleon III, and it is now one of the most beautiful of the great cities of the world. There is at present a Law in France which regulates the plans of every town exceeding 10,000 in population.

To Germany must be given the credit of having founded the Industrial Garden Suburbs which are now becoming so common in Europe as well as in America. The Germans, however, made the mistake of making the streets too wide, leading to a great increase in the height of buildings and to the construction of tenement houses in the industrial quarters.

Most of the German cities, however, own their own lands,—a plan which tends to keep the price of land within proper limits whereby the evil of

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overcrowding is avoided. Another interesting and important regulation in German town-planning was that of zones or belts or areas in each of which the type and arrangement of the buildings varied, thus making the towns very picturesque.

Town-planning in America or the New World began with the foundation of Philadelphia at the end of the 17th century. The early American towns were of the chess-board type, streets crossing one another at right angles. The plan was modified in 1792 when the city of Washington was built on the gridiron plan with diagonal streets.

The garden city movement began in America in 1869. The chief contribution of America, however, to modern town-planning is the creating of "Civic Centres". The most notable of these reforms (now known as Chicago Scheme) is the introduction of diagonal streets, parks and civic centres, special feature being the connection of the latter with the recreation centres. New cities have been planned in America but the largest town-planning scheme of modern times is the planning of the capital of Australia (Yass Canberra). "Here a city is being created on virgin soil with a proper grouping of its various parts, with a government centre, municipal centre, market centre, manufacturing area and residential area, each centre finely designed and yet providing for future expansion and the whole planned as one complete unit and taking full advantage of the configuration of a very fine city". This will be the first city to show, on a large scale, the embodiment of the principles and ideals both practical and æsthetic which the experiences of the past 100 years have proved to be essential to the realisation of an adequate town-plan.

The aims of a town-planning scheme must be to provide now and in the future:—(a) free circulation of traffic (b) the proper allocation of sites for public buildings (c) securing of hygienic conditions such as plenty of fresh air and light, parks, open spaces and recreation grounds (d) and

lastly, the provision of decent homes. The complete success of a town-plan cannot, however, be achieved simply by the erection of beautiful buildings; we need a broader conception of civic life or the creation of a cultural environment. Modern city should be a city of health and beauty and it must have a civic unity.

We may, for the sake of convenience, classify the determining factors in a town-plan as follows:—

(a) *The Site*:—The character of the place should be the first consideration in planning a town. The mountain, the valley, plain, river or lake will all determine, for example, the form of plan, and minor features such as a wood, a ridge or even a clump of trees should be taken into account and turned to good effect. Factories, for example, will be located near a river and near to the railway sidings. When re-planning an old town, its important features will have to be preserved to a great degree. Local patriotism, for instance, must be preserved. Earlier walls and fortifications, monuments and mausoleums must be preserved at all costs.

(b) *The Distribution of Centres*:—When we design a house, we have always a plan in view (not so of course in India). Precisely the same is required of a town. There must be a proper grouping of the various parts of a town according to their functions. We must have the administrative centre, such as Government Offices and public buildings, the business quarters, shops running along the main lines of traffic, the residential quarters and the industrial centre. The business and administrative quarters require a central position, the industrial centre must be near the waterways and the railways, the residential areas should be located on a healthy site away from the smoke and dust of the factories. An educational centre would be formed by grouping together art galleries, museums, libraries, colleges and the university. Theatres, cinemas etc., could form

another centre. It is interesting to note that in New Delhi a religious centre is being created by allotting lands for a Church, a temple, a mosque and a gurdwara in one place.

(c) *The Streets*:—The road system must be so planned as to serve effectively all the different quarters and centres of the city. The main traffic lines should run from the heart of the city to the outskirts. This can be done by a system of "ring roads" which link up one main line with another. Most of the important thoroughfares should diverge from the railway stations, which should be built at convenient places. Streets should be broad, slightly curved and should have open points of intersection. The roads should be divided into sections for pedestrians, tram cars, horse or motor traffic; the fast traffic being in the middle, and slower at the sides.

The main roads should be so designed that there may be a scope for future expansion, and they should be linked up with the outlying districts of the town.

(d) *Health*:—Residential areas must be on a relatively high and well-drained ground, and the quarter must be sunny and airy. Portions of the city should be devoted to parks and open spaces, and there should be avenues of trees on the roads. Playgrounds and recreation areas should be provided within easy reach of schools and homes. Open-air schools should be established in different parts of the city.

(e) *Houses*:—Houses should be sanitary and beautiful. The highest function of a town-planner is to satisfy the craving for beauty while providing for material needs.

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever. Its loveliness increases. It will never pass into nothingness." (Keats).

We may now apply these aims to our cities in India. The first step must be the careful study of the town which we want to plan. We must start with civic survey, which comprises detailed information with regard to density and distribution of population, public health, housing conditions,

traffic and industries. We should next frame a programme of orderly development which may be spread over many years and may provide for future needs. Arrangements should also be made for financing the various schemes. Town-planning acts should be passed in each province on the model of the Bombay Act of 1915. The provisions of this Act may be briefly described as below:—

- (a) The construction, diversion, alteration and stopping up of streets, roads and communications.
- (b) The construction, alteration and removal of buildings, bridges and other structures.
- (c) The plotting out of land as building sites whether such land is intended to be used for building purposes in the immediate future or not.
- (d) The allotment or reservation of land for roads, open spaces, gardens, recreation grounds, schools, markets and public purposes of all kinds.
- (e) Drainage, inclusive of sewerage, and of surface drainage and sewage disposal.
- (f) Lighting.
- (g) Water-supply.
- (h) The preservation of objects of historical interest or natural beauty and of buildings actually used for religious purposes or regarded by the public with special religious veneration.
- (i) The imposition of conditions and restrictions in regard to the open space to be maintained about buildings, the number, height and character of buildings allowed in specified areas and the purposes to which buildings or specified areas may or may not be appropriated.

The general education of the public as regards better housing and garden suburbs is necessary in a country like ours where cities have grown somehow. Our first need is an education in the art of living before we can appreciate the living in a good city and enjoying its amenities. We should introduce into our schools small well-written and illustrated books on civics, and before long, a School of Civics with its observatory and its museum should become a familiar institution in every city.

Business, politics and War have hitherto been the absorbing interests of the educated among the Indians, but now through rural development, town-planning and city design through constructive activities, all the legitimate and effective elements that underlie business, politics and even war can be realised and even increasingly. Such regeneration is not merely geographic, it is human and social also.

Cheaper Transportation—India's Urgent Necessity

BY MR. A. N. DIXIT, B.A. B. SC. (LOND).

A distinguished writer has very tersely expressed, "Look at a country's roads, and you will find the measure of its civilization."

If we substitute *systems of Transportation* for *roads* in the above sentence, no saying of its size contained a greater truth. The march of civilization essentially depends on a national system of transportation, supplying as it does facilities of Industrial and Commercial developments and cultural and scientific unity.

In primitive society, it may safely be asserted that means of communication are seldom developed. One always describes deep jungles and sandy deserts as trackless.

With the beginning of ordered society and stable government, we have the first mention of roads. Both in ancient and medieval India, the Rajas and Emperors held it to be their sacred duty to build and maintain roads, traversing the length and breadth of the country. We also find that the mention of transit by water (inland rivers and seas) becomes more frequent.

Transportation by water is by far the most ancient and cheapest form of transit. Canoe-building certainly preceded road-making and rightly so, because of all systems of transportation, carriage by water is the easiest and cheapest. Records of early travellers both in Africa and America prove that though the Natives were expert Canoe-builders, roads were unknown.

Indian shipping, both inland and ocean-going, has a long and fascinating history. Radhakamal Mukerjee, in his excellent book on Indian shipping has shown that from the earliest times, India possessed not only a fleet of trading vessels and fighting ships but also a skill in the manufacture of boats and ships. This craft through centuries refused to be wiped out in spite of most unfair competition. We find that even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Heber and Rickard testified to the quality of the work turned out of

Indian Dock-yards (Heber's *Journal*, Vol II, Page 382 & Rickard's *India* Vol: I). It was second to none of the products of any other Ship-yards. Shivaji the Great is reputed to have laid the foundations of a Navy strong enough to protect the long sea-coast of his newly-founded Kingdoms. Even in the middle of the eighteenth century, Angre and his fleet proved a match for the East India Company's Warships.

It is very curious to note that while the controversy regarding Mr. Haji's Bill for Reservation of coastal traffic is at its highest, there is very little effort to organize and press for a national demand for maintenance and extension of existing inland waterways.

India is a land of long and broad rivers, and with comparative small cost, the existing waterways can be developed and maintained as a useful service. This very important subject in the economical life and industrial development of our country is being totally neglected.

India has already entered the phase of rapid industrial development, and the time has come to economise all national resources and face the changed conditions of world trade and world competition. Transport plays a very important part in modern industrial development and the supply of raw materials and the disposal of finished products in suitable markets are matters of utmost importance.

This is a question of national importance and not merely provincial feeling. It is very sad to reflect that, in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Burma, where inland waterways constitute an important problem, the National Press is almost silent over it. The question has been curiously raised not by the Indian Press but by the Non-Indian Navigational Interests. The urge for enquiry into the question of conservation and Development of Inland Waterways has naturally enough come

from the Associated Chambers of Commerce by addressing a Communication to the Government.

It is a historical fact that our connection with Great Britain is mainly responsible for this utter neglect of the development of internal waterways. England is the home of the Railways, and the English Railways were the pioneers in the world during the last century. Naturally, the English being in dominant political position here, their attention was first drawn towards Railway Extensions in this country. The Government of India has been steadily following a vigorous Railway policy, and to-day we stand third in the whole world in respect of Railway mileage. Our Rulers did not pay any attention to the alternative system of transport by water in this country. Yet to one, who had the privilege of watching hundreds of tugs, sailing down the Thames to the sea, it could not fail to clearly impress that the question had not been entirely neglected in England. Incidentally, Railway Extensions also do a lot of good to the British Heavy Industries.

These facts are responsible for the comparative neglect of other forms of transportation by the existing Indian Government. We are very near the bottom in the list of countries, possessing good roads capable of standing up to requirements of modern heavy Motor traffic, and it is only very recently that the public are becoming alive to the necessity of a National system of Road Transport.

Carriage by road and water compare favourably with transport by the Railway. Road construction and maintenance has always been costly in this country because, it is not possible to obtain road materials cheaply near at hand. It is very difficult to procure suitable materials for road construction in the fertile valleys of the Ganges and the Indus and the plains of Gujarat. Besides in the case of roads and railways, there is a heavy annual recurring expenditure for proper maintenance of the carriage way, permanent way, sleepers, bridges and buildings. In case of transit

by water, many of these heads of expenditure are eliminated. There is very little recurring expenditure on maintenance. Carriage by road is more suitable for light and perishable articles over short distances than carriage by water or Railway, but in the case of heavy, bulky and cheap goods like mineral and agricultural products, the water-ways provide a decidedly cheaper form of transportation.

The chief Western countries, who have developed their waterways to the fullest extent for commercial exploitation are Holland and France. Hundreds of barges and tugs carrying coal and iron utilise the rivers and canals. Their national system of canals should rouse in the mind of any Indian loving his country a keen desire for this form of transport. India is a country intersected by many navigable rivers and there is ample scope for developing this cheap means of transport of agricultural and mineral products.

All transport needs to be centralised and managed with an eye to the welfare of the country as a whole. The Government is spending millions of rupees for the development of Railway transport. If we are to survive the fight for markets, a cheap method of transport is essential.

It is an excuse trotted out by the Government of India often enough when they want to evade solution that they do not desire to interfere in provincial affairs.

Whenever it suits them, the Government resorts to centralisation in the case of railway transport, Military Department and lastly, port administration. Yet in the case of water-transport and development of water-ways, the Central Government is doing nothing, though the Federation has shown conclusively that this subject is incapable of solution except on an All-India basis.

The Government has centralised the railways and administration of ports. Is it not its early duty to co-ordinate and develop cheaper systems of transport? Is it too much to expect that the Central Government should utilise and develop

all systems of transport either by Air, Land or Water to the best advantage of the country. Healthy competition will surely rouse the best brains in the railway to feverish activity.

Why should cotton from the banks of the Nurbada and the Tapti not reach Bombay in small ocean and river-going steamers? The maximum amount of benefit will occur to Bengal, U. P. and Burma. The development of Inland Traffic is as useful to our Industry as Reservation of Coastal Trade.

It is not the object of this article to cry down the system of carriage by the Railways; nor should a halt be called to the extension of Railway lines really required for the development of trade and industry. Systems of transport traverse countries and continents, and their business is to convey products of one part of the country to other parts or foreign countries for consumption. A vigilant Central Government should ever be on the look-out for development of promising systems of transport.

Bombay has everything to gain by a comprehensive survey and enquiry into measures immediately required to conserve, improve and reconstruct the existing water-ways. The question of administration is also very important and should be thoroughly discussed.

The study of existing water-ways in India should be scientifically carried out, with the co-operation of the Scientific and Engineering Societies, the University, Government Departments and Commercial Interests. The general interest of the public in the matter should be roused. Demands should be made on the Central Government and it should be roused from its stupor.

As in France and Holland, regular classification of all navigable rivers and canals should be made so as to facilitate the use of particular canals by ships of different draught. A regular department of the State similar in organization to the

Public Works Department at present existing in all the Provinces but on an All-India basis should be organised. It should be entrusted with powers and fund enough to carry out the improvements and maintenance of existing water channels and formulate proposals for making new canals. Funds might be created by levying a license fee on boats and ships and contributions from the Local and Central Governments. It is not possible to include in an article of this size the various detailed arrangements necessary.

There are various other aspects of the development of inland water-ways, which are of peculiar interest at the present moment in our country. Employers of labour are well aware that unemployment India is very rife, and as our industries are not flourishing, the matter might take a very serious and sinister turn at any moment. One of the chief reasons for enforcing a rapid railway development in this country was the indirect help given to British heavy industries by providing fresh overseas markets for their products. Railways annually require a large quantity of steel and iron materials both for construction and maintenance. The latest phase of this development is the replacing of wooden sleepers, though India is a country capable of supplying the best timber in the world, the Controlling Authorities of many of our Railways—be it remembered mostly non-Indian—are forcing this uneconomic change in the interest of foreign Manufactures.

With the case of inland water-ways, the materials mostly required are sand, stone, earth, timber, cement and cheap labour. Our country can supply all these almost in all the different parts, and there is a chance of unemployment being reduced, and cottage and home industries helped by the creation of new suitable markets for the disposal of materials.

Also by supplying cheaper transport, other industries will be helped. It is a notorious fact

that the Bengal Coal Industry suffers from the handicap of expensive transport. It may come as a surprise to many, but is nevertheless a fact, that it costs less to bring one ton of coal from Cardiff, Hamburg or Natal to Bombay than to bring the same quantity from the Bengal Coal fields.

The duty of all educated Indian citizens is plain. A wide-spread and all-India demand of all

public bodies, taking an interest in the welfare of this country, irrespective of racial or communal differences should be put before the Central Government, and the Government roused from its stupor and moved to consider this national subject from an All-India point of view. A vigorous campaign should be carried out from the Press and the Platform and the public opinion educated on the urgency of the case.

OUR NEW LAUREATE

BY PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI, M.A.

THE nomination of Mr. John Masefield to succeed the late Mr. Robert Bridges as Poet-Laureate will meet with general welcome throughout the English-speaking world, though readers of poetry must have favourites of their own and no choice to an office of this kind can meet with universal approval. Mr. John Masefield is easily the most popular English poet of to-day, next to Mr. Rudyard Kipling. The latter's name could not of course be thought of by the Ministry of Labour seeing that he is such a confirmed Imperialist and it is not surprising that the mantle should have fallen on the shoulders of Mr. Masefield. Since the time about twenty years ago when Mr. Masefield startled the English world by his *Everlasting Mercy* and *Widow of the Bye Street* so full of vigour and pathos, he has held his position as a poet eminently capable of rendering the beauty and tragedy of every-day life into song of great moving power. In the popularity of his poems, at least in the first outburst, he has recalled the hey-day of Byron's glory. In narrative verse, he has had few equals in English poetry, unless we go back several centuries to his own spiritual master, the immortal author of the *Canterbury Tales* or think of the more recent creator of the *Earthly Paradise*. He has also distinguished

himself as a prose-writer, novelist, author of short stories and even of plays.

It is perhaps somewhat of an abrupt transition to turn from Robert Bridges to John Masefield, as no two poets could be more dissimilar in their inspiration as well as accomplishment. Steeped in classical learning and keen on felicity of verbal choice, Bridges lived in an imaginary world of his own and wrote poems only for the scholar and the connoisseur. A poet pre-eminently of the people and more anxious to give expression to gushing emotion than scruple about the right word or phrase, Mr. Masefield's appeal is, on the other hand, to the man in the street. Mr. Bridges, like many of his predecessors in the office, was an aristocrat by temperament and had a high sense of poetic dignity. Mr. Masefield revels in every day scenes and has come face to face with the grim problems of modern life. He is not the poet of the drawing room, but of the wider world of which he has been such an active and strenuous member, throughout his years. In one sense, there is perhaps an interference with the sense of continuity which was felt in the usual changes of the office, for instance, from Wordsworth to Tennyson, from Tennyson to Alfred Austin and from Alfred Austin to Robert Bridges; but here is one who has deserved the place by

virtue of his position in the world of poetry and who is likely to create new traditions of his own in connection with the office.

Describing his own poetic ideals, Mr. Masefield has said that he is interested more in farms and labourers than in Courts and Kings. It is therefore with a peculiar sense of appropriateness that the Labour Ministry has sought to honour him by the conferment of an office whose distinction cannot be denied in spite of the fact that it has sometimes been occupied by such fifth-rate poets as Davenant, Eusden, Tate, Pye and others. There can also be no doubt that Mr. Masefield himself must feel honoured to occupy an office which can count on its list at the same time, such major names in English literature as those of Dryden, Wordsworth and Tennyson.

Time was when the acceptance of the office, with the annual present of a cask of canary wine and the modest allowance of money entailed on the poet the obligation of writing an ode to the king on every birthday! But the student of literature must congratulate himself that these effusions have all been forgotten and can be got at only with laborious research. Southey luckily freed himself from this obligation who, it may be observed incidentally, being a total abstainer also got the present of a cask of canary wine transmuted into a money payment. If some of Wordsworth's political poems cannot be said to be particularly happy, it will be conceded on all hands that at least Tennyson discharged the implied obligations of his office with considerable dignity and success. Handicapped by having to follow such an eminent poet as Tennyson, Alfred Austin never got his deserts at the hands of critics, but a tribute must be paid to his fine sense of patriotism which is patent in every one of his pieces. As has been suggested already, Mr. Masefield's work will be entirely different. He is not likely to wax enthusiastic over military heroes and commemorate engagements on sea or land; the

splendour of courts and ceremonials is not likely to arrest his imagination. On the other hand, the great mass of the people eking out their daily existence by the sweat of brow will find themselves transfigured in his exhilarating song. The Poet Laureate will no longer be a poet of the court, but actually the poet of the people.

The careers of poets have often been of great romantic interest and Mr. Masefield's adds a most attractive chapter to the list. Running away from home as a boy, making his way through early life as a sailor-lad and serving as a waiter in American hotels where he has since been the principal guest at magnificent banquets, he has risen to considerable eminence as a poet and has just received the distinction of becoming a Laureate. Born in 1876, Mr. Masefield has still many years before him during which it can be confidently expected that he will add to his poetic reputation and be counted among the more praiseworthy Poets-Laureate of England.

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E. Sept. '30.

IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD

BY MR. VASUDEO B. METTA

THE idea of brotherhood among Islamic peoples has always been strong. The Prophet of Arabia had so thoroughly drilled it into the minds of his followers that distinctions of race, language, or colour have never mattered much to the Mohammedans. The Arabic language, the Koran, and the Haj (annual pilgrimage to Mecca) have been the chief instruments for keeping alive the sense of unity among Mohammedan peoples. When Mohammedan travellers like Ibn Batuta went from Morocco to the Caucasus, Persia, and India, they felt themselves as much at home in those countries as in their own.

But strange though it may sound, it is nevertheless true that pan-Islamic sentiment has never come in the way of the nationalist sentiment among Mohammedans. In fact, Mohammed taught his followers to cultivate the nationalist sentiment and work for the improvement of their country as the following words from the Koran show: "God does not change the condition of any nation until it changes its own." The Turks, Egyptians, Persians or Afghans have never, at any time in their history, dreamt of sacrificing their national interests for the sake of pan-Islamism: so that if they are developing nationalism of the Western type to-day, they are not acting in any way against the pan-Islamic sentiment. Though the nationalist movement in Egypt and Persia is stronger to-day than it has ever been before, it did not prevent the former country from calling the pan-Islamic Congress in 1926 and the latter country from protesting against the desecration of sacred buildings at Mecca by Ibn Saud's troops in 1925.

It is a mistake to think that a Caliph is necessary to the Moslems to keep alive their pan-Islamic sentiment. A Caliph, that is a spiritual successor to Mohammed, was not necessary even

when the Prophet of Islam died. Abu Beker and Omar were elected Caliphs not for spiritual reasons, but because the Arabs having conquered a large empire wanted leaders for political and military reasons. Soon there-after, the Arab empire was broken up and different parts of it had their own Caliphs. The Persians never acknowledged any Caliph.

Although the Turkish Sultans from the time of Selim I took the title of Caliph, they attached very little importance to it. This was so perhaps because they knew that they could influence their Mohammedan subjects without that title, but could not influence the Mohammedans of countries which were not under their rule. It may also be that they did not attach much importance to the title because they did not know exactly what power it conferred on them. They could not legislate, because the Koranic law-Sheriat could not be altered by them. They could not interpret that law, because that was the work of the Uleymas (learned men) who were not bound to agree with them in their interpretation. They seldom, if ever, tried to protect a Mohammedan country from invasion by a non-Mohammedan country. They did not even try to prevent one Mohammedan country from attacking another. All they did was to maintain their religion in their own empire: which they could have done without being Caliphs!

The man who started the modern pan-Islamic movement was Jemal-ud-din El Afghani, an Egyptian, who lived in the latter half of the last century. Finding it difficult to carry on his pan-Islamic propaganda in his own country—because the British advisers of the Khedive did not approve of it—he went to Constantinople and settled down there. Sultan Abdul Hamid II who was then ruling Turkey saw the advantages of the movement to himself.

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from a political point of view and so he helped El Afghani with money to carry on his work. And he was repaid for his trouble. His name as Caliph was cited in prayers in India and Islamic Russia, a thing which had never been done before. The movement gained force even after Abdul Hamid had been deposed. Societies to prevent Islamic lands from passing into the hands of European Powers were formed at Lucknow and Mecca. Even Shiite Persia became friendly with the Sunnite Turkey.

During the Great War, pan-Islamism was for a variety of reasons in a state of coma. The Arabs, Indian Mohammedans, Egyptians, Algerians, and others fought side by side with the Allies against their co-religionists—the Turks: while the Persians and Afghans remained neutral. But soon after the war was over, it revived with greater force than before. The Allied policy towards the Mohammedan peoples was not a little responsible for it. The Treaty of Sevres stiffened the backs of the Turks, and they fought with their customary valour to have it rescinded, and to drive out the Greeks who had invaded Anatolia. All the other Moslem peoples watched their fight with admiration: several Arabs, Indians, Afghans, and Tartars actually joined the Turkish army as volunteers. To them it was not a war between any two nations but between the Cross and the Crescent. And when the Turks won, they all rejoiced. The heroic fight which Abdul Krim put up in Morocco against France and Spain and the independence which Afghanistan received by the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 also excited the greatest enthusiasm in the Moslem world.

The changes that have been taking place in the Islamic world since the War are many and of a far-reaching nature. Formerly, the Mohammedans were very conservative and did not show any desire to learn anything from Western nations. Abdul Hamid forbade the introduction of Western education in Government schools and

colleges in his empire because he thought that that would endanger his throne. Christian Mission schools were hated by Mohammedan parents because they thought that the missionaries would coax their children to embrace Christianity. But now all Mohammedan nations show the greatest anxiety to assimilate Western culture. Turkey has adopted the Latin script and introduced the study of Greek and Latin in preference to Arabic and Persian in her schools. Moslem parents are not now afraid to send their children to Christian mission schools for their education.

Islam itself is now interpreted more liberally than before. Thousands of Mohammedans outside Turkey found nothing wrong in the abolition of the Sultanate in Turkey: they said that monarchy had never been favoured by Islam as is evident from the fact that the first four Caliphs were elected by the people. They also saw nothing sacrilegious in the abolition of the Caliphate by the Grand National Assembly of Angora. Islamic peoples are establishing banks of the Western type, they say that taking interest on money for commercial purposes is not forbidden by the Koran: The University of Al Azhar at Cairo, formerly the home of orthodoxy, is now becoming so modernised as to allow the teaching of Western science and of religions other than Islam. The Aligarh University in India and the Mosque at Woking, near London, are also centres of the reformist movement in Islam. The Ahmediya Sect, with its wide toleration, is becoming stronger in India. Wahabism is not a reactionary movement as some people seem to think. It is an attempt to purify Islam of the evils which have crept into it with the passage of time and the follies of men. It is against the worship of saints, tombs, and such other practices which are not sanctioned by the Koran.

Islamic countries are becoming rapidly secularised. Turkey has adopted the Civil and Penal codes of the Western type. Church and State

are separated partially in Egypt and wholly in the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics. In Persia, the mullahs in parliament are treated as ordinary men and not as religious men with special privileges.

The fact that the pan-Islamic sentiment is still very vital is attested, by the two pan-Islamic congresses which met, one at Cairo and the other at Mecca, in 1925. At the latter congress, Ibn Saud who presided, instructed the *uleymas* to think out means by which the different sects of Islam could be united. Articles written by men from all over the Mohammedan world on the unity of Islam appear in papers at Constantinople, Cairo, Delhi, and Teheran. When Abdul Mejid, the last of the Turkish Caliphs, was deprived of his dignity and forced to leave Turkey, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Begum of Bhopal together conferred on him a pension of Rs. 60,000 a year from their private purse.

Another way in which Islamic peoples are changing is that they take the keenest interest in the pan-Asiatic movement. Before the War, they thought of nothing outside the Islamic world, but to-day they think in terms of the whole East. In 1922 an Oriental League was established at Cairo to strengthen the bonds of the brotherhood of Asiatics irrespective of race or religion. Its members hold that pan-Islamism should develop through pan-Asianism. Representatives from Turkey, Egypt, and Afghanistan went to the pan-Asiatic congress which were held at Nagasaki and Shanghai in 1926 and 1927 respectively. In the Turko-Afghan Treaty of 1921, the two contracting parties agreed to work for the liberation of all Asiatic nations from Western yoke.

Bolshevik Russia which has definitely aligned herself with Asia has done a great deal to help the Islamic world. Soon after coming into power, Lenin proclaimed himself to be a friend of Islam. In 1919, he established at Moscow an

Oriental Section of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In the same year, a conference under the auspices of the Khubis (Turkish communists) was called at Tashkend for the pan-Islamic development of Central Asia. In the following year, another conference with the same object was held at Samarcand where delegates from all parts of the Islamic world came. This conference started the Union of the Liberation of the East, an organization which has since then been active in supporting all anti-European movements in the East.

In spite of little quarrels now and then between them, Asiatic nations on the whole like Bolshevik Russia. It is not for her Bolshevik ideals, however, that they like her: but because she treats them as equals and helps them in their struggles to be free or to modernise themselves. She helped Turkey with money and munitions in her war against Greece. She has given up extra-territoriality in Persia and concluded treaties of friendship and commerce with Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia. Russians are employed as technical experts in Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey.



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

The Fundamentals of the Vedanta

BY PROF. M. HIRIVANNA, M.A.

Although several works have appeared in English in recent years on Indian thought, none has so far given a complete and continuous account of it, except Prof. Radhakrishnan's *INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*. The book under review* is a reprint from it of the Chapters on the Vedanta which, as stated in the Preface, furnishes the metaphysical background of the whole of Hindu religion. There are, as it is well-known, several schools of Vedanta; and it is two of the most important of them that are considered here—the Advaita of Sankara and the Visishtadvaita of Ramanuja. The author begins by tracing briefly in each case the early history of the doctrine and gives a very useful sketch of the literature bearing upon it. This preliminary portion in the case of Advaita contains a valuable analysis of the teaching of Gaudapada, indicating the influence of Buddhist thought traceable in it. Then follows a detailed presentation of the doctrine in its classic form. The section on Advaita occupies by far the larger part of the volume and one feels that more space might have been devoted to the consideration of the other doctrine. The treatment of the Visishtadvaita is consequently not so elaborate, but it is by no means inadequate or incomplete. The author's knowledge of the subject is profound and his exposition, illuminating. The point of view is throughout critical and there is no question discussed here which does not give the reader fresh insight into the fundamentals of the Vedanta. A specially interesting feature of the work is the comparison which it now and then institutes between the doctrines considered here and the views of Western thinkers. This, needless to say, is not indispensable for an exposition of Indian thought and its value would be very little if it were limited to indicating only similarities. But

our author here is particular about drawing attention to points of contrast between the two. For instance, in comparing Kant and Sankara he shows how, while both alike make a distinction between the true and the conscious self, Kant misses its full implication by stopping short in his analysis at what is described as the ethical 'I' which, though lying deeper than the empirical ego, is yet individualised and cannot therefore be the same as the Atman of Advaita. Again referring to Bradley's view that the real is the harmonious, he writes: 'From the stricter point of view of Sankara, even harmonious truth is not reality. We cannot say that reality is a harmony, for the latter means a number of parts interrelated in a whole. This distinction of parts and whole is an empirical one, which we are attributing to the transcendental reality.' (P. 91). Such contrasts are of great value for they bring to light the special contributions—however their merits may be adjudged—which Indian thinkers have made to the solution of common philosophical problems. The book serves on the whole as a most stimulating study; and we gladly recommend it not only to students of Vedanta but also to all that desire to know correctly the principles underlying Hindu faith.

Both Sankara and Ramanuja derive their doctrine from the Upanishads and each insists that these ancient treatises contain a single and self-consistent teaching. But yet there is no agreement in the conclusions they reach except in so far as both recognise that the ultimate reality is one. It may therefore be worth while asking how this divergence has arisen. The Upanishads, in spite of traditional insistence to the contrary, embody not one teaching but several, though all of them are not equally prominent. Some are nearly flashes of thought; others are only slightly developed and still others are but survivals from the earlier period. The most prominent and the

* THE VEDANTA ACCORDING TO SANKARA AND RAMANUJA. By S. Radhakrishnan. (George Allen and Unwin). Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 7-8.

best developed teaching is monistic which accounts for the agreement, so far as it exists, between Sankara and Ramannja. But this monistic doctrine appears in two forms between which there is a very important difference. In some of the passages the Absolute is described as *saguna* or all-comprehensive; in some others, as *nirguna* or all-exclusive. In the former view the manifold things of experience are understood as having in some form or other a real place in the Absolute—emerging from it at creation and returning into it at dissolution. In other words, this view admits actual change in the Absolute, while the latter denies its possibility altogether. It looks upon the ultimate reality as the ground of which the things of experience are only appearances whose presence or absence makes no difference whatever to it. The determination of the relation between these two views is one of the most difficult problems connected with the study of the Upanishads and has occupied the attention of thinkers for a very long time. So far as the orthodox commentators are concerned who are committed to the view that the Upanishads contain a consistent and coherent teaching, they are somehow to be reconciled, for both have a clear basis in Revelation and neither can therefore be ignored. It is in the way of reconciling these two conflicting views that we find the explanation for many of the differences between one Vedantin and another. There was a very influential school advocating the cosmic or the *saguna* view when Sankara taught; but his masterly exposition of the rival doctrine threw it completely into the shade. Feeble attempts were made afterwards by Bhaskara and others to revive it in its old form, but they did not succeed. Sankara's chief objection to the view is that it ascribes change to spirit, which, according to him, is the sole reality, and which by its very nature is immutable. Though thus criticising that view, Sankara does not, and, indeed as we have stated, cannot, discard it. He utilizes it as a stepping-stone to his own *nirguna* view. He admits that the *saguna* conception is the 'ideal goal of all thinking'; but for that very

reason, he regards it as only reality *for thought* and contends that reality *in itself* is something that is, of necessity, suggested by it but lies behind and beyond it. An Absolute known is for him no Absolute at all. Such a view does not falsify the *saguna* conception as it is often mistaken to do; it only denies ultimacy to it. Ramanuja adjusts the views in a different manner. He is partial to the cosmic view and explains away the negative teaching of the Upanishads as referring only to the non-existence of evil in the Absolute. But he restricts change to certain non-spiritual elements within it. Confining our attention now to the most important of them, we may say that, according to him, matter changes but not spirit. He thus accepts Sankara's contention about the unchangeability of spirit though he differs from him in admitting as ultimately real non-spiritual elements in addition to it. This is only one difference between them. There is another, equally essential, viz., the distinction which Ramanuja makes between the individual self and God—a distinction which prompted Max Muller to remark that he gave back to his followers their own souls. That is, Ramanuja admits a distinction within spirit itself while its absolute unity is the central point of Advaita. It is not difficult to find support for this distinction in the Upanishads, though their prevalent teaching seems to favour Sankara's Advaita, as shown by statements like 'That thou art' which are neither few nor far between. It may therefore be truer to trace this part of the doctrine to the influence of Vaishnavism to which it is known to be so abundantly indebted, and to which, as theism, the distinction is so essential. Thus in the place of the single spiritual entity recognised as the only ultimate by Sankara, Ramanuja has three, God, soul and matter. But the distinction involved in this plurality is such that it does not clash with the unity which he recognises as the characteristic of ultimate reality. That is, though souls and matter are always and essentially distinct from God, they, like the subordinate members of an organism, are not external to Him. We see thus that the divergence between the two doctrines, though arising from an attempt to clear up the inherent ambiguity of the Upanishads, involves to a large extent religious and philosophical considerations. The difference between them in respect of the latter may thus be summed up in the words of our author: "Ramanuja holds that the divine is the human view enlarged. To Sankara, on the other hand, the real is beyond appearances, and truth is beyond thought."

Malavikagnimitra

BY

MR. L. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., M.L.

MALAVIKAGNIMITRA is a drama in Five Acts by the well-known poet Kalidasa. It has a historical background. The chief character Agnimitra was a King of the Sunga dynasty who lived about the 2nd Century B. C. and ruled over Vidisa (modern Bhilsa). The incidents related in the drama, viz., the invasion of Vidarbha and the partition of the Kingdom between Yagnasena and Madhavasena are no doubt historically true. Nor is it possible to regard the story of Agnimitra's marriage with Malavika as a wholly fictitious incident, invented by the poet. The truth apparently is that Kalidasa had the materials before him in broad outline and used them as the framework of a story of love and romance. The Vidushaka, who is the motive force of the play, is clearly a creation of Kalidasa, just as the numerous incidents and details of the plot are his inventions. There is no reason to doubt that the play was written by Kalidasa, as was at one time doubted by some Oriental scholars. The play is distinctly Kalidasian in quality and style.

IN ancient India there was a kingdom called Vidisa ruled over by a king named Agnimitra. Adjacent to his territories was the kingdom of Vidarbha, where reigned a king called Yagnasena. There were constant feuds between the two rulers. Agnimitra espoused the cause of one Madhavasena, a rival to the throne of Vidarbha and entered into an alliance with him for taking his sister Malavika in marriage, notwithstanding that

he already had two wives, Dharini and Iravati.

Madhavasena was captured by Yagnasena's forces in one of the encounters between them and thrown into prison. When Agnimitra demanded his unconditional release, Yagnasena declined to comply with the demand; and thereupon Agnimitra ordered his commander-in-chief, Virasena, to invade the kingdom of Vidarbha.

After the seizure of Madhavasena, his minister Sumathi set out for Vidisa with Malavika and his sister Kausiki to carry out the promise of Madhavasena. As part of the route lay through jungles, he joined a party of caravans proceeding to Vidisa. But *en route* they were attacked by a gang of dacoits. A fierce battle was joined and the merchants valiantly resisted the onslaught of the marauders; but they were ultimately overwhelmed and routed. In the melee, Sumathi lost his life. Kausiki lost consciousness and was left for dead by the brigands. When she regained her consciousness it was with great sorrow that she perceived that her brother had been killed and Malavika carried away by the robbers. With a heavy heart, she performed the last rites of her brother; and, taking to herself the habit of a religious, she bent her steps towards Vidisa and gained admission into Agnimitra's palace. There she became known as the Parivrajika and was soon on intimate terms with Queen Dharini.

Malavika, however, was not long in the custody of the brigands. For they soon came

up against a party of frontier guards of Virasena, who immediately gave battle to them and rescued Malavika from their custody. Virasena sent her under escort to his sister Dharini, commending her talents and aptitude for music and dance. Dharini sent her to her Dancing-Master to learn dancing; and soon Malavika was making rapid progress with her lessons.

Malavika's arrival had been noticed by the Parivrajika, and there had been mutual recognition between the two; but, for reasons of her own, she kept Malavika's identity a secret, and, in consequence, nobody in the palace knew her real identity. She lived in the Palace as one of the maids of Dharini, learning music and dance.

After Malavika's arrival, Dharini had had executed a portrait of herself and her maids and was, one day, examining it for its likeness, when Agnimitra suddenly entered the apartment and saw the portrait in her hands. When he took the portrait in his hands and examined it, he noticed a figure of transcending beauty in the group. Concluding that she must be a recent arrival and curious to know who she was, Agnimitra asked Dharini for her name. Dharini was loathe to give any information and evaded his queries, but his young daughter Vasulakshmi, with child-like innocence, gave out that she was Malavika. Agnimitra had not known his betrothed by sight and the mere mention of her name did not enlighten him. But he was struck with her matchless beauty and fell in love with her.

In course of time, Agnimitra's love for Malavika became so great that he became love-sick for her. Her vision, though seen only in

a picture, kept constantly rising in his mind, and he was seized with a burning desire to get a sight of her in person. But he was anxious to avoid an estrangement between himself and his Queens by taking high-handed steps to secure his object. But he saw no means of accomplishing his object as Dharini, suspecting the king's partiality for Malavika, became more vigilant in guarding her from his observation. In despair he turned to Gautama, his Vidushaka, to devise the means of his getting a sight of Malavika.

Gautama evolved an ingenious plan for fulfilling Agnimitra's wishes. In the palace, there were two Dance-Masters, Ganadasa, the preceptor of Malavika and Haradatta. The former was regarded as the protege of the Queen, and the latter of the King. But both held the same rank in the palace and were men of equal ability and learning. Gautama's plan was to provoke a quarrel between them by working on their jealousies and compel them to seek the decision of the King on their relative merits. The King would be obliged to accept the position of the arbitrator thus forced on him and require them to give demonstration of their skill. In a trial of skill in dancing a person's ability is judged not merely by his knowledge of theory, but particularly by his ability to impart his knowledge to others. Accordingly, the Dance-Masters would be called upon to give proof of such abilities through the demonstrations of their pupils; and that would furnish the opportunity for the King to get a view of Malavika, whose reputation was already very high for quick apprehension and an exquisite style. But the success of the scheme depended on some disinterested person suggesting the

practical demonstration as, otherwise, Dharini would scent some plot in it. The Queen had a great regard for the Parivrajika and, if the suggestion proceeded from her, Dharini's suspicions might be laid at rest. So Gautama decided to take the Parivrajika into his confidence. She was only too ready to fall in with his wishes and to play her part in promoting his designs.

The quarrel was provoked. Ganadasa taunted Haradatta that they differed in their abilities as ocean and pond. Haradatta retorted in the presence of respectable persons that Ganadasa was not equal to the dust of his feet. Thus openly insulted, the two adversaries sought the audience of the King to place their grievances before him. The King heard their complaints and, with a view to adjudicate on their relative merits, sent for the Queen and the Parivrajika, ostensibly to ensure that Ganadasa received fair-play but really to avert suspicion from himself.

When the Queen heard of the dispute and of the King's invitation to her, she felt uneasy about Ganadasa; but she had no suspicion of the real nature of the move. After she and the Parivrajika had taken their seats, the King directed the Masters to commence their disputation. But the Parivrajika at once interposed that dancing was an art essentially of ocular demonstration and not one for argument. It was then that Dharini realised the danger of the situation; and, when appealed to for her views, stated that the quarrel itself was not to her liking. Nevertheless, the discussion proceeded as to how best to test their abilities. The Parivrajika had already seen the skill of both the disputants. She was satisfied that they were of equal ability in the

practice of the art. But some might be good in practising the art themselves, but lack the skill to impart it to others. Others still might be able as teachers but not possess sufficient skill in the practice of the art themselves. He was then the best teacher who combined both those qualities in himself. After the Parivrajika had propounded her views thus, the Vidushaka clinched her argument by putting it in a nut-shell to the masters that their ability to give practical training would be the acid test of their capacity. The Queen argued if it would be the fault of the preceptor if a dull pupil failed to profit by the instruction. But Gautama butted in that the very acceptance of such a pupil was manifest proof of lack of wisdom in the preceptor. When the Queen refused to give her assent to Ganadasa to embroil himself in a dispute which seemed to have no other object but the fulfilment of her husband's wishes, Gautama rallied him on his good fortune in having the queen on his side and assured him that he had no need to fear for his position. Ganadasa thereupon appealed to the Queen to save him from ignominy and the taunts of the world.

"He is called a grocer that deals in knowledge, to whom knowledge is only a source of living and who, being concerned to retain his position, is afraid of a controversy and meekly submits to insults by others."

And if the queen refused to give him the opportunity to vindicate his reputation, the world would interpret his abstention only in that light and heap obloquies on him.

The Queen was in the horns of a dilemma. At last she suggested that both the masters

might give their demonstrations before the Parivrajika in private. But again she was check-mated in her designs by the Parivrajika insisting that the judgment of one person, however clever, was never a safe guide. Reduced to complete helplessness and importuned by Ganadasa to give her assent, Dharini at last gave in with great reluctance, at the same time observing to her husband that it would have been a good thing if he displayed as much ingenuity in State-matters.

Soon after, the party adjourned to the Dance-hall to witness the demonstration. A preliminary discussion arose as to who was to be given priority and, at the suggestion of the Parivrajika, it was decided that Ganadasa was entitled to precedence by reason of his greater years. Ganadasa accordingly entered the hall followed by Malavika. Agnimitra saw Malavika in person for the first time, and was captivated by her superb beauty. She was many times more lovely than in the picture.

It had been arranged that Malavika should perform the dance known as "*Ghatikham*", after singing the tune of Sarmishta's verse, composed for that purpose. In that verse, a maiden poured out her heart for her absent lover and prayed to him to realise the intensity of her love for him and her helpless condition. Malavika's singing was entrancing; but her dancing was no less exquisite. The grace of her movements, the elegance of her bearing, the accuracy with which she kept measure with time and the realistic manner in which she expressed the different passions and feelings combined with her own lovely form made a profound impression on every one. Agnimitra, who had not missed the least detail, was in ecstasies of delight.

But the dance was soon over; and the time had come for Malavika to make her exit. It was not, however, the intention of the Vidushaka to allow her to depart so quickly. So he objected that he had observed certain irregularities and asked if others had noticed any. The Parivrajika had not noticed any. The dance was unexceptionable. Agnimitra confessed to growing diffidence in his own protegee, after seeing Malavika's dance. Then Ganadasa asked Gautama for the irregularity he had noticed. The Queen rebuked him for taking the Vidushaka seriously. But Ganadasa persisted, only to be told that the customary offerings to a Brahmin before the commencement of a performance had not been given in that case. Every one laughed at his grand discovery, but he had gained his object. After explaining that it was not a regular stage-performance Ganadasa retired with his disciple, and Agnimitra felt a void in his existence, as though the sun of his destiny had set.

Soon after, Haradatta entered to know the King's pleasure. The King's object had, however, been attained; and he had no further interest in the quarrels of the dance-masters. But decorum required that he should go through the whole of the affair; and he consented with reluctance. But just then it was brought to their attention that it was noon-time; and Gautama seized the opportunity to protest that he felt very hungry and that medical opinion was opposed to postponement of hours of meal. So Haradatta's performance was adjourned to the succeeding day and the party dispersed.

The next morning Haradatta gave his demonstration; and it was unanimously agreed that both the Masters were of equal ability

and that what excellence there was on Ganadasa's side was due solely to Malavika's superior talents. And the episode of the Dance-Masters' quarrel came to an end.

From the time of his seeing Malavika, Agnimitra's whole thoughts were with her. His mind scarcely found peace when he was not contemplating her elegance. He sought solace in dwelling on the numerous details connected with her dance. But, for all that, he did not get complete tranquillity of mind. He was oppressed with doubts and fears about her feelings towards him. He kept constantly asking himself if she loved him or would reciprocate his love. Sometimes he imagined that the song of Sarmishta was meant as a covert reference to her own lot and an appeal to him. But he could not with certainty decide on the state of her feelings; and the more he thought of it, the more miserable he became. At last he asked Gautama to ascertain her mind. Gautama readily agreed and instructed Vakulavalika, a confidante of Malavika, to sound her, touching her feelings.

But Agnimitra was restless and impatient to ascertain the truth. He was seized with a fit of *ennui*, and was unable to think of any means of diverting himself. When, however, Gautama reminded him of his engagement to meet Iravati in the garden, he felt a reluctance to meet her, as his thoughts were wholly occupied with Malavika and he would be obliged to dissemble with Iravati. But abstention from the engagement did not appear to him to be a much better policy either. For Iravati would take her disappointment to heart; and the King wished to avoid wounding her susceptibilities. So, he decided to meet her and went to the garden accompanied by the Vidushaka.

Iravati had not arrived yet; and Agnimitra was amusing himself, looking at the trees and flowers when Malavika was seen coming alone in the garden. She proceeded straight towards an *Asoka* tree and sat down underneath it. She had not noticed the King or the Vidushaka. Curious to know what brought her there, Agnimitra placed himself near her behind a tree, so as to be within hearing.

The *Asoka* tree was a favourite of Queen Dharini, and had not borne any flowers that year, though the spring was far advanced. According to the prevalent belief, if a barren *Asoka* was touched with the foot of beautiful damsel, it would blossom forth in its full vernal bloom; and Dharini was anxious to try that remedy on the tree. Being herself disabled, she deputed Malavika for that task, promising her that if the tree blossomed forth within five days, she was to obtain the fulfilment of her wishes. That was the reason for Malavika's presence there. She had come in advance. Vakulavalika was to join her there with dress and ornaments.

Being alone—as she imagined herself to be—Malavika gave way to her thoughts and began to soliloquise over her hard destiny and the vain hopes and aspirations of her heart. Agnimitra was curious to know what those aspirations were and to whom her words had reference. Like a typical lover, he was only too eager to believe himself to be the cause of all her yearnings; but he was oppressed with doubts, and speculation could not bring him nearer to truth. A surmise was no substitute for certainty. While in this state of suspense, Vakulavalika entered with toilet materials and began decorating Malavika. While about it, she began to draw her out regarding Agni-

mitra, bearing in mind the injunctions of Gautama.

While they were thus occupied, Iravati entered the garden with her maid Nipunika, and not finding her husband at the rendezvous, and espying Malavika under the *Asoka*, approached the tree unnoticed, and hid herself behind a cover to overhear the conversation. The king had not noticed her arrival; nor was Iravati aware of the King's presence in the proximity.

Iravati was indignant at the turn the conversation was taking. Vakulavalika was making significant observations to Malavika about the King. At first Malavika was reticent about her feelings towards the King; but, after a time, she remarked that she could not hope for such a high favour and that the thought of Dharini sent a shiver over her. When Vakulavalika finished decorating her, she observed to her in ambiguous terms; "Here stands before you one who is to be enjoyed by you." Malavika betrayed herself, asking "Is it the King?" Vakulavalika replied smiling that she meant the overhanging tendrils, for wearing on the head. Iravati was enraged and exchanged glances with Nipunika. But Agnimitra was happy to have a convincing proof of Malavika's love for him.

Now that his doubts had been resolved, Agnimitra was impatient to discover himself to Malavika. Just then Malavika had touched the *Asoka* with her right foot and the King seized the opportunity to make his apparition, and enquire if the touch had given her any pain. The solicitude of the King made Iravati bitter. But when he proceeded further and asked her to administer a similar touch to him, so that he might bear the "flower-courage"

which he had not borne since he saw her, it was more than Iravati could stand. She burst in upon the group in frenzied rage, charging the King with faithlessness. Her unexpected *debut* created a consternation in the hearts of all, and Malavika and Vakulavalika made their escape at the earliest opportunity. But Agnimitra could find no way of escape from the embarrassing situation and pleaded in extenuation that he meant no harm and was only amusing himself, as she was late in coming. But Iravati was inexorable and continued to rate him in severe language. So he prostrated himself before her, hoping to appease her wrath. But she was still implacable and turned away from him in haughty disdain.

When Dharini was apprised of these incidents by Iravati, she threw Malavika and Vakulavalika into a cell, in order to mollify Iravati, with strict injunctions to the keeper not to release them without seeing the ring bearing the design of a serpent.

When the news of Malavika's incarceration reached the King's ears, he was chagrined that she should suffer such indignities and hardships on his account, and desired Gautama to devise the means of rescuing her from the cell and taking her to a rendezvous. Gautama was ready with a project which he communicated to the King. Agnimitra approved of it and went to see Dharini, who was confined to bed with pains in the leg. Gautama went straight to the garden, punctured two marks in his finger with a thorn and rushed back into Dharini's chamber exclaiming wildly that he had been bitten by a serpent and that the poison was working like a hectic in his blood. He showed the marks made by the serpent's teeth and simulated all the symptoms of snake-

poison. Every one was alarmed for Gautama's life, except the King. Gautama appealed in a pathetic tone to the King to look after his aged mother after his death and asked forgiveness of Dharini for any offence he might have given her in serving the King.

In the meantime, the Court Physician had been sent for. But he was privy to Gautama's scheme and directed that the patient might be taken over to him. Accordingly, Gautama was removed from Dharini's chamber and the King also, soon after, took leave of her.

A little later, the Physician sent word to the Queen that the patient was progressing well and that there was no danger to his life, but that an object bearing the figure of a serpent was necessary for the purpose of incantation. The Queen immediately handed her ring to the messenger, with instructions to return it as soon as its purpose was finished.

The ring thus secured, Gautama went straight to Malavika's keeper, showed her the ring, satisfied her curiosity by a plausible explanation and took Malavika and Vakulavalika to the rendezvous. Agnimitra, receiving intelligence of this, repaired thither by a secret passage. On his arrival, Vakulavalika left the place on some pretext and Gautama stood guard at the entrance, while the lovers, after a long period of despair and anguish, met for the first time in secret embrace.

But they were not for long to enjoy their happiness uninterrupted. Iravati, who was uneasy in mind at having spurned the king's prayer for forgiveness, wished to make amends for it by paying her respects to a portrait of his which was hanging in the place of rendezvous. Besides, she had received information that Gautama was in that place and wished to

congratulate him on his recovery from the snake-bite, which she still believed to be genuine. So she set out for that place with Nipunika and arrived there to find Gautama fast asleep at the entrance.

Just then Gautama began to talk aloud in his sleep, urging Malavika to supersede her rival Iravati. Greatly provoked, Nipunika threw his staff on him, whereupon he woke up in alarm, crying "A serpent, a serpent." Iravati and Nipunika were hidden from his observation. On looking about, Gautama noticed that it was his own staff that had fallen on him and which he had mistaken for a serpent and observed laughing that for the moment he was afraid that he had been done for by a real serpent after the hoax he had played about a snake-bite. Iravati was astonished to learn the truth about the snake-bite. But it was a much more disagreeable surprise for her when, in response to Gautama's cries, the King came rushing towards the door, followed by Malavika who kept urging him not to go near a serpent.

Iravati was furious. She emerged from her hiding place and felicitated the king ironically on his day-time engagements. The party was thrown into a confusion by this unexpected turn of events, and the situation became very awkward for all. Agnimitra was non-plussed as to how to get out of the difficulty. Just then, however, intelligence was brought to them that Vasulakshmi had been chased by a monkey, that the gardeners had driven it off, but that she was trembling all over with fright. Agnimitra hastened to see his daughter and the company broke up.

Malavika was apprehensive of the displeasure of Dharini, when she should come to hear of the clandestine meeting. But when

she learnt that the *Asoka* had blossomed forth in its full splendour even before the expiry of the five days, she was somewhat re-assured. For Dharini had promised to fulfil her wishes if the tree bore flowers.

Dharini heard of both these events and perceived that it was no longer possible to put any restraint on Malavika and that, in honour bound, she must consent to her union with Agnimitra. With this resolve, she intimated to the King that she wished to have the pleasure of his company at a garden fete she was arranging; and, at the appointed hour, went to the garden with Malavika and the Parivrajika. The King had guessed Dharini's intention and was eager with expectation.

After the party had assembled, two maids who had lately arrived into the palace craved audience and were admitted. On entry they were recognised by Malavika and the Parivrajika as the members of Madhavasena's household. Asked about their antecedents, they related their connection with Madhavasena's household, the capture of Madhavasena and Samathi's departure for Vidisa with Malavika and Kausiki. As they were left behind, they know no further. At that stage the Parivrajika intervened and revealed her identity and detailed the rest of the story: how they were waylaid by robbers, how her brother was killed and Malavika carried away and how she herself, recovering consciousness, went on to Vidisa and gained admission into the palace. The two maids recognised their Kausiki in the Parivrajika, as also Malavika. Malavika's capture by the brigands, her rescue by Virasena's men and her subsequent entry into the palace were already known in the royal household.

But no one except the Parivrajika had known her identity till then. Dharini felt pangs of regret that she had not treated Malavika with the respect due to her rank and complained to the Parivrajika that she had not done properly to have observed reticence about her. But the Parivrajika explained that a long time ago a soothsayer had predicted that Malavika's fortune would be low for a period of one year and that afterwards she would marry a suitable husband. Seeing the prophecy in the course of fulfilment, she had left the events to take their own course.

When the explanations were over, news was brought from the frontier that Vidarbha had been invaded and Yagnasena taken captive. Agnimitra forthwith ordered the kingdom to be divided between him and Madhavasena, each ruling over a half.

At the same time, glad tidings were received from his father Pushyamitra that the holy sacrificial horse which was sent under the protection of Vasumitra, preparatory to the "Rajasa Yagam" was challenged by a party of Yavans Cavalry, and that after a fierce battle the Yavanas were vanquished and the horse brought home safe. After extolling young Vasumitra's heroism, Pushyamitra invited his son to attend the Yagam with his family.

Great was the rejoicing in the palace on receipt of the news of Vasumitra's victory. Dharini was in ecstasies and was in a mood to accede to the King's wishes unreservedly. So she sent word to Iravati to obtain her consent to the proposed marriage and, after investing Malavika with the bridal veil and ornaments, gave her in marriage to Agnimitra. The lovers at last attained the consummation of their desires.

The Limits of Social Legislation

By "EUGENIST."

PUBLIC opinion in the West shows slowly growing appreciation of the clamant demand of the eugenists for the sterilisation of the unfit,* though in England it is not yet of sufficient strength to lead to legislation.

In 1921, fifteen of the United States had laws enabling sterilisation, and in 1928, there were as many as twenty-one.

The real difficulty is to be sure that in the enforcement of sterilisation, you do not eliminate those who are fit to procreate desirable citizens. Quite a number of the unstable, psychoneurotics, hystericals, sane hypochondriacs, claustrophobists and agoraphobists and monophobists, there are in society, who cannot be classed as unfit. To class these among the unfit will cut out a large portion of the population in countries like America.

Those who object to sterilisation laws altogether on the general doctrine that the State has no right to interfere with individual liberty are met by the answer that no man has any right to imperil society in the name of personal liberty, and the lasting interests of society are alone the governing consideration. People in India who are agitated over the limits of legislation will take note how far states have gone and are going when they accept legislation like this or the law of prohibition in America.

The chapter that gives the history of some typical unfit families is such as to induce conviction that sterilisation is a duty in some cases. The number of criminals, prostitutes, keepers of houses of ill-fame and the syphilitics that come out of these families indicate that environment cannot cure hereditary defects and that the only possible way of preventing the unfit swamping the fit by their uncontrolled propagation as against the prudent limitation of families by the latter is by sterilisation.

* STERILIZATION AND THE UNFIT.—By Walter M. Gallahan, Warner Laurie Ltd., London.

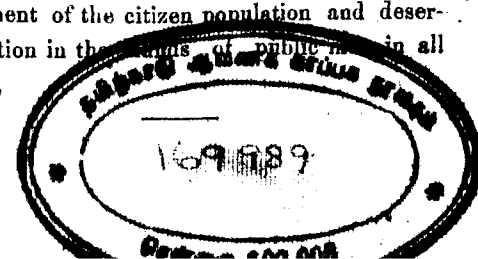
Sterilisation in some cases will be seen to be obviously justifiable. In the case of Criminal lunatics sentenced to punishment for serious crimes, sterilisation may be directed by the court. If the court can direct hanging, it could surely direct sterilisation.

Lunatics in asylums may be sterilised at least with the consent of relations. Outside these two categories, voluntary sterilisation may be allowed; where the subject cannot give consent, the guardians and committees may supply it. The growth of enlightenment must be looked to, to widen this last category.

Manu's laws advise the avoidance in marriage of families suffering from hemorrhoids, phthisis, weakness of digestion, epilepsy or leucoderma or leprosy and contagious or infectious diseases, but there is not even the suggestion that individuals suffering from these diseases should not marry.

One thing requires to be widely known. Sterilisation is not a painful or dangerous operation. Particularly, sterilisation of man which consists in the severing of *vas deferens* which leaves the secretions and sex feeling and enjoyment untouched. In some ways, it even improves the health of the man. In the case of women, the operation is less easy. The cutting out of a part of the Fallopian tubes prevents conception, and, in many cases also, improves the general health. Vasectomy and Salpingectomy, as these operations are called, are entirely different from the old castration ovariectomy which are more severe and painful operations and involved disturbance of endocrinal balance. X-ray is expected in the near future to replace the severe operations in the case of women.

The book is an interesting study of the trend of thought in the Western countries in regard to the improvement of the citizen population and deserves attention in the minds of public men in all countries.



THE SALT RAIDS

DHARSANA RAIDS

RAIDS, which before were confined to Satyagrahis, have, since the third week of May, taken the form of mass actions. A mass raid at Dharsana took place on the 21st of May, when 2,500 volunteers from all parts of Gujarat took part in it. They were led by Imam Saheb, the 62-year old colleague of Gandhiji in South Africa. The volunteers commenced the raid early in the morning, and as they attacked the salt heaps at different places, the police charged them with lathis (bamboo sticks) and beat them back. Thousands witnessed the spectacle. After this had gone on for two hours, the leaders, Messrs. Imam Saheb, Pyarilal and Manilal Gandhi, were arrested, and later, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also. The total number of injured volunteers on that day was 290. One injured volunteer, Mr. Bhailalbai Dajabhai, died from the effects of the injuries. The police, with the help of the military, then practically isolated Dharsana and Untadi by blocking the main road leading to these places and preventing any car or pedestrian from going along it. All the volunteers who were camping at Untadi were taken to some unknown destination and, later, released. On the 22nd and 23rd, the camp at Untadi was searched. On the 23rd, the police asked the volunteers to disperse, and on refusal, charged them with lathis, and arrested 33 of them. A batch of 65 volunteers who left for Dharsana from Ahmedabad on the 25th were arrested at Bareja. On the 26th, the land on which the camp at Untadi stood was declared forfeited, on the ground that it was used for non-agricultural purposes without permission. The volunteers were forced to evacuate the camp, some of them being bodily lifted and placed outside the camp, and others dragged out of it. Section 144 has been promulgated at Untadi and Durgri, prohibiting meetings and the carrying of lathis. Mr. Ambalal Patel and Dr. Tribhuvandas, leaders of the Dharsana Salt Satyagraha, went on hunger strike on

May 27, because they were not given proper food. The Bombay public celebrated the "Dharsana Day" on the 25th with a big procession.

Two batches of volunteers numbering about 200 were led on the 3rd June from Untadi camp to raid the Dharsana salt depots. Both were held up by the police who, when the crowd entered the prohibited area, charged them with lathis. The injured men were taken to the camp hospital.

WADALA RAIDS

A succession of raids were also made on the Wadala Salt depot. On the 22nd, 118 volunteers were arrested and taken to Worli. On the 25th, 100 volunteers were accompanied by a huge crowd of 2,000 spectators. The police charged them with lathis, injuring 17, and later, arrested 115 of them. The raid lasted two hours. It was continued in the afternoon, when 18 more were injured by police lathis. On the 25th, about a dozen were injured, and among them the airman, Kabali. On the 26th, 65 volunteers were afield and 43 of them were arrested. The rest with the crowd got off with the salt. An official Press Note states that the disturbances that have so far taken place have been caused largely by the sight seers, who were, unlike the volunteers, not disciplined. The Note warned the public to keep away from Wadala while the raids are in progress.

But the most demonstrative raid was to come off on the 1st June for which the "War Council" was diligently preparing. On the morning of the 1st, nearly 15,000 Volunteers and non-Volunteers participated in the great mass action at Wadala.

Successive batches marched up to the Port Trust level crossing and the swelled crowd were held up there by the Police cordon. Soon the cordon broke through and the raiders among whom were women and children splashed through slime and mud and ran over the pans. Congress raiders numbering about 150 were slightly injured. The raiders were repulsed by the

THE SALT RAIDS

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Police who, acting under the immediate supervision of the Home Member, seem to have used the minimum force in dispersing them.

Serious trouble ending in two Police charges and the calling out of the Military to cope with the situation occurred at the Worli Detention Camp on the 3rd June when, about a thousand under-trial Wadala "Raiders" were involved in a brush with the Police resulting in about ninety casualties, twenty-five of them being serious.

EYE WITNESSES' STATEMENT

Mr. Hussain Tyabji, ex-Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay, Mr. K. Natarajan and Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President, Servants of India Society, who personally watched the Dharsana raid, have issued a statement in which they say that :

They saw with their own eyes that after Satyagrahis were driven out of the Salt boundary, mounted European Sowars rode at full gallop with lathis in their hands beating people between the spot where Satyagrahis had reached for raid and the village itself. They actually galloped full speed through the streets of the village scattering men, women and children. Villagers ran into bye-lanes and closed themselves in houses. But if by accident they were unable to escape, they were beaten with lathis.

They have further appealed to the authorities :

To investigate into these various complaints. While thus appealing to Government not to exasperate the people, they would rejoice to see Providence coming to aid with early monsoon directing the exercise of Satyagrahis in less distressing activities now that they had amply demonstrated what their determination, courage and devotion to the patriotic cause coupled with discipline had achieved.

MR. SLOCOMBE'S IMPRESSIONS

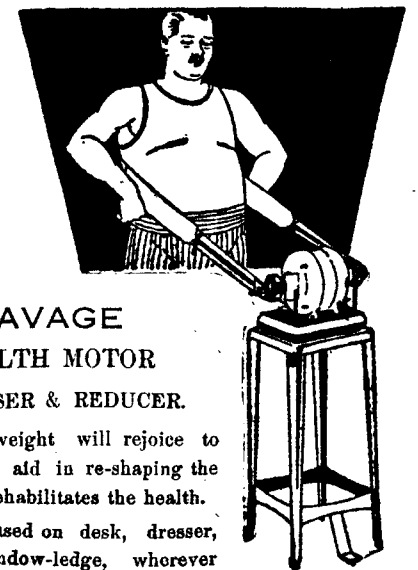
Mr. Slocombe, the representative of the DAILY HERALD, London, was also an eye-witness to some of the Salt raids. The following excerpts from his description cabled to his paper will be read with interest by our readers :

I watched the events from an observation-post on one of the rocky hills which ring in Wadala. Around a barren expanse of flat land, on which the sun beat relentlessly, a thin line of customs police, armed with rifles, and the Bombay City Police, armed with lathis, stood or sprawled listlessly. Here and there the white-clad figure of a European Sergeant or the khaki-clad figure of a European officer might be identified. * * *

On several occasions, the crowd in fifties or sixties rushed to the salt mound. At first it seemed the blows heartily administered by half-a-dozen European Sergeants will be sufficient to drive off the raiders. Some of them, evidently more disciplined than the rest, accepted the punishment with stoic indifference, and went on scraping handfuls of salt into the cotton bags brought for that purpose.

I witnessed many exciting and, in any other circumstances, laughable incidents. Many isolated members of the crowd waded through the deep ditch and after filling the bag with the coveted salt, took flying leaps into the water to escape the pursuing police. One white Sergeant engaged in such pursuit was unable to stop himself at the water's edge and fell into the five feet of water to the great amusement of the crowd and his brother officers. Another officer, a boy hardly 20 by his looks, raised his sun helmet, and comically executed a deep bow to the crowd across the intervening ditch every time they applauded his failure to catch the nimble salt raiders. In fact, if it were not for the occasional stone-throwing for the heat, for the responsibility of their position which might any moment become intolerable and for the political motives behind this concentration of 20,000 people in the vicinity of Wadala, the whole spectacle might have been treated as a novel sport—an oriental version of boys raiding an apple-orchard under the eyes of an impotent, angry farmer.

It was humiliating for an Englishman to stand among the ardent, friendly, but deeply moved crowd of volunteers and sympathizers, and watch the representatives of his country's administration engaged in this ludicrous, embarrassing business.



SAVAGE HEALTH MOTOR

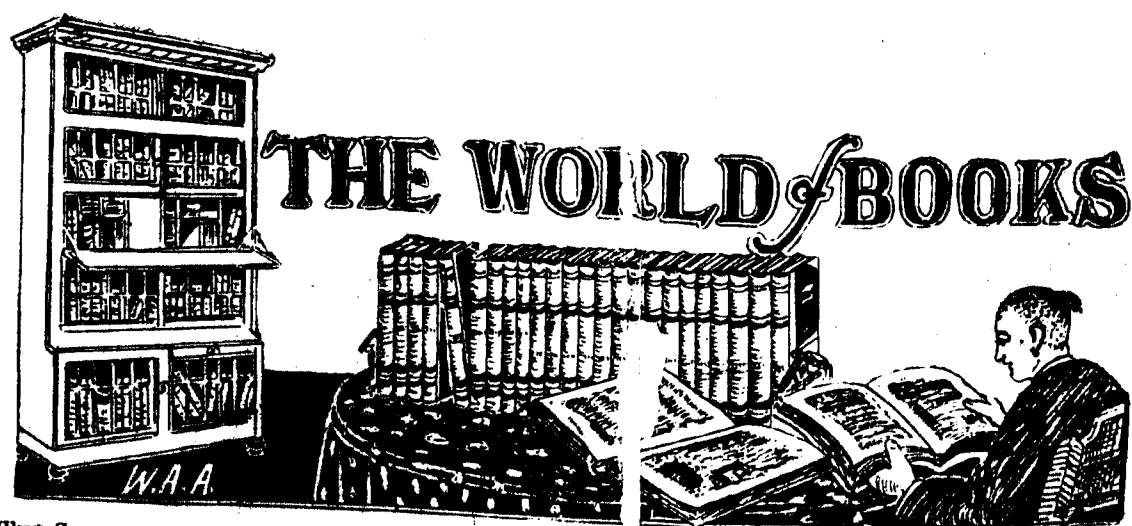
EXERCISER & REDUCER.

The overweight will rejoice to know of its aid in re-shaping the figure as it rehabilitates the health.

It can be used on desk, dresser, table or window-ledge, wherever electricity is available.

Full particulars on page 9, advertisement Section.

E. Oct. '30.



THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.
By Arthur Berridale Keith. Mac Millan and Co., London.

Professor Keith hardly needs any introduction to our readers. As the author of the two well-known books on "Responsible Government in the Dominions" and "Imperial Unity in the Dominions" he has earned for himself a reputation as an authority on these subjects. At this moment when there is a keen and wide controversy in this country on Dominion Status *versus* Independence, this latest work of Professor Keith may, with great advantage, be read by those who seek to belittle the value of Dominion Status as the goal of India. A perusal of the volume will not leave the reader in doubt regarding the advantages of Dominion Status. Not only the full extent of the autonomy implied in Dominion Status but the benefits which are undoubtedly derived by a membership of the British Commonwealth are fully set forth. And that is not all. In matters of external policy—witness the case of Canada—any Dominion can enter into commercial treaties and negotiations with foreign Powers, and can send its own ministers to represent it in foreign countries. And it is now something more than a convention that no Dominion can be involved in any active participation in any war on behalf of the United Kingdom without the authority of its own Parliament. The resolutions of the various sessions of the Imperial

conferences and above all the recommendations of the recent Dominion Laws conference make it clear that Dominion Status virtually carries with it hardly "any control over the legislation or administration of the Dominions." And one may well recall the following summary of the recommendations of the recent Dominion Laws conference. They are:

"Anything in the Imperial statutes inconsistent with the declarations of the Imperial Conference in 1926, affirming equality of status to be removed.

The Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 will be repealed and each Dominion's equal status will become operative without reference to any Imperial enactment. No legislation is proposed regarding the royal prerogative of disallowing Dominion Acts, as this prerogative is now considered obsolete.

The Dominions may establish their own shipping code and register, subject to the consultation with Great Britain regarding uniformity.

It is proposed that each Dominion shall be empowered to enact laws giving its legislation extra-territorial operation.

The right of the Governor-General to reserve assent to any bill pending His Majesty's pleasure is cancelled."

So far as India is concerned, this timely publication should be welcome to those who are keen in their demand for Dominion Status.

JUNE 1930]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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AFGHAN AND PATHAN, A SKETCH. By George B. Scott, C. I. E. Crown 8vo. Mitre Press, London, Price 8/.

This is a fascinating book on the Afghan and the North-West frontier problems and peoples which are of such first-rate importance in present-day politics. The author who has already made a name by two works on the subject (*Twenty years on the North-West Frontier* and *the Pathans of the N.-W. Frontier*) is undoubtedly the best authority on the subject by reasons of both experience and general knowledge. Mr. Scott entered the Survey Department in 1863, and, thirty years later, became the Superintendent of Land Records Surveys, N. W. Provinces and Oudh, at present, the United Provinces. He also served with distinction in the large number of little wars which have been waged in the North-West Frontier from time to time as well as the Afghan wars, and received medals and other honours at the hands of the Indian Government. As early as 1879, he received the thanks of the Government for gallantry against a mass of Mohmand assailants. The present book shows full acquaintance with the history of the country in general, the history of the tribes in particular and the customs and habits of the latter. The physical and strategic aspects of the country are described in arresting and lucid sentences, and give an excellent picture of the whole area and the turbulent types of men tenanted its rugged and inaccessible heights and valleys.

The book is divided into two parts, the first Part of which is devoted to Afghanistan, and the second the North-West Frontier. The former gives a survey of the physical and strategic situations of the Afghan mountains and valleys and the part they have played in history. In Part II, the author gives a short history of the Punjab and Kashmir.

There are special chapters devoted to Hazara and its neighbourhood, the Yuzufzais, the Mohmands, the Afridis, the Shinwaris, the Urzakais

and other tribes of Kohat and Bannu, and the Waziris. The history of the Pathan tribes after 1893 is summarised in a special note and the book concludes with a short description of the Baluchi border and its history.

The author's summary of the subjugation of the Baluchi tribes, experts in piracies and ravages, and their transformation into honest traders and guardians of high roads under the British is as pleasing as it is impartial. The book contains a map to illustrate the locations of the different tribes, besides two other illustrations.

VEILED MYSTERIES OF INDIA. By Mrs. Walter Tibbits. Eveleigh Nash and Grayson, Limited.

If the reader takes up this book in the expectation of finding an ordinary book of travel, it will not be long before he is disillusioned, whether rudely or pleasantly depends upon his temperament. If that is the matter-of-fact temperament of the writer of this review, he will find much of the book completely unintelligible. If he, like Mrs. Tibbits, is one of those who can see visions and dream dreams, her book will appeal to him. For Mrs. Tibbits is an ardent member of the Theosophical Society and only those who have also been initiated will feel entirely happy in her company. The headings of some of the chapters, "The Mystery of the Magical Bungalow," "The Mystery of the Sybil" and "The Mystery of the Urn, Time and Space," will give some idea of the contents of the book. When Mrs. Tibbits comes down to earth as she does occasionally, she makes one regret that she did not confine herself to a narrative of her travels and leave her Theosophical musings to another volume. There is one regrettable lapse of taste on page 145 where she records a conversation on boardship with a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service who can certainly never have expected to see what he told her in print. We will not follow her bad example by mentioning his name.

"JULY 1914." By Emil Ludwig: Translated by C. A. Macartney. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price 10s. 6d. net.

The world-wide success of Emil Ludwig's *expose* of Wilhelm II raises the expectation of a clear, decisive pronouncement on the causes of the War. But the drama concentrated into the month of July 1914, reaches far back, and the author only indicates the forces which went to the making of the War before the Archduke was murdered. He tells us how the War came rather than why it came.

The method of the book is truly Ludwiggian: the technique is that of the novelist rather than the historian. It is true that Herr Ludwig cites freely from documents, and all such quotations are clearly marked by a difference of type. But the bulk of the book is made up of narrative or (more significant) soliloquies and conversations of the actors in the drama, which are the author's own creation. They may or may not be just: perpetually the question rises—Is his interpretation, is his psychology, sound?

The book, as every one of Ludwig's biographies, is vivid and full of colour and action. It should therefore be read in full. It reveals dramatically the kind of situation out of which (at any time) a new war may grow, if we do not learn from the past. As an argument for what the League of Nations stands for, it remains unanswerable. It is appropriately dedicated—"To our Sons—in Warning."

WORD GAMES AND WORD PUZZLES. By A. C. Stevenson Ashmore. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London, (G. A. Natesan & Co., As. 12.)

There is plenty to interest and amuse in this book. There are clever examples of word jumbles, missing words, anagrams, acrostics etc., clearly set out in the form of puzzles, and the answers are all at the end of the book. They are bound to interest the old and young alike.

CHRISTIANITY AS BHAKTI MARGA. By A. J. Appasami M. A. (Harvard), D. Phil. (Oxon). Christian Literature Society for India. Re. 1.

This is the second edition of the book, the first draft of which was submitted to the Oxford University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University. It forms a study of the Fourth Gospel from the point of view of an Indian Christian. Every student of the Bible knows that the Fourth Gospel bears a close resemblance to some aspects of Hindu Religion—the Religion of Bhakti.

The book is a valuable contribution towards the mutual understanding of Europe and India, and the author has decided advantages in undertaking the work, since as a Christian he understands the West and as an Indian he understands Hinduism also.

INDIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS. By Dr. William I. Hull. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

As a record of political events in India during the Christmas of 1929, the book is both accurate and useful. The Calcutta Congress justly claims prominence. The author who attended the Congress had opportunities of moving with the leaders of the Congress and studying questions first-hand. There is a very brief introduction tracing political events in India before the Calcutta Congress. The book will be most useful to the American and European public who are interested in Indian.

COGNETS HEMONEUROL.

(HÆMOGLOBIN WITH KOLA NUT AND GLYCEROPHOSPHATE OF LIME)

FOR

Exhaustion through overwork or illness.

WORSHIPFUL MASTERS. By A. B. Piddington (Mr. Justice Piddington), Sydney. Angus and Robertson, Limited.

The author of this book, a distinguished Australian Judge, is indirectly connected with India as his great uncle was "President, Marine Courts, Calcutta," and it is to his "Sailor's Horn Book" published in 1848 that we owe the word "cyclone" from the Greek *kukhus* "which signifies, amongst other things, the coil of a snake" to describe storms due to circular or highly curved winds. Mr. Piddington thinks that the idea of the coil of a serpent in connection with these storms was suggested to his great uncle by the fact that Vishnu is described in Hindu mythology as having his abode in the ocean of milk where he reclines on the coils of a large serpent. There is little else about India in the book except an interesting account of a visit Mr. Piddington paid to Mr. Gandhi. For the most part, his recollections consist of character sketches and anecdotes of the leading legal, political and social lights of New South Wales. It would have been easier to discover who is who in the leading province of the Commonwealth of Australia if Mr. Piddington had adopted some sort of chronological order. Humour is proverbially associated with the Law and the reader is given a feast of good stories, most of which will be quite new to him. But he will be amused to see that two "chestnuts" at least have reached the antipodes. The story of the eminent man who was so polite that when he got up in a tram, he gave his seat to three ladies, is there told of Sir Thomas Bent, the twenty stone Premier of Victoria, instead of President Taft as it is in the United States and of G. K. C. in England. The other "chestnut" is the tale of the local worthy who suggested that it would be as well to import two gondolas for his town's artificial lake instead of one as proposed, as they would then be able to breed!

BEHOLD THE MAN OR KESHUB AND THE SADHARAN BRAHMO SAMAJ: A CONFESSION. By Prof. Dwijadas Datta, M.A. To be had of the author or Babu Genesha Prasad, 84, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

This book is a reprint of a number of articles which appeared in THE WORLD AND THE NEW DISPENSATION, and as that journal points out, they "constitute a witness to the reality of the New Dispensation." These articles are an answer to the baseless criticisms of the separated sections of the Brahmo Samaj against the greatness of Keshub Chunder Sen, the real founder of Brahmo Order. The book is an entertaining Biography of Keshub Babu, the founder of the "Nava Vidhan."

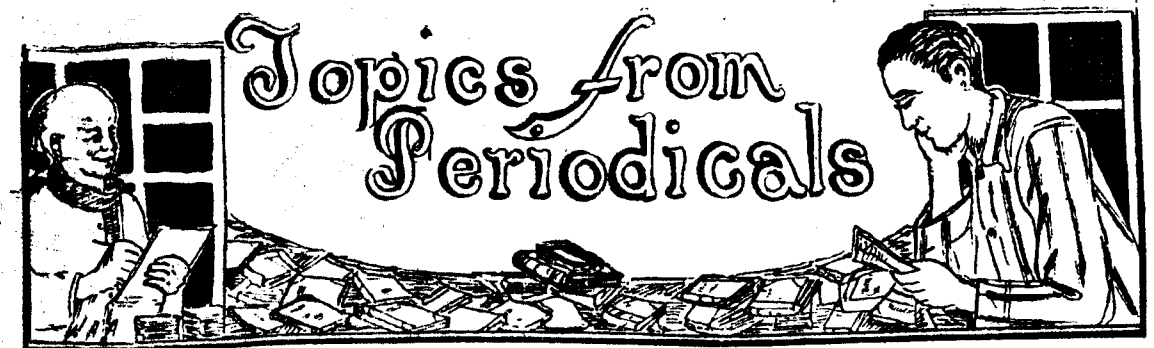
The several chapters of the book are profusely documented and deal elaborately with the schismatic period in the history of Brahmo Samaj. The articles show considerable scholarship and powers of research. Prof. Datta commands an inimitable manner of presentation and an elegant style, and his treatment of the subject makes the history of the Samaj read like an epic of olden times.

THE INDIAN YEAR BOOK, 1930. Edited By Sir Stanley Reed and S. T. Sheppard. Bennett, Coleman & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 7/8.

In completeness and convenience of arrangement, this Year Book is hard to beat; and, year by year, it is improving alike in variety and copiousness. The statistical and historical introduction coupled with the notes on the topics of the day will be found invaluable to laymen and journalists. Its thousand pages are packed with information of every kind arranged and classified for easy reference. We congratulate the Publishers not only on the excellence of its contents but also on its handsome get-up.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE SCOURGE OF CHRIST. By Paul Richard. Alfred A. Knoff, Publisher, New York.
- INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Erwin Wexberg, M.D. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.
- THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN MARRIAGE. By F. Mullerdyer. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
- 5,000 FACTS ABOUT CANADA. Compiled by Frank Yeigh. Canadian Facts Publishing Co., Toronto, Canada.
- THE DIVINE MASTER. A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF GURU NANAK. By Sewaharam Singh, B.A., LL.B. Rai Saheb M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Lahore.
- PAPERS RELATING TO BRITISH INDIAN SEA CUSTOMS DUTIES AND INDIAN STATES. By Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A. Indore City.
- TEMPLE BELLS: READINGS FROM HINDU RELIGIOUS LITERATURE. By A. J. Appasawmy. Association Press, Calcutta.
- LORD HASTINGS AND THE INDIAN STATES. By M. S. Mehta. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.
- HINDU SHASTRAS ON MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS. Part I. Murli Dhar Kacker, Allahabad.
- ANNA LOMBARD. By Victoria Cross. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.
- THE WOMAN OF ANDROS. By Thornton Wilder. Longmans Green & Co., London.
- THE QUEST FOR CERTAINTY. By John Dewey. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.
- THE AWAKENING OF ASIA. By Ruchi Ram Sahni. Punjab Printing Works, Lahore.
- PAINTED VEILS. By James Huxekar. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.
- THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF WOMAN'S EDUCATION. By Chiplankar. S. B. Hudlikar, Deccan Gymkhana Colony, Poona.
- EVOLUTION OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOMBAY. By R. P. Massai. Oxford University Press, Bombay.
- CHILDHOOD, BOYHOOD AND YOUTH. By Leo Tolstoy. Oxford University Press, Bombay.
- WAAC. A Woman's Story of the War. Anonymous. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.
- THE NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS. By E. R. Rost. Williams and Norgate, Ltd., London.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY. By A. F. Hattersley, Cambridge University Press.
- THE MAGIC OF THE STARS. Maurice Melterlink. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By C. Delisle Burns. George Allen and Unwin.
- KEYS TO SYMBOLIC DIRECTING. By W. Frankland. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.
- PRESENT-DAY ASTRONOMY. By J. W. N. Sullivan. George Newnes, Ltd., London.
- SOME ASPECTS OF HINDU MEDICAL TREATMENT. By Dorothy Chaplin. Luzac & Co., London.
- PHILOSOPHY WITHOUT METAPHYSICS. By Edmund Holmes. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
- TO BE OR NOT TO BE: OR IS LIFE WORTH LIVING? By A. F. J. Chinoy, LL.B. Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London.
- INDIAN STATES AND BRITISH INDIA. By Gurmukh Nihal Singh. With a foreword by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Nand Kishore and Bros., Benares.
- PAUL: HERALD AND WITNESS. By A. C. Clayton. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.
- GOCHARAPALA NIRNAYAM. (A pamphlet in English) Kadalangudi Natasa Sastri, Triplicane, Madras.
- RUKMINI KALYANA MAHAKAVYA of Sri Raja Chudamani Dikshita. Adyar Library, Madras.
- IMPRISONMENT. By Lt.-Col. F. A. Barker. Christian Literature Society for India, Park Town, Madras.



THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA

There is an article of outstanding interest on the situation in India in the May Number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Lt.-Commander the Hon. J. M. Kenworthy, M.A., gives summarily the impressions he received and the information he gathered during a recent trip, by air, to India. The purpose of his journey was to investigate things on the spot. Commander Kenworthy places his hopes of any immediate improvement in the success of the Round Table Conference. He is fully alive to the difficulties of the situation and declares:

The present trouble can be traced to the appointment of the Simon Commission, without Indian members, and its consequential boycott by the Congress Party. The next step was the "Declaration of Independence" by this same Congress Party and the splitting off of the Moderates in consequence. This made Gandhi's present campaign inevitable, and from it followed the disorders, and worse still, the revival of the Terrorist movement in Bengal.

He believes the Congress declaration of independence was a great tactical blunder as also the refusal of the leaders to participate in the Round Table Conference. But the grant of Dominion Status would at once undermine the whole position of the advocates of independence.

Provided, then, that a settled Indian policy can be agreed upon between three parties at Westminster, and that it can be followed steadily, the situation is by no means hopeless.

Commander Kenworthy then discusses the problem of defence which is perhaps the most crucial point in any discussion of India's political future. The Indianisation of the Services in

India, he says, has far outpaced the Indianisation of the army.

Yet, without an Army, directed, commanded and officered by Indians, talk of Dominion Status and Dominion self-government is a mere playing with words, I make so bold as to say that the difficulties in the way of Army Indianisation are being exaggerated.

The Skeen Committee recommended an Indian Sandhurst. Why no steps have yet been taken to establish one, or, indeed, three or four, is a mystery. If we are sincere, and, be it noted, all three British political parties have admitted that the ultimate goal of political development in India is Dominion Status, we should proceed with the Indianisation of the Army, and also of the Indian Air Force, with far greater rapidity. Colleges are immediately required in India, not only for the training of infantry officers but for the training of cadets for the Artillery, Engineers, Tanks and Air Force. Admittedly, there will be a good many failures, partly owing to defective education, partly owing to the debilitating effects of long years of tutelage in peace on what were once military peoples. But then the obvious thing to do is to take more young men than are immediately required, and to select later.

He is, in fact, convinced that immediate relief should be given in these directions so as to retrieve India's loss of faith in British intentions. For, further disappointments and set-backs will only add to the strength of the party which favours complete severance of the British connection.

A policy of drift, and even more, a policy of mere negation, will bring worse dangers in its train than any advance on democratic lines. We must show that we are really in earnest now in the steps we take in the next year or two to restore the faith of our friends in India; and these will increase if we show good will and energy. A very fine opportunity will be lost if the Round Table Conference is bungled.

THE MODERN INDIAN GIRL

"The Ideals of a Modern Indian Girl" is the subject of an interesting article from the pen of Miss Padmini Sathianadhan in the YOUNG BUILDER for May. The writer clearly draws attention to the fact of two extremes in the classification of women—the one claiming equal citizenship with man and that other content to be at home, cooking for their husbands and looking after their children.

"The supreme aim of our modern girls should be to strike the happy mean between these two extremes; for rare and precious is the woman who can combine an innate love for her home with a desire for public service, and who can work for both without letting one suffer at the expense of the other. In my opinion, no woman should ever try to discard her feminine charm, and indiscriminately imitate men.

* * *

The aping of foreign liberty should mean also the observance of accompanying foreign conventions. Therefore, let us strike the happy mean, and be natural neither allowing ourselves to be too free nor too modest.

* * *

After all, life is happy and a little more spontaneous laughter will not be out of place amongst modern Indian girls. Recreation should play a more important part in our lives, and Clubs and Associations, where we can spend an hour or two every evening, should become more popular in our country.

* * *

However much we may try to improve outwardly, we cannot be happy unless we realise that our existence has a spiritual purpose in it, and without this inward serene happiness, we can hope to achieve nothing.

Our chief aim should be to be genuinely sincere and true in all that we do, to be natural and cheerful, and to have a generous, broad-minded outlook on the world."

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INDIA

H. H. The Maharani of Gwalior recently delivered an interesting address on "Women's Education in India", which is published in the April Number of the ASIATIC REVIEW. In the course of her address, which was delivered in English, Her Highness rightly observes that, "The education of a single girl means the uplifting of a whole family in a larger sense than the education of a single man."

She then draws attention to some of the prejudices against the movement at the outset, and the way to overcome them. Her Highness condemns the early marriages of girls and welcomes the Sarda Act, as thereby, girls will be able to remain in schools longer and thus have a chance of gaining more knowledge of the world. And what is to be the course of training that should be given to our girls in schools? Her Highness answers that:

Our prime concern should be the suitability of the courses of instruction to the needs of the pupils, and the relating of their education to their lives. If we can accomplish this and can further shake off the domination of the examination fetish, we are fairly near the solution of our problems, and have arrived at a stage when we can consider the feasibility of introducing a system of co-education in this country. * * * I believe, in co-education of boys and girls, specially in colleges and though in a country of Purdah this may appear unsuitable, it has proved a great success wherever it has received a fair trial, and its dangers are rare and the benefits great. "The case for co-education can be put in a single sentence. If education, rightly conceived and practised, is some day to become one of the chief instruments for perfecting the relations between man and man, then co-education rightly conceived and practised will ensure the inclusion in that perfection of the relations between man and woman".

In conclusion, Her Highness pertinently points out that:

Girls would do well to remember that the highest University diploma is but a poor recompense for a contracted chest and a curved spine acquired in its pursuit. It is not possible fully to enjoy the fruits of mental labour unless there is also a sound body in a state of good health. Girls should take to open-air sports and games just as boys do, and a time may come when girls thus physically fitted will be able to command the respect of their brothers without calling in the aid of sentimental chivalry.

QUALIFICATIONS OF A JUDGE.

There is an appreciation of Mr. Justice Holmes of America in the HARPER'S MAGAZINE for March by Prof. H. J. Laski of the London University. Enumerating the qualities of a Judge, Mr. Laski says:—

"He must have a full sense of the seamless web of life, a grasp of the endless tradition from which we cannot escape. He must be capable of stern logic, and yet refuse to sacrifice to logic the hopes and fears and wants of men. He must be able to catch a glimpse of the ultimate in the immediate, of the universal in the particular. He must be a statesman as well as a jurist, thinker as well as lawyer. What he is doing is to shape the categories through which life must flow, and he must have a constant sense of the greatness of his task. He must know the hearts of men, and yet ask to be judged from the conscience of their minds. He must have a constant sense of essential power, and yet be capable of humility in its exercise. He must be a servant of justice and not its master, the conscience of the community and not of its dominant interests."

Prof. Laski goes on to lay down what a judge should not be or do. He continues:

"He has to put aside the ambition which drives the politician to search for power and the thinker to the construction of abstract system. No one must be more aware of the limitations of his material, none more hesitant about his personal conviction. The great judge is perhaps the rarest of human types, for in being supremely himself, he must yet be supremely selfless. He has to strive towards results he cannot control through material he has not chosen. He has to be in the great world and yet aloof from it, to observe and to examine without seeking to influence. A political system which produces great judges can feel some real assurance about its future."

Mr. Justice Holmes's contribution to the building up of the constitution of the United States has

been notable. Mr. Holmes's love of liberty is noteworthy.

"He has refused to say that the citizen is subject to penalties because the opinion he utters is unwise or unpopular or critical of the Government of the day. He has insisted that so long as what is said does not directly provoke immediate public disorder, it is the business the Courts decisively to protect freedom of speech."

THE CHURCHES IN SOUTH INDIA

The Lambeth Conference Number of the CHURCH OVERSEAS, contains an article on the "Union of Churches of South India: The present position," by the Rt. Rev. E. J. Palmer. The moving cause of this union, says the Bishop, has not been policy, nor economy, nor ambition, nor diplomacy, nor statesmanship. But it has been Jesus Christ, once more choosing the weak things of the world to confound the strong, and the simple and ignorant to bring to nought the wisdom of the wise. The Bishop says:—

There, then, is the heart of the matter. The heart of the matter is the heart of Jesus. And next to his heart in the centre of this movement is the heart of the Indian Christians. There, at the centre, there is little questioning, there is little difficulty; the difficulty is not with the heart—it is with the head. Around this heart of the matter are several rings of people who have been or are using their heads. First, the missionaries on the field; then the Churches on the field; then, still going outward, we find the critics in western lands, and we shall also in due time hear something from the Churches in those lands which are connected with the Churches that meditate union in South India. Our Lord is the Truth as well as the Life. He would wish us, and will help us, to get the scheme right in the sphere of thinking as well as of feeling.

PANGADUINE

FOUR TIMES AS GOOD AS
COD LIVER OIL.

An Ideal Tonic for all Weathers

THE NEED FOR CULTURAL UNITY

The problem of creating an intercommunal unity in India is a most serious one. We cannot make any advance as a nation,—nay, we cannot even be called a nation—unless we are able to bring about a heart-felt unity between the various religious communities living here,' thus writes Prof. Teja Singh in the course of an article, in the KHALSA REVIEW for May.

To solve this difficulty, he draws our attention to the days of Akbar, when different Gurus and Bhaguts tried to remove the prejudices prevailing among the Hindus against the religious beliefs of the Muslims, and adopted views which were acceptable to the Muslims as well as the Hindus.

"Akbar himself introduced a kind of eclectic religion which was to represent all that was best in the different religions of the world. But these attempts failed to bring about a religious unity. Akbar's vision, so far as this attempt is concerned, was defective, because religion is a life and not an art or philosophy, and only a transcendental personality, which Akbar was not, could have united the Hindu and the Muslim modes of life."

Akbar made the Muslims study the Hindu books and brought the Muslim books within the reach of the Hindus.

"A successful attempt was made to create a unified art of India. Babar and Humayun were foreigners in their artistic tastes, but Akbar, as Ferguson says, cherished the Hindu arts as much as he did those that belonged exclusively to his own people, and tried to create a really Indian national style, not only in architecture but in music and painting also, combining the best features of both Hindu and Muslim arts."

It being impossible to effect a conscious combination in the sphere of religion, it was found possible to create a unity in the cultural ideas lying behind religions. The liberal ideas of Sufism were very much affected by Akbar and his people, and the Sufi Saints were very well. This impact of Islam and Sufism on Hinduism produced a fermentation in thought which resulted in the evolution of a system of views about God and man which were shared equally by all communities. The most prominent were: (1) the unity of God in place of many gods and goddesses, (2) the uselessness of caste and the brotherhood of men, (3) love rather than knowledge or works to be the basis of religion, (4) the necessity of a Guru or Pir in place of a priestly class, and (5) the use of a Vernacular in prayer and worship instead of Sanskrit.

In conclusion the writer observes that:—
If other peoples' history does not help us here, cannot our own history give some clue? My own view is that our past history does reveal one period at least when a real solution was attempted although for causes definitely known it also proved unsuccessful.

ON CULTURE

THE CULTURAL WORLD for February publishes an article on "culture" by Dr. T. Perceval Gerson, a pioneer organizer of the Hollywood Bowl. "It is incumbent" says the writer, "upon the world to find a common denominator, an underlying stratum as it were, common to all peoples, upon which to base a reconstructive programme. Some say the present civilization is not worth salvaging and it were better that it perish. Nietzsche long ago made a plea for a "re-valuation of all our values." It would seem a great opportunity is ours if we but take advantage of it.

The key to unlock the desired panacea is, according to the writer, *culture*, spelled just one way and divorced of many of its connotations. Mr. Gerson says:

To quote a recent definition from Powys, "Culture is what is left over after you have forgotten all you have definitely set out to learn." This terse statement of what culture is, is accentuated by an emphasis on what it is not, thus stressing rather happily the concept that concern and effort are not in the last analysis culture, but this need not imply that it be divorced from knowledge, for "knowledge is power", and much of it comes through effort. The very essence of culture must be art and science, and the human effort concerned.

The terms, art and science, might well be used synonymously. For art we may substitute beauty, and for science, accuracy. That which is beautiful is accurately so, and that which is accurate is beautifully so. We may thus speak of the accuracy of beauty and the beauty of accuracy. Why not call that moral which is beautiful and accurate or true, in other words, that which is artistic and scientific. Conversely, that would be immoral which is ugly and false, or to carry the concept farther, that which is inartistic and unscientific.

Even while such implied values are but relative, they serve for their time. Art has its genesis in the creative impulse. Its medium is not alone sound and visualized color and form, but necessarily incorporates pure thought processes, as expressed for example in a beautiful poem, a piece of literature, a scientific concept, or even an idealistic attitude in the field of human conduct as when we speak of the *art of living*.

It is essential therefore to stress culture through the medium of art and science, with emphasis in its last analysis on application to human needs and to human amelioration.

INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE

"A new industrial policy for India" is the subject of an interesting article in the newly started monthly magazine, THE KHALSA REVIEW, by Sir Alfred Chatterton. As far as possible, industries should be diffused over the whole country, but each industry must be concentrated in large units to command sound technical and business management and to control the working of thoroughly up-to-date plant. This is well illustrated, says Sir Alfred, in the Cotton Mill industry, the excessive congestion of which in Bombay is working out its own nemesis notwithstanding the advantages derived from supplies of hydro-electric energy, whilst the mills established up-country with more contented labour and smaller freight charges are at any rate holding their own during a period of depression.

The chief obstacles which militate against rapid industrial progress, according to Sir Alfred Chatterton, are as follows:

(1) The facilities which have been created for sea-borne penetration and the extent to which the commercial energy of the country has been expended on building up a foreign trade overwhelmingly towards the export of raw material and the import of manufactures. (2) The social and religious atmosphere which fosters apathy and pessimism and militates against the growth of spirit of enterprise. (3) The arrogance of caste which is inimical to co-operation and has caused the intellectual classes to despise productive labour. (4) The comparative failure to attract labour permanently to industry by neglect to provide adequate training by the adoption of bad methods of recruitment and by expecting it to live under conditions which offer no substitutes for the amenities of rural life. (5) An educational system which fails to develop character and originality and stifles individuality by a stereotyped succession of examinations suitable only for the selection of mandarins. If the attainment

of a University degree followed as a matter of course upon the completion of accepted courses of a study, certain very undesirable elements would be eliminated and though the value of the degree might depreciate that of the course of study might be greatly enhanced.

THE FREEDOM OF INDIA

A writer in the WORLD-HERALD writes on Indian freedom and shows how the world also is interested in her securing it. He says:—

"The world of late has suddenly become a unit like a human body. India in bondage is like a sore foot to a body, and is rapidly becoming more painful to the world in general. India is the only nation on record who persistently "turns the other cheek" in accordance with the teachings of her religions. Western nations were taught the same thing, but have never made the slightest pretence of obeying the teaching. This lack of effort gives substance to the wisdom of President Hoover when he announced that he had "no faith in disarmament by example" alone. If all nations had the spirit of India, world-peace would come as suddenly and beautifully as the sunrise. Keen students of India's predicament urge "Dominion Status" for India as soon as possible. It is hoped most fervently that Gandhi may compromise with Britain and accept sisterhood in the British Empire as a Self-Governing Dominion like Canada and Australia."

COGNET'S CAPSULES

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

FOR

Coughs & Colds

EMPIRE DEVELOPMENT

In the course of an interesting article in the current Number of the *EMPIRE REVIEW*, Mr. R. A. Hadfield endeavours to set out some constructive measures to see the whole Empire return to its old days of prosperity, and the people furnished once again with open vision in full employment. Systematic and intensive Imperial development alone offers the only possible compensation for the commercial and industrial losses during the Great War periods. Writing about the responsibility of England to develop the Empire in the interests of the White and the Coloured peoples under British rule, Mr. Hadfield urges that such intensive Imperial development should be hastened with all possible speed.

A Development Board representative of the whole Empire should be formed, constituted in such a manner as to make the work as attractive as possible by drawing together the master minds of the Empire. The Board should be a permanent body consisting of three groups: Dominions, India, and Crown Colonies, the last group: specially representative of Africa. Its functions would be, in addition to other forms of activity, to initiate works expansion in transport—roads, railways, canals, airways, tramways, harbours, docks, dams, and hydro-electric power plants; found new industries, open up new areas for agriculture, forestry and minerals. The Board's Council should change its personnel from time to time. As regards emoluments, these should be of a generous nature so as to secure the services of men who would bring together the politicians, capitalists, scientists, and technicians of the Empire in an intensive effort to enlarge its resources, improve its means of transport, and found new industries.

The British Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of British Industries, and the Chamber of Shipping have formed a Preparatory Committee in order, if possible, to agree on a policy to recommend to the Government and the Imperial Conference, and it is understood that the policy will include the adoption of an Empire Development Board.

THE INDIAN TARIFF QUESTION

"The proposed imposition of a 20 per cent. duty on the goods from countries other than England, while English goods are subject only to a 15 per cent. duty, is however, plainly a discrimination against the former, and a very inappropriate measure from the view-point of international relations, as it will be understood as aiming to oust foreign products from the Indian market", says M. Ouchi in the *JAPAN MAGAZINE*.

The new discriminative duty, if put in operation, will, therefore, deal a severe blow at the Japanese cotton tissue trade. Regarding *dhoti* worn by the Indians, the English product was completely replaced by the Japanese product some years ago, and an English imitation of the latter has been made of late. The new *raj* will make the cost of Japanese-made *dhoti* in India at least 1.66 yen per piece as against the present price of 1.50 yen, when the new rate of 16 sen per piece is added to the latter. As the English imitation of the Japanese product sells now at 1.42 yen per piece, the Japanese will lose their Indian market, which was won after a hard struggle, if things are left as they are. As the Japanese will necessarily have to develop their foreign trade more than ever as a result of the lifting of the gold embargo, the above must be considered a vital question, not only for manufacturers and traders interested, but for the whole nation. While it is needless to argue that due effort must be made by the Japanese as a nation against the raising of such unfair rate, a fundamental means must be exerted for the development of foreign trade by them to overcome such high tariff walls.

In view of the spirit of the Indian-Japanese Commercial Treaty, such a step taken by the Indian Legislature, says the writer, is an utter disregard of Japan's prestige and economic interest. He continues:—

We do not believe that the *Kasumigasaki* authorities will overlook a matter of such importance, and sincerely hoped that they will be all the more courageous and active to tide over the difficulty. It is expected that the commercial World of the future will be the scene of a tariff campaign in the industrial battlefield, so we hope that the commercial and industrial circles of the country in general will be more resolute as well as scrupulous in dealing with the tariff problem, in view of the trying ordeal affecting our cotton industry as a result of the revised tariff of India.

THE CYNICISM OF YOUTH

Prof. Bertrand Russell has a thoughtful article in the *HARPER'S MAGAZINE* for May. He is struck by the fact that the intelligent young of the present day are cynical to a far greater extent than was the case formerly. And he adduces arguments to show that the youth of England are more cynical than those of other countries. He is convinced that cynicism is not quite so rampant in Russia, China, India or Japan. Nor are the youth of Poland or Germany or Yugoslavia and other Western countries altogether cynical. Prof. Russell's argument is that the youth of those countries have something to love or hate, while the disillusioned youth of England have hardly anything to swear by. The fact is either love or hate is better than blank scepticism. "Not only are the young unable to believe what they are told but they seem also unable to believe anything else." He shows the total wreck of hope and faith in the things that have often inspired the devotion of youth in the past—religion, country, progress, beauty and truth. To them, everything is taboo, what then is the remedy?

"If this diagnosis is right, modern cynicism cannot be cured merely by preaching, or by putting better ideals before the young than those that their pastors and masters fish out from the rusty armoury of outworn superstitions. The cure will come only when intellectuals can find a career that embodies their creative impulses."

PROHIBITION IN INDIA

The April Number of *PROHIBITION*, the official organ of the 'Prohibition League of India', gives a number of authorities for the deleterious effects of drink. The journal comments adversely on the increased revenue from drink which the Finance Member of Madras appreciates as a natural incident of a prosperous year and says that it is a mistake to continue this baneful traffic. In the incidence of drink revenue, Bombay and Madras head the list, obtaining 265 pies and 240 pies per

capita during 1927-28; U. P. is at the bottom with 60 pies per head. In Bihar, the Excise revenue is nearly half of the total revenue: the district Sevasamiti, however, is doing excellent propaganda among pilgrims and there are also movements among lower castes for forming panchayats for enforcing abstinence. So far as Europe is concerned, Dr. Herod of the International Bureau against Alcoholism declares that "the end of 1929 finds the temperance as determined as ever not to relax their effort until the adversary has been finally overcome". The U. P. Excise Report shows a deplorable increase in the consumption of foreign liquors; the consumption of wine alone during 1928-29 shows an increase of 76 per cent. over the preceding year! The report refers to a newspaper in India devoted to the cause of Indian political emancipation which had three advertisements about foreign liquors in a single issue. The following is quoted from Mr. Phillip Snowden:—"The Liquor Traffic does not produce wealth. It destroys wealth in order to manufacture pauperism."

The New India Assurance Co., Ltd.

(Established, Bombay 1919).

Chairman:

SIR DORAB J. TATA, KT.

CAPITAL:

Nominal	...	Rs. 6,00,00,000
Subscribed	...	3,56,05,275
Paid-up	...	71,21,055

"The New India is admittedly the largest general insurance company in India. From the capital point of view, it may claim to be one of the largest insurance companies in the world."—*Indian Insurance—June 1929*.

Agencies available for all classes of assurance—Life, Fire, Marine, Motor Car, Accident, etc., in all parts of the Presidency.

BRANCH MANAGER.

4, FIRST LINE BEACH, MADRAS.

E. April '31.

CHILD-MARRIAGES IN INDIA

The lamentable consequences of premature marriages in India have received much attention from progressive thinkers; and, according to the census of 1921, out of 9,000,000 girls married, 400,000 were already widows at the age of fourteen or less. Mr. C. F. Strickland, writing on early marriages in India in the current Number of the *ENGLISH REVIEW*, points out the various difficulties in the way of reform that confront the Indian community. Indian customs render it highly improbable that many of the widows will find another husband, and the prospect before them is at best dreary and utterly miserable. Including widows, it is estimated that 50 per cent. of Indian girls are married before they reach fifteen. The trouble affects Hindus somewhat more than Muslims, and among the Indian communities, the Christians alone show a considerable higher marriage age. A new road of advance was therefore clearly needed, and, in response to the demands of the central Legislature and of women's Associations, the Age of Consent Committee was appointed to review the position, and the Committee after prolonged deliberations and enquiries have raised the marriageable age of girls to 15. Mr. Strickland says:—

The wider the gap between the legal minimum age and the customary practice, the less will the law be regarded, and until some means of enforcement can be discovered, further legislation on the same lines is useless. The parties and their accomplices will not give information. The feeling of the village or the urban group is predominantly on their side or indifferent, and investigation by the police will be bitterly resented. Doctors, too, are more anxious to cure the suffering girl, if injury or premature maternity has resulted, than to denounce the erring husband.

In conclusion, the writer presses for further legislation on the following lines:—

A registration law, if an honest agency can be found to execute it, will be helpful, but an ostentatious pushing up the age of consent, marital or extra-marital, is waste of energy. A Bill of Sir Hari Singh Gour, now before the Indian Assembly, is directed towards raising the age of marital consent to fourteen, and extra-marital to sixteen years. The former provision deserves to be passed, bringing the Penal Code into accordance with the marriage law: the latter, though eminently right [and desirable in itself, will be entirely without effect.

THE RETURN OF JESUS CHRIST

THE ORIENTAL WATCHMAN AND THE HERALD OF HEALTH, publishes an interesting article on "The coming of Christ" by Mr. Gwynne Dalrymple. The Scriptures do not give the calendar date of Jesus' return, yet the following, according to the writer, will be found interesting:—

Many verses, as well in the Old as in the New Testament, have been devoted to setting before us the sign that would show when the Saviour was near, "even at the doors." When some of the disciples came to Jesus on the Mount of Olives and asked Him, "What shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the end of the world?" (Matthew 24:3), He did not tell them that no sign should be given. Instead, He revealed to them a large number of events to take place before His return: events among men (Luke 21:26; Matthew 24:24-26); events on land and on sea (Luke 21:25); events in sun and moon and stars (Mark 13:24-25), events, which as the day of His advent drew near, might be understood and believed by His people. And Jesus ended His instruction with the words, "And what I say unto you, I say unto all. Watch". Mark 13:37.

Let us, then, like faithful servants, watch for our Lord's return, not in the spirit of a fanatical setting of dates but in the spirit of searching His word and faithfully obeying it.

Prominent among the signs that have been mentioned as pointing out that our Lord is near is the sign of a religious apostasy of a peculiar nature. "Nevertheless," inquires Jesus, "when the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" (Luke 18:8) that is, will there be left those who still believe in Him? The question, which is not answered in the text, suggests that He will find very few of those who really trust in His name. "The time will come", declares Paul, "when they will not endure sound doctrine." And this time seems to be the same time at which our Saviour, returning to claim His people will, with difficulty, find faith on the earth.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

CAN WE CONTENT INDIA. By T. Earle Welby.

[The Fortnightly Review, May 1930.]

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE PERMANENT

SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL. By J. C. Ghosh.

[Indian Journal of Economics, April 1930.]

THE INDIAN POSITION. By W. A. J. Archibald.

[The Review of Reviews, May 1930.]

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA. By R. Amar Nath

Bali, M.A. [The D. A. V. College Union Magazine, April 1930.]

THE MACHINERY OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE

KAUTILIYA. By Dr. Narendranath Law, M.A.

[The Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1930.]

Questions of Importance

MR. SLOCOMBE ON THE SITUATION

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The attitude of the various political parties in India towards the Round Table Conference is reviewed in a despatch to the *DAILY HERALD* by Mr. George Slocombe. He states that the Congress will co-operate only on the terms offered by Mr. Gandhi in his prison interview. The Liberals will not go to London if definite pledges are not given to the effect that the London Conference is for the business of framing a Dominion Status Constitution.

The different schools of Muslim opinion are ably sketched by Mr. Slocombe, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema throwing in its lot on the Congress side, and Mr. Jinnah offering terms which are not far from that of Mr. Gandhi's.

Lastly Mr. Slocombe states that he is convinced that Messrs. Gandhi and Jinnah are alive to the minorities problem on which both His Majesty's and the India Governments lay undue emphasis, and will be settled in a week's time, provided all parties are clearly told the form of Self Government which Britain offers.

THE NEW INDIA

After a busy tour round the country Mr. Slocombe went to Simla, whence he writes of the confused picture that the country presents:—

"In the torrid heat and dust of the plains, the vast congested cities through which I travelled on my way here, are swarming with restless crowds excitable and swayed by rumours. Among these crowds, the familiar white Gandhi cap appears on a majority of the heads.

Obliterating class distinction as well as caste and religious differences, this emblem of new Indian nationalism is now found in all quarters and among all grades of society.

Many best known Indian families are divided among themselves. Fathers cling to the constitutional and pro-British views of a lifetime, but the children and servants all side with Mr. Gandhi."

MISSIONARY SUPPORT TO INDIA

The following appeal has been issued by 65 representatives and influential missionaries and Indian Christians now staying at Kodaikanal.

"We have no hesitation in associating ourselves with the aspirations of India to achieve an equal and honourable place in the family of nations. We are convinced that all parties are sincerely seeking, although along different lines, what they feel to be the best interests of India. At the same time we are deeply distressed by the increasing spirit of distrust and bitterness between Britain and India as revealed in the present struggle.

The time calls for a spirit of magnanimity and acts of conciliation on all sides without which, we feel, the purpose of all who are seeking India's highest welfare cannot be achieved. Believing strongly that the only lasting solution will be reached through frank discussion in a spirit of mutual trust and sympathy we express the earnest hope that there may be held a Round Table Conference which will be truly representative of all parties and interests.

We appeal to our brethren throughout India and Britain that they will pray earnestly and continually, both in their private and public worship, that God's will for India may be revealed and obeyed. We also appeal to them at this juncture to avail themselves of every opportunity to promote a spirit of mutual understanding and good will and to regard it as a primary duty to share in all activities which will make India truly great and truly free."

INOTYOL

FOR ECZEMA AND SKIN DISEASES.

SAFE TO USE, QUICK TO HEAL.

Utterances of the Day

BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA

I. MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD

Addressing his constituents at Seaham on May 26 Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said:—

"India is calling for the most careful handling. If you are too weak, that will be bad. If you are too fussy in your strength, it would be as bad. When the Labour Government was in office in 1924, it was our intention to take a step forward in the appointment of the Commission, which would have advanced Indian self-government very substantially.

In 1929 we came in determined to carry out the pledges given again and again by this country to India, that she was going to enjoy Dominion Status. Just at that moment, just when everything was making for fair weather for that adventure, the whole thing was put into the melting pot by action which though nominally non-violent, . . . is more hampering to progress than positive violence might be.

We are going through unchanged in our conception of what the Indian goal is but will never yield to forces which are contrary to democratic government and representative responsibility."

II. MR. BALDWIN

Mr. Baldwin speaking at Bury, said:—

"Let us not lose patience with India. Let us have every faith in our own men who are ruling India along the path predestined for her. In the fullness of time, when India has more control over her fate, we want to work with her. We want to see our trades in India and at home standing together so that they may come side by side into the markets of the world and we may have preference for ourselves in Indian markets and India perhaps may share with us other Dominion markets. We must have complete co-operation with all parts of the Empire, remembering that India is a part and, as she lives up to her aspirations, she must take upon herself the duties as well as rights of a Dominion and the duties are to pull together in unity against the whole world."

III. MR. WEDGWOOD BENN

In the course of the debate on India Office Estimates in the House of Commons on Monday the 26th May Mr. Wedgwood Benn after referring to the impending report of the Simon Commission, observed:—

"The next stage is the Conference to consider the question of constitutional advance in co-operation with those who can speak authoritatively for the opinion in British India and Indian States. As the Viceroy has said:

It is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgments on the problem as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India.

That policy stands. The goal is accepted. It is accepted by all parties in this house. But there are great difficulties on the way of it. Does any one deny that there are great difficulties on the way to the goal? These difficulties do not exist exclusively or mainly on this side. They are largely Indian difficulties and it is from Indian opinion that we must seek a solution of the difficulties. I will make bold to say that, if, in this conference, substantial agreement is reached no Government would be likely to ignore its work when it came to present its proposals to Parliament.

There are other difficulties. I refer to one school of thought which presents this view that India is a market to be exploited by or on behalf of British interest. I say that were such a belief held by any large body of opinion in this country the days of British connection with India would be numbered. What is the principle on which our influence has been extended over such large tract of the globe? It is that, by voluntary co-operation, the interest of each is served by a union of all. Any policy which sets before the Indian any ideal, save the Indian ideal, by which I mean the welfare of all those of whatever race or colour whose interest is in India is foredoomed to failure. How long would this Empire last if this doctrine, which some seek to apply to India, were attempted to be applied even to the smallest fragment of the self-Governing Empire? Who would desire to see the Empire built on the principle of exploitation of one race by another?"

Indian States

BIKANER ON THE R. T. C.

The Maharajah of Bikaner, who leads the Indian delegation to the League of Nations, in the course of a speech, referred to the present political



H. II. THE MAHARAJAH OF BIKANER

situation in British-India *vis-a-vis* Indian States. He said that he was surprised to learn from private letters from friends in England that the most open and harmless informal discussions with leaders in British-India for the purpose of finding possible lines of agreement before the Round Table Conference had been misunderstood in certain quarters, as implying a weakening of the position which the Princes have consistently taken up of standing solid for the Crown and the British connexion. He said: "There can never be any question of any weakening of the link with the Crown, which the Princes treasure and wish to retain unimpaired."

His Highness lamented the rejection of the hand of friendship proffered by Lord Irwin, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Benn by an important political Party in British-India. Another golden opportunity had been lost to India.

He concluded: "We only pray that the efforts of other leaders in British-India, imbued with patriotism and sobriety will receive a maximum of support from all persons and parties who have the good of India at heart and that the harm done may be retrieved, that India may yet come into her own, as an equal and honourable member of the British Commonwealth and that the Round Table Conference will be followed by an era of peace and prosperity to which our beloved but sorely distressed motherland is surely entitled."

It is officially announced that His Highness will also be a member of the Indian delegation to the Imperial Conference to be held in London.

THE LATE MAHARAJAH OF UDAIPUR

The Maharajah Fatehsinghji Bahadur of Udaipur died on May 27. His death will be universally regretted not only for the personal friendship existing between His late Highness and His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner, but also for long established family relations existing over nineteen generations, and covering a period of over four centuries, commencing with the first matrimonial alliance in 1514 between the two houses, when a Princess of Udaipur, sister of the famous Rana Sanga, married Rao Lunkaranji, son of the founder of the Bikaner State.

His Highness the Maharana Sir Bhopal Singhji ascended the Gadi on the 5th of this month. He has, it is said, an ambitious programme and he is determined to modernise the administration, in which he will be ably assisted by his Chief Minister, Pandit Dharmanarain, Bar-at-law, and Mr. Kanwar Tej Singhji, Private Secretary to His Highness.

Indians Outside India

TRANSVAAL CONGRESS STATEMENT

The Transvaal Indian Congress has published a statement prepared for presentation to the Select Committee of the Union Parliament recently constituted to consider the licensing question in the Transvaal. According to the information collected by the Congress, there are 36 wholesale merchants of more than ten years' standing whose aggregate capital amounts to something like £3,000,000. Retailers in the City of Johannesburg number some 800, with an approximate capital £320,000. Besides, there are some 73 retailers in the Proclaimed Area.

Commenting on the Congress statement, the **SERVANT OF INDIA**, says:

"The principal point urged in the statement is that at no time since the earliest anti-Indian legislation was passed in the Transvaal in 1885 was there ever any intention of limiting the freedom of Indians in the matter of trade: the restrictions on Indians were limited to residence and for sanitary reasons only. Indians were allowed to acquire trading rights even in prohibited areas without let or hindrance. But whatever be the legal position or the practice in vogue, the moral considerations are to-day greatly in favour of Indians. The genesis of anti-Asiatic laws in the Transvaal was the feeling that Indians were alien coolies with habits repugnant to the sanitary tastes of the Boers. Now that over 80 per cent. of the Indians in South Africa were born in the Union, and that their habits and modes of life have greatly changed since 1885, and that they now approximate to the European standards, the bottom is knocked out of the old grounds for even the residential segregation of Indians. On the top of it all, stands the Union Government's undertaking to uplift the permanent Indian population in the Union. It is futile as it is unworthy to go back to the past to search out the infringement of the old repressive laws and to restore to its pristine severity and ruthlessness the old repressive policy, particularly when such justifica-

tion as it had then has now ceased to operate. Every new step must now be judged by the policy underlying the uplift policy in the Cape Town Agreement."

The fact that the authorities concerned had followed a consistent policy of permitting Indians to trade and secure ownership of land by evading the strict letter of the law constituted a strong argument why they should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their acquired rights. Sir Kurma Reddy observed in a recent speech made by him in Johannesburg:

We have not reached the stage of desperation. There is still hope. I cannot believe that the forecast published in Johannesburg is well-informed. I believe better counsels will obtain, and that Dr. Malan and the Union Parliament, who have an international reputation to maintain, will do nothing to endanger the safety of the Indian residents in South Africa. I don't believe the South African Government will deprive its children of the liberty that is theirs. The matter does not rest with the committee alone, but with the Parliament of South Africa.

INDIAN EMPLOYEES IN KENYA

In the Commons replying to Major Graham Pole Dr. Drummond Shiels, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Colonies, stated that he did not intend at present to reduce generally the number of Indians employed in the Government or Railway and harbour administration in Kenya. The Asian staff in the former had increased in the last five years. A few reductions for the sake of economy had been made in the latter and more might be necessary. He added that as it was the policy to train Africans for Government employment the proportion of Indians could be expected to decrease in course of time.

HARTAL IN EAST AFRICA

Indians throughout East Africa observed a hartal in connection with Mr. Gandhi's arrest, Moslems joining in also. There were processions through the bazaar streets, and orderly mass meetings were held.

Industrial and Commercial Section

MR. SLOCOMBE ON THE BOYCOTT

Commenting on the Boycott Campaign in India, Mr. Slocombe observes in one of his despatches to the **DAILY HERALD**:

"Perhaps, the most serious aspect of the conflict between the nationalists and the authorities is the growing bitterness against Europeans, with a consequent intensification of the boycott of British goods. I met to-day a wealthy Punjab merchant who is said to be the largest importer of Lancashire piece-goods in India. He told me that he had £1,00,000 worth of stock in hand which was useless to attempt to sell, and that he was placing no further orders. He was prepared to take his losses cheerfully as his contribution to the national cause. Even if the civil authorities succeed in repressing the lawlessness, which is an inevitable accompaniment of the civil disobedience campaign, the legacy of resentment created for this and future generations will make it highly improbable that the British market in India which at the moment is practically non-existent can ever be recovered. For this, if for no other reason, it is to be hoped the Government will lose no opportunity in bringing the present grave situation to an end by a political settlement before the policy of repression, with its inevitable reprisals and counter-reprisals, creates an unbridgable gulf between the two nations."

INDIAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

The Executive of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce, which met on May 17 in Bombay have passed four far-reaching resolutions.

The Committee urges all Indian commercial bodies to adopt Swadeshi and boycott British goods and foreign cloth. The Committee is in favour of starting depots and licensing the existing firms to sell Swadeshi clothes.

The Federation's executive resolved that commercial bodies must transact business only with Indian banks, Indian insurance companies and Indian shipping companies. With regard to other

commodities, Indian made ones must be used and if they are not available preference must be given to non-British goods. In any event, British goods should not be used as far as possible.

The last important resolution was one regretting the internment of Gandhiji. In the Committee's opinion, a round-table conference without Gandhiji was bound to prove a colossal failure and the Federation would not participate in it, if Gandhiji was not attending it.

The executive opined that it was in favour of withdrawing representatives from the legislatures. A statement embodying these decisions has also been issued by the Federation.

INDIA'S GREAT NEED

Addressing the East India Association on the subject of "India's Progress and Poverty," Sir Alfred Chatterton expressed the opinion that economic remedies alone would not suffice to remove the persistent poverty of the masses. A change of mentality, involving a desire for a higher standard of life, was necessary. He referred to the habit of looking to the State for help, and said that the opinion was almost universal that the extension of State Socialism was necessary to confront the difficulties and obstacles which private enterprise was unable to surmount.

Sir Alfred added that it seemed desirable to establish with the Government of India machinery for the evolution of an active policy of industrial development analagous to the military General Staff.

Sir Alfred expressed the opinion that, while improvement of agriculture was the chief agency of amelioration considerable advance industrially was possible and accelerated progress was urgently needed.

LABOUR CONFERENCE

Mr. Roy Chowdhury, representing the mine-workers of India, has been elected a member of the Committee of the International Labour Conference dealing with hours in collieries.

Agricultural Section

AGRICULTURAL ADVISORY BOARD

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in opening the second meeting of the Agricultural Advisory Board on June 8th said :

It is expected that this organisation will enliven provincial agricultural administrations and Universities to co-ordinate research throughout India and to help towards a satisfactory and early



SIR FAZL-I-HUSSAIN

solution of the difficult problems. It is for you now to satisfy the reasonable demands of agricultural India to-day. You are acclaimed with one voice as the future benefactors of the Indian agricultural world. < You and the Council, I have no doubt, will so conduct yourselves as to come up to the high expectations that are entertained of you and I am certain that your Chairman will be so vigilant as to make sure that you are enabled to put forth your best efforts to achieve the desired result.

MALABAR DEPRESSED CLASSES

It is understood that under the orders of Mr. Gray, I. C. S., Commissioner of Labour, Madras, an economic survey of the Depressed Classes in the taluks of Chirakkal and Kottayam in North Malabar and Calicut and Palghat in South Malabar is now being taken by the Labour Inspectors in charge of the taluks. There are in all about 375 villages in the four Taluks, and the survey will be completed within a year.

The survey will include the collection of authoritative and exhaustive details giving the number of families in each *paracheri*, (depressed class quarters) approximate population of each *paracheri*, occupation and economic condition of the people, number of elementary schools in each village, the distance of schools from the *paracheri* and the number of school going children aged 5 to 12.

THE PLANTATION PESTS

Two years ago the Madras Agricultural Department imported a unique kind of parasite from South Africa and Australia to put an end to the ravages of a kind of pest which was playing havoc in the whattle plantations on the Nilgiris, the bark of which is generally used in tanning hides and skins. The parasites which were technically called "vedelia" were imported in a small quantity and were mutilated at Ketti by the Agricultural Department. Later they were let loose in the plantations referred to. The plantations are now free from the pest, says the correspondent of the *Times of India*. "Vedelia" will be supplied to other plantations by the department.

Much success has attended the introduction of cochineal insects which were imported from Ceylon for destroying prickly pears. These insects are now in great demand in different parts of the Presidency. One peculiar characteristic of the insect is that it can only feed on prickly pears and if there is no prickly pear the insect dies.

Medical

INDIAN MEDICAL DEGREES

In his Presidential Address on May 27th at the meeting of the General Medical Council, Sir Donald Mac Alister referred to the Indian Medical Degrees and said that until a central body empowered to control and pronounce upon provincial medical qualifications and standards in India was established by Indian legislation, Indian diplomas, while they might be held to meet the legal needs of India itself, could not be registered in Britain. He added that the decision had been reluctantly but inevitably reached after much patient and sympathetic consideration of the present difficulties in India.

PLEA FOR A MEDICAL BOARD

The Hon. Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, presiding over a Conference of representatives of the Medical Faculties of Indian Universities, traced the history of the dispute arising from the (British) General Medical Council's decision to withdraw recognition of Indian Universities for the purposes of registration, and went on to remark that though such action was a matter of legitimate annoyance to many it would be more dignified in his opinion on an occasion like the present to be restrained in their criticism of the Council's action and to show a full appreciation of their point of view in the matter.

The Conference passed 15 resolutions, the most important of which were the following :

Recommending, pending the creation of an Indian Medical Council, the creation of an Inter-University Medical Board; and recommending that the Secretary of State and the Government of India be urged to rescind the existing rule by which holders of Commission in the I.M.S. are required to possess a medical qualification registrable in the United Kingdom.

LONG LIFE

Long life is primarily a matter of heredity in the opinion of experts of the Health Section of the Tokyo Prefectural Office.

These experts have investigated the histories of 14,000 persons over 80 years of age, who were awarded special recognition by the Emperor at the time of his coronation. The life histories of these 14,000 Japanese, ranging in age from 80 to more than 100 revealed :

Most of them came from families the members of which generally had lived to a great age.

That a majority of them belong to the middle class and are neither unusually rich nor unusually poor.

About one half of them ate both meat and vegetables with rice as the staple of their diet.

Fifty per cent. of the men and 90 per cent. of the women never drank intoxicants and those who did, took only mild rice wine in limited quantities.

More than 75 per cent. of the aged persons were farmers and a majority of the men were neither first or second sons.

MEDICAL ESSAY COMPETITION

At a recent meeting of the Council of the Association of Medical Women in India, held in Bombay, it was decided to offer prizes for essays on professional subjects to young medical women. Two prizes of Rs. 150 and Rs. 100 respectively are offered to women medical graduates, and two prizes of Rs. 100 and Rs. 50 are offered to women sub-assistant surgeons or holders of the L.C.P. and S. The subject prescribed in both cases is "Puerperal Sepsis", and it should be illustrated by not more than three clinical cases; and the entrants must have completed their professional training within the preceding 5 years. The essays should not exceed 2,000 words in length, and must be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Dr. Farrer, Farrer Hospital, Bhiwani, Punjab, before September 1, 1930. The best of the essays will be published in the Journal of the Association.

Science

PROF. EINSTEIN'S LATEST

Professor Albert Einstein, propounder of the Theory of Relativity recently lectured at Nottingham University on the trend of modern physics.



PROF. EINSTEIN

He announced that he hoped shortly to complete a new and even more comprehensive theory in which the laws of geometry and gravitation, as established by his general theory of relativity would be united with the law governing electromagnetic phenomena which had not yet been brought into the general scheme. This he hopes to do by concentrating on the question of direction in space instead of on size only:—

"It consists of words and mathematical formulae totally incomprehensible to the ordinary layman, and was described by a learned professor of the Prussian Academy of Sciences as 'a very hard nut to crack.'"

The publication is a complete "Chinese puzzle" to everyone, except a few advanced mathematicians and physicists, who at the same time admit that it is impossible to make it comprehensible for the general public particularly as the new theory

has not yet been worked out to its final conclusions and in its present stage is still a dream of the future.

Briefly put, it represents an attempt by an extension of the theory of relativity, to bring the mathematical laws of the gravity-field and of the electro-dynamic field into consonance with each other and to treat them from the same standpoint.

Professor Einstein himself concludes his work with the remark:

"A deeper investigation of the consequences of field unifications will be required to show whether the Riemann metric in connection with substance parallelism really provides an adequate conception of the physical quality of space. In view of this investigation it is not improbable."

WIRELESS TELEPHONES

An important advance in the development of long distance telephony, was made recently when Mr. C. J. Smith, European Vice-President of the Canadian National Railways, spoke from London to Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Railway, who was sitting in the International Limited Express train, running between Montreal and Quebec.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was also to have spoken to Sir Henry Thornton but atmospheric interference with the conversation before the line could be connected to Chequers. Sir Henry Thornton's voice was broadcast by the wireless from the train, to wires running parallel to the railroad, whence the voice was carried to pick-up stations, which transmitted it to the trans-Atlantic telephones.

SCIENCE SCHOLARSHIPS

Mr. B. H. S. V. Raghava Rao has been granted a scholarship of the value of £250 a year to carry on research in Chemistry in the University of London. The Government have also granted a scholarship of £300 a year to Mr. S. Chandrasekharan for Post graduate course in Physics in the Cambridge University.

Literary

THE NEW POET LAUREATE

The appointment of Mr. John Masefield as Poet Laureate in succession to the late Dr. Robert Bridges, has given great pleasure in literary circles and specially among Mr. Masefield's fellow-poets.

The new Laureate, who is 55, has written several notable novels as well as long narrative poems, which display intense love of sea and the English countryside. He was born in West England and as a youth ran away to sea serving before the mast for several years and gaining experience which are reflected in his "Salt Water Ballads."

After wandering around America doing odd jobs, including that of a bar tender, he returned to England and began to write seriously. He wrote sea sketches for the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, some notable short poems, including the well-known "Sea Fever" and then a series of long poems beginning with "Ever-Lasting Mercy" the vigorous and unconventional style of which attracted much attention.

Mr. Masefield lives at Bexhill, Oxford, and was a neighbour and a close friend of his predecessor Dr. Bridges. We are told the poet is of extremely shy temperament. Mr. Masefield is glad that the laureateship does not in these days involve writing to order as he does not believe that any one can produce real poetry unless he is deeply stirred.

MR. VENKATARAMANI

Mr. K. S. Venkataramani the well-known author of "Paper Boats" and "Murugan: The Tiller", was the recipient of a silver plate with the figure of Saraswati (Goddess of Learning) embossed in gold in the centre, at the hands of his fellow-lawyers in appreciation of the excellence of his literary work. The Madras Advocates' Association got up the function, on the 24th of April. The Honourable Justice Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri presided and gave away the plate to Mr. Venkataramani.

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A BIG NEWSPAPER COMBINE

Amalgamation has been effected of the two great London Liberal daily papers, THE DAILY NEWS and THE DAILY CHRONICLE, which two papers have a circulation of about 1,600,000. The combined journals appeared on the 2nd June under the title of THE DAILY NEWS & CHRONICLE. THE DAILY CHRONICLE, which first appeared as a London morning newspaper over 50 years' ago, had many notable journalistic achievements in its record.

THE DAILY NEWS was also a notable paper its first Editor being Charles Dickens, the great English novelist. Before the War it absorbed the Liberal rival, THE MORNING LEADER and since then THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

The two papers always worked on Liberal lines and their combined influence will be exerted in support of "progressive Liberalism at home and of peace and co-operation in international affairs."



DR. JIVANJI J. MODI
who was knighted on the King's birthday.

KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM

On the occasion of his installation as Chancellor of St. Andrew's University, Mr. Stanley Baldwin delivered an oration of considerable interest. Amongst other things Mr. Baldwin said:—

"Can we not say that knowledge is relative in this respect, that alleged facts tend to be displaced and disproved by the emergence of new facts, whereas wisdom, which is of the spirit, and is indeed itself the spirit in which knowledge is applied, is absolute?"

"Knowledge is the acquisition of the Hows and Whys of Things, and therefore is apt to be unrelated: Wisdom in herself is continuity. As so often happens, you have an eternal truth in an old law, 'Knowledge comes, but Wisdom lingers.'"

"You may have vast knowledge but little wisdom, as you may have much wisdom but little knowledge. Wisdom is hard to define, but you are always aware of it when you find it, and you instinctively stand hat in hand before it."

"Knowledge and cleverness interest and amuse, but who does not know the thrill with which you chance from time to time on one or two lines, perhaps some half-dozen words, by some singer three thousand years ago, how they strike back across the ages with all the wisdom of mankind learned by sweat and blood when Earth was young."

"Pray above all things to be delivered from that surfeit of mere knowledge which in the conduct of affairs entrusted to us and in the ordering of our inner lives brings unfaith and confusion. Let us correct the irreverence of mere knowledge by the innate decency of wisdom."

A VICE-CHANCELLOR'S WARNING

Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, has issued to teachers of the University a circular letter informing them that the University cannot permit their association with movements which advocate or countenance violence, or taking part in political propaganda.

ROD AS EDUCATION

"I have never had the cane in my life," declared the Dean of Manchester, when welcoming the delegates to the conference of a National Association of Schoolmasters at Manchester.

"This," he added, "is perhaps the reason why I am to-day a wholly irresponsible person and am caned perpetually by the Press and others." He suggested that something of the spirit of the school should be carried into business life and international relationships.

Mr. A. W. Haycock, M. P., said that he did not believe that the cane was a good educator. He was glad that the Conference welcomed the raising of the school-leaving age.

DR. SHAMA SHASTRY

Dr. R. Shama Shastri, Ph.D., the retired Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, who has received the title of Mahamahopadhyaya in



DR. SHAMA SHASTRY

the King-Emperor's Birthday Honours, was entertained by the Jain community of Mysore on June 8. Mr. V. Subramanya Iyer, the retired Registrar of the Mysore University who presided, paid a glowing tribute to the scholarship and learning of the chief guest. After others had spoken in a similar strain, the learned Doctor made a suitable reply.

MORE ORDINANCES

The chief event of the last week of May is the promulgation of two more Ordinances by the Viceroy in order to check the inauguration of no-tax campaigns, the picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops, and the social boycott of Government servants. They are called the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance and the Prevention of Intimidation Ordinance. Each of them is accompanied by a personal statement by the Viceroy, who sets out his reasons for such extraordinary legislation. The new Ordinances have already been applied, by notification, to the Provinces of Bombay, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa and the North-west Frontier; the Instigation Ordinance alone has been extended to the Punjab.

AIR LAWS

The Maidstone Police found it necessary the other night to tell an aeroplane whose roaring kept the good folk of the town awake, to move on. Now that air traffic is increasing to such an extent the revision of existing air laws and the codification of new ones is becoming urgent. Laws are wanted not only to protect people from annoyance and dangers from the air but also to protect airmen from each other. The skies are wide but collisions may easily occur near air-ports and on busy air-routes, especially when it is foggy. Air law will have to be international, yet several countries have not yet agreed to the International Convention of 1919.

LAWYERS & THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Pandit Motilal Nehru had an informal discussion with the lawyers of Allahabad on the 7th of May as to how they could help the national movement. It is understood that a suggestion was made that they should continue a portion of their income to the national fund, and give some time to picketing and other national work.

BOMBAY MERCHANTS AND THE POLICE

The merchants at Bombay organised a big procession on the 23rd as a protest against the police excesses displayed in Gujarat and elsewhere, and also as propaganda for Swadeshi. Though notice of the procession had been given, the Police Commissioner, at the last moment, decided to prevent the procession from passing through the business quarters on the Hornby and Esplanade roads. Despite this ban, various commercial Associations started in procession from the Bullion Exchange. When they arrived at Victoria Terminus, they found the police blocking the way. The processionists squatted on the road for nearly four hours and traffic had to be completely stopped. Through the persuasion of Sir Purushottamdas and Mr. Lalji Narainji, the Police Commissioner at last allowed the procession to proceed. The processionists held a public meeting at Esplanade Maidan under the presidency of Mr. G. D. Birla.

Among other Associations that have registered their protest against the police excesses and the repressive policy of the Government are the South Indian Chamber of Commerce; the East India Cotton Association, which met under the presidency of Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas and a joint meeting of several commercial bodies at Karachi.

BOMBAY'S NEW CHIEF JUSTICE

Mr. Fisher Beaumont, the newly appointed Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, is 52 years of age. He has had no previous connection with India. Mr. Beaumont has had a very successful career at the Chancery Bar. He was educated at Marlborough and Pembroke (Cambridge). He took First Class with Honours in History and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1910 and took silk in 1913. He is reputed to be one of the best golfers at the Bar.

Personal

LATE RAJAH SIR HARNAM SINGH

The death of Rajah Sir Harnam Singh at his Simla residence removes a striking personality



LATE RAJAH SIR HARNAM SINGH

from the Punjab, who has been identified for over half a century with all progressive developments in social, religious and political spheres in India. The Indian Christian community has lost one of its greatest benefactors. He joined the old Imperial Legislative Council during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and ever since has been a member of the Central Legislature.

He was born on November 15, 1851, in Kapurthala and was the second son of His Highness the Maharajah Sir Randhir Singha Gosi of Kapurthala. He embraced Christianity as a young man.

MISS DICKINSON

Miss Ida Dickinson, the first woman member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and an English woman, who has laboured for years with the Bombay Vigilance Association, has resigned her membership of the Council as a protest against the repressive measures of the Government.

Miss Dickinson appeared in the last Birthday Honours list, and was awarded the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal (Second Class) for her social work. To emphasise her protest against the Government's policy she has also refused to accept this decoration.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE

Sir Atul and Lady Chatterjee were entertained on May 22 at a luncheon by the East India



SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE

Association, Lord Lamington presiding. The distinguished company included Mr. and Mrs. Wedgwood Benn, Lord Meston, the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and others.

Mr. Benn, proposing the toast of Sir Atul and Lady Chatterjee, dwelt on Sir Atul's distinguished career and the ability with which he had occupied a position of great eminence and responsibility. He paid a tribute especially to Sir Atul's services to India in the sphere of international affairs.

Political

THE SLOCOMBE INTERVIEW

In pursuance of the interview of Mr. Slocombe with Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. G. A. Natesan in the course of his statement to THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL says:

"I earnestly trust the Government of India will endeavour their best to get into immediate touch with Gandhiji and try their best to put an end to the agony of the present situation. Mahatmajiji's demands that the terms of reference to the Round Table Conference should include the framing of a constitution assuring India Dominion Status and that there should be amnesty to political prisoners are almost identical with the proposals adopted by the Council of the National Liberal Federation which met in Bombay last week.

As I have said more than once the root cause of the present trouble is the lack of faith in British promises and pledges and Mr. Slocombe is quite right when he says that Mr. Gandhi only needs to be convinced about the sincerity of the intentions of the British Government. As Mr. Slocombe points out, in spite of the differences with Mahatma Gandhi, all will readily admit that he incarnates the very "soul of India".

MR. SASTRI IN ENGLAND

Quite a wonderful impression, says a correspondent, was produced by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, when he addressed a meeting of M. P.'s on the Indian situation on May 14. Mr. Sastri pleaded for India's cause in a speech so exquisite for its phrasing and tone that Sir Robert Hamilton (Liberal M. P. for Orkney and Shetland) declared that it ought to be broadcast.

Beautiful though everyone admitted his address to be, the general feeling of the meeting was summed up by a hard-boiled Tory colonel, who remarked audibly, as Mr. Sastri ended: "If this man is one of the Moderates, what on earth are the Extremists like?"

SIR T. B. SAPRU'S WARNING

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a letter to the INDIAN DAILY MAIL, endorsed by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, gravely warns the Government that they are fast losing their friends, and it will not suffice for critics in a certain section of the Press here and in England to say that those friends will not help the Government by coming out into the open.

"A friend of mine in very high position writes to me that, if the Labour Government were to make a new Declaration, they will cease to exist as a Government within 24 hours. I can only hope that this may be true of the Labour Government, until the publication of the Simon Commission's Report and, after its publication, they may be released from the unfortunate commitments of 1927, in respect of the Simon Commission.

Finally, Sir Tej Bahadur declares that what India wants is a plain answer to the question: "Do you mean business?" and maintains that the time for half-measures or mere gestures or promises to be realised on the expiration of an indefinite term are gone by.

BOMBAY LIBERALS' APPEAL

That repression can be no remedy for allaying Indian political discontent, and that if it is not given up it will lead to trouble on a much larger scale, is the substance of an appeal made to the Government by two Liberal leaders—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Junior).

At the same time they appeal to the Congress leaders, now that they have indicated, sufficiently well, the strength of the Indian Nationalist movement, to cry a halt to their campaign and listen to the voice of reason and prudence.

They believe that "peace with honour" is still possible and steps should be taken to achieve it, the first of them being a definite official statement to the effect that the Round Table Conference will meet to discuss proposals for a Dominion Status Constitution for India.

SIR A. CONAN DOYLE

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the novelist was busy on Tuesday, May 22, at his flat at Buckingham Palace Mansions, S.W., answering letters and telegrams of congratulation on his 71st birthday.

One from old cricket friends at Manchester read "Congratulations on 71 not out. Now for the century."

Sir Arthur reading out the wire, added: "Those friends remember that I used to play cricket in my younger days. I am very fond of the game."

HINDU-M.C.C. MATCHES

A special general meeting of the Hindu Gymkhana, by an overwhelming majority, has adopted the following resolution:

"Considering the present situation, the executive committee of Hindu representative matches be requested to cancel all cricket fixtures in the Quadrangular and M. C. C. matches."

Mr. Tairsee moved an amendment that the Hindu Gymkhana should not participate in the Quadrangular-Marylebone matches for the reason that these matches in the past occasioned communal feelings, which are likely to be aggravated in the present conditions.

The amendment was rejected by a large majority.

RANJIT'S GIFT TO SUSSEX C. C. C.

The Sussex County Cricket Club have received the following cable from their president and former playing member, the Jam Sahib of Nawana-gar ("Ranjitsinhji"):

"Hope to visit you in June. Have instructed my bankers to remit you £1,000, as my contribution to the club's funds as President. Convey my congratulations to Duleepsinhji (his nephew) for his fine score. I hope that he will secure his team many more and that he will uphold the honour of English cricket and the Indian name."

MISS AMY JOHNSON'S FEAT

Without any fuss Miss Amy Johnson has flown alone in a second-hand light aeroplane from London to Port Darwin in twenty days. There was much ado, says the TIMES OF INDIA, when Miss Amelia Earhart was the first woman to fly across the Atlantic. But Miss Earhart was only a passenger; Miss Johnson flew her aeroplane unassisted and alone. Nor did she receive unusual favours from the weather. In many places she had to navigate her way through storm and fog. "Women will say that both the Duchess of Bedford and she have further demonstrated women's right to be on terms of equality with men. Men will say that flying has now reached such a high stage of development that even a woman can safely fly alone from England to Australia. At any rate everyone will congratulate Miss Johnson on her courage and skill. With a little more luck she might have beaten Capt. Hinkler's record of fifteen and a half days. If she attempts to establish a record for the return journey she will have to fly to London in less than twelve and a half days, for that is the time for the journey taken by Squadron-Leader Kingsford-Smith and his companion a year ago."

AGA KHAN'S PRIZE

His Highness the Aga Khan has offered, through the Royal Aero Club, a further prize of £500 for the first Indian to fly from any point in India to Cape Town, within four weeks from the date of starting. Regulations governing this are being drafted by the Aero Club of India.

ENGLAND'S TEST TEAM

Duleepsinhji has been included in 13 official Test match players representing England against Australians. The thirteen players selected are:

Chapman (Captain), Duckworth, Duleepsinhji, Hammond, Hendren, Hobbs, Larwood, Robins, Sutcliffe, Tate, Dick Tyldesley, Jack White and Wooley (Kent).

LORD ROTHERMERE ON INDIA

THE DAILY MAIL and other associated newspapers have been furiously advertising the publication of an article from the pen of Lord Rothermere on India. It is entitled "What India means to us". The whole article is couched in the familiar vein of other DAILY MAIL propaganda about India and contains, besides the usual high-sounding platitudes about Imperial responsibilities a less exalted appeal for the realisation of the economic benefits which accrue from possessing India. "Do the electors who are the rulers of India" asks His Lordship, "realise that without Indian trade it is impossible to maintain the dole and pension services of Britain?"

Proceeding to advise as to what steps must be taken to recoup the position lost in India Lord Rothermere says, "The promise of Dominion status should be cancelled and not confirmed".

He then gives the reason why the pledge about grant of the Dominion Status should be withdrawn. He says, "Britain is released from the bargain on her side because of the open desire of Nationalists to secede from the Empire at the first opportunity." Dominion Status, he points out, now is admitted to imply full freedom to leave the Empire without hindrance, and that is exactly what Indian Nationalist agitation is meant to achieve.

ISSUE OF SIMON REPORT

The Government of India have completed their arrangements for dealing with the Simon Commission's Report and co-ordinating all work in connection with the Reforms.

The Special Branch of the Home Department ceases to exist and a "Reforms Office" has been constituted under Mr. J. M. Dunnott as Reforms Commissioner with a full staff of a Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Assistant Secretary. Mr. W. H. Lewis has been appointed Secretary. This office is independent of any other Department of the Government of India.

ROUMANIA'S NEW KING

Prince Carol first renounced the throne in September 1918, in consequence of his unauthorised marriage at Odessa with Mlle. Lambrino, the daughter of a Roumanian officer. His marriage was subsequently annulled. He again renounced the throne in August 1919, and lived abroad for a time. In 1921 he returned to Roumania and married Princess Helen of Greece. Towards the end of 1925 he again renounced the throne after abandoning his wife for Mme. Luperscu. He had previously been asked to reconsider his decision, but this time King Ferdinand called a Crown Council, which met on the last day of 1925. On January 4, 1926, the National Assembly accepted the renunciation and passed a law settling the succession on his son, Prince Michael, and providing for a Regency. After two years of wayward life during which he made repeated assurances that he had no intention of returning to Roumania, despite strong rumours of his secret plans to do so, Prince Carol paid a visit to Britain in the middle of 1928 and actually made an attempt to fly from there to Roumania. The plot leaked out and he was asked to leave the British shores.

Before the meeting of the National Assembly, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies met separately and unanimously decided to repeal the law passed on 4th January 1926 which abolished Prince Carol's succession to the throne, and restored to him all his right.

The National Assembly by 486 votes to 1 voted in favour of the motion of M. Junian, the Minister of Justice that Prince Carol be declared King. Cries of "Vive Carol II" were raised during speeches. The official proclamation of Prince Carol as King was made amid enthusiastic popular ovations. Subsequently King Carol took the oath in the Chamber, all present standing.

The Mironescu Cabinet, which was formed to preside over Prince Carol's installation as King, resigned after the completion of its task.

Diary of the Month

May 18. 200 volunteers are arrested at Dharsana.

May 19. Mr. Baldwin is elected Chancellor of the Cambridge University.

May 20. Nationalist Newspapers throughout India observe *hartal*.

— Sir Oswald Mosley resigns from the Cabinet.



Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU

May 21. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Manilal Gandhi and others are arrested.

— Rajah Sir Harnam Singh is dead.

May 22. Mr. Nariman and others are sentenced.

May 23. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is sentenced to 9 months' S.I. and Manilal Gandhi to one year R.I.

May 24. 115 are arrested and many injured in the raid on Wadala Salt Pans.

May 25. Mrs. Durga Bai is sentenced to one year S.I.

May 26. Mr. Wedgwood Benn issues an important statement on India.

May 27. Pandit Malaviya is arrested and released.

May 28. The Maharana of Udaipur is dead.

May 29. Mr. Abhyankar is arrested.

May 30. Viceroy promulgates two more Ordinances.

May 31. Nilakant Das, Ukal leader is arrested.

June 1. 15,000 persons raid the Wadala Salt Pans.

June 2. Major Astor is elected President of the Imperial Press Conference.

June 3. King's Birthday Honours are gazetted.

June 4. A Tariff Board enquiry is ordered regarding the sugar industry.

June 5. A memorial to Marshal Foch is opened in London.

June 6. Acharya Kripahni is sentenced.

June 7. The Court Martial of the Gharwalis on a charge of mutiny is opened.

June 8. Miss Ida Dickinson resigns her membership of the Bombay Council and returns her Kaiser-i-Hind Medal.

June 9. Mr. Waman Mukadan is sentenced to two years' R. I.

June 10. The Viceroy in reply to the Indian Federated Chamber's communication, states that his policy of conciliation stands.

Death is reported of a volunteer injured in the Dharsana lathi charge.

June 11. Mr. Haig, Home Member confers with officials of the Bombay Government.

June 12. International Labour Conference meets in Geneva.

June 13. Pandit Nilakant Das is sentenced to 6 months' S.I. for breaking the Salt Law.

June 14. Persia and Hedjaz sign a permanent treaty of friendship.

June 15. Miss Amy Johnson is conducted to the Speaker's chair in Canberra. (Australia.)

BUILDING BETTER BRAINS

How Mental Training Is Enabling Thousands Of Men And Women To Increase Their Efficiency And BRAIN Power.

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



Sir J. Foster Fraser.

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

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

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

Remarkable Results.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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."

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

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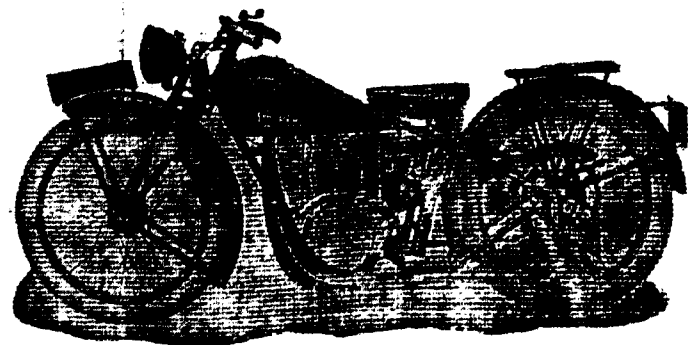
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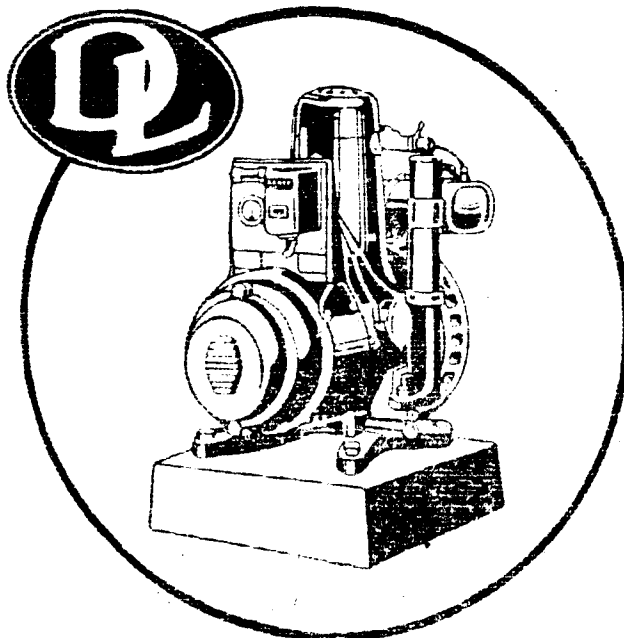
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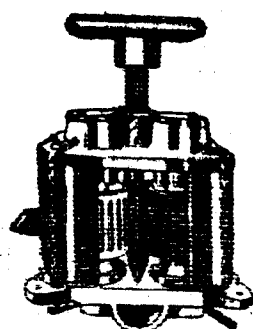
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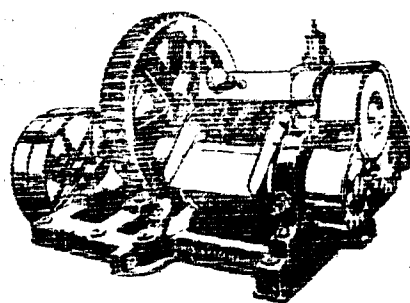
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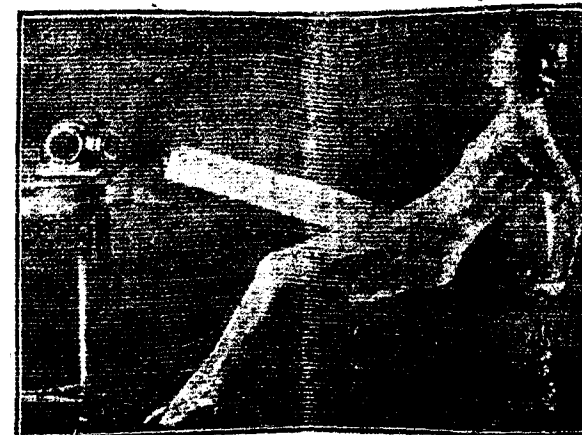
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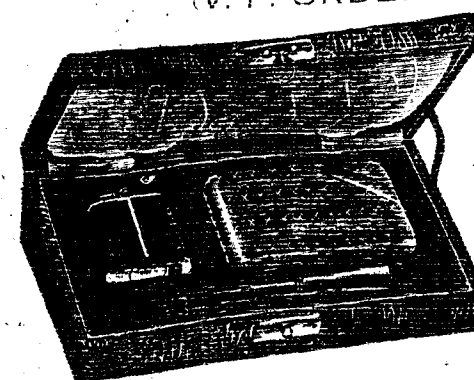
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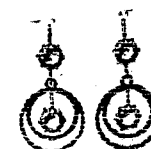
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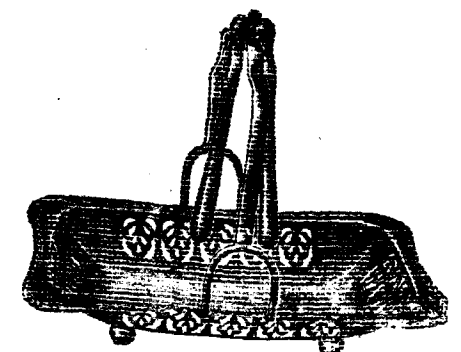


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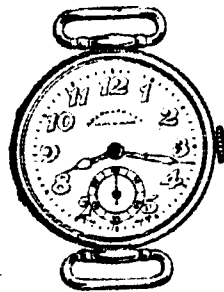
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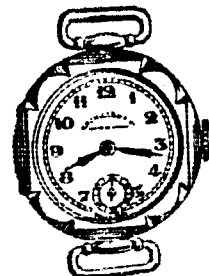
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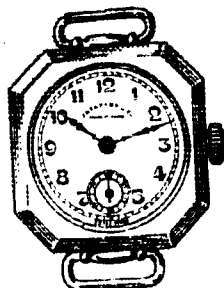
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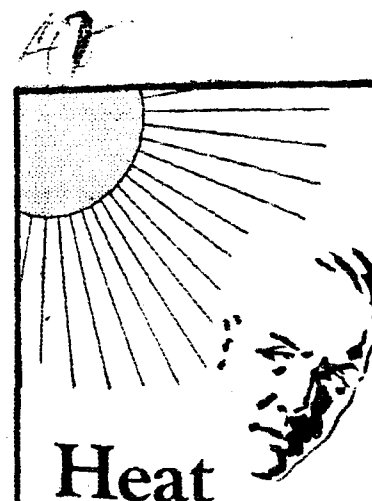
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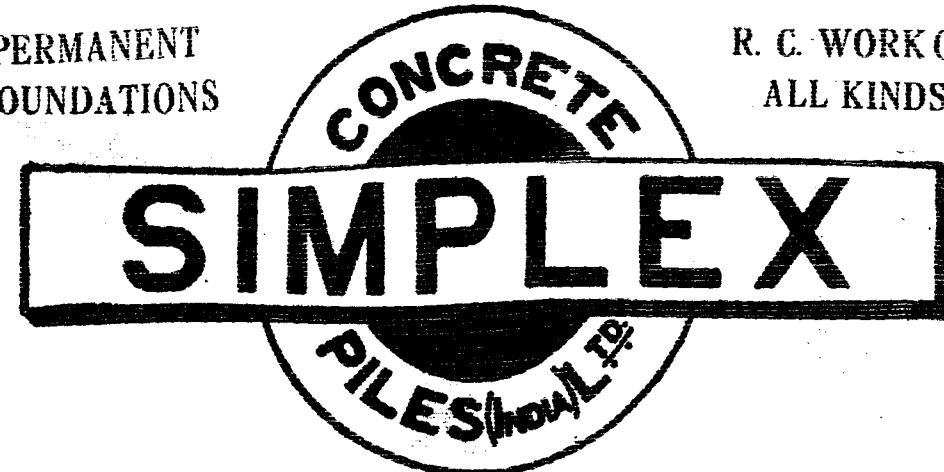
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E. May '31.

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LEMON
GINGER
ORANGE
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E. June '30, C. P. S.

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Make inviting, cooling and refreshing drink. They have the inimitable flavour of fresh fruits and are unsurpassed in excellence.

No harmful ingredients, no saccharine, no chemical tang, no dirt, no germs.

Absolutely untouched by hand.

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'FELIX' ROLLER COMPOSITION.

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E. Nov. '30

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Separate calculations by separate Astrologers on diverse principles based on these two schools.

Assimilations, eliminations and conclusions reached by the board of 6 Astrologers of most familiar reputation.

Examinations and corrections made by the highly-renowned scrutinizer before despatch.

Birth-time or palm-impressions must accompany every order.

One year's reading	...	Rs. 3/-
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Five	"	" 10/-
Whole life's .. (yearly)	...	" 50/-
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N. B.—Reading from palm-impressions requires an extra charge of Rs. 10/-.

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Ambitious, Strugglers, Worry-sunken,

Not be disappointed; not be broken,

Have the Heavens-Force to your aid,

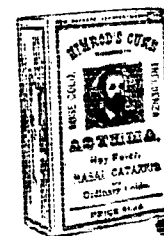
Here are Tantric remedies, try your fate.

For guidance and worldly troubles consult please—
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HIMROD'S Asthma Cure has proven itself a standard remedy throughout the world for 60 years for Asthma, Hay Fever, Catarrh, Influenza, etc.

At all Chemists.

E. Aug. '30, T.B.B.

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Sealed Tenders are invited by the Agent, N. W. Railway, Lahore, for the supply of:—
N. W. Railway Loco Duplicates (2nd Call) required during 1930-31.

for consumption during the year ending 31st March 1931 to be delivered in instalments. Tenders must be submitted on the prescribed forms which are obtainable from the Controller of Stores, N. W. Railway, Empress Road, Lahore, on payment of:—

Rs. 5/-/- per copy of tender without drawings, and Rs. 9/-/- per copy of tender with complete set of drawings or annas - 8/- per ferro copy of drawing.

Tenders must be addressed to the Agent, N. W. Railway, Lahore, in sealed envelopes provided and must reach his office not later than 2 P. M. on Monday the 14th July 1930.

The Agent of the N. W. Railway reserves to himself the right to reject any or all of the tenders received in answer to this advertisement without assigning any reason for such rejection.

Controller of Stores.

N. W. Railway,

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE, LAHORE.

Dated 15th May 1930.

E. June '30.

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Executed very neatly and satisfactorily.

Other works in Marble Granite etc., such as
Monuments executed to entire satisfaction.

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A trial order is solicited. Prices are moderate.
Designs and other informations are furnished on
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THE MORE YOU WASH IT THE BETTER IT LOOKS"

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WRITE FOR FULL PARTICULARS.

E. June '30.

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ONE advertiser wrote to say he had received over fifty replies to his advertisement for a piano: another that he sold his motor car a few hours after the publication of his advertisement, while another letter tells of an advertiser who sold his household furniture — and more — from one small advertisement in the "Madras Mail". An advertisement in the "Situations Vacant" column is certain of success. One advertiser recently asked us to stop his advertisement because he was "literally snowed under with applications."

ALL advertising is speculative, but in The "Madras Mail", it is a profitable investment.

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The new Dodge Eight-in-Line brings to the eight-cylinder field every typical Dodge Brothers characteristic of quality, stamina and dependability. It is an exceptional achievement in engineering, a triumph in luxury, roominess and comfort, as well as a brilliant performer. But most important of all, it is, in every respect, a typical Dodge Brothers product embodying true Dodge Brothers fineness in every part.

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Our own Make.

Books on physical culture, Bar-bell, Sexology Attaining Virility etc., etc.

Booklet free on request.

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SILVER Rs. 3-0. to

MEDAL Rs. 12-8. each.

Guaranteed for quality. Durability and perfectness.

PULLEY WEIGHT—

Family Set Rs 37-8-0.

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Gymnasium Set Rs 70-0-0.

DISCS LOADING BAR BELL.

Rs 17-8-0. to Rs. 60-0-0 per set.

Descriptive Catalogue for Football & cup etc. Free on request.

Foot Ball, Medals, cups, Shields, weight Lifting, Apparatus Dumb-bell, etc., etc.

Gymnastic Catalogue free on application



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A. C. HANBURY,

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Branch Manager.

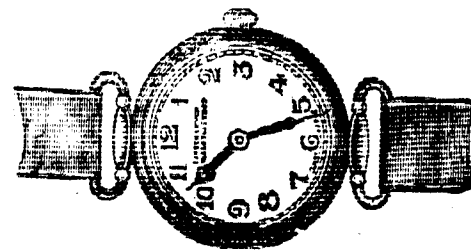
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The 'DAWSON' is the only most perfect, low priced Lever Wrist Watch which will give you long, continuous and accurate service. Strong bright nickel Silver case and beautiful shape.

EVERY WATCH THOROUGHLY TESTED AND REGULATED BEFORE DESPATCH.

Price Rs. 6-4-8 only

Packing and Postage Free

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E. June '30. Gen. P. S.

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PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—BOMBAY TO LONDON.

Steamers.	Tons.	Sailing About	Steamers.	Tons.	Sailing About
S. S. "Malwa"†	20,837	21st June 1930	S. S. "Naldera"†	16,088	19th July 1930
" "Razmak"	10,602	28th " "	" "Rawalpindi"	16,619	26th " "
" "Ranpura"	16,601	5th July "	" "Morea"*	10,954	2nd August "
" "Maiwa"	11,000	12th " "	" "Kaiser-i-Hind"	11,518	9th " "
			" "Narkunda"†	16,120	16th " "
			" "Macedonia"	11,120	23rd " "

† Through Steamers from Australia. * From China.

PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—CALCUTTA TO LONDON.

STEAMERS	TONS	SAILING ABOUT
S. S. "Nankin"	7,000	28th June 1930.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS—CALCUTTA & MADRAS TO LONDON.

Steamers		Tons.	Sailing About	
			From Calcutta	From Madras
S. S. "Manora"		7,929	21st June 1930	25th June 1930
" "Morvada"		8,231	5th July "	9th July "
" "Mulbora"		9,100	7th " "	23rd " "
" "Mashobra"		8,324	2nd Aug. "	6th Aug. "

BRITISH INDIA COASTAL SAILINGS.

From Calcutta to:—RANGOON DIRECT—Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays.
STRAITS via RANGOON—Fridays, also Sundays (Transshipping passengers).
CHITTAGONG TO AKYAB, KYAUKPYU, AND RANGOON—Every Monday;
COROMANDEL, CEYLON AND MALABAR PORTS TO BOMBAY—As inducement offers.
STRAITS, CHINA AND JAPAN—Fortnightly.
FREMANTLE, ADELAIDE, MELBOURNE AND SYDNEY—Monthly with additional sailings as required.
MAURITIUS via COLOMBO—About every four weeks as inducement offers.
From Madras to:—RANGOON—Every Friday at 10 a. m.
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—Every alternate Wednesday at 5 p. m.
From Bombay to:—KARACHI Direct on Wednesdays and Fridays with English Mails.
Basra via Karachi and Persian Gulf Ports—Subsidiary Mail steamers leave on Wednesday via Karachi and Persian Gulf Ports and the Fast Mail on Fridays, the latter calling at Karachi. Busifire and Mahomurah only.
Malabar Coast Ports, Ceylon, Coromandel Ports and Calcutta or Rangoon—As inducement offers.
East and South Africa—Fortnightly, calling at Seychelles—Monthly.
From Karachi to BOMBAY—Direct every Thursday with English Mails.
Basra via Bushire and Mahomurah—Only on Sundays at noon; via Persian Gulf Ports on Sundays or Mondays.
MALABAR COAST PORTS, COLOMBO, MADRAS, CALCUTTA OR RANGOON—As inducement offers.
Frequent connection with the S. & A. Line Steamers from HONGKONG to AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND.

Terms, Rates of Freight and Passages may be arranged with—Messrs. BINNY & CO., (MADRAS), LTD

OR MACKINNON, MACKENZIE & CO.,

CALCUTTA,

BOMBAY

AND

KARACHI.

E. Sept. '30.

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E. June '30. Mod.

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E. June '30.

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GAMBERS' VITAL BOOKS ON

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AT HALF PRICE DURING JULY

In honour of the birthday of our Principal, Prof. Gambers, which falls on 13th of July, we have decided to give at half price during the month of July all our publications, chiefly consisting of Gambers' Books on Sex & Health. All orders for these books posted any day till 31st July will be executed at the reduced rates. Gambers' books are the best value for their price. Books better than these have not been written in India so far. Do not miss the golden opportunity of obtaining them now at half their usual price.

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HINGANGHAT,
HYDERABAD (Dn.),
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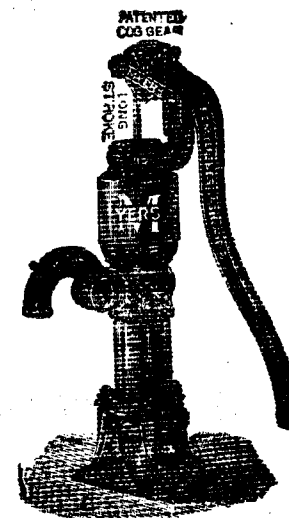
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