

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. XXXI.

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No. 8. 1930.

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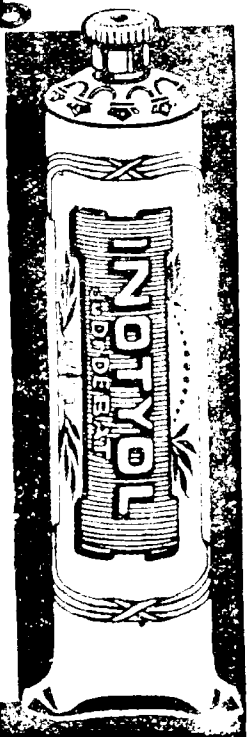
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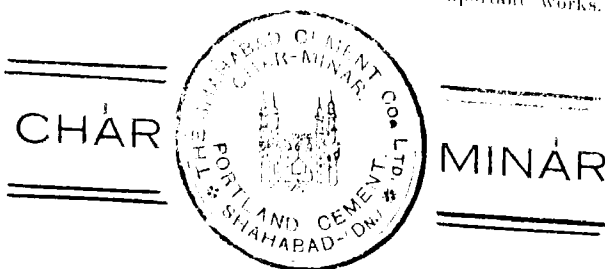
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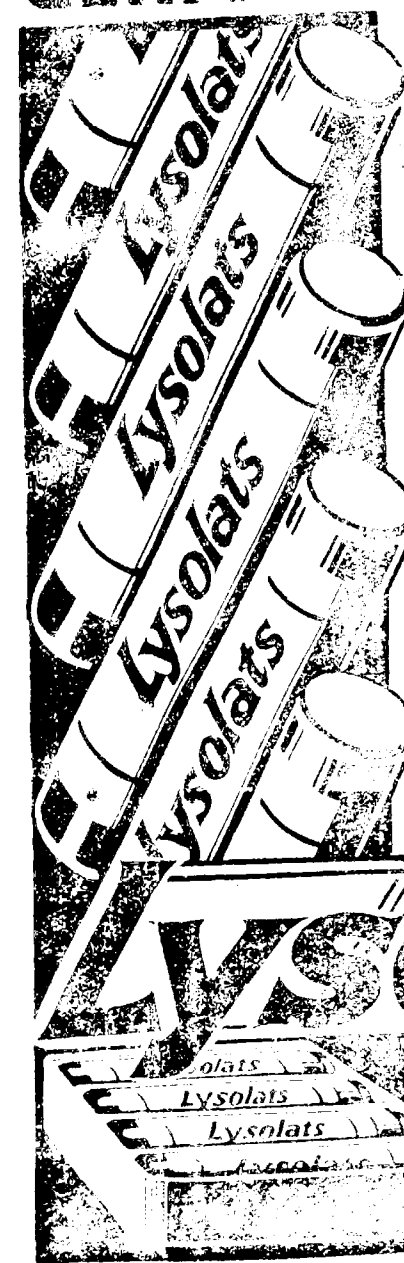
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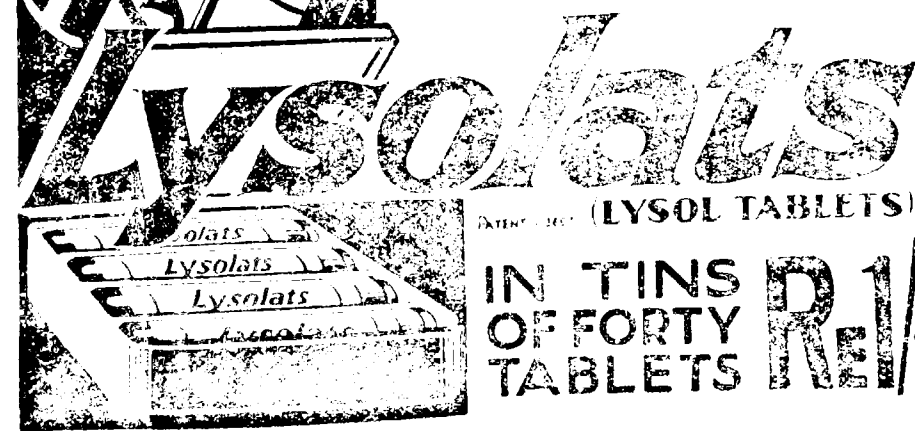
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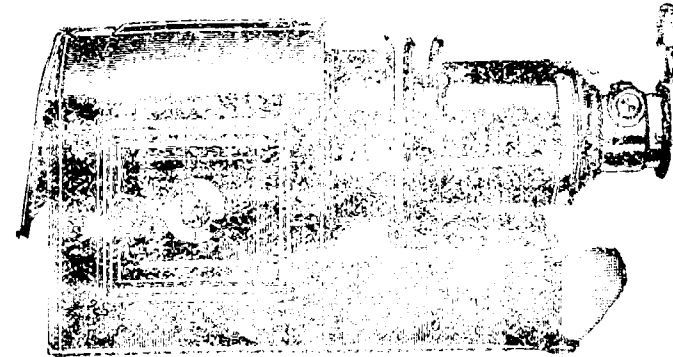
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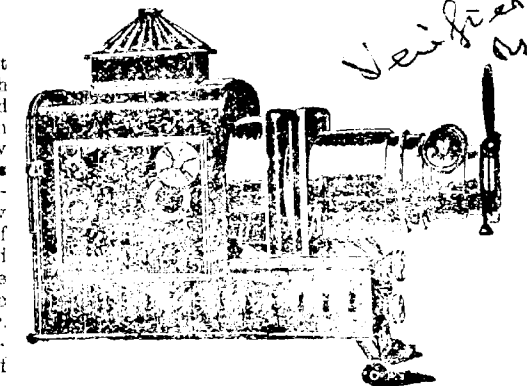
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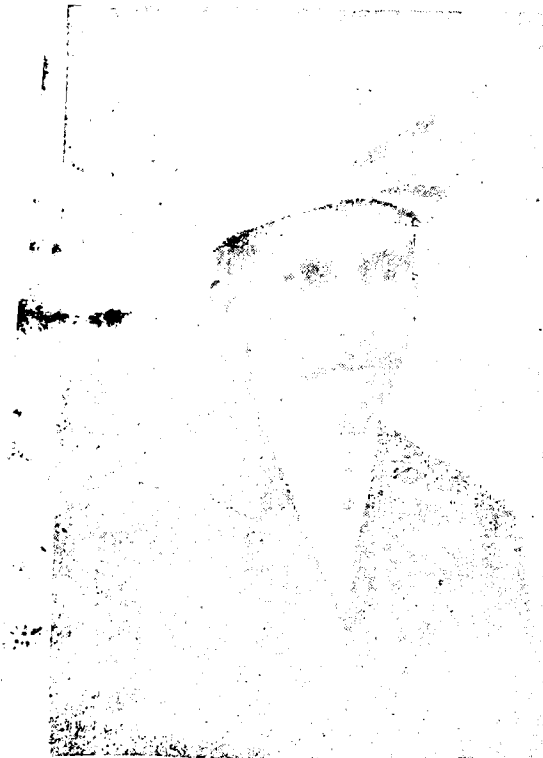
Simon Report on Federal Constitution And Indian States

BY SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K.C.I.E.

THERE are four parties, each with distinct interests, concerned in the coming Constitutional Reforms, namely, (1) the British

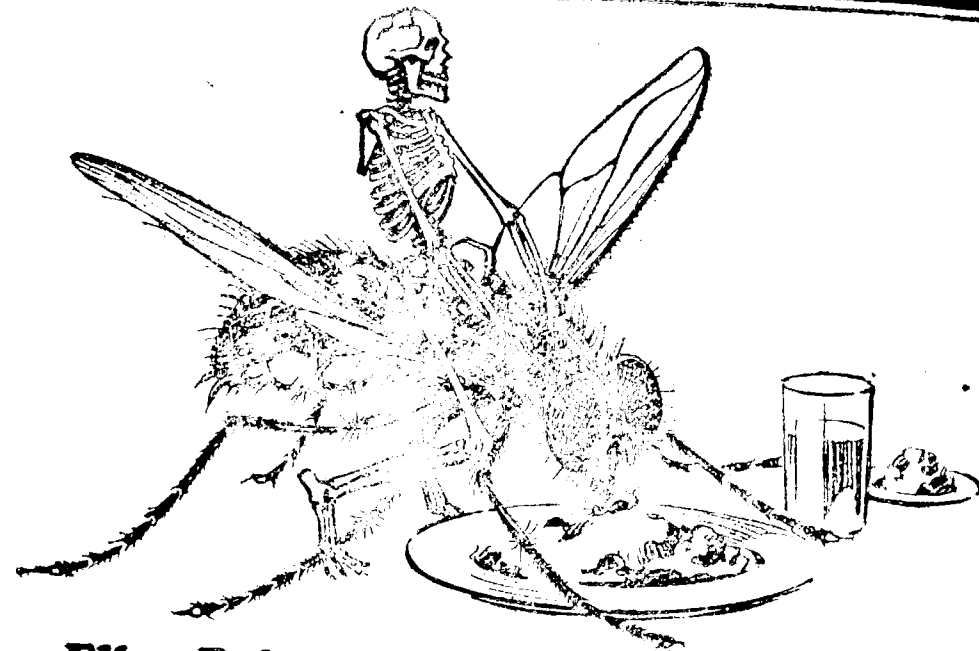
It would not be wrong to say that, with India as a Dependency of Great Britain, the interests of all the four parties are in the keeping of the Governor-General-in-Council, at Delhi or Simla, who takes his orders from the Secretary of State as representing the Parliament and people of Great Britain. The people of British India have by prolonged and persistent agitation, brought matters to a stage when the British Government has to grant them some form of responsible government, immediately. The Rulers of Indian States have hitherto carried on autocratic or semi-autocratic rule within their territories to the extent permitted by the Paramount Power. The majority of the Princes, though not unwilling to participate in the responsibilities and privileges of a Central Government, have shown little enthusiasm, so far, to introduce responsible government within their States. The people of Indian States, though in many respects circumstanced like their compatriots in British India, are not in a position to put pressure on those in authority over them, for similar concessions, because they are controlled by two masters, namely, the Rulers of Indian States and the Paramount Power—the British Government.

There is some kind of alliance and unity of purpose at the present time between the



SIR M. VISVESVARAYYA

Government and the people of Great Britain, (2) the people of British India, (3) the Rulers of Indian States and (4) the subjects of Indian States.



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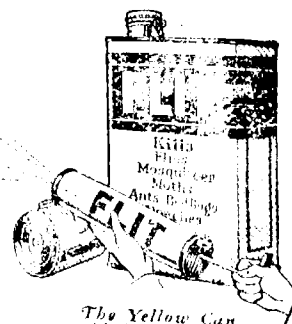
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The Yellow Can with the Black Band

British Government and the Rulers of Indian States, mainly because the control of the subject populations is shared by them. A quarter of a century ago, the chief Minister of an important State, now living in honourable retirement, was questioned by the writer in regard to the general trend of administration of Indian States, in those days, and his answer was summed up in these words :—" When the British Agent supported the Maharaja, the Maharaja became the Czar. When the Maharaja made mistakes and was at the same time disliked by the Agent, the Agent took control and became the Czar." Matters continued in this state down to the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms, about the year 1910, after which the British Government gave the Princes some liberty of action, presumably with a view to win their support in fight against democracy and nationalism.

WHY PEOPLE WANT RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

The people of India are convinced that so long as the affairs of their country are controlled and their interests are liable to be interfered with by arbitrary power, exercised by a few persons, whether British or Indian, they have no means of bettering their condition. If a country of the size of India is to have a modern system of responsible government, the only appropriate form is a federal union like that of United States of America or of the Dominion of Canada or Australia. If, in such a union, the powers and responsibilities of the Central, Provincial and State Governments are clearly defined by Statute to the extent to which they are in the countries just named, the interests of the entire population of India will be safe; and the

population will have the opportunity, which it is seeking of building up its national life and economic prosperity on a solid foundation.

The Simon Commission has not squarely faced the situation. It has been extremely conservative and cautious. According to its recommendations, the Government at the Centre will be carrying out, as at present, the policies and behests of the Governor-General under the direction of the Secretary of State as representing the British Parliament and the British Nation. Under the Commission's proposals the Central Legislature will be slightly enlarged, the representatives of the people, who go into it, may make speeches and criticise Government measures to their heart's content, but they will have no power to dismiss the executive council or ministry and replace it by their own nominees. The indirect elections proposed will reduce even the quality of that criticism.

The Constitution suggested for the Provinces provides that the ministers should be the creatures of the Governor who will be armed with overriding powers and emergency powers, for the exercise of which he will be accountable, not to the Provincial Legislature but to the Governor-General in some cases, and, in others, to the Secretary of State and the Parliament of Great Britain.

In the case of the Indian States, the Commissioners are for the maintenance of the *status quo*. To them, the Princes in the States are everything and the subjects nothing and it has not occurred to them that the States' subjects are also likely to have ambitions and desires for the betterment of their condition.

SIMON COMMISSION DISINCLINED TO FACILITATE CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE

The Commissioners seem to imply that the Princes are opposed to a Federal Union. This is hardly correct. More than a dozen years ago, the question of a Federal Government at the Centre was considered by a Committee of Princes and Ministers of Indian States, when, in the capacity of a Minister, the writer happened to be a member of that body. Even at so early a date, a few leading States considered the proposition as quite feasible and were prepared to send representatives to a Federal Legislature.

The Commissioners have made no effort to present the case for a federal constitution in a favourable light. While protesting that they are preparing the country for an all-India Federation, they have suggested the setting up of a Council composed of representatives of British India and Indian States to serve as a "*permanent machinery* of consultation" and they talk of the "creation of a *tradition*" in the working of that Council. The words quoted here either misrepresent the intentions of the Commissioners or they indicate a desire on their part to relegate the question of the Federal Union to the Greek Kalends.

No one reading the recommendations of the Commissioners on this part of the subject, can escape the conviction, that the hesitation of the Commissioners proceeds from a general disinclination on their part to facilitate constitutional advance, whether in British or in Indian India.

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

What the country now wants, and will benefit most from, is a constitution providing for :—

- (1) Full Responsible Government in the Provinces,
- (2) Some form of Responsible Government approaching a constitutional monarchy in the States, and
- (3) Responsible Federal Government at the Centre, in which the representatives of both Provinces and States may take part.

By Responsible Government is meant a system under which an Executive Council or Cabinet is formed only from the members of the legislature who can command the support of a majority of the entire body of its members. In the case of the Central Government, the Cabinet should be dependent for its tenure on the continuous support of majority of members of the Lower House which will have the sole control of the powers of taxation and appropriation.

Reforms (1) and (3), as will be explained in the sequel, are immediately feasible. Reform (2) will be feasible only if the Princes take a broad view of their responsibilities and give their consent, or if the Paramount Power imposes its will on the Princes in the interests of the States' subjects. If all the three sets of reforms can be brought into operation at the same time with the consent of the majority of the people concerned, the constitutional development will be comprehensive and complete, and its beneficial effects on the prosperity and future contentment of the population will be incalculable.

WEAKENING THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Governor-General-in-Council at the head of the Government of India has authority over all parts of the sub-Continent at the present time. The Commissioners propose to

separate the Defence Forces from the control of the future Government of British India and place them directly under the Viceroy. They also propose to take away the Paramountcy Power, or ultimate control over the Indian States, and vest it in the same authority, aided by a consultative Council composed of representatives of British India and the States. The Central Government has got to be strong if it is to safeguard the interests of the huge population committed to its care. Without the control of the Army, there can be no self-government, and it should be remembered that the reformed Government of India, when constituted will be the largest unit of responsible government ever organised in any part of the world. The two changes recommended by the Commission, are calculated to disorganise and weaken the authority and prestige of the Central Government. Even as temporary expedients, they will bar the way to Dominion Status and hamper Indianisation. They may become a fruitful cause of disunion later and possibly lead to a break-down of administration in emergencies.

If the country is to have a satisfactory Central Government possessing all the elements of strength and stability for the proper discharge of its functions, there is no question but that it should be of the Dominion type consisting of :—

- (1) a Governor-General appointed by the King-Emperor who will be His Majesty's representative in India,
- (2) a Central Legislature consisting of two Houses composed of representatives elected by British India and Indian States, and

- (3) a Cabinet or Executive Council of 15 or more Ministers, two or three of whom should be responsible for the affairs of the States.

The Constituent Provincial Governments should be autonomous and the States Governments should gradually develop into constitutional monarchies.

The Commissioners have a clear view of what is needed to give the country a sound Federal Constitution but they have shown no disposition to advance the cause. They prefer to see the fruition of the idea postponed to a dim and distant future. After the experience of the United States of America and the Dominions of Canada and Australia, it will be difficult to think of a more appropriate or more efficient form of constitution than a Federal Union for a country of the size and having the enormous population of India.

There will be two special features associated with this Federal Constitution; one is that the Provinces will be in closer and more direct touch with the Central Government than the Indian States; and the second which will follow from the first, is that the representatives of the States will participate in the greater part but not in all the functions and subjects coming up before the Federal Legislature. The Central Government will of necessity be more fully representative of the Provinces than of the States. The latter have their own separate Rulers many of whom have full powers of internal Sovereignty, and so, only those matters which come up before the Federal Legislature in which both Provinces and Indian States have a common interest will be voted upon by the representatives of the States. Though the actual voting power

should be restricted to subjects of all-India concern, the States representatives might take part in the discussions upon all topics that come up before either House. Schedules of votable and non-votable subjects may be framed under rules based on the new Government of India Act for the guidance of the States' representatives.

SUBJECTS OF COMMON INTEREST

The subjects of common interest in which representatives of both Provinces and Indian States may take part are enumerated in several Reports. It is perhaps best to go by the latest list prepared in the Simon Report itself in connection with its tentative Scheme of a Council for Greater India. The following is taken from page 205, Volume II, of that Report:

- “(1) The Customs tariff of British India
- (2) The Salt tax
- (3) Any other form of central taxation affecting the Indian States
- (4) Railway policy
- (5) Air communications
- (6) Trunk roads
- (7) Posts and telegraphs
- (8) Wireless
- (9) Currency and coinage
- (10) Commerce, banking, and insurance, so far as the matters raised affect both the States and British India
- (11) Opium policy
- (12) Indians overseas
- (13) Matters arising in connection with India's membership of and participation in, the League of Nations.”

Defence and Exchange should be added to this list. Every important measure passed by the Legislature in the region of legislation or finance, will have its influence on Indian States. Its effect on the people may be indirect so long as they reside within the States but they will come under its influence, the moment they cross over into British territory.

NO COMPULSION

It is argued that the Princes have rights and privileges guaranteed by treaties and that some of them are not willing, and none of them can be compelled, to join the Federation. This is true to some extent but it has been pointed out that more than a dozen years ago some States were willing to send representatives to a Federal Legislature. The representatives of such States as chose to send them now may be admitted at once. The seats of those who do not choose to send may be kept vacant till they of their own accord seek admission. The working of the Constitution with the co-operation of the representatives of such States as may decide to send their representatives will itself remove apprehension and inspire confidence. Since the bulk of work done in the Central Legislature affects the interests of the States' people directly or indirectly every important State will soon find that it is to its advantage to participate in the work of the Central Legislature and Central Government through its accredited representatives.

The Central Legislature should consist as at present of two Houses, a *House of Representatives* and a *Senate*. These names will be more appropriate than the terms *Legislative*

Assembly and Council of State by which the existing Houses are known. If there are to be any nominations to the new Legislature, they should be to the future Senate or Upper House. There should be nominations to the Lower House. Members should be elected to the two Houses from the Provinces and States in proportion to their population. The elections to the Lower House should be from regular Provincial and State constituencies and not by Provincial or State Councils. The representation should be by population. The number of members from the States in each of the Chambers may be about 23 per cent. of the whole, corresponding to their share of the entire population of India. If the Federal House of Representatives and Senate contain, say, a total of 320 members and 100 members, the number of representatives of the States in them will be 73 and 23, respectively.

PARTICIPATION IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In order that the business connected with the States may receive adequate attention and proper treatment the representatives of the States, both Princes and people, should be eligible for appointment as Ministers in the new Federal Government. If there be a total of 15 Ministers in the future Federal Cabinet, say, three of them may be chosen from people having experience of States administration and possessing the confidence of the Princes.

In constituting the Ministry or Cabinet of the Central Government, there might be statutory provision to render the members of the Chamber of Princes eligible for appointment as Ministers.

Questions of franchise, constituencies strength of each Chamber, etc., are matters of

detail, which may be settled after special investigation. We have the examples of the Dominions of Canada and Australia to guide us in such matters.

INDIAN STATES' TREATMENT OF STATES' SUBJECTS

The position of the people of the Indian States is singularly invidious. In its scheme for a Council for Greater India, the Simon Commission has ignored their very existence. The Commission whose duty it was understood to be to discover avenues for promoting the constitutional advance of the country was studiously abstained from any reference to responsible government within the States, notwithstanding the precedent set by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

The subjects of Indian States cannot agitate as freely as the people of British India do because, as remarked before, they are under a sort of dual control. The States executives are generally unconstitutional, and in the majority of the States they are liable to suppress agitation sometimes even by unfair means. The British Government at present is marking time and having troubles of its own is not disposed to interfere.

It may be worth while inviting attention to the fact that the Rulers of States, who are particular about their treaty rights and privileges, had been reduced at one time, or until about five and twenty years ago, to a very subordinate and unenviable position. They were not permitted to communicate with or even visit one another without the permission of the Suzerein power.

In either the British Government or the Statutory Commission had pointed out to

the Princes the great benefit to their States and to the country as a whole from a Federal Union and the introduction of responsible government within their respective States, I venture to think that the majority of the Princes would not have refused to consider the matter. It is hoped even now it is not too late for taking such a step.

NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

If the people, of the British Provinces secure self-government, it will not be long before the States' subjects will also demand constitutional rule. The first principle of such rule is that there should be no taxation without representation. As the states' people are under two Governments both of whom tax them and legislate for them, they will claim representation both in the Central Government and in the internal administration of their states to the extent their transactions affect them. That some of the people of the States are actively in favour of participating in a federal Government is evident from the representations which they have made from time to time. A detailed scheme of such representation in a Federal Legislature was put forward by the States' People's Conference held at Trivandrum in January 1929.

It was remarked in a public speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner "that Federation has no terrors to the Princes and Governments of the States." There will be no obstacle to the satisfactory application of the Federal principle from the outset, if only the British Government makes up its mind.

In the initial stages till all the States decide to join the Federation, there can be no objection to the Simon Commission's proposals

to maintain a consultative Council for Greater India. It is assumed that some of the Princes will not send their representatives to the legislature from the start. The proposed Council may deal with questions connected with such States only for a time. But, ultimately, after the Federal Union comes into full operation, the functions of the Council may be restricted, along with those of the Chamber of Princes, to the duty of safeguarding the personal rights and privileges of the Princes.

POSITION OF INDIAN STATES' RULERS

No help has been given to the Princes to understand that it is more honourable and comfortable for them to be constitutional rather than autocratic rulers. There will be no guarantee that, in this democratic age, any but the most capable and efficient among them will be able to hold their own. Some of the changes suggested may not be palatable to them at first, but reflection will show that whatever the character of the Ruler, a constitutional government will always keep up a respectable standard of administration in the interests of its subjects. It should be remembered that whatever the defects of the Ruler may be, monarchical succession in his line and the privy purse will be more assured under a constitution broad-based on the people's will.

It is hoped that the Princes and the Chiefs will not be misled by the Commission's view but will take time by the forelock and initiate a movement to demand a Federal Legislature from the start. A strong legislature representing all the interests in the country, with an Indian Cabinet giving effect to the

THE AUTOGIRO

BY MR. A. H. Y. ALI.

wishes of the people under the orders of the Crown, should be welcome to the Princes, on grounds both of common interest and patriotism. By the States' people and the British Indians coming together constitutionally, national solidarity will be promoted and the Princes will feel that they have a share in the Government of their motherland.

APPEAL TO PRINCES

It is understood that some of the more far-seeing Princes are already taking steps in this direction but remembering that the ultimate basis of their authority is the loyalty and affection of their subjects, they will be greatly strengthening their future position, and it will also be to the eternal credit of their Order, if they rise to the occasion and work for unity and nationhood at this critical time.

As regards the principle of responsibility in their internal administration, the Indian States' Rulers have an example before them in the sacrifices made in the year 1871 by the Daimyos, or Feudal Lords of Japan, who surrendered their rights at the call of their country to facilitate its unification and social reorganization. The sacrifices the Indian Princes are called upon to make on the present occasion will be very light in comparison with those made by the Japanese nobility mentioned. All that the Princes are called upon to do is to carry on their administration in the spirit of the times in consultation and in co-operation with the most capable of their subjects. They are asked to begin of their own accord the changes which in a few years' time will be forced upon them.

We live in a competitive and a rapidly changing world, and the struggle for existence

is becoming keener and keener. The people of the States also want more freedom and initiative to build up their economic life. It will be a wrong done to them to allow them to fall behind in the race for progress. The people might tolerate benevolent dictators like Signor Mussolini of Italy or Gazi Mustapha Kemal of Turkey for a time but the appearance of such men on the political horizon is a rare phenomenon. All things considered it is now indisputable that democracy, despite its many imperfections, is the only form of Government under which progress and prosperity can be built up by any nation in these days. "We believe in democracy," says Mr. Ford of automobile fame, "because we believe that collective mind is better than single mind. With the people thinking together, and planning together and working together, the greatest advances are possible." It is teamwork of the Princes along with their own people which will elevate individual States, and it is the co-operation of the States with the Provinces of British India that will promote the rapid advance of the country, as a whole, to a level of safety and prosperity which it can never attain under autocratic rule.

INDIAN STATESMEN

DEWANS AND PRIME MINISTERS

In view of the wide interest in constitutional questions created by the prospect of the Round Table Conference the question of the adjustment of relations between the British Government and the Feudatory States in a federated India of the future, is attracting particular attention just at present. Every one interested in such questions should therefore read this book of absorbing interest to politicians and laymen. With 17 Portraits. Price Rs. 8. To Subscribers of the "I.R." Rs. 2-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

"THE most interesting day I've spent since I left Montreal" was the verdict of a Canadian who was one of a score of people present at a demonstration flight of the Autogiro at Hamble, near Southampton, last Summer. "I've been all over Europe—Spain, Italy, France, Germany and Scandinavia," he added, "and seen a vast number of interesting things, but this has got 'em all beat. I mean to own one of these machines before much longer." I asked him if he had done much flying; "Never been up," he replied.

His enthusiasm may seem excessive to those who are unacquainted with the Autogiro, but everyone who saw its performance that afternoon must have gone away with the realisation that it has a great future, and that it may constitute a landmark in the development of flying comparable with Bleriot's suggestion of the aeroplane's range by his famous first flight across the Channel, or even with Montgolfier's pioneer success with his balloon. In a fustian poem on the latter, Erasmus Darwin describes how

"the intrepid Gaul
Launched the vast concave of his buoyant ball,"

and goes on to picture the "unbreathing crowds" who,

"flush'd with transport, or benumb'd with fear,
Watch, as it rises, the diminished sphere."

"Flush'd with transport"! We may pun on the doctor's phrase to describe the feelings of those who watched the latest aerial wonder hover down on to the Hamble aerodrome; for here was being displayed in action that principle, sought after continuously since, at any rate, Leonardo da Vinci's time, which bids fair to overcome one of the fundamental

obstacles to the universal use of aircraft as the modern form of transport. The days when aircraft will be able to take off and land in an enclosed space are now in sight. The non-existence or paucity of landing-grounds has threatened to prevent the adoption of flying as the world-wide modern method of communication. In this simple-looking product of a young Spanish inventor's ingenuity we may behold the last link in that long chain of effort which will culminate in the true Air Age—when a week-end in Morocco or Moscow will seem a commonplace, and the phrase "*terra incognita*" vanish from our vocabulary.

Senor Don Juan de la Cierva started flying at the age of fifteen. When he turned his attention to the problem of controlled flight, he rejected the idea of the helicopter in favour of a system of rotor blades driven solely by the wind. He overcame the difficulty of attaining stability by having the blades hinged in a vertical plane, so that they are free to rise or fall automatically when in motion. The present machine is the fruit of nine years of experimenting, and its predecessor already has a number of flights of considerable length at its credit, including a tour of 3,000 miles round Great Britain in 1928.

When starting, the wheels are braked, and the tail-planes turned up so as to deflect the slip-stream from the propeller on to the rotor blades and set them in motion. The tail-planes are then lowered to their normal position, the wheels unbraked, and after a short run of from 30 to 50 yards the Autogiro takes off, climbing very steeply.

When landing, the engine is left ticking over,

and the machine descends nearly vertically at the rate of about 10 miles per hour.

When in the air, the machine is turned by the use of the rudder only, banking automatically. The principle of the rotor blades makes stalling impossible, at any speed. In the event of engine-failure, or a forced landing from any other cause, the machine merely hovers slowly to the ground. Senor de la Cierva himself made some interesting predictions regarding the future possibilities of Autogiros in a recent lecture to the Royal Aeronautical Society. He considers that, within wide limits, Autogiros could be designed to have very different top speeds, but identical qualities in descent; and that Autogiros with a top speed of something like 200 miles per hour, and landing speeds similar to that of the present type, are quite feasible. Though up to the present he has concentrated on Autogiros of small or medium size, he sees no objection to increasing their weight up to four or five tons. He thinks that a helicopter (that is, a machine which will actually ascend and descend vertically) could be realised at

once simply by decreasing the power loading of the present type of Autogiro. He also mentioned that the speed of an Autogiro had been increased by nearly thirty miles an hour simply by changing the propeller, which gives an idea of the possibilities of development still latent in his machine.

The three factors, ease of control, safety, and independence of special landing-grounds, promise to make the Autogiro, as its manufacturers claim, the machine of the future. It is probable that the Autogiro principle in its further developments will then be adopted for the majority of aeroplanes (other than sporting and military craft and those plying on regular organised routes): in fact it seems likely that this one invention may inaugurate a new epoch in flying. Particularly interesting is this new development in aeronautical science with relation to flying possibilities in India, where the lack of suitable landing grounds is one of the chief factors retarding the spread of flying—both private and commercial—throughout the country.

Guru Nanak's Love of Nature

BY PROF. TEJA SINGH, M.A.

THE modern æsthetes look at Nature too much and live with her too little. Guru Nanak lived so much with Nature that he did not feel moved to chatter about sunsets or to discuss whether the shadows on the grass were really mauve or not. He was no so pedantic as to hunt for far-fetched similes to compare such a simple thing as hair :

"... and her hair
In gloss and hue the chestnut, when the shell
Divides threefold to shew the fruit within."

Here we seem almost to forget the hair, when listening to the details of the chestnut which the poet has so carefully remembered. Guru Nanak loved Nature; he loved to look at her, not as a stranger brought suddenly into contact with her, but as a life-long friend who enjoyed her confidence and did not bother to pry into her curious and out-of-the-way secrets.

Yet, that does not mean that he took everything for granted about her. He had a strong

sense of wonder and often stood awed before the different phenomena of Nature. In his writings he often sings of the wind blowing in hundred blasts; the mighty rivers assimilating hundreds of tributaries; the fire slaving in different useful offices or as wild-fire setting miles upon miles of forest ablaze; the earth remaining pressed under the whole load of creation, and the rain-clouds roving headlong in the sky.*

He minutely observed the tiny things, like the weeds, called paban, and 'the spider which lies cowering with its head cast downwards.' He even knew that the Moon was cold and devoid of light. In his *Sidh Gosht* he asks a significant question: "How is the Moon with its Himalayan coldness and gloom lighted up with the heat of the Sun?"

What was Guru Nanak's conception of Nature? He regarded it as the causative and efficient system of forces, physical and moral, whose reason is not in themselves but in the supreme Will of God. In his *Asa-di-Var* he refers to Nature thus :—

Whatever is seen or heard is in the order of Nature;
so is the consciousness of fear and comfort.
The nether regions, the heavens, and all the forms
in creation came in the course of Nature;
So did the Vedas, the Puranas, the Western Books,
and all the ways of thought.
And all the ways of eating, drinking, dressing, and
all the ways of love.
Nature prevails in the animal kingdom, its species,
genera and colours.
Nature works in the virtues and evils of men, in
their feelings of honour and dishonour.
Nature works in the air, the water, the fire and the
dust of the earth.
The Nature works everywhere; Thou art the Master
of Nature, Thou the Creator; Thy Name is the
holiest of the holy.
Says Nanak, God looks to everything with His will,
and works most intelligently.

To him the whole creation looks transfigured with the sense of the indwelling Divinity. There appears to be a mystery in

* *Asa-di-Var*, iv.

the very elements of water, fire and air. In moments of exaltation the whole creation,—with the heaven and the earth as salvers, the different luminaries of the sky as lamps, and the winds wafting different kinds of fragrance as incense—appears as a grand art being performed by Nature at the altar of God.*

All things in Nature stood in awe of Him and performed their assigned functions as duties imposed on them.†

He drew lessons from the different objects of Nature, and "found tongues in-trees, books in running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything." The lotus stood for one who kept himself detached from wordliness while living within the world. "The simmal tree, straight like an arrow and extremely tall and tufty", "with fruits that are tasteless and flowers mawkish," is the example of a proud man whose life passes in vain.

The Guru differs from the so-called poets of Nature in this that he does not transfer his own moods to Nature, as does Tennyson in his "In Memorium"; nor does he forget himself in the beauty, joy and love of things as does Wordsworth in some of his famous moods; but he finds in Nature the reflection of a Friend who is other than ourselves and who is yet fundamentally akin to us in spirit.

God in reality is reflected in all things, whether inside or outside Nature, but His presence as seen spread over the face of Nature is more impressive. The oppressive heat of May and June, the soothing rain of July and August, the balmy air of March and April are the different manifestations of the Divine Being who tries to warn or soothe us

* *Dhansari*. † *Asa-di-Var*, iv.

through these different aspects of Nature. Guru Nanak brings out this interaction of Man and Nature in his Baramah or Calendar.

The natural scenery of his birth-place, Talwandi, had particularly impressed the Guru, and he never forgot it. When talking to the unwashed Jains about the beauties of water, which cleanses and is a source of production, or when discussing with Brahmins the question of meat-eating and showing to them that water itself contained as much the principle of life as the animals which were killed for meat, he always grew eloquent about the fine crops of wheat and cotton and sugarcane which grew round Talwandi. When he lay on his death-bed, he still remembered the scenes of his home-land. He felt like a woman parting from her parental home

to meet her separated husband, and in that mood uttered a song which is incomparable for its beauty and pathos. It is called Tukhari Chhant. It was sung as a parting song at Kartarpur, but the scenes described are all about Talwandi, his birth-place. Picture to yourselves the last moments of Guru Nanak. As he lay on his death-bed the different scenes of his native place come up before his mind, one after another, and remind him of his early surroundings. There are 'the Van trees flowering in the Bar,' 'the tall grasses also in bloom' and 'the beetle rattling away in the lonely jungle.'

Guru Nanak belonged to the whole world, but he also belonged to the Punjab, particularly to that part of it which is called the Bar.

'Mendicants' in Nature

BY MR. S. T. MOSES, M.A., F.L.S., F.R.A.I.

ANIMAL life is always an interesting study; all the more so when confronted by social problems in human society, parallels in nature are looked up to, for lessons as to their solution. The problem of the 'pauper,' the 'mendicant' and 'parasite' seems as acute in nature as in human society.

The infirm including the aged, the sickly, the deformed, the crippled, the blind etc., who among men to-day are objects of organised charity, have no place in nature. Among animals the sick and the maimed or those otherwise defenceless are promptly killed and devoured, only sound and healthy individuals being left in the struggle for existence to continue the race. In the economy of brute creation there are no hospitals or Pinjrapoles

—institution which exist because of the milk of human kindness. Even young deer will butt a sick or wounded buck from the herd. Once a dog is hurt, all his companions will fall on him and worry him to death. If a crow's wing be hurt or a leg broken, others will buffet it to death. Fish are unabashed cannibals especially where wounded or sick fish are concerned. The fate of those animals whose service to the community is completed is equally tragic. For example in the bee-hive which may well be said to be the last word in social co-operation, the drones, once their sexual duty is over, are mercilessly stung to death by the workers. As barbarous man did in Ancient and pre-Christian Greece, Rome and Germany by exposing the feeble or deformed infants and

toothless old people to death and thus eliminating them, the brute creation solved the problem of the pauper burdens of society by a drastic treatment. Not that animals, the higher at any rate, are devoid of sympathy. As evolutionists explain, care for the weak, especially infants is necessary for the survival of the race and it is thus that the instinct was produced, the tribes which did not develop group-sympathy tending to disappear in the struggle for existence. In all other cases, useless burdens on society were removed in a manner abhorrent to human nature.

In the animal kingdom there is no animal large or small that is free from the annoyances or persecutions of another and so 'parasites' are common there as in human society. The parasites—the word is derived from the name of certain Greek priests who were maintained at public expense and later attached each one to the dinner table of some rich citizen of human society are usually those who claim support and relief in the name of religion and able-bodied, brazen-faced professionals who imitate the former and thrive on the gullibility of the charitable and the religious. Among animals the term 'Commensalism' or 'Messmateism' indicates an intimate association of two kinds of creatures for the benefit often of both. It is comparable to the association of a blind beggar with a lame one whom he carries about. The wealth of animal life seen on coral reefs, Pearl banks and Chank beds off Pamban or Tuticorin affords innumerable instances of this phenomenon. The classical instance of sea-anemones living in partnership with hermit-crabs is frequent. The inedible sea-anemone with its battery of stinging cells keeps away fish and other enemies who may like to make a *bonne bouchée* of the hermit-crab. The sedentary anemone in return enjoys the luxury of travelling being carried about by the Crustacean. He also gets the remains of the hermit-crabs table and so is his messmate. The

velvet ball crab very sagaciously utilises the services of another animal for masking. It breaks up live sponges and fixes the fragments on to the back and legs where they grow into a complete mantle concealing the crab from its enemies. The sponge benefits by being carried about from place to place and getting free aeration. Clumps of sponges and gorgeous growths of sea-fans afford ample shelter to permanent tenants like crabs, click-Brawns, crowries, brittle-stars etc. starfish, tiny prawns and even fish, usually small horse-mackerel, live in the canals and umbrellas of jellyfish. Seacucumbers are often seen to lodge peacocks and sea-fans have false oysters sticking to them. This association of commensals is never parasitic though it is often difficult to say where commensalism ends and parasitism begins. The parasite gains on all hands, while the host loses its health or even its life as a consequence.

The degeneracy noticeable among human parasites is amply seen in the animal kingdom. Nature never being a waster, adaptations, usually by atrophy, for this comfortable existence are seen in parasites galore. These 'hangers-on' e.g., worms in the alimentary canal of their hosts develop special hanging organs and are often without mouth etc, the food being absorbed in extreme cases as ink is by blotting paper! One group of crustaceans popularly known as fishlice affords interesting study, as they present a nice series of modifications of structure, all degenerate adaptations for this mode of life. From the loss of one or two useless organs like eyes, limbs, feelers, degeneracy goes so low as to change the whole appearance of the creature into that of an unshapely worm or bag.

The problem of the parasite is solved by nature by preserving the balance. Big fleas have little fleas on them and so on *ad infinitum*; and it is thus that one set of parasites acts as policemen to keep in check the undue multiplication of another. The harnessing of the services of pests one against the other is an important feature of modern agricultural entomology.

Lavoisier and the Growth of Chemical Science

BY MR. N. BHASKARAN PILLAI, B. A.

THE credit of having exalted chemistry for all time to the rank of an exact science, rightly goes to the genius of that great French scientist,—Lavoisier. In an age when the entire scientific world was steeped in the ill-conceived theory of phlogiston, which served as a stumbling block to the development of chemical science for over a century, Lavoisier fought single-handed, and demolished that most obstructive and cumbrous structure, and infused into the body of science a new spirit which has permeated it until the present day.

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier was born in the year 1743, at a time when great social unrest and discontent prevailed upon the masses both in France and in England. The chemist's father was a distinguished barrister, who afforded him special opportunities for the study of mathematics and physics. Even at his early age, Lavoisier showed sparks of his genius, which years later exercised a permanent and lasting influence upon the entire body of chemical science.

A prize essay upon the most suitable method of street-lighting for large towns, won for him at the early age of twentyfive, a place in the French Academy of Sciences. He was well-versed in some of the other sciences—botany, mineralogy, geology, meteorology and anatomy. In 1770, he published the results of his research upon the supposed transformation of water into earth. Next, he investigated the changes involved in the combustion of substances, and in the calcination of the metals, and the observations of his highly trained mathematical and physical mind led to the foundation of the theory of

combustion, which now goes by his name. Along with Laplace, he also carried out important researches upon the latent heat of ice and the specific heats of various bodies.

But the most crowning glory of Lavoisier's life, consisted in his researches which led to the liberation of chemical science from the fetters of phlogiston, in which it was enchained by the chemists Becher, and Stahl. He exposed to the fullest extent, the inconsistencies of the phlogistic theory in the most forcible manner:

"Chemists have turned phlogiston into a vague principle which consequently adapts itself to all the explanations for which it may be required. Some times this principle has weight and sometimes it has not; some times it is free fire and sometimes it is fire combined with the earthy element; sometimes it passes through the pores of vessels, sometimes these are impervious to it; it explains both causticity and non-causticity, transparency and opacity, colours and their absence. It is a veritable Proteus, changing in form at each instant".

Lavoisier became a member of the "Ferme Generale," a financial company which had the right to collect all kinds of taxes, such as duty on tobacco, salt, and imported goods, on condition of paying to the state in advance, a fixed annual sum. The Ferme was hated throughout France; but there is enough evidence to show that Lavoisier discharged his duties courageously and honestly, and with the sincere desire to promote as far as possible the welfare of those who laboured under the hardship of heavy taxes. Yet, in spite of the extraordinary services he rendered to the state, the fate which befell so many of his fellow-citizens, did not allow him to go unscathed. His enemies, most of them prompted by jealousy, worked against him. During the reign of Terror, he was accused of illegal exactions upon his fellow-citizens, and exe-

cuted together with twenty-eight other Fermiers-generaux, on the 8th of May 1794.

Thus ended, in the most tragic manner imaginable, the life of one of the greatest scientists France has ever produced. In the words of Lagrange, "A moment was all that was necessary in which to strike off his head and probably a hundred years will not be sufficient to produce another like it." It can never be denied that the execution of such a great genius, at an untimely age, was one of the gravest crimes of the French Revolution.

Unlike Carl Wilhelm Scheele, his contemporary, Lavoisier was supremely rich in the faculty of co-ordination, grasp of principle, and power of generalisation, which at once testify to his great scientific genius. It must, however, be accepted that Lavoisier did not make

many original experimental investigations in chemistry; but he crystallized into intelligibility the labours of his predecessors and showed the way to his successors. "He discovered no new body, no new property, no natural phenomenon previously unknown; all the facts established by him were the necessary consequences of the labours of those who preceded him. His merit, his immortal glory, consists in this—that he infused into the body of science a new spirit." By this anti-phlogistic theory, his establishment of the law of the conservation of mass, his researches on the composition of organic substances, and above all, by his insistence upon the quantitative aspect of chemistry, Lavoisier has won an immortal place among the greatest scientists of the world.

On Copied Catchwords

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THE Montagu-Chelmsford Report had pronounced that "Parliamentary usages have been initiated and adopted in the Council....." The Anglo-Saxon political institutions have been indeed a model to the progressive Indian politician. Imitation of parliamentary usages has proceeded at such length that many of the political catchwords in British Parliament are already current coin in India.

"Mother of Parliaments" apropos the British House of Commons is a fashionable phrase with the Indian politician. It may be a "vulgar error to speak of the English Parliament as 'the Mother of Parliaments'; (Earl of Oxford in his "Fifty years

of Parliament") but Mr. Bright has used this even as early as January 18th 1865.

"Plundering and Blundering" is another vitriolic catchword very often hurled at the Government during budget debates. Disraeli, "one of the most adroit coiners of this kind of currency" had used this phrase in "Conningsby" (Book II, Ch. 4) and in his letter to Lord Grey de Wilton d. Oct. 8, 1873, with reference to the policy of the Liberal Ministers.

Ireland and her struggles for freedom have always supplied analogies to the Indian politician and Parnell's sentence, "but no man has a right to fix the boundary of the march of a Nation" has often been indented upon,

In literary associations and civic gatherings, the organizing Secretaries are invariably using the phrase "*men of light and leading*." Though Burke had used this phrase with reference to the men of England, Lord Beaconsfield has employed it apropos Ireland and her attempting to sever the constitutional ties with Great Britain.

While on the experiment of dyarchy the clever phrase "*end or mend*" had been in great requisition. As the Earl of Oxford points out the phrase has a long and distinguished history from Erasmus (1518) upwards. John Morley dealing with the obstructive tactics of the peers in holding up the Franchise Bill (1884) spoke of "mending or ending" the House of Lords.

The happy phrase "*Grand Old Man*" has no wonder come to stay in a land which venerates age. It was invariably added as a prefix to Dadhabai Naoroji. Credit for this phrase has been given to Lord Rosebery and Mr. Bradlaugh; and Mr. W. E. Gladstone was referred to as "G.O.M." by Sir S. Northcote (April 12th, 1882).

The Anglo-Indian bureaucrat exhibits a strong temperamental kinship with the phrase "*a leap in the dark*." Though the phrase is traced to Thomas Hobbes, it is usually attributed to Lord Derby who pronounced this with reference to the Reform Bill of 1887.

Whenever any negotiations between the ruler and the ruled are going on the Moderates in India are congenitally fascinated by the phrase "*Peace with Honour*." Master William Shakespeare has used it in his "*Coriolanus*" but it was popularised by Disraeli from a

window in Downing Street, on his return from the Berlin Conference" (1878).

"*A blank cheque*" is another effective phrase used by the Opposition in our Legislative Councils. Though the phrase had been used by Mr. W. H. Smith in debate, (February 1878) Mr. Goschen was congratulated for the use of the phrase "*a political blank cheque*" in 1884.

When the career of high-handedness is prolonged too long, the Indian statesmen often warn that the "*cup is nearly full*." Mr. Chamberlain used it effectively in 1884, when the House of Lords opposed the enfranchisement of the people.*

Begin with a "*Clean slate*" is an oft-repeated phrase during budget debates. The phrase was first used by Mr. J. Chamberlain (1885) and later employed by Lord Rosebery at a Liberal meeting at Chesterfield (1901).

"*Wait and see*" has often been useful at the hands of Ministers in replying volleys of supplementary questions. Napoleon is reported to have said in the course of a talk with two English M. P.'s at Elba. "My day is done—but *wait and see*." But, "this common colloquialism casually used to discourage premature curiosity," has indeed passed into the slang of politics and it was unfairly used against that great parliamentarian, Asquith himself.

Western manners have been fully imbibed by us and their political catchwords are current coin here but what one yearns to see digested in the country is that her popular assemblies should first and foremost be characterised by "*political virtue and patriotism*."

* A full use of the informing chapter on "Catchwords" in Earl of Oxford's "Fifty Years of Parliament" has been made.

MALATI AND MADHAVA

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

DEVARATA and Bhurivasu were two ministers of state—one employed in Vidarbha and the other in another kingdom whose capital was Padmavati. They were great friends in youth when they pursued their studies together; and before they parted, they had vowed to bring about matrimonial alliance between their children, if ever they should become fathers. There was born of Devarata in course of time a son; and of Bhurivasu, a daughter: the veriest jewels among children. The boy was named Madhava; and the girl, Malati. As Madhava grew up and was fit to go out to learn, his father sent him to Padmavati. In selecting that place for study, Devarata had the idea that Madhava's presence there might put his old friend in mind of the bridal compact, if he chanced to forget it. He also thought that the great personal charm of the youth and the qualities of his mind would serve as an inducement to Bhurivasu to offer Malati in marriage to him. Bhurivasu had not at all forgotten the school-day compact and the youthful couple would readily have been united in happy wedlock; but there was one formidable obstacle. The king of Padmavati had a boon companion by name Nandana, who was neither young nor handsome; and he was seeking the hand of Malati through the king. Bhurivasu was in a fix. He could not agree to such an ill-assorted match; nor could he openly refuse to give the girl in marriage to one that was the favourite of his royal master. When the king once actually broached the matter, he thought it best to give an inoffensive but equivocal reply. There was then at Padmavati a Buddhist nun, Kamandaki,

who was a great friend of both Devarata and Bhurivasu. In fact it was in her presence that they in their student days had plighted their word to see their children married. She had also known and fondled Malati from her infancy, and was therefore as much interested as the girl's parents themselves in seeing her united to so worthy a youth as Madhava. Kamandaki was besides very clever; and her position as a nun gave her an advantage which a secular official like Bhurivasu could not well command. Bhurivasu, who knew the friendship which Kamandaki bore him, entrusted the whole affair to her and remained unconcerned to all outward appearance. Kamandaki on her part was not unwilling, though a nun, to undertake a good office of that sort—especially as she felt whenever she thought of the equal excellence of Malati and Madhava that they were almost predestined to wed each other.

Now it so happened that Malati was one day standing at an upper casement of her father's mansion as Madhava passed along the road below. She saw him, and seeing in her case was loving. This love at first sight deepened as she watched him passing not unoften the same way. It soon became known to her attendants that she was in love and that Madhava was her sweetheart. Kamandaki wanted first to see that the two young people fell in love with each other before she actively exerted herself to bring about their union. Half of her wish had now been fulfilled; and the other half also was soon accomplished by the cleverness of one of her pupils, Avalokita. It was the spring season and the custom for youthful maidens then was to go to the

Garden of Love outside the city to pay their adoration to Cupid there in the shrine dedicated to that deity. Avalokita, who knew that Malati would also follow the custom, arranged that Madhava should be present in the garden at the time. He went there alone. But seeing a *vakula* tree in full blossom approached it; and discovering a wealth of flowers adorning the ground beneath, he in a holiday mood picked up the new-fallen flowers and began to string them into a garland of exquisite design. He had not yet reached to the end of his task when Malati who had been worshipping inside the shrine came out. As Madhava saw her graceful form, he fell in love with her as quickly as she had done with him before. The sight so much distracted him that though he continued making the garland, it left visible traces on his workmanship. Malati also came up to the tree with her attendants, attracted by the flowers; and as she neared the spot where Madhava stood, she saw him more closely than she had ever done before. Her attendants noticing a sudden change in her demeanour and recognizing Madhava in the youth that was there, first exchanged smiles with one another and then jestingly drew their mistress's attention towards him. Madhava, as he saw her, espied marks of love already deep-rooted in her though he could not guess who the fortunate youth was that had been the object of her interest. Soon after Malati, mounting a stately elephant that had been waiting for her, left the garden for her home but not without casting back glances in the direction of Madhava. He noticed this sign of love for him, although he hesitated to draw much hope from it. A little later Malati's nurse, Lavangika, returned to the

place under the pretext of collecting the *vakula* flowers and told him how very much her mistress admired the garland which he was making. Madhava replied that he deemed it his great good fortune that it had evoked the admiration of so noble and beautiful a damsel; and, taking the garland from off his neck, gave it to Lavangika. From her, he learnt that the maiden that had stolen his heart when he was feeling all helpless in her presence was no other than Malati, the daughter of the minister, Bhurivasu, his father's friend.

Madhava stood there till he could no longer see the form of Malati. When she disappeared from his sight, he turned back only to discover that what had filled him with joy but a moment ago had become a source of intense anguish to his heart. He left the place after some time and was returning slowly, dwelling on his new passion, when he met his bosom friend, Makaranda, advancing towards him. They both sat down in an arbour there. Surprised to find the change that had suddenly come over Madhava, Makaranda inquired of him as to its cause. After great pressure from him, Madhava opened his heart to his friend and told him how he had met Malati that morning and what all had happened. Makaranda, when he learnt how love-forlorn Malati seemed and with what eagerness she looked at Madhava, assured him that she was in love with him; for virtue, as he said, is incapable of inconstancy and maidens like Malati will not allow their eyes to stray from the path which their hearts have once taken. When Makaranda was giving other reasons to think so, Madhava's attendant Kalahamsa, who had for

some time been in the same part of the garden and had overheard all that had passed between the two friends, presented himself saying 'This also', and handed over to Makaranda a portrait of his master. Pining with love for Madhava, Malati had once put on canvas his likeness; and it was that very likeness that Kalahamsa had obtained through his beloved Mandarika and brought here now. It helped greatly to confirm what Makaranda had thought was probable and what Madhava's own heart was persuading him to believe ever since he had seen Malati. Now Makaranda who had not met Malati but had just heard so much about her beauty and dignity suggested to his friend that he might paint her portrait on the same canvas so that he might delight his eyes by looking at it. Madhava consented; and not only did he paint her likeness there but also added the following couplet:—

"Whatever lovely things in life there be,
Sole joy thou art to me, O Malati."

Observing the two forms, Makaranda admired their mutual fitness and foretold that where God and Cupid had planned alike, nothing would go amiss. At that stage, Mandarika, who as we know was instrumental in bringing away the portrait, came pursuing Kalahamsa and demanded it of him. When she got it and discovered it improved in the manner mentioned, she pretended to be angry but inwardly felt glad that it would advance the cause that was so dear to the heart of Bhurivasu. From her, Madhava learnt how and when Malati had first seen him, and how deep her attachment for him was. Mandarika went away taking the portrait with her. Madhava and Makaranda also left the garden as the sun by then had reached the zenith.

These incidents were soon made known to Kamandaki who was glad that the mutual love between Malati and Madhava to which she was looking forward had become a matter of fact, and she went to meet Malati the same afternoon. She was at that time alone with Lavangika, the subject of their conversation naturally being Madhava:

MALATI: And what happened then, friend?

LAVANGIKA: Then the high-souled youth gave me the garland (*Hands it over to Malati*).

MALATI: (*Receiving it and looking at it joyfully*): It is unevenly strung in one portion.

LAVANGIKA: You yourself are to blame for it. MALATI: How?

LAVANGIKA: Because he was then so much taken off his mind by you.

MALATI: Friend Lavangika, you seem to have made up your mind to comfort me under all circumstances.

LAVANGIKA: Have I not told you that I saw with my own eyes clear signs of love in him?

MALATI: Could it all be natural to him and we are deceived? Or is it as you guess?

LAVANGIKA: (*Ironically*): Your deportment then, I suppose, was also natural!

MALATI: (*Bashfully*). And then?

LAVANGIKA: I returned and on my way went to Mandarika with whom I had left the portrait in the morning.

MALATI: With what intent?

LAVANGIKA: You know she is in love with Kalahamsa. I thought she would show it to him and bring good news.

MALATI: (*To herself*): Could he have shown the portrait to his master? (*To Lavangika*). And what is the good news she has brought?

LAVANGIKA: Here is the portrait and you see from it what solace Madhava should have derived from it. (*Shows the portrait to her*).

MALATI: (*Contemplating it*): Alas! Even now my heart feels not sure. It despairs where it ought to hope. Oh! I see something written here, (*Reads it*). Illustrious youth, your words are not less sweet than your form. But alas! your sight, though so joyful then, has become a torment to me since. Lucky are those damsels that never meet you; or having met, are yet able to be mistresses over their hearts.

At this stage Kamandaki stepped in accompanied by Avalokita; and in the conversation that followed, she artfully let fall the news that Malati was being sought by the king for his favourite Nandana. The mention of this unwelcome suitor sent a dart, as it were, to the heart of Malati; and she wished she had not been born. Kamandaki did not disclose her intention to thwart, if possible, Nandana's purpose; but she gave general advice which suggested that the choice of a husband against the will of the elders in such circumstances was not without precedent in the history of virtuous maidens. Just then Avalokita reminded her of Madhava's indisposition, news of which has reached them before; and it gave occasion for Malati to learn that the youth on whom she had set her heart was the son of the much-esteemed Devarata, her father's great friend. His high birth recommended Madhava to her affections the more and it was a joy to her to find that her heart had, by instinct, made the right choice.

On a certain day, Malati was to go to the temple of Sankara outside the city and worship the God of all auspiciousness with flowers gathered by herself. When Kamandaki learnt of this, she instructed Madhava to be there at the time, with a view to bring about what may appear a casual interview between the two lovers. Kamandaki also went there. Soon Malati arrived accompanied by Lavangika, bewailing her lot in life which had made Nandana her suitor and wondering if she would ever again have the joy of meeting Madhava. After she had gathered flowers for the worship, Kamandaki made her sit under a shady tree to rest from the fatigue. Then she spoke of the great merits of Madhava and mentioned how his passion for Malati was preying upon him. Lavangika in her turn informed Kamandaki of the similar affliction of her mistress owing to her love for Madhava and showed her the picture she had painted as well as the *vakula* garland she was wearing concealed round her neck. While they were conversing thus to the great joy of Madhava who remained unseen near by, and Malati was ardently listening, a sudden cry informed them that a ferocious tiger kept in the neighbouring garden had burst open the doors of its iron cage and attacked Madayantika, sister of Nandana, the would-be bride-groom of Malati. The news greatly agitated the party; and Madhava, leaving the place where he was, stepped into their midst creating agreeable surprise in Malati and himself feeling in her presence as if he were 'under a shower of heavenly ambrosia.' Soon it transpired that Makaranda who had learnt of Nandana's efforts and was hastening

to be with Madhava lest the unwelcome news should unsettle him too much, saw the pitiable state in which Madayantika was and went to her rescue. Makaranda was injured in his encounter with the tiger but he succeeded in slaying the animal and saving Madayantika from its fury. When Kamandaki and the rest went out, they saw Makaranda had fainted and was being supported by Madayantika. Seeing his friend in that sad condition, Madhava also swooned. After some time both the friends recovered, the one with Madayantika's ministrations and the other with Malati's loving caresses. The incident strengthened further the love between Malati and Madhava. It also gave rise to a like affection between Makaranda and Madayantika which betrayed itself through 'intermingling looks'. At this juncture, a messenger brought the news that the king had settled the marriage of Malati with Nandana; and Madayantika left with him to congratulate her brother. The news from Nandana upset our hero who heard it for the first time now, and he cursed his fate which had planted in his heart such fruitless love. While Kamandaki was asking him to be of good cheer, Bhurivasu's wife sent word to her to fetch Malati immediately. She left the place and Malati followed her thinking that she was looking upon Madhava for the last time. Madhava also departed soon after along with Makaranda.

With all his hopes thus suddenly blighted, Madhava felt that he could never more think of love for his matchless Malati. So in a desperate mood he went in the evening towards the graveyard to invoke the aid of the spirits of the dead. But what was his

surprise when he heard the wailings of Malati there! Forgetting his errand of despair, he rushed in the direction from which the pitiful cry came, and reached the temple of Kali. When he went in, he saw a terrific votary of Kali there, Aghoraghanta by name, standing with upraised sword and reciting a hymn. By his side stood a woman, Kapalakundala, his pupil. There was seated before them Malati decked in all the symbols of the victim about to be sacrificed. When Madhava saw her, she had the sweet syllables of his name on her lips which gave him one more proof of the secure place he had won in her heart. Without waiting for a moment, he dispossessed Aghoraghanta of the sword he held; and, on inquiring Malati, he learnt that all that she knew was that she retired to rest in her chamber but found herself in the temple when she awoke. The fact was that Aghoraghanta had taken a vow to offer in sacrifice to Kali the most beautiful girl in the city for success in attaining some magic power and that was the final day of the vow. The choice had naturally fallen on Malati. Neither her exalted rank nor the security common to it had prevented her being conveyed away from her paternal mansion by Kapalakundala who could wander in the air. The result was this distressful scene in which Malati was in the presence of two such miscreants like an innocent fawn before two ferocious wolves. By this time Bhurivasu's people who had discovered that Malati was missing came near the temple searching for her. Handing over Malati to their charge, Madhava questioned Aghoraghanta about his fiendish undertaking. On his replying in an impertinent tone, a duel ensued between them in which Madhava

sprang with rage against the would-be perpetrator of the wicked deed and killed him. He left alone Kapalakundala because she was a woman. Malati was saved; but Kapalakundala resolved to wreak her vengeance upon the murderer of her chief.

This mischance did not affect the arrangements for Malati's marriage with Nandana; and once, when the wedding day approached, the king sent special presents to Malati in the form of jewels and garments. It was proposed that Malati should put on the bridal apparel in the temple of the guardian deity of the town—a fit place for such an auspicious act—and then meet the bride-groom. Kamandaki, determined to discomfit Nandana, sent both Madhava and Makaranda there beforehand. She then accompanied Malati to the temple, Lavangika also following them. Malati was in a miserable plight and her one thought was how to end her existence. When the party had reached the temple, Kamandaki asked Lavangika to take Malati inside to offer worship. They both went in, and when Malati found herself alone with her friend she spoke to her as follows:—

MALATI: Sister Lavangika, your friend who is in great distress begs of you to meet Madhava after she is dead and speak to him consoling words so that he may do nothing that will rob the world of such a prince among youths. Thus will you fulfil your friend's last wishes.

LAVANGIKA: May God avert all harm! I cannot bear to hear more of this.

MALATI: Friend, dear is Malati's life to you, not Malati herself.

LAVANGIKA: How do you mean?

MALATI: You ask me to survive this shame.

This is now my resolve: I have offended the saviour of my life by becoming another's; and I want to atone for it by ceasing to be. Don't you stand in my way. *(Falls at the feet of Lavangika).*

Then Lavangika motioned to Madhava who along with Makaranda stood concealed within the shrine; and he, taking Lavangika's place gently, went on answering the sad questions which Malati put. At last, half-agreeing that she might do as she pleased, he begged for her last embrace. Poor Malati, least suspecting who had replaced Lavangika, rose with tearful eyes and threw herself into Madhava's arms thanking him for his permission. She thought of giving her friend as a final present the dearest thing in her eyes—the *vakula* garland which she so much cherished ever since the day it had reached her. As she was trying to transfer it from her neck to that of her friend, she discovered whom she was addressing. Madhava told her that she was too selfish in complaining of her own distress, ignoring his. At this time Kamandaki came in; and, well pleased to find the time so propitious, betrothed Malati to Madhava showering her choicest blessings upon them both.

Kamandaki's plan compassed more than this betrothal. So she proposed that Makaranda should dress himself like Malati, wearing the clothes and putting on the ornaments presented by the king, to meet Nandana. When Makaranda accordingly appeared in Malati's attire before the party, he produced immense

merriment. Kamandaki and Lavangika departed immediately with this mock-Malati, leaving our hero and heroine behind in charge of Avalokita. Makaranda played his new *role* so cleverly that the wedding with Nandana was celebrated, his identity being suspected by nobody. It was arranged that Malati should be taken to the bride-groom's residence in the evening. But meanwhile Nandana, impatient of meeting his new bride, approached Makaranda in his usual vulgar manner, but was repulsed by him with disdain. Nandana was greatly offended. He had heard of Malati's love for Madhava. Making that the plea for rejecting her, he left his supposed bride in great wrath. Kamandaki had succeeded in creating a dislike for Malati in Nandana's mind, but the final success of her plan was yet far from sight, as the king's attitude in the matter had to be reckoned with. When the news of Malati's affront reached Madayantika, she felt the insult to her brother as her own and resolved to see Malati and prevail upon her to agree to meet her brother in good humour. Madayantika reached Bhurivasu's residence with much indignation but as she entered Malati's apartment, Makaranda noticing her come pretended to be asleep. Madayantika, unwilling to disturb him, seated herself on his couch and began to converse with Lavangika. After they had referred to the untoward incident that had enraged Nandana, the conversation turned upon Madayantika's love for Makaranda, her great benefactor. As she confessed her deep love for him, Makaranda was greatly pleased to listen to it. On her being cunningly asked whether, if Makaranda met her that moment and proposed to marry her, she would yield her assent, she replied

that he who had hazarded his life for her sake had entire liberty over her. Makaranda discovered himself then and Madayantika, having agreed to run away with her lover, they all started in the night for the garden where Malati and Madhava were. Meanwhile the city guards who had been apprised of the elopement, pursued the party and overtook them. Makaranda stayed behind to meet them, while the others advanced towards the garden to inform Madhava of all that had happened. Madhava started at once to assist his friend. In the confusion that followed, Malati stepped out alone in anxiety to look for her lord. Just at that time, Kapalakundala, who, as we know, had sworn revenge, came and carried Malati away. She had been waiting all along for a fit opportunity to perpetrate her misdeed unobserved by anybody. Such an opportunity had now arrived and she conveyed Malati to a hill known as Sri-parvata 'to tear her to pieces there', as she said. Madhava and Makaranda who had successfully routed the guards were conducted to the king. When he learnt of their prowess and of their high rank, he, with his usual partiality for merit, pardoned them. When the two youths returned to the garden soon after, they were sorely disappointed not to find Malati there and they immediately set out in search of her.

The first place in which they looked for her was Kamandaki's residence. When they did not find her there, they grew suspicious; and when further search was equally fruitless, they grew desperate and took her for lost. The grief of Madhava knew no bounds. As he was unable to bear the sight of the things associated with Malati, Makaranda took him

away to a wood skirting a hill some miles beyond the city, hoping that his friend might find some relief there. But it proved a change from bad to worse. Any and every sight in that pretty wood would unbalance his mind and it needed all the cleverness which Makaranda could command to see that he did not go mad over the loss of his love. One day when Madhava fainted and lay in a death-like swoon, Makaranda, despairing of his recovery and feeling his own life a burden, made up his mind to drown himself in a river close by. But just at that time, an unfamiliar voice spoke to him asking him to forbear. Makaranda was more than surprised and looking up discovered an ascetic lady before him. She asked whether he was Makaranda and on his answering 'I am that hapless being,' Soudamani—for that was her name—told him that she had news of Malati and showed him the *vakula* garland in support of what she said. Makaranda was overwhelmed with joy, and he dashed at once with Soudamani to where Madhava was lying. Madhava had just recovered his consciousness. They saw him first blaming the god of wind for bringing him back to consciousness from the swoon where he had found an escape from sorrow; and then begging the same god with bowed head and joined hands to waft his life to where Malati was or blow on something of her to him. At that time Soudamani placed the garland in his hands. Madhava was overjoyed and the holy woman told him how she had come by it. Sri-parvata whereto Kapalakundala had carried Malati away was the place where Soudamani performed penance. On hearing the screamings of Malati, Soudamani went to her help and, after rescuing her from the clutches of

Kapalakundala, had hastened to convey the good news knowing that Malati was so dear to her former preceptor, Kamandaki, and to them all. Then suddenly Soudamani with her supernatural power disappeared taking away Madhava with her. Makaranda who was left alone, not knowing what it might be and marvelling at the sport of fate as it seemed to him, resolved to go and report the whole matter to Kamandaki. She and her friends, disgusted with the turn which affairs had taken in spite of their best efforts, had meanwhile repaired to the same wood,—there to fall from some precipice and kill themselves. As Makaranda was relating to them what had happened, there was an unexpected flash of splendour and Madhava appeared with Malati restored to him, thus preventing the wholesale tragedy that would otherwise have been enacted there that day. Soudamani also had accompanied Malati and Madhava; but, hearing on her way that Bhurivasu, grieving over the loss of his daughter, was about to end his life, had gone thither to prevent that calamity. She had succeeded in turning back the sorrowing minister from his resolve by communicating to him in time the happy news of his daughter's safety. She soon returned to where Kamandaki and the others were with a letter from the king, written in the presence of Nandana. The king, when apprised of everything, had written to Madhava graciously approving of not only his marriage with Malati but also that of Makaranda with Madayantika. Fate proved to be friendly to the two couples in the end; and Love, though it had taken a chequered course, was triumphant at last.

The New Revolution in Soviet Russia

BY PROF. B. N. SHARMA,

Sanatana Dharma College, Cawnpore.

SOVIET Russia is once more in the throes of a revolution which bids fair to throw into obscurity the mighty Revolution of 1918-20 for whereas the revolution of the previous decade involved barely 10 per cent. of the population, the present revolution is affecting the destinies of 85 per cent. of the population and whether successful or not is bound to revolutionise the economic structure of the country.

Two aspects of the Revolution are receiving the special attention of the daily newspapers of the world—the rapid extermination of the five million kulaki, the well-to-do peasants, and the dragooning of the rest of the vast body of peasants—120 millions of them—into collective farms, and the terrible persecution of religion in all forms.

II

It is this second aspect of the Revolution that has excited the righteous indignation of the entire Christian world. The Soviet seems to be committed to the policy of hounding Christianity out of the Russian soil. During the last few months the attack on religion is reported to have been pursued with murderous ferocity. Two hundred synagogues and mosques and 980 Christian Churches have been closed and turned into school-rooms, club-houses or work-houses. The second week of February has been very successful on the 'anti-God front.' Throughout the northern provinces, the black soil region of Siberia, and the Ukraine, the number of churches closed has reached a record figure. In hundreds of villages the Churches have been closed and in several the tolling of bells has been prohibited.

All this is surely very heart-rending. A horrible tragedy of robbing a whole people of spiritual sustenance is being enacted before our very eyes. Russia seems to be relapsing into the Middle Ages and an Inquisition, ten thousand

times more effective in its operation seems to have been established.

Little wonder if the princes of the Christian Churches have issued stirring appeals to their followers all over the world inviting their attention to the gravity of the situation in Russia. The Pope has denounced this persecution in an open letter every word of which breathes an air of utter detestation for the perpetrators of this outrage on Christianity. Cardinal Faulhaber, the Archbishop of Munich, calls upon the German Catholics not to barter their souls for a Russian copper mine. The Archbishop of Canterbury has appealed to his numerous flock to think of their persecuted brothers in Christ. The National Council of Evangelical Free Churches has also expressed its horror and reprobation of the Soviet policy of persecution of the Christian and other religious people of Russia.

On or about the 16th March, 1930, prayers were held throughout Europe on behalf of those who were suffering through their loyalty to their religious faith. The Roman Catholics throughout the world held intercessory prayers on the 19th March.

III

What effect is all this tremendous display of pious indignation likely to have on Soviet policy we will describe later on. Let us first consider how far the leaders of the Christian faith are justified in launching their campaign just at this time and making fervent appeals to the conscience of the Christian world.

Ever since November, 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power, it has been the object of the Communists to kill religion by making its practice impossible and by rearing a new generation of millions of human beings inspired from childhood by doctrines of atheism.

The organisation of the Orthodox Church has been badly shattered; there has been no election of the Patriarch, and the Metropolitan Sergius, instead of being a power in the land, is a sorely harassed individual and the Church which he is supposed to control has become entirely subservient to the Kremlin. The Russian Atheistic Society is a state-aided institution. Organised demonstrations of children singing blasphemous songs, carrying sacrilegious banners, and the harrying of priests, monks, and nuns has been going on for more than a decade. Ten million children are being brought up along atheistic lines and the new generation is reaching maturity free from all those restraining influences which humanity owes to a belief in the divinity of God.

Though the Metropolitan Sergius may deny that there is any religious persecution in Russia and the Soviet Government may give world-wide publicity to a similar statement issued by prominent leaders of the Orthodox Church, we can well believe the systematic attempts have been and are being made to encourage young Russians to build up a new ideology of life wholly alien to the life of their parents. Religion, according to the Communists, is not coeval with man. It followed the growth of inequality of fortunes which cannot endure without religion. H. G. Wells in his analysis of the motives that led Napoleon Bonaparte to sign a Concordat with the Pope has expressed the same idea in a passage that deserves to be quoted.

Society cannot exist without inequality of fortunes which cannot endure apart from religion. When one man is dying of hunger near another who is ill of surfeit, he cannot resign himself to this difference unless there is an authority which declares 'God wills it thus: there must be poor and rich in the world: but hereafter and during all eternity the division of things takes place differently'. Religion is an "excellent stuff for keeping common people quiet."

The continuance of religion is incompatible with the communistic re-organisation of society. The Marxian State was designed to rise upon

an atheistic basis. For the stability of their regime and the fulfilment of their programme of reconstruction the Soviet leaders have been using all possible means to suppress the practice of religion by the Russian people. The persecution of religion, then, is no new thing in Russia. It has been going on since the overthrow of the Romanoffs. Since the beginning of 1930 there has been, if at all, only a quickening of the pace. But, then, why has this storm of protests burst upon the entire Christian world in 1930?

IV

The reason is that ever since the abandonment of undiluted communism by Lenin and the announcement of the New Economic Policy in 1922 most of the western capitalistic powers had begun to think that a workable compromise between Russian communism and their 'Petit Bourgeois' was going to be struck and that though Soviet Russia may, in the beginning, behave like an erratic head-strong steed, it would soon get accustomed to the bridle and agree to be harnessed to the service of Capitalism. It was with this hope that Swedish and German Companies secured concessions and invested large sums in sheep farms and copper mines. The bait of the receipt of a large order for machinery and manufactured goods was too strong to be rejected by the first Labour Government of Great Britain and diplomatic relations were established between Russia and England. France would not lag far behind. Though the U.S.A. Government held back, the American financial groups began to explore fields for the investment of American capital in Russia.

So long Lenin remained at the helm of affairs the N.E.P. worked well. After his death the struggle began between Trotsky and Stalin. After the defeat of the former and assumption of dictatorship by the latter the pendulum swung violently to the left. In October last, Stalin decided to attack the last stronghold of capitalism

and again laid before his party his Five Years Programme (first drawn up in October, 1928) whereby individual farming is to be abolished and the collectivisation of Agriculture in state farms is to be rushed through.

The details of this programme will be presently described. Suffice it to say at this stage that the programme is very radical and besides affecting the destinies of 120,000,000 peasants of Russia may, in the event of success, land the capitalist powers of Europe into unforeseen troubles.

It is because of this danger to the present economic order of society that the anti-Soviet campaign has been launched with such energy in so many countries of the West, in Germany, U.S.A., Mexico, England, and Italy.

V

The Mexican Government has led the western powers in breaking off all diplomatic relations with the atheistic Soviet Government. Is it due to any deep-seated Christian sentiments among the Mexicans? Mexico has been and is predominantly anti-clerical. The ruthlessness with which Benito Juarez persecuted Catholicism in the Republic is a matter of common knowledge. The real reason is that the land problem in Mexico is of the same nature as that of Russia. A small number of big landlords owning a large part of the arable land of the country, the Soviet agitators were not slow to visualise the possibility of success there and so they started their propaganda in their own insidious way. The Mexican Government acted, energetically. She expelled these agitators. The communists expressed their indignation of the Mexican Government's action, made rowdy demonstrations before Mexican embassies in Washington and Rio de Janeiro. Afraid of the communist poison entering their political system, the Government of Mexico has taken this extreme step.

Ever since Germany became a republic, the Bolsheviks have regarded the country to be a

very fertile ground for sowing the communist seed. Lenin bestowed great attention upon bringing about a revolution in Germany before its war-shattered capitalism could recover strength or get succour from American finance. A series of riots occurred in the industrial areas of Germany in 1922 but the disorders were suppressed. This caused keen disappointment to the Bolsheviks but they did not abandon all hope and have continued their work. The communist propaganda is being systematically and energetically carried on. The *Rote Fahne* the communist daily, has a circulation of 25 thousand copies, 5 thousand of which are believed to be purchased by the Soviet Embassy and the Trade Delegation.

In the last national elections the communists polled over three million votes and won fifty-three seats in the Reich. The German police suspect the hand of the communists in the recent strikes and riots in the western industrial region. The strength of the communist party in the country can be further estimated from the fact that on 17th February last during a search of the Karl Leibknacht House, the premises of the communist organ, *Rote Fahne*, and the headquarter of the German communist party, not only a huge mass of seditious documents was discovered but elaborate mobilisation plans were found which showed that the party proposed to attempt a *coup de etat* in the near future. During the search although all the reaches to the place had been carefully guarded and heavily patrolled the attitude of the communist mob became so threatening that the police had to charge the crowd with their batons.

On 6th March, under the orders of the Third International an 'Unemployed Day' was celebrated throughout Europe by the communists. In Berlin, the mob became so uncontrollable that the Police had to disperse it by charging at it with drawn swords.

A good deal of evidence has been produced to prove that the communists have already achieved a certain measure of success in establishing 'Cells' within the German army and navy with the object of disintegrating the Republican force and winning it for the Revolution.

All these activities of the communists are causing grave anxiety to the German Socialist party, the party in power since 1918. Their difficulties have been further enhanced by the harsh persecution of the German concessionary firms operating in Russia. Only the other day, both the manager and the Director of the Drusag, a large sheep farming company were fined 10 thousand roubles each for the unavoidable infringement of certain Soviet Labour Regulations. The case was unnecessarily prolonged and when the manager sent an emissary to seek the help of the German Charge de Affairs in Moscow, the messenger and his wife were kidnapped on the way and hurried to an unknown destination.

Unable to bear the strain of excessive taxation, six thousand German Menonite colonists have returned to their Fatherland and have left their all behind in Russia. All this is bound to further embitter the relations between the Soviet Russia and the Socialist Germany.

In England the Conservative and the Liberal parties have never been in favour of having diplomatic relations with the Soviet but the Labour party could not bear to forego the benefits that would accrue to the country with the revival of the lucrative Russian trade and so friendly relations with the Soviet were subsequently resumed. In the face of Conservative and Liberal opposition Messrs Henderson and Macdonald have held to their original position of keeping Russia within the fold of civilisation and then using all their diplomatic influence to compel the Soviet to stop all subversive propaganda in the countries forming the British Empire.

The Labour party is determined to stand by its guns but the hands of the opposition are bound to be strengthened by the news that an agreement has been signed between the London Industrial Council and the Third International whereby the former has undertaken to preach communism among the workers employed in seven industries of London.

Close on its heels comes the news of the persecution of the Christians in Russia and Lord Cushendun comes out with his opinion that 'the breaking off of diplomatic relations is the only policy that can be reconciled with the dignity, the history, and the instincts of the country.' Lord Birkenhead also denounces the conduct of the Soviet in scathing terms.

Similar problems to-day confront the Governments of other western countries.

The princes of the Christian Churches, worthies like the Pope, the Archbishop of Munich, the Secretary of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, thinking the time opportune have mobilised Christian public opinion. They deserve credit for taking at the flood this tide in their affairs and if it does not lead on to fortune, no man will certainly accuse them of bad tactics.

VI

The real reason, then, of this anti-Soviet attitude of western powers is the fear of the spread of communism among their own nationals and the possible effect upon the present economic order of Society of the success of the agrarian revolution now going on in Russia.

This Revolution is the result of the passing, by the Central Committee of the Communist party, of Stalin's 'Five Years programme' which is to be completed by September, 1933.

Undeterred by the failure of his august predecessor Lenin, the present dictator, Josef Stalin, has embarked upon his programme in utter disregard of consequence. The entire system of

peasant proprietorship is being attacked. Individual farming is to be abolished and officials of the notorious Poverty Committees and Local Soviets have been called upon to push on with the collectivisation of agriculture at such a speed that by October 1933, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total arable land may be organised under state farms and the area of the land under the plough may also be increased by $\frac{1}{3}$ i.e., in all 60 million hectares of land are to be organised under the new scheme.

The whole class of the *Kulaki* 5,00,000 of them is being exterminated. They are being dispossessed of their lands and their belongings and made to starve by cold and starvation. For them under the Russian sky there is no shelter. They cannot be allowed to till lands even in the inhospitable Siberia.

The *Moujiks*, the comparatively poor peasants, 120,000,000 of them, must pool up their lands, live stock, and agricultural implements, and enlist in the 'Brigades' that are to work on these farms under the supervision of specially trained overseers drafted from the Soviet Army. Under the new rules these men will receive wages calculated on a very complicated piece-work system with additional allowances for efficiency and fines for poor work.

VII

Stalin, speaking on his 50th birthday remarked that 1930 was to be a year of great change and this prophecy of the Georgian fanatic, judging by the trend of events in Russia in the first quarter of the year, is certainly going to be fulfilled. If the experiment fails it will mean the end of militant communism, and may be even the death-knell of the Bolshevik regime in the country and will precipitate an era of civil war and anarchy and may bring in its train unforeseen international complications. If it succeeds it will make Russia the richest corn-producing country of the world and the position of the communist party will be impregnable. It will lift the peasant from the

mire of drudgery. All the benefits and comforts of modern science will be his. The old village with its squalid huts and filthy pools will be converted into a scientifically laid out model colony with dwellings equipped with electric light, reading rooms, baths and children's nurseries. The tractor will replace the primitive plough and bring in its train more income and more comfort for the farmer. It will increase production so greatly that all fear of famine for the country or shortage of food for the industrial areas will be banished for ever. The peasantry will cease to be an indifferent, dull, amorphous mass of population and will become a force in the land able to exercise that influence in the Councils of the Republic which is hers by right of numbers. That will be a red-letter day in the history of Russia for only then it will truly deserve the name of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

VIII

How long this period of transition will be it is difficult to foretell but we do know that millions of people are being put to unspeakable sufferings. Dispossessing 5 million *Kulaks*, the most independent, energetic, and hardworking element of the Russian people, and pronouncing a virtual sentence of death upon millions of God's creatures is too high a premium to pay even for future safety and plenty and yet that is what the Soviet is determined to do.

Kalanin, the Senior President of the Soviet Union in the course of an address to the officials of the Black soil region acknowledged that oppressions involved 'tremendous individual suffering', but he was sorry they could not be discontinued as they were an integral part of the plan.

It is, we must remember, these *Kulaks* that were mainly responsible for the failure of Lenin in 1922. When pressed hard, they destroyed their live stock, ceased to grow more corn than what was required for their immediate needs, helped

the Southern rebels and let loose upon their own country the dogs of war and famine.

For the sake of retaining his political power Lenin sacrificed his convictions and introduced his New Economic Policy as a result of which the acquisition of lands by the peasants in 1918—20 were confirmed, the small private traders and peasant proprietors were tolerated. They paid heavy taxes to the State but they acquiesced for fear of worse things happening.

With the death of Lenin the creaks in the new machinery became more pronounced. The Kulaki and his colleague, the private trader, began to display a suspicious degree of independence. They began to oppose the official nominees of the communist party in the local Soviets. They had no sympathies with the atheistic programme of the state. In the event of a war with a foreign power they may suddenly reduce production, seduce the Soviet armies and thus create trouble. After a fairly long struggle Trotsky was eliminated and Kahimin subdued. The field now lay open for Stalin. In December last he launched his campaign of militant communism.

IX

The Kulaki have retaliated as they were expected to do. They are killing their live stock, destroying their stores of grain, and damaging their instruments of production. When evicted from their holdings, they take to free booting, dislocate communications, and resort to all those devices of incendiarism to which people in desperate circumstances generally turn.

Stalin is, however, prepared for the worst. "The war shall continue," says he, "until the Kulaki owns no land" although the State farms are working well and the American Engineers who visited some of them are loud in their praises. An American firm has agreed to supply tractors on credit for these farms. Soviet factories are working at full pressure to turn out agricultural machinery to supply the needs of this

quickly increasing number of state farms. The process has been so rapid that Stalin tells us that more than double the work that he outlined for five years has been done in 3 months so that in spite of the herculean efforts of the Soviet Government the supply of tractors cannot keep pace with the demand. There are numerous farms that have not yet been supplied with sufficient agricultural machinery. Under the circumstances Stalin has drawn in the rein and has called upon the over-zealous officials to eschew violence in their efforts for the fulfilment of the communist programme lest their excessive devotion should defeat its purpose.

Whether all this story of unqualified success is substantially true or is a mere stunt to enable Stalin to effect a graceful retreat behind the immemorial 'Artel' system, it is difficult to know. The news from Soviet Russia are so conflicting that it is impossible to sift the grain from the chaff.

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E. Sept. '30.

Education and our Industries*

BY DR. SIR P. C. RAY

LET us turn for a moment our attention to the state of things a century ago in Bengal about which I am naturally more competent to speak. Not only was she a self-contained province as far as her clothing was concerned but she was in a position to export her surplus product. I am not going to inflict on you the thrice told tale as to how the ruin of this important industry was brought about. It will suffice to quote only one or two short extracts which have not found their place in recent standard works, e.g., Romesh Dutt's "Economic History of India."

All the thread is spun by women who generally employ their leisure hours in the business.

The English factory appears to have been built about the year 1666 when Indian Muslins were first introduced into England.

Two crops of cotton are raised in the district. These are gathered in April and September.

The Empress Noor Jehan greatly encouraged the manufactures of the country and under her patronage the Dacca Muslins acquired great celebrity. They became at this time, the fashionable dress of the Omrah at the Imperial and Viceregal Courts of Hindustan, while the finer fabrics so exquisitely delicate, as to be styled in the figurative language of the East "webs of woven wind" "running water," or "morning dew," were exclusively appropriated to adorn the inmates of the seraglios. Throughout succeeding times the Dacca muslins have maintained their high reputation and even in the present day, notwithstanding the great perfection which the art of weaving has attained in Britain, these fabrics are unrivalled, and in point of transparency, beauty and delicacy of texture are allowed to excel the most finished productions of the loom in any country in the world.

The spinning of thread afforded employment to all ranks and classes of inhabitants of the district in former times. This branch of industry began to be affected in 1824 when British yarn was first imported into the district and since 1828 it has been in a rapidly declining state.

* * * * but the balance of trade being then greater in favour of the district specie was imposed direct, and in this way the Arcot rupee appears to have been introduced into the eastern parts of Bengal. The exportation of cloths to different parts of Hindustan was also very extensive in former times. The annual investments for the imperial wardrobe at Delhi and for the Viceregal Court of the province monopolised the whole of the finer muslins.

The manufacture of thread, the occupation in former times of almost every family in the districts is

* Speech in opening the Swadeshi Exhibition in Madras on July 15.

now, owing to the comparative cheapness of English thread, almost entirely abandoned and thus the arts of spinning and weaving which for ages have afforded employment to a numerous and industrious population, have in the course of 60 years, passed into other hands, that supply the wants not only of foreign nations but of the rivalled country itself.

(Extracts are from Taylor's "Topography of Dacca") :

COTTON INDUSTRY

What I said about Bengal applies *mutatis mutandis* to your own province as well. It is only necessary to add that the very word muslin is derived from Masulipatam. Then again, take another important item of consumption e.g., sugar. So recently as 1871 Bengal used to supply not only her own needs of molasses and sugar but was in the favourable position of exporting refined sugar to London.

To-day India imports some 15 crores of rupees worth of Java sugar, of which again nearly half falls to the share of Bengal.

ECONOMIC RETROGRESSION

It will thus be seen that though we have been close upon two centuries under British rule, economically we are retrogressing day by day, in spite of the much advertised Pax Britannica, and the costly Royal Commissions with which unhappy India is so often saddled. Witness the Royal Agricultural Commission which for all practical purposes has come to nothing except the creation of a few fat berths.

Let me now for a moment diagnose the disease with which our youngmen have been infected and which stands in the way of our industrial progress.

ADVICE TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

The college-bred youngman would start business if he were accommodated with a big capital, a furnished room in a city with a secretariat table and an electric punka over his head and of course a motor-car waiting outside. He would of course like to be dressed a European in Videshi clothes.

No wonder, such a nincompoop should rot all his life as a clerk drawing the respectable sum of Rs. 25 per month. Andrew Carnegie, who began his career as a telegraph message boy and rose to be a multi-millionaire and a philanthropist, has as his opening lines in his suggestive book "The Empire of Business"—

It is well that young men should begin at the beginning and occupy the most subordinate positions and they should be introduced to the broom and spend the first hours of their business lives sweeping out the office. I was one of those sweepers myself."

Henry Ford, William Morris, Eastman of "Kodak" fame are all innocent of academic acquirements and they are unanimous in the opinion that a university qualification is rather a handicap to the success in an industrial career as it makes havoc of originality and initiative.

Take again the case of the biggest soap-manufacturer in the world.

About forty-five years ago a fresh-faced, stocky Lancashire boy stood behind the counter of a small grocer's shop in Bolton. There was nothing about him to attract special notice except his eyes. They were of a brilliant, gleaming, arresting blue. No one could be quite ordinary who has such eyes. No artist could have caught all their various lights. That boy was one day to be the Viscount Liverhume. I had this description twenty years ago from a very old Bolton man who knew William Lever and his father well. The boy is now a merchant prince, and one of the richest and most adventurous men in the British Empire.

I look back more than fifty years. The young Lever's short period of education was soon to be exchanged for a busy life:—(Lord Birkenhead: "Contemporary Personalities," p. 277).

The late J. N. Tata, no doubt, crossed the threshold of the Elphinstone College, but he read there only for a short time. At any rate, he learned nothing of electricity and metallurgy and yet to him we owe the two big industrial concerns—the Jamshedpur Steel Works and the Bombay Hydro-electric Installation. I suppose Sir Hukumchand will not take it amiss if I say he knows nothing of electricity or science and yet the only successful electric steel-welding works located near Calcutta owes its existence to his pluck and resourcefulness. I am never tired of repeating from many a platform that it would have been an

evil day for Bengal if Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee had come successfully out of the Engineering College at Shibpur. Had he got the mystic alphabet B. E. suffixed to his name, he would have at best vegetated all his life as a district engineer on the respectable salary of Rs. 600 a month. He would certainly not have been the foremost Bengali captain of industry.

If I here indulge in a bit of autobiographical digression, I hope I shall be pardoned. Some forty years ago, when I started the Bengal Chemical with Rs. 800 in my pocket—the hard savings of three years service—I had only this idea working upon me that, something I must do to find employment for the chemists manufactured in our universities.

Our college educated science graduates instead of hankering after 25 to 30 rupees' worth clerkship would do well to run tanneries on a small scale. I have to repeat the same doleful tale as far as the Bengalis are concerned. In the suburbs of Calcutta known as Tangra and Beliaghata, there are some 250 small tanneries run entirely by Jut Mussalmans and Chinese. They ply a lucrative trade. It is however, very much to be regretted that though the Calcutta University has been turning out year after year hundreds of B. Sc.'s, M. Sc.'s and a few D. Sc.'s too, they are as helpless as new born babes owing to lack of initiative and pine for miserably paid berths.

THE TANNING INDUSTRY

Your province has always been a pioneer in the tanning industry. Avaram tanned leather which is known as "half tanned leather" is exported to Europe in large quantities.

Madras is also the pioneer of chrome tanning in India and possesses a very large chrome leather factory at Chromepet which claims to be the biggest chrome tanning concern in the East. This tannery is under Messrs. Chambers & Coy. It manufactures upper leathers for books and

shoes, sole leather, and various sorts of Industrial leather and leather goods. There is also a chrome tannery at Bangalore, one at Trichinopoly and a third has been recently started at Madras. The products of all these concerns enjoy well deserved reputation. As far as tanning is concerned, Madras occupies a place of honour, not only in India but in the world's tanning trade in which such words as "Bangalores, Trichis, Coconadas etc., are household words among the users of Indian tanned leather. The "half-tanned leather" about which I spoke is produced by illiterate Chamars who have got hereditary traditional skill. If, however, our science graduates would only acquire the requisite technical knowledge these half-tanned hides and skins could be exported in the perfectly finished condition and additional crores of rupees could be earned.

It causes me, as a chemist, deep anguish of mind to find that over 14 crores worth of oilseed (chiefly groundnut) is exported abroad from your province, out of India's total export of 26½ crores of oilseeds. The total weight of the oilseed exported comes up to 12 lakhs of tons. When it is remembered that nearly two-thirds of the weight represents oil-cake which is a valuable cattle-food as also a manure, the loss to the country is simply incalculable. Moreover, the oil extracted from it in the foreign lands e. g., Holland, Belgium, etc., when hydrogenated, returns to us as vegetable ghee, which we have to buy again at a far higher price. How utterly helpless we are!

"THE EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED"

The one remedy which has hitherto suggested itself to our leaders and educationists is the multiplication of universities. Create new universities and manufacture graduates *ad infinitum* and unemployment will be removed. Evidently they proceed on the homeopathic principle: *similia similibus curantur*. Within the last few years two new universities have been created in your own province and I seriously question the

wisdom of those who are responsible for them. Take again the United Provinces. Formerly, the University of Allahabad used to cater for the entire province, but now we find that you have some half-a-dozen additional ones which have sprung into existence mushroom-like. I need not enumerate them. A very thoughtful article appeared sometime ago in the columns of the leading, admirably conducted and well-informed journal of your city from which I shall take the liberty to quote a short extract, which will throw a flood of light upon what I am going to say. Under the heading "The Educated Unemployed" we read:

Since the War, there has also come about in Central Europe, as elsewhere a widespread desire on the part of the lower classes for higher education. The result has been an annual production by the universities of what is called intellectual proletarians,—hybrids for whom there is no place in the classes of employment to which they aspire. As a result they mostly go to swell the ranks of extremists. * * * The lack of occupational outlets, the swelling of the rank of the educated unemployment and the keen competition for what little is available, have resulted in frequent student riots and race conflicts.—J. M. Kumarappa, The "Hindu" March 13, 1930.)

As you are aware, emigrant Chinese swarm over Malaysia. An American writer of note thus throws a side-light on the economic condition of that peninsula:

Penang, from the lines of bullock-carts unloading rubber on the harbour front to the streams of pleasure cars (about ten Chinese to four British and one Indian) pouring along the magnificent highway to the 'the peak' we find to be one of the busiest hives in South Asia. Like Singapore or Rangoon, it is an outstanding illustration of how the Westerner is bringing together the races of Asia in great cosmopolitan cities, originally to labour for him, eventually to push him out. Chinese run the small business docile black Tamil and their scarlet clad and tinsel bedecked women do the heavy work.

Again:

Scholarly China has failed to produce industry.—ibid p. 18.

Mind, the Tamil begins as a coolie and remains forever a coolie; whereas the Chinese coolie ends as a dollar-millionaire. No wonder, many more rich rubber-plantations are owned by the Chinese than even by the Europeans. This

further illustrates that academic culture creates only swelled-head do-nothings.

PLEA FOR CHARKA

Although I am intimately connected with half a dozen industries in Bengal, I have always been a staunch advocate of the Charka. Let me again repeat, perhaps for the hundredth time, some of the reasons which led me to plead for the spinning wheel.

The craze for industrialisation has seized many of our public men, but the example of Europe and America ought to be an eye-opener. As has been well said—"Half the people in industrial countries are racking their brains in devising labour-saving appliances and the other half in solving the question of unemployment." The latest figure in England is nineteen lakhs while according to Mr. Thomas there were over three millions unemployed in Germany and half a million in Italy and the unemployment figure in the United States was given as from three to six millions. After all barely two million hands find occupation in the mills and other industries. Look at Bombay and Calcutta where a few capitalists thrive and lakhs of sweating labourers, living in the slums and chowls, drag a miserable existence, where the infant mortality rises from 400 to 500 per thousand. I have often drawn attention to the fact that in several parts of Bengal rice mills are being started. No doubt such mills fill the pockets of the proprietors: but one such mill is the means of snatching away bare morsels of bread from scores of destitute widows. The Manchester School of Economists had a good time of it for close upon half a century from the time of Cobden to that of the nineties of the last century. They were under the comfortable delusion that all other countries in the world would remain forever backward, supply raw-materials and Lancashire alone would flood them with finished piece-goods. But now not only the continental countries, but even China and Japan,

not to speak of India, have got cotton-mills of their own with the result that Messrs. MacDonald and Lloyd George are at their wit's end to solve the unemployment riddle.

"GROSS EXTRAVAGANCE"

Cigarettes, automobiles, toilets, gramophones, gewgaws and tinsels in the shape of toys, electric torches and sundry other things which dazzle our eyes and capture the hearts of our young-folk, are articles we can do without to a large extent. To the students of economics, Madras, is known as a comparatively poor province; but the foreigner who visits your city and finds the show-rooms exhibiting fashionable motor cars would run away with the idea that verily this is a province overflowing with gold. "Not one man in every ten who runs a motor-car to-day can really afford it if he looks to the future."

Judge Crawford, who has long been noted for his outspoken criticism of modern extravagance, especially as shown in the possession of a motor-car, made further scathing remarks at Edmonton-county recently when he laid down the dictum quoted above.

At Barnet, 12 months ago, he declared that "even a County Court Judge has no right to buy a car unless he has private means, because his salary alone (£ 1,500 a year) is not sufficient." "There is gross extravagance all round now-a-days," he added, "and the great bulk of the people who come into court are living beyond their means. As has been said, people marry on credit and live on judgment summonses." He thought it "scandalous that a working girl should wear gloves at 4s. 11½d. a pair," and when told her shoes cost over £1, her hat 13s. 11d., and her coat 5 guineas, he said, he felt "shocked to think that the clothes of a working girl should cost so much."

If the above applies to wealthy England how forcibly it should appeal to our own countrymen whose average income does not exceed two to

three annas a day. In fact the craze for fashion and luxury which is infecting our young people is like the tubercular bacilli corroding our vitality.

I have, of late, been conducting an extensive investigation on the total amount of food stuff grown in India. One would naturally think that fertile Bengal has a large surplus of rice. Unfortunately, as far as she is concerned, there is a deficit of one maund of rice per head per year. Mr. Latif in his "Economic Aspect of the Indian Rice Export Trade" also arrives at the same conclusion. According to his computation based upon official returns, the total quantity of rice required for use in India is 33·51 millions of tons approximately, whereas the total yield in tons is only 32 millions and he concludes that but for the relief which Burma rice gives to the people of India, the consequences would have been disastrous.

No wonder that Lieut.-Col. McCarrison of the Pasteur Institute, Coonoor, in his memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on Agriculture should authoritatively state that

of all the disabilities from which the masses in India suffer, malnutrition is, perhaps, the chief. The more spectacular, endemic and epidemic diseases such as Cholera, Malaria, Dysentery, Tuberculosis and Leprosy kill their thousands yearly; but malnutrition maims its millions and is the means whereby the soil of the human body is made ready for the rank growth of the pathogenic agents of many of those diseases which afflict the Indian People. . . . Malnutrition is thus the most far-reaching of the causes of diseases in India.

It will thus be seen that the articles of luxury we indulge in is in exchange for morsels of bread—leading to malnutrition.

CHARKA BEST FITTED FOR RURAL AREAS

On this ground Mahatmaji has very properly all along insisted that the charka is the only machinery suited to the rural area. Mr. Jack speaking of a district in East Bengal, says that "the time-table of the cultivator, when his land is unfit for jute, shows three months' hard work and nine months' idleness." The district from which I come grows only one crop in the year known as the "aman" paddy and the peasants

live absolutely idle lives for full nine months in the year. A secondary occupation would prove a god-send to them.

I am a born Swadeshi and I am glad that you have named this exhibition as "Swadeshi Exhibition." I have disliked the word "boycott" and I have always avoided in my speeches and writings the use of this term. Boycott means a resolve not to use the foreigner's manufactured goods, so that he may be financially a sufferer. By bringing pressure to bear upon his pocket he may be brought to his senses and made to grant concession. "Boycott" is thus for a specific object and the object being gained its "raison d'être" ceases and it is called off; whereas 'Swadeshism' is based upon pure love of one's country-made products. I am Swadeshi and Swadeshism is my religion and it has been my life-long end to manufacture those articles which I have to import from foreign lands. Political consideration does not sway me.

CONCLUSION

What Swadeshi can achieve can be illustrated in a few words. As soon as the recent movement began, the rich and the poor—the masses and the classes—as if by the waving of the magician's wand forsook the cigarette and took to the "biri" with the result that thousands of loafers and unemployed who finding no occupation took to goondaism are now working hard at the making of the 'biri' in the bye-lanes of Calcutta and in every nook and corner you find groups of youngsters sitting in a circle and briskly plying their fingers at the new handicraft and earning as much as a rupee or more per day. I do not as yet know how far this new spirit has pervaded your province. I do hope the contagion has spread everywhere. If our people would only take to biri, three to four crores of rupees, which used to be drained out of the land, would be distributed among the masses.

WORLD EVENTS

By DR. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A.

AUSTRALIA

ALL countries have their periods of economic ebb and flow; at present we have a world depression, but some countries in addition to feeling the world situation have troubles peculiarly their own, and Australia is one of them. For a young country in some respects she has been growing too fast, and as a consequence is having just now a bad spell of growing pains. The simple fact is that Australia has been living beyond her means; she has been leaning far too much on borrowed capital, some of which has been foolishly and wastefully expended on projects which cannot be productive for many years to come. The capitalists realising this called a halt, and said that further borrowing by the Labour Government especially must stop. To make matters worse the two main Australian markets—Wool and Wheat, experienced a slump; as a result the country was not able to meet its overseas interest obligations, and foreign exchange rose against her.

This situation led to a serious decline in the Australian balances in London. At the end of 1928 the Commonwealth Bank of Australia held balances in London to the amount of £16,500,000. By the middle of 1929 they had fallen to £12,200,000, and at the close of 1929 they had fallen to £6,200,000, a very low figure indeed. So desperate was the financial situation now that early in 1930 gold shipments to the value of £10,000,000 had to be sent to build up the balances. The Scullian Labour Government has had to introduce drastic measures to deal with the situation; they have restricted imports, have advocated the increase of exports, but one other thing must be done which the Labour Government is loath to advocate, and that is lowering the cost of production to give exports a chance in the world market. Good

rains this year will help considerably, and much is expected from the visit of Sir Otto Niemeyar, representing the Bank of England and the English creditors, who will confer with the Federal Ministry on the financial and economic difficulties of the Commonwealth.

EUROPE

The last act has just closed in the grim tragedy of the World War in the evacuation of the Rhineland; the French troops have left German territory, and we can now say that the Great War has really and finally ended. Article 431 of the Versailles Treaty reads:

If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

Germany claims that she has met her obligations in that she signed the Locarno Treaties, is a member of the League of Nations, and is regularly paying her reparation assignments. This claim has been accepted by the nations, with the result that now three years before the limit set the French troops have been withdrawn, and Germany's humiliation removed on account of and as a reward for good conduct.

A section of fair Italy has been once more laid waste by a fearful earthquake in which it is estimated that over 2,500 have been killed, and upwards of 2,000 injured in the Province of Avellino alone. Vesuvius, perhaps out of sympathy, has been active again; that report reminds us of our visit to Naples and Vesuvius last year. One has only to visit that famous mountain to see the awful havoc that earthquake and eruption can bring in their train. I asked our conductor why people continued to live in those places under that burning mountain and in the constant shadow of death. He replied: "They are tempted by the wonderful fertility of the soil, and they take the risk." His Majesty King

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George sent the following telegram to King Victor Emmanuel: "I grieve to learn of the terrible earthquake in Southern Italy, resulting in serious loss of life and property, and I deeply sympathise with you and your people in this calamity".

ENGLAND

England seems to delight in always having a number of major problems to engage her attention; other countries are satisfied with one or two large questions, but Britain like the show-man plays with at least half-a-dozen. In addition to the ever-present problem of unemployment there is the precarious condition of the Labour Government, the preparations for the Imperial Conference, and the question that is upper-most just now—the growing pressure of the protectionist group. How Joe Chamberlain must be turning in his grave, for his tariff reform scheme is receiving considerable support in these days. Mr. Stanley Baldwin took the question to the country, and was defeated on it in a General Election. Lord Beaverbrook who hails from Canada is now the leader of the movement, and in a recent passage defines his so-called Empire Free Trade and Protection—against—the-world policy. He said: "What we can attain now is a 'tariff wall' round the Empire, with duties on the foreign food stuffs, which is an essential part of the programme. Inside this Empire there would be absolute Free Trade with the Colonies, subject to existing revenue tariffs; there would be limited partnerships with the Dominions." There are two chief difficulties in the way; one is this scheme will raise food prices in England, and secondly the Dominions like Canada, Australia, India, and South Africa have put up tariff walls against Britain; they are not likely to pull them down as a part of an Empire Free Trade policy. Then too both the Labour and Liberal parties are opposed to the scheme; the Conservatives will find

it very difficult to make headway against such opposition.

Unexpected support has recently been given to the tariff reform programme by the pronouncement of a group of bankers on Empire trade. The banks include the Bank of England, the five great joint-stock banks, and other banks of international standing in London. They urge a large measure of Imperial free trade and protection against the world in the following resolution which was passed, a part only of which we reproduce:

It is resolved that urgent measures for the promotion of inter-Imperial trade are needed to secure and extend the market for British products both at home and through the export trade.

They propose to extend reciprocal trade agreements between the nations constituting the British Empire, and protective tariffs against the outside world. This question is bound to come up as an issue in the next General Election.

In the meantime a diligent search is being made for new markets. A strong Government economic mission will sail for China and Japan towards the end of next September to study markets and general trade conditions. There will be two sections, one to give special attention to markets generally, and the other to be a special cotton trade deputation. On the cotton committee there will be both employers and employees represented. To have employees as such a committee of investigation is rather a new thing, and it should strengthen and make more valuable their report.

When we were in England last year we took special interest in India House, then nearing completion. It has a splendid location, just near the entrance to Kingsway, and will be an appropriate meeting-place for Indians and Indian interests in London. It will take its place beside Australia House and Canada House in the Hub of the Empire. The wood-work and internal fittings and arrangement are characteristically Indian, and Indians will be more and more proud of their House as time goes

by. The official opening ceremony on July 8 was a great occasion. His Majesty the King made a fine speech, splendidly appropriate to the occasion; there was a large and representative gathering including many well-known Indians and people on leave from India, and the spirit and interest in the City in the proceedings were excellent.

CONFERENCES

A world conference of more than ordinary interest assembled in Berlin recently, and is known as the Second World Power Conference. The First Conference met at Weimar in 1924; the development made in six short years is astonishing. Then a large plant generated 80,000 kilowatts, now plants are being installed to deal with 208,000 kilowatts; transmission of high power is now being made between Holland and Switzerland; there is a suggestion to carry power across the Baltic from Scandinavia to Germany, and from Chicago to New York. We are reaching the extreme point of foreign trade in electricity. Electrification is going on apace, with the result that more than 70 per cent. of the motive power plant of the world is engaged in generating electricity, and almost 90 per cent. of all new plant added to the world's manufacturing capacity each year since 1924 is driven by electrical power. These facts bring out the need for international co-operation in power supply. The Conference is dealing with such problems as: an international power policy; the consideration of administrative and political questions; the methods by which the policy of rationalisation in industry may be fitted into a policy of scientifically co-ordinated power expansion. One can readily see the far-reaching significance of the Conference.

SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE

The creator of "Sherlock Holmes" Conan Doyle has recently died at the ripe age of seventy-two years. He received his education at Stonyhurst and Edinburgh University, where he

qualified as a doctor of medicine. He served as a physician during the South African War, and wrote a book on "The Cause and Conduct of the War" which was translated into twelve European languages. In 1902 he was knighted.

But it was as a writer of fiction, and the creator of that world literary figure—Sherlock Holmes—that Conan Doyle will always be remembered. A party of French schoolboys who visited London sometime back on being asked what they wished most to see replied: "The rooms of Sherlock Holmes in Baker Street." As one writer has said:

The personality of the eccentric amateur detective—with his fiddle, his dressing-gown, his strong tobacco, his courage and resource, and his genius for the unravelling of mysteries which no more professional detective could hope to possess—was well fitted to catch the popular imagination. And his creator made use of him with an ingenuity which was none the less remarkable because he knew each secret to start with, and worked backwards from it.

Sir Arthur's interests in life have been many including Home Rule for Ireland, prison reform, divorce, and in later life spiritualism.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

E. Sept. '30.

Philosophy Without Metaphysics*

BY

DR. S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A.

METAPHYSICS was banished by Science sometime ago from the domain of exact knowledge and given a grudging permission to weave its cobwebs only where the scientific broom could not get at them. Since then it has confined itself to the realm of philosophy which appeared to be its natural home. Even thence it is now threatened with eviction, by Mr. Holmes who holds metaphysics to be a wrong-headed attempt on the part of the unaided intellect to comprehend the universe, an attempt doomed from the first to failure, finding its proper culmination in agnosticism, when it is tired of the logical stage of playing the game according to self-assumed rules or the empirical stage of identifying reality with sense experience or the dualistic stages of supernaturalism and materialism. Thought magnetised by feeling and feeling sensitized by thought may enable us to know reality in the only sense in which it may be known, that is by *living* it. The artist, the poet, and the prophet, each in his way knows reality, but the metaphysician never does. Poetry is nearer wisdom than metaphysics. Wisdom has been realised now and again, perhaps, never so fully as in ancient India.

The presentation of the author's intuitional philosophy is fresh and vigorous if at times it leaves us a little baffled, as when he speaks of the infinitude of reality, which "rises up like a wall of darkness and forbids our further advance." One wonders if this verbiage conceals any sense. If according to the mystic, the self is the "Fountain-head of reality," if the self is verily the knower who "belongs to a higher order of

reality than the objects of his knowledge," how can there ever be a wall of darkness for this self? Who, indeed, can forbid its further advance?

Mr. Holmes' criticism of the empiricism of Prof. Alexander is really trenchant. He rightly complains of the identification of reality with existence and the failure to recognise degrees of truth and reality. His treatment of these and allied topics shows the keenness of his intellect, albeit he has no faith in the power of the intellect to grasp reality. His book is indeed a highly metaphysical attempt to demonstrate the bankruptcy of metaphysics. Where, however, he is most undeniably perverse is in the treatment of Bradleian idealism. Writing with the smug satisfaction of one who has discovered the psychology of Bradley, our author writes of Bradley's dualistic divorce of appearance from reality, of his being trapped into the admission of degrees of truth and reality and so on. He speaks elsewhere of metaphysical philosophy that that it seeks to transcend experience and that it cannot and does not seek empirical verification. Any student of Bradley with the desire to do him the barest justice cannot but admit that his conception of reality is present in the back-ground throughout his criticism of appearance, that it is sheer nonsense to talk of Bradley being forced to admit degrees of reality in spite of himself. It is also clear that Bradley does not make the assumption at any stage that the unaided intellect can grasp reality. Metaphysics is, for him, the attempt to think reality somehow as a whole, not a brazen-faced proclamation of the self-sufficiency of the intellect. Nor was Bradley the person to ignore or minimise the value of the spiritual experiences of seers, as confirmatory of

* PHILOSOPHY WITHOUT METAPHYSICS. By Edmond Holmes. George Allen and Unwin, London, pp. 175; 7s. 6d. net.

Metaphysical conclusions, though these are necessarily reached in the first instance, independently of appeal to such experience. The task of metaphysics is not to fly away from experience, but to understand and grade experience. The tests of reality propounded by Bradley—harmony and inclusiveness—may appear abstract but they are not less helpful than the vague concepts Mr. Holmes has to offer us.

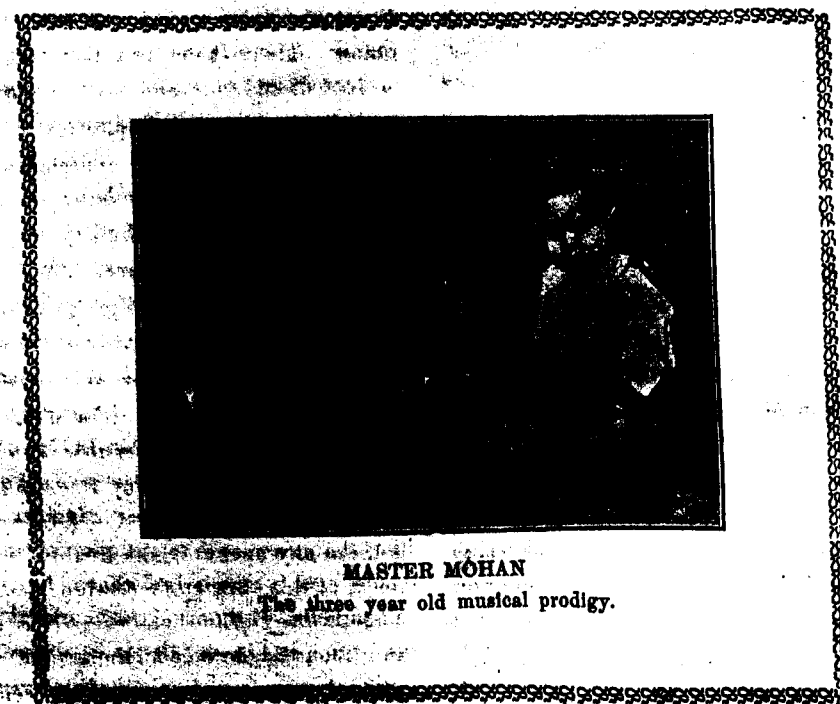
Our author is fond of insisting repeatedly that his non-intellectual philosophy is the love of wisdom; surely constancy is not the least of the virtues demanded of the lover, and the coherence of the metaphysician is not in principle different from constancy. There may be lapses in thinking as in loving, but fundamental anarchy is in neither case intelligible or tolerable.

Finally, absolute truth is not, for Bradley, itself absolute, except in the sense that it is not intel-

lectually corrigible. This is very different from asserting the blatant supremacy of reason or discounting the value of other aspects of experience. The worst detractor of the intellect has yet to admit that it can be aware of its own limitations, and that is the highest knowledge that can be claimed for any being or faculty.

In so far as Mr. Holmes' intuitional philosophy is intelligible at all, there is little to differentiate it from Bradleianism. If the latter system had been studied with a little more care and patience, the author would have produced a more attractive and inspiring, though, perhaps a much smaller volume. As it is, we have but a piece of brilliant writing, so characteristic of much modern British "philosophy" and so sadly lacking in elements of permanent value.

It is needless to say that the get up of the book is very attractive.



MASTER MOHAN

The three year old musical prodigy.

Depressed Classes and Swaraj

BY DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR

[The following are extracts from the very thoughtful address delivered by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as president of the first session of the All-India Depressed Classes Congress held at Nagpur on August 8 and 9.—ED. *Indian Review*.]

THE one question that is looming large in the horizon to-day is, 'Is it possible for the peoples of India to become one united self-governing community?' We have met here to define the attitude of the depressed classes with respect to this question which is agitating not only the minds of this country and of the British Empire but also of the whole world as well. Our answer to this question will go a great way in the decision of the final destiny of this country.

PROBLEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

You are aware that to this question there are two sides. It has been pointed out that the Indian people are composed of a large number of distinct races; that they profess various religions antagonistic in their creeds and diverse in their rites; that they speak different languages and are separated from each other by discordant prejudices, by conflicting social usages and by opposing material interests. The question is asked how can a heterogeneous mass of humanity function as a self-governing community? These are hard facts and no wise man can ignore the bearing which they must necessarily have upon the question of self-government in India. But admitting these hard facts, what is the conclusion to be drawn from them? Gentlemen, before you proceed to pronounce your opinion let me draw your attention to certain facts equally hard. Consider the position as it obtains in countries like Latvia, Rumania, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Esthonia, and Czechoslovakia. These are new States which have come into being after the close of the great war of 1914 which was fought with the avowed object of establishing the principle of self-government throughout the world. These newly consti-

tuted States are all of them self-governing sovereign, independent States, each supreme in its external and internal affairs. What are the internal social conditions in these States? You will be surprised to know that they are as bad as in India, if not worse. In Latvia there are Letts, Russians, Jews and Germans, besides other nationalities. In Lithuania there are Lithuanians, Jews, Poles and Russians in addition to other smaller minorities. In Yugoslavia there are Serbs, Croates, Slovenes, Rumanians, Hungarians, Albanians and Germans, not to mention other Slav people. In Esthonia there are Esthonians, Russians, Germans and other small groups. In Czechoslovakia there are Czechs, Germans, Megyars, Ruthinians and others. In Hungary there are Megyars, Germans and Slovaks. Different by race and language these groups form so many warring nations within their respective States. There is not even that religious unity to cement these heterogeneous elements into a common whole. You will find amongst them four or five different sorts of Catholics. There are Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Czechoslovak Catholics. Besides Catholics, you have Evangelicals, Jews, Protestants, not to mention the many small creeds that prevail there. Ponder over this. Is the Indian cosmos more bewildering, more heterogeneous than the human cosmos we find in these countries? I dare say it is not. In making your decision about India you shall have to take cognizance of these facts if your judgment is to be honest, independent judgment. Gentlemen, is there any answer to the question that arises as a result of this comparison that if Latvia, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Esthonia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania, with all their difference of race, creed, language and culture, can function as united

self-governing communities why cannot India? I have none to give.

It seems to me, to insist that the divergent elements in a country shall be one united whole before it can have the blessings of self-government is sometimes to reverse the order of things and to ignore the unifying effects of the great process of self-government.

SAFEGUARDS FOR THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

It must therefore be made clear that while we do not think that the social factors can be a bar to self-government in India we do not admit that the constitution of a self-governing India can ignore the necessity of checks and balances to ensure that in the political reconstruction the smaller and the weaker communities will not go to the wall. How best to do this, as far as the depressed classes are concerned, is therefore the next question that I propose to deal with.

The best guarantee for the protection of your own interests, consists in having the power of control in your own hands so that you may yourselves be in a position not only to punish when the mischief to your interest is done but to keep a watch over your interests from day to day and prevent possible mischief from arising. This will never be secured by leaving the power in the hands of the third party be it the Governor, Viceroy or the League of Nations. For of what good will that power be to us if those who will hold it in trust for us refuse to exercise it when we call for their intervention? The safest remedy for the protection of our interests seems to me lies in securing control over the future executive in self-governing India in your own hands and that you can have only by means of adequate representation in the Legislatures of the country.

In this connection there is one observation which I feel I must make. To say that this is a country which is divided by castes and creeds and that it cannot be one united self-governing community

unless adequate safeguards for the protection of the minorities are made a part of the Constitution is a position to which there can be no objection. But the minorities must bear in mind that although we are to-day 'riven by sects and atomised by castes,' our ideal is a united India. This is an ideal which no minority which claims to be heard can fail to place in its forefront. That being so, it follows that every minority in formulating the safeguards it needs must take care that they will not be incompatible with the realisation of that ideal. By all means insist on your safeguards because the handicap you suffer from is real but let not your safeguards be such that they will perpetuate the differences which it must be the desire of us all to see bridged. There is undoubtedly an obligation on the majority to consent to the safeguards for the minorities. But there rests upon the minorities an obligation of equal sanctity not to insist on such safeguards as will block the way to the unity of all. From this point of view, the scheme of joint electorates and reserved seats must be pronounced to be superior to that of separate electorates. It meets the realities of the present and also helps the ideal of the future.

* * *

DEPRESSED CLASSES AND SWARAJ

I think I have said all that I need say regarding the guarantees and safeguards that we must have in the future constitution of a self-governing India. It is for you to declare what view you will take of the political ideal of the Indian National Congress. The demand for independence we may dismiss from our consideration. It is impracticable and in my opinion it will be disastrous in the present state of the country. It is only people cemented by the feeling of one country, one constitution and one destiny who may take the risk of being independent. No one can deny that this country is miles distant from this position. The ideal of Dominion Status seems to me

superior for it has in it the substance of independence without the attendant risks involved in complete independence. We must therefore refuse to give our support to the ideal of independence about the utility of which even Congressmen entertain grave doubts.

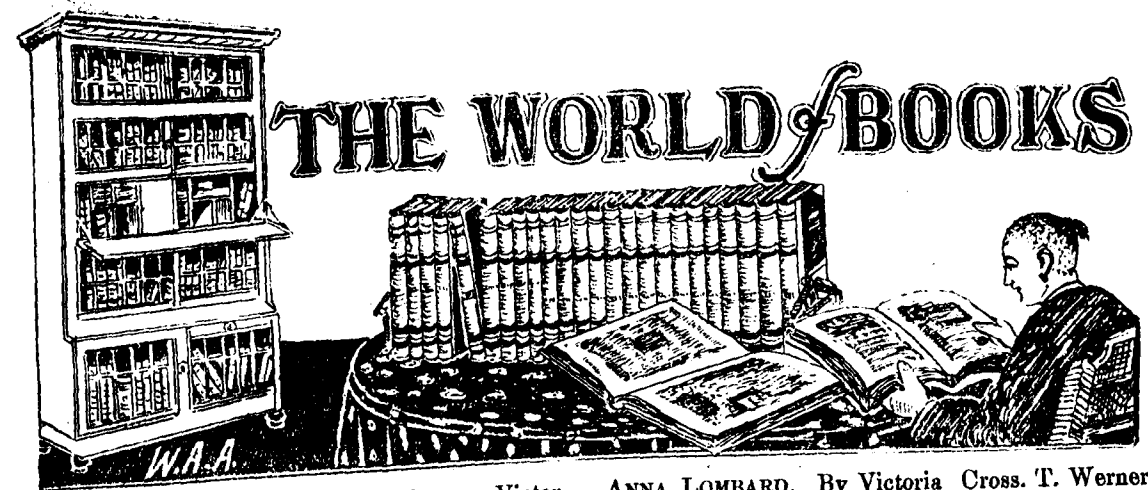
But what shall we say regarding the demand for Dominion Status which is the same thing as Swaraj or government of the people, for the people and by the people? As to this you must really think well before you decide. There can be no doubt that the advent of the British in India has been a great boon to the country. Without this providential connection it seems to me very doubtful if the intellectual awakening of India could have been as great or as fast. Without the contact of European civilization with its basic conceptions of liberty, equality and fraternity Indian society could never have been driven to feel the sense of shame in respect of the many social customs that have been recognized as part of its social and moral code. It is this live contact between the two civilizations which has by cruel contrast forced upon India the revaluation of its social values and the recognition of many of its social customs as so many social wrongs. This has set India as nothing could have done on the road to regeneration. Without the advent of the British, India could never have had the tremendous advantage of a common system of government and a common system of law. These are instruments of no mean potency for the welfare of any country. But their value to India is inestimable. They have prepared the soil of India for the roots of Indian nationalism to go to the depth they have gone and have also laid down the foundations of a stable government. Nor can it be said that they have neglected to provide the country with the best equipment of modern civilization such as currency, roads, canals, railways and the post.

POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE

All this is true. But the question is at what cost? There is no doubt that a kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the British rule. In the words of late Mr. Gokhale we must all the days of our life live in an atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend. No Indian can feel that upward impulse which is the source of elevation witnessed in a self-governing community. You may not appreciate the moral grounds on which the claim to Swaraj is made to rest and you may even be amused by it when it is urged by members of the aristocracy as one is when one hears Satan quoting scriptures in support of his cause. There is no doubt that the cost of the British Government in India is out of all proportion to the means of the people. It is the costliest government in the world. This again may not appeal to you and you may say that no cost is too great for the maintenance of law and order in this country. But there is one thing that I think must appeal to you and that is the poverty of the people. Is there any parallel to the poverty of the Indian people in any part of the world? In the first quarter of the 19th century when British rule in India had become an established fact there were five famines with an estimated loss of 1,000,000 lives. During the second quarter of the century there were two famines with an estimated mortality of 40,000. During the third quarter there were six famines with a recorded loss of life of 5,000,000. And during the last quarter of the century what do we find? Eighteen famines, with an estimated mortality which reaches the awful total of from 15,000,000 to 26,000,000. And this does not include the many more millions (over 6,000,000) in a single year kept alive by government doles. Gentlemen, what must be the cause of this? In plain terms the cause is the deliberate policy pursued by the British in the government of this country. The aim of the

British Government all along has been to discourage the growth of trade and industry in this country. This is not an accusation which rests on mere inference. It is an admitted principle of British administration that India be so governed that she will always remain an open market for British goods. It is this policy which has made India the land of chronic poverty. In this progressive impoverishment of the people who are those that suffer most? I am sure that of the half of the agricultural population which is admitted not to know from one half year's end to another what it is to have a full meal the depressed classes must form the largest part. Their abject poverty must make them ready victims of famines to which they must be paying the largest toll. If these are your people, if you are really interested in them you cannot shut your eyes or be indifferent to this heart-rending fact. Gentlemen, you cannot keep on singing the praises of a bureaucracy because it has given improved roads, constructed canals on more scientific principles, effected transportation by rail, contrived to carry letters by penny post and flash messages by lightning, has stabilized currency, regulated weights and measures, corrected the prevalent notions of theology, geography, astronomy and medicine and stopped our internal quarrels. All praise is due to this achievement in the field of law and order. But Gentlemen, we must not forget that people including the depressed classes do not live on law and order; what they live on is bread and butter. This inexorable law of life must make even the depressed classes demand a government that will help the economic prosperity of the country and thereby effect a betterment in their material life. Some of you may question that the poverty of the people is due to lack of production and may urge that it is due to unequal distribution of wealth. I would be the first to admit that the much talked of 'annual tribute' which the people of this country

pay to England pales away in magnitude before the heavy exactions by the landlords and capitalists of this country from the paltry and hard-earned wages of the masses who toil for them. But I cannot understand how you can expect the British Government to give relief from the crushing weight of the landlords and the capitalists? One thing we must remember that every Government however powerful suffers as pointed out by Professor Dicey from two very serious limitations. There is first of all an internal limitation which arises from the character, motives and interests of those who are in power and if the British Government does not sympathize with the living forces operating in Indian society, is inimical to its aspirations, is apathetic to education and disfavours swadeshi it is not because it cannot favour these things but because it is against its character, motives and interests to do so. The second consideration that limits the authority of every Government is the possibility of external resistance. Does not the Government of India realize the gravity of removing the social evils which are eating into the vitals of Indian society? Does not the Government of India realize that the landlords are squeezing the masses dry? Does not the Government of India realize that the capitalists are not giving the labourers a living wage and decent conditions of work? It does and yet it has not dared to touch any of these evils. Why? Is it because it has no legal powers to remove them? No. The reason why it does not intervene is because it is afraid that its intervention to amend the existing code of social and economic life will give rise to resistance. Of what good is such a government to anybody? Under a government paralyzed between two such limitations much that goes to make life good must remain held up. We must have a government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. We must have a government in which men in power knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This role the British government will never be able to play. It is only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people; in other words, it is only the Swaraj Government that will make this possible.



BENGAL LANCER. By F. Yeats-Brown, Victor Gollancz, London. Price 9 shillings.

A Bengal Lancer of the last century would have been a type to attract a novelist like Thackeray, and such a character would have provided humour, without laying claim to explain the mysteries of India. But, as the publishers claim, the present autobiography may justifiably have for its second title, "India Understood!" It presents the career of one who joined the Indian army in 1904, served in the War, and retired in 1924. He has since been Polo correspondent to the TIMES and was for some years on the staff of the SPECTATOR. Mr. Yeats-Brown presents in a really delightful style, just a few experiences of his in India. His sportsmanly spirit and sincere anxiety to learn made him a welcome disciple to a Hindu Guru of great powers on the Himalayas. He naturally speaks with reverence of Yoga as the best means of spiritual realisation. We hope that British officers of such refined minds and sympathetic imagination, like Yeats-Brown will be met with oftener than they seem to be, in the Indian army.

A LOVER'S LUTE. By Ray Chauduri. Stockwell Ltd., London.

Somebody recently complained that all the themes available for poets have been exhausted a century ago. And so it is hardly Mr. Chauduri's fault that he can do no better than put in rhyme and metre the topography of India and a catalogue of things that happened at dawn and other things of that kind.

ANNA LOMBARD. By Victoria Cross. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

This is the first novel of "Victoria Cross" which the present writer, an Indian, has read and he must confess with his traditional love and admiration for ideals like Sita and Savithri and his admiration for Indian womanhood in general, a feeling of disgust against Anna Lombard. To an Indian brought up in the tradition of his race and religion it is impossible to view with favour, a character, like Anna Lombard who loves two men at once and who thinks there is nothing wrong in living with both. Nor can he in any way agree in the author's encomium on the character of Gerald Ethridge. It is not surprising that a Christian journal like the DAILY CHRONICLE, should hold up his conduct to ridicule and contempt and chastise the author for describing him Christ-like.

PERES' TRIPLE COMBINATION CIPHER CODE. By Mr. Peres, Mangalore. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 25.

This useful book will be found invaluable by all businessmen who spend a lot of money over foreign cables and inland telegrams. For it is an improvement over the double combination or five letter system which is already in vogue. The code gives three combinations for a telegraphic word with very useful business phrases and we are sure it will prove a great money saving medium for its users.

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS.

By D. Pant, B. Com., Ph. D., Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Meston. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

As his title the author has chosen 'The Commercial Policy of the Moguls'; but with equal justice it might have been 'How the Moguls had no Commercial Policy.' These words of Lord Meston in his foreword to Dr. Pant's book exactly convey the impression left on the mind by a perusal of it. To say this however is not to gainsay the wide reading and minute research that have gone into the making of this fervidly written if somewhat encyclopaedic account of the Mogul Empire at the height of its splendour. The work is divided into six books of which the first is called 'An Economic Survey of India up to 1556 A.D.' and the last is taken up by side lights of the Great Moguls, their government, trade etc. The remaining four books are devoted in order to the four great Emperors Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb. Akbar was the only ruler who had a thought for the good of the people over whom he was set to rule, but even his generous statesmanship was largely sterilized by the rapacity of the underlings who cheated the king and tyrannised over the people on all possible occasions. Dr. Pant in fact has no enthusiasm for the commercial Policy of the Moguls such as it was. Here is his picture of that policy as it worked even under Akbar's benevolent rule: "Uncertainty of taxes; the wide range of taxes; the insatiable greed of officials; the frequency of taxes levied by powerful individuals on their own account; the multiplicity of taxes; and the weak protection of life and property on the King's highways and in the king's courts; all these were bound to kill all enterprise and initiative in trade." And more generally: "Trade was not free under the Moguls; religious fanaticism, Zenana intervention, official obstructions, state of the kings

monopolising this or that trade and the fixation of prices at this or that level irrespective of the economic forces working in the market and finally the inclination of the king to earn commercial profits for himself were some of the factors which impeded the free and even flow of trade." "The splendour of the Mogul court was based on the ruin of the nation." This gloomy picture is obviously too sweeping to be accepted as a truly balanced view of industry and trade under the Moguls. If Dr. Pant had pondered more deeply over the numerous extracts from foreign observers given by him in his own book and on the conclusions of 'that veteran writer on the Mogul period, Jadunath Sarkar' whom he quotes with approval at p. 246 he would have found reason greatly to mitigate the severity of his condemnation.

SHIVA OR THE PAST OF INDIA. By Elizabeth Sharpe. Luzac & Co., London.

The author of this small work tries in an ambitious way to expound the central ideas of Hinduism by a combination of nationalism and occultism but her attempt cannot be said to be a success. She expresses the usual false idea about phallic emblem and what not. She gives a strange explanation when she says: "The phallic emblem is the symbol of that which cannot touch the Siva lust. It crept into ritual, a thing not to be worshipped or despised: a thing to be understood. It is always upturned, a power converted upwards, held upwards, a symbol not of meanness or vulgarity—that lies with the mean and vulgar thinker; a symbol of a grand thought." Swami Vivekananda has said that the *Linga* represents the sacred fire on the Vedic altar. The Saiva philosophy says that it represents the combined form-aspect and formless aspect of God. The author however says well: "Who has made a tender ideal a profanity? The answer is easy: the profane." She has translated in her work many verses from the Shiva Sahasranama and the Ananda Lahari.

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN TRADE UNION LAW.

By T. A. Anantha Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate. Price Rs. 4. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Trade Unions which are such a powerful factor in all advanced countries of Europe and America and the Dominions are just springing up in India. Organised and worked with due regard to the welfare of society they are instruments of great public utility. More and more it will be realised that the welfare of the workers will depend on the strength of their Unions, and should an emergency arise they can play a part in the industrial and political life of the country second only to that of the State. As such it is imperative that they should be established on a secure foundation and implemented with legal standing. Hence in the early stages of the movement efforts should be made to make them at once free and efficient in the discharge of their double duty to the members on the one hand and the community on the other. We therefore welcome this first attempt to bring under one cover the Trade Unions Act of 1926 and the Trade Disputes Act of 1929 together with the rules and regulations made by Local Governments. We have no doubt Mr. Ananta Aiyar's handbook will serve as a useful compendium on Trade Unionism in India.

INDUSTRY YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY 1930.

By Mr. K. M. Banerjee. The Industry Press. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 5.

A deal of information is packed in this book of 650 pages relating to the main lines of agriculture, trade, industry, and commerce of the vast continent. A special feature of the publication is the gazetteer of all important market places in the different provinces and the Native states and a classified list of trades and industries in the country. Information of this kind will be extremely useful to all agriculturists, merchants and manufacturers who may be interested in the internal development of India.

AESCHYLUS, THE SUPPLIANT WOMEN. Translated into English Rhyming Verse with Introduction and Notes by Gilbert Murray. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

We are grateful to have this translation of this early play by Aeschylus, which is also the earliest Greek play extant, by the well known scholar Gilbert Murray. The introduction presents an interesting discussion of the problems of marriage and sex relations implied in the play, and reconciles the ideal of chastity to the exception of one of the Danaids who yielded to her pursuer, for love. The translation is in graceful rhymed verse.

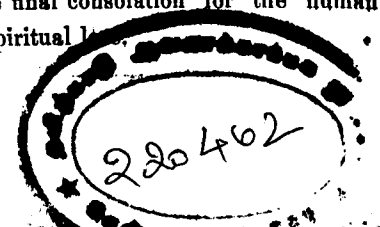
THE MOTOR REPAIR MANUAL. Temple Press, Ltd., London.

This new handbook for Motorists is intended for the owner-driver with some knowledge of the use of tools and workshop practice. The twelve chapters cover workshop equipment, mechanical processes such as turning, filing, soldering and brazing, riveting, etc., and the treatment of the engine and various components of a car. This will help the owner-driver to carry out his own repairs and adjustments.

WINTER LEAVES OR THE MUSINGS OF AN AGED ASPIRANT. Selected by V. K. Namjoshi, Bombay. The Times of India Press, Bombay.

This book written apparently by a cultured Parsee—deeply attached to the highest spiritual ideals of Hinduism—bears a curious analogy to the BENGAL LANCER reviewed in another page. The daily observations and the yearning to find peace, the reliance on the Vedic texts and on the practice of Yoga, seem to indicate a universal effort to find the final consolation for the human soul in Hindu spiritual life.

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MONEY IN HANDICRAFTS. By an Industrial Expert. Industry Book Depot, Calcutta.

India has always been famous for the production of various handicrafts of the most exquisite workmanship. In the present day, however, these handicrafts have been practically driven to the wall on account of the cut-throat competition of the foreign industrialist. Still the vitality of our arts has been such, that it has successfully subsisted to modern times though on a mediocre scale. The display of the Indian handicrafts in the Wembley Exhibition created a sensation and elicited universal approbation.

As such, a revival of Indian handicrafts for which the anonymous writer very effectively pleads, is to be eagerly looked for. The author gives a detailed description of the process of work in a dozen diverse arts and crafts such as Lac-ware, Glass bangles, Button-making, Gold and Horn works, Wax models etc., and practical suggestions for their improvement. A revived and improved system of handicrafts will surely ease the problem of unemployment and prevent the death of our prosperous villages from labour migration.

BEHAR CO-OPERATION IN HAJIPUR. By S. Prasad, M.A. Behar and Orissa Co-operative Press, Poona.

This is a complete record of the kind of work that the public is gradually coming to associate with the Universities in regard to the co-operative movement in the villages. The facts and figures will be of the utmost help to the Economist and Politician. An introduction by Sir Daniel Hamilton draws attention to the intimate connection between the existing Indian monetary system (or want of system) and the co-operative movement. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Behar and Orissa admits in his foreword the assistance that Government is likely to desire from this detailed intensive Economic Survey.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. By Hemes Driesch. George Allen and Unwin, London.

ORIENTAL TIT-BITS IN ENGINEERING. By M. G. Singariyengar, A.M., Lecturer, College of Engineering, Bangalore.

A STUDY OF THE MAHARASHTRA. By B. C. Law, LL.D., Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY VOL. II. Edited by George P. Adams and William P. Montagu. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

SOME IMPORTANT INDIAN PROBLEMS. By Sir Muhammad Shafi. The Model Electric Press, Lahore.

OUR PERFECTING WORLD. Zarathushtra's Way of Life. By M. N. Dhalla, Ph. D., Litt. D. Oxford University Press, London.

THE SAMKHYA KARIKA OF ISVARA KISNA. By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, University of Madras.

POPULATION PROBLEM OF INDIA. By B. T. Ranadin, M.A., Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London.

CELESTIAL CORRESPONDENCE VOL. II. By Prof. Prakash Rao, Tata Indian Science Institute, Vizianagaram.

SUCCESS IN BUSINESS. By A. C. Ghose, M.A. Published by S. Ghose, 17, Justice Chandra Madhab Road, Calcutta.

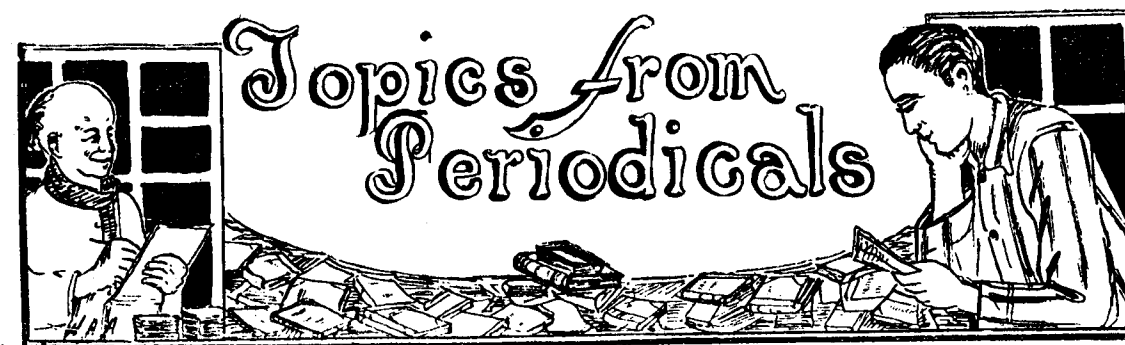
ON THE FIRST FLOOR. By "B. R." Arthur Stockwell, London.

THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH. By D. Goddard. Luzac & Co., London.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF INDO-ANGLIAN VERSE. By A. R. Chida. Bennett Coleman & Co., Bombay.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION. Labour Office, Geneva.

AGASTYA IN THE TAMIL LAND. By K. N. Sivaraju Pillai, B.A., University of Madras.



YOUNG MEN FOR YOUNG COUNTRIES

"Not the least pressing of modern social problems is that created by the dearth of suitable openings for the rising generation, more especially those leaving their public school or university without having set their foot on the ladder of one of the professions"—writes Mr. J. E. F. Jenks in the *EMPIRE REVIEW* for July under the above caption. He suggests an overseas farm as a career and a home.

Quite the best form of training is a period of apprenticeship to a successful farmer in the country.

The type of farming to be followed will be determined very largely by the locality; for agriculture overseas tends to be limited much more drastically by such factors as climate and markets than is the case in Britain. It is, of course, most unwise to assume that overseas farming is a high road to fortune; for, farmers' profits are as hardly won there as they are in Britain:

The attractiveness of the dominions lies not in the facilities they can offer for money-making but in the facilities they afford for home-making. With a thousand pounds capital and a few years of local experience, a young man of the right sort should have no difficulty in achieving a large measure of independence by the time he is middle-aged, and in building up a very useful asset by the time he feels it necessary to retire. Of how many of the occupations open to the educated man can this be said with any degree of confidence?

It must not be supposed that the emigrant farmer will have an easy time abroad. For, hired labour means money and unless one is prepared to invest enormous money, one must take to personal labour in the fields.

But such life is neither brutalizing nor degrading; a bracing climate is ideal for outdoor labour, farm-work is never devoid of interest, and the fact that everybody in the country, rich or poor, is also a worker removes any suspicion of social inferiority. There is, moreover, no small satisfaction in achieving tangible results by one's own efforts; in being able to look back, at the end of the week, on so many acres sown with crop, so many chains of fencing erected, so many cans of cream sent to the factory. There are no wages to eat into receipts, no disputes with employees.

Clearly it is not a life for everyone. One needs above all else "a rugged determination, a resourceful temperament, and a philosophy that will meet disappointments cheerfully."

LEGAL UNITY OF THE EMPIRE

THE *ENGLISH REVIEW* for July publishes an interesting article on this subject from the pen of Mr. J. H. Morgan, K.C. There are only two ways in which the formula of complete equality of status between the Dominion legislatures and the mother country can be translated into law. They are, according to Mr. Morgan, as follows:

One would be by an Act declaring their independence—in other words such an Act as terminated the sovereignty of the Crown over the American Colonies, and recognized them as foreign States. The other, almost equally revolutionary, would be to destroy the potent legal principle of the unity and indivisibility of the Crown, if not the ubiquity of the King in his Dominions by constituting the Dominions separate Kingdoms with separate "Crowns" united merely by a dynastic tie. What the consequences—and they are sufficiently serious—of such an "incorporation" (to use an apt word of Macaulay's applied to just such a situation as this) would be, how disintegrating they would become to the international unity of the Empire, how utterly destructive of our existence in war, how perilous to our diplomacy in peace, need not be pointed out here. To such results does the fatal logic of equality of status lead us. The Imperial Parliament can only be disinherited of its sovereignty, in other words its supremacy, by investing the Parliaments of the Dominions with a sovereignty equally Imperial. You will then have seven Empires instead of one.

THE INDIAN MOVEMENT

Under the heading "Awakening of India," the MODERN REVIEW publishes an article by Virgino Gayada. The article is translated from the *Gevarchia*, a magazine directed by Benito Mussolini. The writer says that England, which in the past years gave classical examples of taking perfect measure of time and necessity with a prompt sense of compromise, has lost all contact with realities in India. He says:

One might perhaps add that she has lost this contact because between London and the Indian reality there is an exhausted colonial bureaucracy, crystallized in tradition, obstinate in resistance, and incapable of renovation. The Civil Service was, in the past, the marvel of British imperial power. It governed India for a century with a few thousand functionaries scattered over the most distant regions, isolated in the midst of millions of hostile children of the soil. To-day its power is on the wane. The struggle against the passive resistance of Indians exhausts it. The penetration of the Indian element which brings with it internal discords and an impatient spirit, dissolves it. The pressure of the local British capitalists makes it inflexible.

The War with its great mass movements, its new experiences, has brought a new light to the spirit of the Indian people. One million Indian soldiers were mobilized and a large number of them was sent to Europe. There they became aware of the fact that England is not alone in making the conquests of civilization, in technical progress and in those arrangements which are symbols of her power. A new spirit of criticism, born of experience, has entered into India after the War. It has been re-invigorated by the afflux of young Indians who come to other countries of Europe and not merely to England.

The writer is of opinion that the awakening of national consciousness in India is not due to the Soviet activities directed from Moscow as stated in certain quarters, but to two other countries namely America and Germany. He continues:—

It is not Moscow, as is generally believed, but America and Germany that excite this anti-British feeling in China as well as in India. Germany is generous in spending money for bringing the young intellectuals of India nearer to her own culture and spiritual influence through her schools, universities and books. But she also works through her banks, commercial societies and navigation. The United States unite the economic action with that of politics, and with a subtle propaganda encourage the silent revolt and resistance of Indians which is daily corroding British prestige.

Thus not only on account of the numerical strength but also due to the changed conditions of the struggle, British resistance in India has been put to a difficult and decisive test.

These new aspects of the Indian movement being established facts, it is useless to foretell anything. It is a national re-awakening which has just begun to illuminate the masses. It will advance and raise millions of men. But no one can say how and when. The East with its huge nameless masses remains indecipherable in its mysterious depths. Logic does not serve us here. The European observer may well think that these enormous Indian masses are as yet unfit for autonomous Government. He may think of the tragic experiences in Russia—the rise of the masses—the destruction of the bonds of tradition and of Government which kept them docile, from fear and habit—and ask himself as to what would happen in India, left to herself with her 320 million men, her 150 dialects, her profound religious differences, her 678 states of which only 162 are nominally independent, her fundamental and unsolved problems of the "untouchables," of hunger, misery, epidemics, ignorance of masses, against which odds groups of young intellectuals are heroically fighting in spite of the overwhelming strength of number, space and time being against them. But history advances even through elemental forces.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY

The idea of Democracy has for years been the inspiration of men and women, but the essential emotion, all-compelling and obsessing, has never been present in a sufficient number of people to make the way safe for the ideal to be materialized into practical statesmanship. Lord Londonderry, writing in a recent number of the SPECTATOR, observes that no movement, however ideal, can be truly democratic if it is class conscious.

We have sacrificed too much thought and energy to form, and neglected the spirit of life. Democracy, to be worth while, must be built on character and culture. This would not mean the wild type of freedom advocated by the extremists of Communism, or the curious autocratic conception of freedom of the Fascist; but a freedom ordered and logical, based on discipline, and subordinating the needs of a few to the welfare of all.

Character ensures that force, in all its forms and expressions, political, industrial, economic and religious, will be subordinate to culture. Understanding and toleration would be the keynote of relationship in every act of the democratic state. And this would not eliminate the full use of his many faculties by an individual, nor will it limit his action providing he is social. Democracy recognizes that every individual must have equality of opportunity for self-development, and realize that by doing the best for the individual it does the best for the nation.

This mental attitude means a changed outlook on life. The apparent failure of Democracy is due to the insufficient recognition of the educationists to teach the common, fundamental principles of life. Their mistake has been dealing too exclusively with material things, and neglecting the finer qualities of the spirit. So the limitations of human beings have been magnified, and their possibilities of achievement have never received sufficient inspiration.

MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR

In an article in the NATION AND ATHENÆUM, discussing what he calls "The moral equivalent of War" Mr. C. F. Andrews gives a valuable insight into the psychology of the non-co-operation movement in India. He draws particular attention to one feature of the present struggle which however imperfect is yet of standing importance—the new technique of non-violent non-co-operation.

It represents the peculiar moral quality, which the genius of Mahatma Gandhi has introduced in his passive resistance struggle to overcome physical might by the exercise of soul force.

People in Great Britain have hardly yet realized that nearly five thousand (it is by this time about twenty five thousand) persons, including some women have voluntarily accepted imprisonment and have refused to defend themselves in the law courts. During the hottest months of the year in India, when even a life of unrestricted liberty is often almost unbearable on account of the heat, these suffer for conscience sake have gladly undergone extreme bodily suffering in the hope thereby of helping forward the freedom of their own country.

Even though very little is known in Great Britain about this exhibition of soul force, yet the countless millions in the villages of India listen to the story of it as they sit round in their circles at night. They tell of the 'Zulum' (tyranny) that is abroad and of the endurance on the part of their own people. Most of all, they tell of the heroic courage of their women.

Mr. Andrews goes back to South Africa seventeen years ago for a parallel to this movement of passive resistance. There it was that the technique of soul force was first put into practice by Mahatma Gandhi with no inconsiderable success.

It was in South Africa, nearly seventeen years ago, that I first saw this new technique of soul force practised by Mr. Gandhi, and took part in it. He had been summoned after arrest and imprisonment to meet General Smuts in Pretoria. He had decided to accept the invitation, and took me with him. A syndicalist strike among the European railway men and miners had broken out on the very day of our arrival. The strikers were called out in order to strike a paralyzing blow at the administration. They had asked Mr. Gandhi to join forces with them, but he had refused. Indeed, he did much more. He called off at once his own non-violent resistance. He did not wish, he said, to take an unfair advantage of Government's weakness. His struggle was a moral one, dependent on soul force for its victory, and not on any compromise with violence.

The next phase of the struggle was in Bardoli: and Andrews describes with vividness a very luminous chapter in the history of the passive resistance struggle in India. Mr. Andrews' picture

of Mahatma Gandhi and Vallabhai Patel at the supreme hour of struggle is singularly vivid. The atmosphere of the Asram was one of relief and jubilation at the arrest of leaders.

This is quite a strange phenomenon in the history of political warfare. In the early days of the present campaign Government and the passive resisters each "played the game" and there was a perfect contest in courtesy, despite the grimness of the struggle. But it has been too much for human nature. And much has happened since to dash to the ground the hopes of the early days of the struggle.

Yet the gleam of light which shines out from chivalrous deeds has not been absent. Much has been made in the newspapers of acts of rioting, but the acts of splendid courage and endurance shown by hundreds of the national volunteers have hardly been recorded. Wherever the influence of Mahatma Gandhi himself has been preserved people have gone to the furthest limits of peaceful resistance and have suffered joyfully without a murmur the hardships involved in this new form of warfare.

But the strain from day to day both on the Police and on the passive resisters is becoming unbearable. First hand evidence of Police violence has come to the writer as also accounts of mob excesses.

But singularly little that could be called violence has been done by any of the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. That the latter are winning universal sympathy becomes clearer by every mail. The masses of the village people are with Gandhi, and a peaceful revolution has begun, not in one part of India alone, but in every province.

The forces in Asia to-day that are bent upon violence are almost overwhelming. Russia and China have but little place for the soul force for passive resistance. Gandhi is openly mocked at as a dreamer. But it may be that the dreamer has discovered the moral equivalent for war.

ON REPRESSION

A writer in the BRITISH WEEKLY, discussing the Indian situation, observes:—

But the most hopeless method is that of repression. It might succeed for a time, but it would leave behind it a bitterness that nothing would allay. The very determined old men, who recommend it in certain London newspapers, are worse enemies of the British Empire than Mr. Gandhi. There is bitterness enough in India already without our increasing it by repression.

AMERICA AND INDIAN UNREST

"The average American knows no more of the realities of the Indian situation to-day, than does the average Englishman of conditions in the Philippines," says Prof. Rushbrook Williams in his paper on "Indian unrest and American opinion" in the July Number of the ASIATIC REVIEW. The Professor is of opinion that a small section of Indian revolutionary thought has exercised a great share in forming the sentiments of many Americans towards India. The situation in India is so complicated, says the writer, that the task with which the American Press found itself confronted of explaining this situation to a largely uninformed public has proved of surpassing difficulty.

I should like to pay a respectful tribute to the general anxiety of the American Press to elicit facts on the Indian situation and to present them as clearly as possible. For while the anti-British Press, the Press that caters specifically for those sections of opinion which I have already described, has rejoiced in another opportunity of twisting the lion's tail, the great mass of the Press in America is endeavouring to preserve impartiality, and, where it has erred through the natural failure to interpret the news despatches from India in the light of a background hardly to be achieved by anyone without personal experience of Indian conditions to-day. In other words, the defect has been one of perspective and not one of intention. Nevertheless the fact remains that, in general the American Press, with the exception of the really great and well-informed newspapers, has indulged in an extreme simplification of the present situation in regard to Indian unrest.

Prof. Williams admits that Britain is watched by America to see whether she rises to what are regarded as the requirements of the Indian situation. He says:—

Those solid and influential sections of American opinion which realise with increasing force the difficulties in India with which Great Britain is confronted, find themselves, confirmed in their judgment that Britain's great experience is likely to make the Indian problem just one more of those many world problems which she has overcome in the course of her long history.

Britain is being regarded as at present on her trial so far as India is concerned. If, as we all hope and pray, the trial is successfully surmounted, the friends of Britain in America will be augmented and the ranks of her opponents diminished. But if by any failure of British statesmanship the Indian problem is allowed to become aggravated, I discern a real risk lest India should gradually assume that unfortunate position of prominence as a dividing force between Great Britain and America which was for so long unhappily occupied by Ireland herself.

MODERN NEPAL

"Nepal's relations with the outer world" is the subject of a well informed article in the July number of the CALCUTTA REVIEW by Mr. Jayanta Kumar Das Gupta. Mr. Das Gupta gives a brief history of Nepal from the time of the Gurkha conquest up to the present day. Modern Nepal may be said to date from 1901, when Maharaja Chandra Shumshere came into power. To his credit it must be admitted that Nepal is completely modernised. Of Maharaja Chandra Shumshere's reign Mr. Gupta writes:—

The Maharaja introduced many reforms into his country and brought it in contact with the outside world by various means. By codifying the laws of Nepal according to modern legal conceptions, by introducing University education, by patronage of learning and showing keen interest in the improvement of Nepalese vernacular and the spread of primary education, by the abolition of slavery in 1924 at enormous cost—an act which rivetted the attention of the whole civilized world upon him, by founding hospitals fitted with the latest medical and surgical paraphernalia, by the inauguration of the electric lighting system in the city of Katmandu, by connecting Nepal with India by good roads and a railway, Chandra Shumshere has brought Nepal into close touch with the modern world.

During the Great War Nepal placed her resources at the disposal of the Allies and her services of friendship were recognised by England and France.

On the 21st December, 1923, a new treaty was signed between Nepal and the Government of India (on behalf of His Britannic Majesty the King-Emperor) for further strengthening of the friendship between the two countries. In 1920 the style of the British Resident was changed to that of British Envoy at the court of Nepal. But the pivot of the Maharaja's foreign policy was the preservation of the independence of his country. As has been rightly remarked by Mr. K. M. Panikkar in his book on Indian States the independence of Nepal is due to the sagacious policy of the Prime-Ministerial family (p. 41), and to this Chandra Shumshere contributed in a great measure.

NEPAL. By Perceval Landon. In 2 Vols. With illustrations & maps. Rs. 45. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

THE INDIAN STATES

Under the title "Paramountcy" Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.I.E. contributes an article to the latest number of the FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW. When the approaching Round Table Conference on India has completed its labours one of the most difficult problems British statesmen will have to face, says the writer, will be to fit the Indian States into the new constitutional framework of the Indian Empire. He writes:

It is obvious that in an India endowed with the reality of democratic government the position of the Indian States with respect to the Government of India will need re-adjustment, if the States are to continue to enjoy the historic treaty rights which the British Government is pledged to maintain. The crux of the question lies in that complex and elusive relationship known as paramountcy; in other words, the influence and political control which the Imperial Government has found it necessary to exercise over the States included in the Indian polity, in the fulfilment of its responsibility for their military protection and the military protection of India.

Paramountcy is the outcome of military supremacy over the great sub-continent of India, an inevitable corollary of a military protectorate. As regards one of the most important principles of this political theory, namely intervention in internal affairs, the treaties between some States and the British Government definitely provide against interference of the kind.

There is no uniformity about the treaties and the fact that they do not, as a rule, provide for internal interference has been used as an argument against the central theory of paramountcy, the responsibility of the paramount power to insist on a reasonable standard of government.

Paramountcy and its concomitant, a British Military protectorate over the Indian States are, says Sir William, historical facts beyond the reach of challenge. Their existence adds immensely to the complexities of the Indian political problem. He continues:—

Military protection is a treaty obligation of the Imperial Government: in many cases huge tracts of territory were ceded to provide for the maintenance of British troops. The Indian State forces aggregate 40,000 men trained and armed on up-to-date lines, numerically equal to nearly a quarter of the Indian army, omitting British troops. Because the Chiefs have placed their armies and the resources of their States at its disposal in times of crisis. All this is of immense importance to the Indian Empire from the military point of view. Would a democratic Government at Delhi command a like allegiance from the States? That is an extremely doubtful question. Traditions count for much, and over and above this is the fact that in present conditions the military and naval resources of a vast empire outside

India are available for her defence. Is it possible to devise an alternative system which would not materially weaken the military position? The British Government as feudal superior or suzerain cannot force the States to accept as the Paramount Power an entirely different Government such as a responsible Indian Government would be.

Indian politicians will not find it easy to convince the Chiefs that a Responsible Indian Government could at this stage safely assume control of military policy of the Indian Empire. They cannot expect the Chiefs, says Sir William Barton, to give up the security they enjoy under the aegis of the British Empire unless an adequate substitute can be found. He concludes:—

Is any real and lasting settlement possible in existing conditions? That will be one of the outstanding questions before the Round Table Conference. It is obvious from what has been said that it can only be settled by a unanimous agreement of the Chiefs to a new orientation of the military policy of the Indian Empire. If no such agreement is possible then the present system must continue until in the course of political evolution the peoples of British India attain such a degree of unity that the States can no longer avoid associating themselves with the rest of India.

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PERSONAL TOUCH IN BUSINESS

As industries develop in magnitude and complexity it is realised that like everything else they are also governed by an immutable law. But that law has to be reconciled with the moral law, as industries are mainly concerned with the well-being of so many millions of workers.

"The cycle of business is not complete when the greatest possible dividend has been earned on capital; there is something else necessary to fill the measure of a successful business—the number of healthy and contented workers associated with it," writes Mr. Angus Watson, the founder of the famous firm that bears his name, in *Business*.

Machinery, money and labour are essential before a business can materialise and progress, and it happens that a common combination of these three will in certain circumstances produce a profitable enterprise. But there is often a great deal of difference between a profitable business and a successful one because no business man who regards dividends as of first and last importance and who neglects the priceless worth of human life can regard himself as having achieved success in any large sense.

The bitterness and misunderstanding that is all too common in industry comes from a lack of real management, the vital link between the resources of capital and labour; and we find that where management is as much concerned with human beings as it is with machinery and money, business is a noble enterprise. Where it disregards the welfare of its worker management degrades business to a greedy and selfish pursuit.

There are two kinds of management—impersonal and personal. When business becomes too unwieldy and complex it has to become impersonal to a certain extent; and however efficiently it may be worked it is likely to end in disaster: and the disaster will be at once moral and financial. To avoid this the more farsighted businessmen try to retain the ideal of personal management even in big business. For after all the human factor is the most important in industry:

The industrialist should see in every worker a living soul capable of beauty and expression beyond comprehension, and it is his duty to preserve that humanity for the good of his own industry and for his country.

The tendency of rationalisation in industry may be towards the substitution of impersonal for personal management.

Good work and loyal and contented workers are vital to any business, and the only way to secure them is by intelligent co-operation.

INDIA AND THE WORLD PEACE

Dr. Nares C. Sen Gupta contributes an article on this subject to the June number of *INDIAN AFFAIRS*. Dr. Sen Gupta is of opinion that it would be a travesty of world peace if the Powers of the world were to patch up an agreement to put an end to war between themselves and leave the door open to a cruel and disastrous war of independence in India. There is a gulf of difference between India and the states in Europe. For, in Europe societies and states have been rearranged, after the War, on a basis of natural affinities to ensure permanent peace. In the theory of mandates recognition has been given to the principle that every determinate unit of society has the ultimate right to self-determination and self-government, not merely as a principle of abstract justice, but as a necessary condition of world peace.

These principles, which have been accepted and acted upon by the nations in respect of the territories of vanquished Central Powers after the last war, are founded on justice and good policy. Looking back in the light of these principles at the territories of the victors of the last war one can see at once that here too there is a great call for readjustment on the same principles, and, in respect of India, the call for their application has become urgent if the peace of the world is to be maintained. A conflagration in India may be classed as a civil war or a revolution and thus would not be admissible in international discussion. But it would, none the less, be a great disturbance of the world peace, and, though the artificial categories of the international jurist might deny it a place in the forum of nations, such a struggle would have in it almost all the factors of a genuine international conflict. Even if the possibility of such a conflict by itself may be ruled as outside the purview of international consideration by reason of the accident of British sovereignty in India, it has bearings on international conventions and pourparleys for peace. Let us take such a relatively small thing as the reduction of armaments. Complete disarmament cannot be thought of, and serious proposals, even for a substantial reduction of her armaments, cannot be entertained by Britain with such a serious source of anxiety within her territories. Britain would never agree to the reduction of armaments, to a level which might place her in a position of helplessness in the event of great disturbance in India, thousands of miles away from home; and if she did, she would throw up the agreement at the first sign of trouble and arm herself in a manner which would upset all parties and automatically push up the military and naval bills of other nations. Talks of peace and disarmament among the governments of the world must, therefore, be practically in abeyance until the problem of India has been solved in a manner to make disturbance in that quarter of the globe unlikely.

THE RIGHT TO REVOLUTION

In discussing the present situation in India, a writer in the New York *NATION* draws attention to an important passage in the American Declaration of Independence, in which the right of the people to revolt under certain circumstances is justified. After all the State is not an end in itself the end being the "right of the people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and government by the consent of the governed." The writer holds with the framers of the American constitution, that the people have the right "to alter or abolish the state and to institute new government" if the original form of Government becomes destructive of the primary ends of society.

But what of India? That country is to-day the most interesting on the globe, for the reason that a very old yet new technique of revolution is now being used there which may prove that the Indians, at least, still possess that right of rebellion which our forefathers prized above all else. If non-resistance to physical acts on the part of the overlords, coupled with absolute disobedience, can break down a government that rules without the consent of the governed, the greatest lesson in its history will have been taught the world. Despots will certainly tremble everywhere if they find that airplanes, tear gas, police staves, rifles, and machine-guns are of no avail against a people which welcomes prison and courts death and suffering in preference to the continuance of a regime it detests. You cannot massacre a whole people; not even soldiers can continue for very long to shoot down unresisting men who bare their bosoms to the fatal lead. Certainly England to-day holds her Indian Empire by the most tenuous of strings; the only question is whether there is sufficient determination and solidarity to go on with the protests and the sacrifice.

Moreover, it is not only the active non-resistance of the Indians—to write an apparent contradiction—which counts. Little by little the English are being forced into an ignoble and an impossible situation. They are insisting upon holding a country which they won by a victory over a third nation; they know that the country is overwhelmingly against them; they are bewildered because the people they dominate refuse to take them at their valuation. They cannot understand that one little man whom they have placed behind bars exercises an authority far beyond their own and has achieved the love of millions they cannot win; they cannot understand why force no longer avails, or the wholesale arrests with which they have filled their jails. They have proscribed the National Congress as an illegal organization; some of their myrmidons have banned the Gandhi cap which even the children are wearing. Nothing avails. There is here a clash not only of civilizations, of national points of view, but of a greater philosophy with a lesser—that of Christ who refused to lift one finger to save himself; who put all his faith in the things of the spirit and the refusal to do evil that good might come therefrom.

Perhaps what is demanded here can only be achieved by a nation like that of the Indians with their mysticism, their spirituality, their faith, their peculiar beliefs, their history. Perhaps; but our faith in the eventual all-conquering nature of Gandhi's weapons is complete. How pitiful it is that Ramsay MacDonald and his Government cannot see it! How disturbing it must be to all members of the Labor Party who are at the same time followers of conscience and lovers of humanity when they read of the police beating unresisting persons until foreign correspondents can look on no longer; when they read that their agents are using all the weapons of imperialistic authority; What a pity they cannot recall what their great statesman Richard Cobden once said: "Can we play the game of fraud, violence, and injustice in Asia without finding our national conscience seared at home?"

AS AN AMERICAN SEES EUROPE

Katherine Fullerton Gerould, writing in the current number of the *HARPER'S MAGAZINE* gives an account of an American's visit to Europe after an absence of twenty years which included the period of the Great War. The tourist expected to see things more different from what they were before but has to draw as it were a blank cheque to cover his possible impressions. He finds in the end that:

American generosity is rather of the heart than of the mind; it is the fruit of a sentimental impulse quite foreign to the European who, whatever his vices, is not a sentimentalist. The kind American pours out his kindness on the person whose plight touches his sympathy. To the person whose plight does not touch his sympathy he is adamant, for tolerant he is not. The less alms-giving European, on the other hand, has treasures of intellectual charity which emphasize our relative poverty. Though he may not open his pocket-book so readily, he will make allowances for the person whose plight does not touch his sympathy; he will be less ready to condemn, offhand, what he does not understand. Roughly speaking, that is the difference between American kindness and European tolerance. It follows that in a famine or a flood the American backs you regardless; in a difference of temperament or opinion or religion or politics you are more at peace with the citizen of a European country. * * *

It is why, one supposes, intelligent youth is always happier in Europe—why we were happier there, in our time, why our children are happier there now. One remakes the world more easily, more pleasantly, more harmlessly, on the shores of the Thames or the Seine, where they are used to intellectual experimenting, where, indeed, they think it normal. Mental existence over here is arid and stiff in comparison. America has always tended, one suspects, to pragmatism. The average American finds kindness more natural than honesty, the merciful impulse easier than the just temper. There have been great thinkers among us, no doubt, but our greatest minds have been shot through and quickened with sentiment or that prejudice which is only another form of personal emotion. The "dry light"—*lumen siccum*—has not been our habitual illumination.

SINN FEIN THE MODEL FOR SWARAJ

EVERYMAN has an article of piquant interest on the Indian problem. Gandhi and his movement come in for full discussion. Gandhi's idealism, the writer thinks, will not last long; that is to say, not survive in his followers. Though shaped and spurred by enthusiasm for Gandhi and his cult, the country will, in reality, turn more and more to the Sinn Fein, for example and inspiration.

Gandhi's day as leader is over. In the India of to-morrow—that is, the India moulded by the forces now at work—he will have no place. The politicians who precipitated the resolution for independence passed by the National Congress in December were his opponents; and Young India has been the enemy of British goods and the upholding of today's India; but they do not believe in revolution by soul force. Swaraj for them is Sinn Fein; they have drawn their own moral from all that happened in Ireland between the Easter rising of 1916 and the treaty of 1921.

But do not let us make any mistake about the central fact. "The Mahatma has transformed the land. The decade dominated by his personality divides the old India from the new. It was the spirit of Gandhi, who came unheralded, that wrought the tremendous change."

When he rejected Lord Irwin's offer of peace, he took the step that finally stultified his own career. When all is said, however, there are few among us who can resist the thrill of that amazing phenomenon: the little naked Hindu, old though only sixty, the modern world's supreme example of the terrible meek, defying the might of the greatest imperial Government of the modern age, by making a few ounces of inedible salt. The sublime and the ridiculous met on the sands of Dandi, by the Gulf of Cambay. But the scene is immortal. And the future of the British Empire is changed because of it.

INDIAN INFLUENCE IN JAVA

Dr. Kraemer of Java, who has been on a visit to India, has been lecturing on the subject of Indian influence in Java. It is an interesting fact that the influence of India upon Java did not come by way of conquest but through peaceful colonisation. Most of the ancient Kings of Java were Javanese, but they usually took Hindu names and the official titles in that country are mostly taken from the Sanskrit. The whole of Java, observes the GUARDIAN of Calcutta, is

permeated with Hindu culture derived largely from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. "This is significant in view of the fact that Islam is the dominant religion to-day. The Islamic invasion came from South India through the Labbais—merchants—of the Madras Presidency. It is most likely that the Labbais were simply carrying on the tradition of their Tamil ancestors, who had a large trade with Java in the second and third centuries of our era. The Indian heroes, Arjuna, Bhima, Yudhishtira and so on are part and parcel of the national tradition in Java, and there is still a region there called Kurukshetra. Vyasa Muni himself is supposed by the Javanese to have had a hermitage in one of the mountains of Java. Even the Koran does not play such an important part in the lives of those Javanese Muslims as the Hindu epics. These are significant facts and illustrate the point that Hindu civilisation made its influence felt throughout the East not through militaristic enterprises of conquest, as has been the case with Western civilisation, but by the peaceful methods of penetration and permeation."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION'S SURVEY OF INDIA. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams, O.B.E. ["The Empire Review," July 1930.]

INDIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS. By Dr. Tarak Nath Das. ["The Calcutta Review," July 1930.]

DOWNING STREET AND CEYLON INDIANS. By St. Nihal Singh, ["The Modern Review," August 1930.]

INDIA'S PROGRESS AND INDIA'S POVERTY. By Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E. ["The Asiatic Review," July 1930.]

WHAT INDIA TAUGHT ME. By Mr. B. C. ["Prabuddha Bharata," August 1930.]

THE ETHICAL GOAL OF THE HINDUS. By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. R. Shamasastri, Ph.D., ["The Vedanta Kesari," August 1930.]

GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA: PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES. By Sir Albion Banerji, ["The Spectator," July 1930.]

Questions of Importance

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

The following were among the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee held in Bombay in the last week of July under the presidentship of the then acting President of the Congress—Sardar Vallabhai Patel:—

FUTURE PROGRAMME

(a) Having reviewed the progress made by the country in regard to the various items of the programme of Civil Disobedience, the Working Committee congratulates the nation on the encouraging response, exceeding all expectations, which it had made to the call of the Congress, appreciates the remarkable manifestation of fearlessness and self-sacrifice shown by men and women, both young and old, in prosecuting the campaign for freedom, notes with gratitude the increasing participation in the present movement by all important minorities and by the Indian mercantile community and expresses its admiration of the Spirit of non-violence demonstrated by the people, despite numerous unprovoked assaults, lathi-charges, firings and other atrocious acts, and incarceration of about twenty-five thousand men and women. The Committee fully trusts that whatever the length of the present struggle may be, the people will keep up their attitude of organised but non-violent resistance and that their only answer to progressive repression will be increased activity and greater readiness for sacrifice in carrying out the national programme.

NEW PROGRAMME

(b) The Committee directs all Congress organisations to take steps to carry out the following programme in the coming months:—

(1) Boycott of foreign cloth. (2) Boycott of liquor and other intoxicants. (3) Boycott of Central and Provincial Legislatures. (4) Boycott of British goods. (5) Withdrawal of deposits in Post, Boycott of Government Savings Banks Accounts and Postal Cash Certificates. (6) Boycott of Government Loans. (7-8) Publication among the Police and the Military of Resolution No. 6 passed by the Working Committee on 7th June 1930. (9) Disobedience of the various repressive Ordinances. (10) Preparation for and inauguration and continuance of a campaign for non-payment of land revenue and such other Government tax as the provincial organisation may consider necessary and feasible. (11) Setting up, in co-operation with the mercantile community, arbitration boards for the purpose of dealing with the business disputes and the question of mutual payments. (12) Calling upon students of colleges to take full share in the national struggle, even by suspending studies. (13) Withdrawal of support to British Insurance Banking and Shipping Concerns. (14) Vigorous propaganda for the use of truly Swadeshi articles and support to truly Swadeshi concerns even at a sacrifice.

The Committee expects that the Congress organisations will carry out as many of the above items as local resources will enable them to do.

Since the passing of these resolutions the members of the working Committee including Mr. Patel and Pandit Malaviya were arrested and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment

for defying the Police orders and leading the Tilak Birthday procession. Pandit Malaviya who joined the Committee recently was set free, as some unknown person, much to the Pandit's chagrin, had paid the fine. Meanwhile Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have succeeded in obtaining the permission of the Viceroy to bring the Nehrus and Gandhi together with a view to bring about peace with the Government. As we write negotiations are going on, and leading members of the Working Committee in prison have completed consultations with Mr. Gandhi. The result of the Sapru-Jayakar efforts at peace are awaited with considerable interest in India as in England as on it depends the representation of the Congress at the ensuing Round Table Conference.

BISHOPS' SUPPORT FOR VICEROY

The following letter signed by the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Dornakal and Ceylon is published in the "TIMES" of July 19:—

We desire to make an appeal to statesmen and journalists at this juncture on behalf of India. The present tension between the various parties threatens to become so embittered that peace will only be restored at the cost of untold suffering and loss.

There are two forces which can save the situation. The first is that Indians who love their country should be assured of Britain's genuine desire that India should attain her proper place in the commonwealth of nations and that Indians themselves should have their full voice in determining the destinies of their own country. Men of all parties have revolted (as all Britons would revolt) against the idea that their future should be settled without the utmost weight being given to their own feelings and aspirations. That Britain has no such desire we know. But as soon as any pronouncement in this sense is made by the Viceroy, it is seized on by politicians and journalists and contradicted or condemned. The result is that moderate men in India, who do appreciate the value of the British connexion and recognize the greatness of the services Britain has rendered, are bewildered and lose faith in her sincerity and are inevitably drawn into the ranks of opponents. Agreement to abstain from criticism of the Viceroy and a real consensus of expression of the good-will of Britain to India at the present time would prove of incalculable benefit to both India and Britain.

Personality is the second force which can save the situation, and in Lord Irwin we have one whose sincerity and goodness have captured the heart of India. * * * It is by men of sincerity and sympathy such as the present Viceroy that India's heart can be won. To-day, bewildered and hopeless, she is becoming desperate. Is it too late for Britons at home to try the only way which can bring peace and progress to this sorely distracted country.

SIR CHIMANLAL ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, addressing a meeting of the Western India Liberal Association, on July 14 said:—

While the Liberal Party has openly and consistently declared its disapproval of the civil disobedience movement as calculated to prejudice the best interests of the country, on the main issue of the right of India to self-government, to be mistress in her own house, there is no difference between ourselves and the Congress. Indeed, on that main and vital issue, there is no difference among all sections of the people—Hindus, Muslims, Brahmans, non-Brahmins, Sikhs, the Depressed Classes, Parsees, Christians and others.

India is in no mood to enter into discussion as to her fitness and readiness to be self-governing, nor is she willing to have self-government taken out of her by stages. She wants to have full independence immediately with only such limitations for the transition period, regarding subjects like the army, foreign relations and Indian States, as may be agreed upon. Our difference with the Congress group is as regards the methods by which the objective is to be obtained.

DESTRUCTIVE METHODS FOUL

The patriotism, discipline and spirit of suffering and sacrifice displayed by thousands of young men and women in what they consider to be service to their motherland cannot but command respect and admiration. There is considerable justification for their impatient idealism and want of faith in the sincerity of the British Government by reason of past history; but we are convinced that the destructive methods of defiance of law and authority followed by the Congress will not lead us any nearer to our cherished desire.

The destructive methods of the Congress invite necessarily repressive measures from Government, which are in their turn destructive and create more public resentment, and we go on in an endless vicious circle. Force and repressive measures, however considerably used, are no cure or remedy for the present unrest, which is a manifestation of the widespread national urge for freedom.

The situation is rendered still more difficult by the way in which these measures have been carried out in various places. Lathi charges on Congress "volunteers" and the crowds on the Esplanade Maidan in Bombay resulting in injury to nearly 500 men and women, the conviction and imprisonment of 600 persons in Guntur for wearing khaddar caps and orders on banks not to pay out monies deposited with them by Congress people, are measures which inflame the public mind.

May we appeal to both sides once more to seek methods of conciliation wherein alone lies salvation? The organisers of the civil disobedience movement have demonstrated the strength and earnestness of the national feeling.

It would have a tremendous moral effect and would make the Round Table Conference a great success from the Indian point of view, if the Congress would call off the civil disobedience movement and join the Round Table Conference, accepting the assurance given by the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government that the Conference will meet untrammelled by the Simon Report

and that the representatives of India and England may reach a solution that both countries and all parties and interests can honourably accept and that the agreement arrived at the Conference will be the basis of the proposals to be laid by His Majesty's Government before Parliament.

Government, on the other hand, must create a favourable atmosphere by the release of all political prisoners, except those convicted of violent crimes and by withdrawing the emergency Ordinances.

FAIR AND PATRIOTIC COURSE

But it may be that the Congress people and those outside the Congress who have been brought into sympathy with the Congress mentality by recent happenings, may sincerely not be able to persuade themselves to believe in the labours of the Conference bringing self-government to India and in the desirability of themselves going to the Conference. But surely they must be prepared to grant equally the sincerity of the belief of those who have the faith of achieving a very substantial advance for their country by means of the Conference. * * * * *

Let me assure the Congress and the public that, speaking personally, I will not be satisfied with and will not be a party to accepting any solution which is not honourable to India and which does not secure to her real internal freedom. I am sure that the same will be the attitude of every patriotic and self-respecting Indian, who may take part in the Conference."

DR. TAGORE ON INDIA'S PROBLEMS

In a speech in Berlin, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore spoke of the position in India:—

What kind of Government India will have cannot now be foreseen. Governments develop through centuries, and should India obtain self-government, this must be in accord with the character of the Indian people and with the peculiar circumstances. For the form of government suitable for India can develop only out of the atmosphere of Indian life.

It is certain that India will have her own constitution, for India's problems are as unique as her own mental constitution. India is India.

DR. BESANT ON INDIA

The following is taken from a report in THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, of a speech delivered by Dr. Annie Besant, at a Conference held last month at Manchester to discuss Indian questions:

Indians were often taunted because they were governed by Englishmen and submitted to the rule of foreigners. Yet in the Great War, when the British Army was in deadly peril, India sprang forward to help, and it was the Indians who blocked the way against the Germans eating their Christmas dinners in the Capital of France. And the memory was keen in the hearts of Indians to-day. If this country did not intend to give India its freedom it acted most foolishly in bringing Indian soldiers to fight its battles on European soils; for those soldiers had gone back to their villages through the length and breadth of India, and the bitter thought was ever present that although Indians were good enough to fight and die in their trenches to save the liberties of Britain their children were not to be allowed to share the liberty which their fathers had died to preserve for Englishmen.

PATIALA INQUIRY

The basis of the inquiry was the pamphlet known as the Patiala Indictment published by the Patiala Inquiry Committee, over the signatures of Messrs. Amrita Lal Shoti, G. R. Abhyankar and A. B. Thakker.

The procedure followed by Counsel engaged on behalf of the Maharajah was to deal with the allegations *seriatim* and prove both by documentary and oral evidence that they were false and wholly without foundation. Evidence both oral and documentary was also let in to prove that the publication of the pamphlet had been inspired by certain persons who were enemies of the Maharajah. Lastly, it was proved by an important personage whose hostility towards the Maharajah of Patiala is well known.

The following were among the Counsel who appeared on behalf of H. H. the Maharajah of Patiala: Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Miss Nehru, who is a niece of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao and Mr. T. N. Sapru.

REFORMS IN KASHMIR

We understand that His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has issued orders announcing the constitution of a Cabinet which will conduct the administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State during the absence of the Maharaja who is proceeding to England on the 22nd of this month in connection with the Round Table Conference. The Cabinet will consist of the following members:—(1) Major-General Janak Singhji Bahadur, C. I. E. Army and P.W. D. Minister; (2) Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, O.B.E., C.I.E. Foreign and Political Minister; (3) Mr. P. K. Wattar, Finance and Development Minister and (4) Sardar Kartar Singhji, State Secretary. The last named Member will also act as the Cabinet Secretary. The Cabinet has commenced its work from the 8th of this month.

SIR MIRZA AND THE R. T. C.

Complying with the popular wishes expressed recently in the Legislative Council Sir Mirza Ismail, the State's representative at the Round Table Conference, is understood to be convening shortly an important meeting with a view to exchange views with the leaders of public opinion on the subjects affecting Indian States.

The attitude towards an All India Federation, the desirability of States representation in the British Indian Central Legislature, the constitution and function of a Supreme Court for India, a Council for Great-India recommended by the Statutory Commission and the State's claim for financial compensation from British India in any new arrangement are among the major topics programmed for consideration.

PROHIBITION IN TRAVANCORE

A big conference of the Abkari contractors of ten taluks in N. Travancore was held at Kottayam on the 11th August under the presidency of Mr. M. M. Abraham, at which resolutions were passed informing the Dewan and the Excise Commissioner that it would be impossible for them to fulfil their contracts for the coming year which begins from the 17th August, unless the concessions they had asked for at their previous conference due to the Prohibition Movement and the general unprecedented scarcity of money in the State were granted.

MR. LATTHE AND THE R. T. C.

The Poona correspondent of the "TIMES OF INDIA," writes:—

Dewan Bahadur A. B. Latthe, M. A., L. L. B., Dewan of Kolhapur, has been appointed to go to the Round Table Conference to be held in London in November next, as one of the four advisers to the delegation of 13 or 14 Indian Princes, representing the Chamber of Princes. It is understood that the Dewan of Baroda will also be one of the advisers.

Indians Outside India

EAST AFRICAN UNION

A Convention attended by delegates of the settlers all over East Africa has passed a resolution, declaring that the Government's East African proposals are unacceptable and constitute a definite threat to the progress of civilisation in East Africa and ignore the proposal of the White Paper of 1927, associating the colonists more closely in the trusteeship of the natives. The interpretation of the phrase "paramountcy of Native interests" is held to be inconsistent with the principle of impartial Government and a common roll as objectionable. The proposals radically interfere with the existing political rights and definitely bar the path of normal political development.

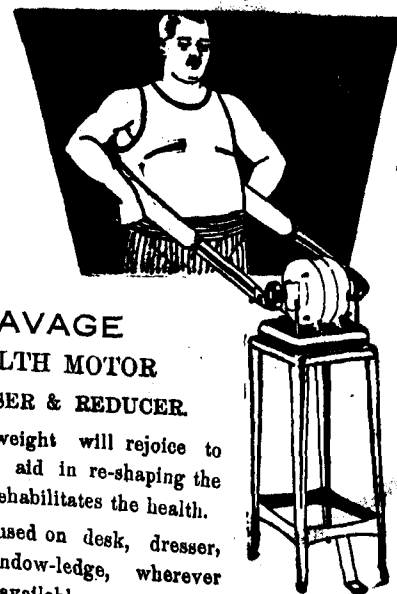
The Convention has also resolved to send Lord Delamere, Mr. J. F. Harper, Chairman of the Convention and Mr. T. J. O'Shea, a member of the Council, to England to present its case to the Joint Committee. It has also asked its Executive to investigate the lines on which the sympathy of the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia might be enlisted in order to maintain the settlement of the Whites which is considered to have been jeopardised.

MR. ANDREWS ON EAST AFRICAN POLICY

Interviewed by a representative of the Free Press of India regarding the East African decisions Mr. C. F. Andrews stated that Indians, Arabs and Africans gained an important point in the Colonial Secretary's decision to retain the Crown Colony Government in Kenya rejecting the proposal for an unofficial majority. There was a further gain that the representation of Africans was not confined to Europeans. The third point gained was the full acceptance of the principle of common franchise though delay in its realisation was disappointing. While the White Paper is more satisfactory than was expected utmost care must be taken that the decisions should be weakly interpreted.

INDIAN EMIGRANTS

A statement showing the number of emigrants to Natal, Mauritius, Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica, and of those who returned from those countries during the year 1929-30 and the expenditure incurred on this account has been forwarded by the Government to the Secretary of State for India. The Protector of Emigrants, Madras, has reported that there was no emigration to and from Seychelles and that no expenditure was incurred thereon during the year. The number of repatriated Indians who returned from Natal including children was 732 and the expenditure incurred on account of them was Rs. 8,789-10-2. In addition to this Rs. 1,47,492 was paid as bonus to the repatriates. While no emigrant was sent to Mauritius, 112 emigrants returned and the expenditure incurred was Rs. 2,747-12-3. No emigrant went to Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, but 36 emigrants from British Guiana, 120 from Trinidad, and 59 from Jamaica returned, the cost incurred by Government being Rs. 6,076-11. There was no return from Fiji during the year.



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For full particulars on page 9, advertisement Section.
E. Oct. '30.

Industrial and Commercial Section

DEPRESSION IN TRADE

Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas, Chairman, East India Cotton Association in a communication to the Viceroy's Private Secretary characterises the arrest of Pundit Motilal Nehru, as "reverse of a step in the direction of conciliation."

The letter further states, "Both European and Indian public opinion in Bombay declared that conciliation is the only correct method of solving the present deadlock and the board desire to impress the urgent necessity of this on the Government without any further delay. A further depression in and disorganisation of trade will be more dangerous. The Directors of this Association desire respectfully to warn the Government that it would be a grave blunder to overlook the danger which threatens in the near future under existing conditions."

LAHORE MERCHANTS' PLEDGE

An agreement has been reached between the Congress and the Anarkali foreign cloth dealers, the latter having signed a pledge not to sell or purchase foreign cloth for three months.

At the expiry of the agreement a fresh agreement will be entered into after full consideration of the conditions then prevailing.

Muslim cloth merchants, except one Muslim cloth house have also agreed to sign the pledge. Picketing in Anarkali has been withdrawn and only the Muslim cloth house in Anarkali is being picketed.

U. S. FIRM WITHDRAWS FROM INDIA

Owing to the serious news he has received regarding the condition of business in India, the Vice-Chairman of Fairbanks, Morse and Company of Chicago, marine engine makers, has cabled to the firm's representatives in India to leave for China, Japan and South Africa until conditions improve, as it is "waste of time to remain in India."

CONGRESS AND MILL CLOTH

That the Congress is not against the sale of mill-made cloth was affirmed by Vallabhai Patel, in the course of a letter he wrote on July 28 in reply to an inquiry by Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas. Mr. Patel goes further and states that:

"On the contrary, the vigorous boycott propaganda of the Congress ought to be helpful to the mills in disposing some of their goods if there are no other difficulties in doing so."

ECONOMIC INDIA

In a paper on the economic problem in India Sir Alfred Chatterton says that the restlessness and discontent manifest among the people of India is the outward expression of the dissatisfaction with the present regime. He thinks the present conditions do not afford sufficient opportunities to the people for a diversity of occupations so as to help the unemployed and improve the economic condition of the country.

TRADE DEPRESSION IN CEYLON

Among the resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Colombo Import Merchants' Association on July 26 was one that the Government should introduce a moratorium for at least a year, in order to save the merchants from ruin, consequent on the existing serious depression in Ceylon.

Another motion was passed condemning the introduction of the income-tax as inopportune.

TEXTILES IN BOMBAY

Two thousand more textile hands have been rendered idle in consequence of the closing down of the Simplex Mill.

The Simplex Mill is the first to be affected in a group of 24 European-managed cotton mills in the city, which have been put on the boycott list of the Congress "War Council."

Up to now 12 mills, including the Simplex, have closed down, 28,000 workers being idle.

LANDHOLDERS AND THE VICEROY

An influential deputation of all-India Landholders organized by the British Indian Association waited before the Viceroy on July 29 under the leadership of the Maharaja of Dharbanga and presented him with an address in which they condemned the Civil Disobedience movement, deplored the physical conflicts between the people and the Governmental authorities and pleaded for a policy of sympathy, understanding and statesmanship. The deputationists pressed for an adequate representation of land-holders of each province in the Round Table Conference and protested against the Simon Commission's recommendation to abolish special representation to the Legislatures. This latter they refused to accept as the final word they also protested against the proposal to impose a tax on agricultural incomes. Here the deputationists recalled the circumstances under which the permanent settlement was made in Bengal and extended to Oudh and certain other parts of India. Finally they pleaded for a bicameral system of Legislatures in provinces which they hold to be necessary as a counterpoise to the democratic fervour which might find a hasty and ill considered legislative expression in the Lower Houses, especially when the provinces enjoy autonomy.

Lord Irwin said that while the Government was still occupied with the examination of the Simon Report it was not possible for him to do more than to be a listener. He assured them that it was his intention to recommend that invitations to the London Conference should include an adequate number of Indian landholders. As for the representation of landholders in the Legislature, his Excellency stressed the value of better relations between them and tenants and said if their fears could be shown to be well-founded they would be an important factor in arriving at a proper decision on this question.

SUGARCANE STATION FOR KARNAL

The meeting of the governing body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research concluded its sittings on the 30th of last month, Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya presiding.

A number of schemes were discussed and among those sanctioned were for (1) Improvement of rice cultivation in Assam, Bengal, Burma and Bihar and Orissa at an estimated cost of twelve lakhs which represents the total expenditure involved for five years, (2) Botanical sub-station, at Karnal at a cost of Rs. 141,946 for five years (3) Contribution to the imperial Bureau Entomology, (4) Agricultural meteorology at a cost of Rs. 205,000 total for five years, (5) Establishment of sub-station of the Coimbatore Imperial Sugarcane Station at Karnal at a cost of Rs. 82,000—total for five years, (6) Establishment of sugarcane research in Bihar at a cost of Rs. 160,000—total for five years.

Altogether 22 schemes were sanctioned at an approximate cost of over twenty lacs, which included the establishment of a Bureau of Agricultural Intelligence and Mechanical Cultivation in India, the World's Grain Exhibition and Conference at Pusa.

THE RYOTS' NEED

Speaking at a meeting in the Vani Vilas College, a college for women, in Bangalore, Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, President of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee, pointed out how want of education led to indebtedness among ryots. Illegal exactions by moneylenders and middlemen, and use of false weights and measures were also explained as the result of illiteracy which could be removed by education. He emphasised the need for starting more co-operative societies and warehouses for artisans and cultivators. Dealing with education, he observed that the habit of thrift and saving should be taught in schools and colleges, and suggested the formation of "savings associations."

MEDICAL RESEARCH

The question of the location of the Central Medical Research Institute was considered on July 21 at a Conference in Simla, consisting of Sir Frank Noyce, President, and fifteen others, including representatives of the medical faculties of Indian Universities.

The decision arrived at is in accordance with the resolution passed by the last Inter-University Conference, namely, that the Institute should be located at a University centre, where there are facilities for medical instruction.

The Conference discussed the exact location, and among the other matters considered were whether,

(1) any change is required in the composition of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association as recently revised,

(2) what should be the composition of the Recruitment and Appointments Board,

(3) what should be the functions of the Recruitment and Appointments Board and of the Consultative Body in England, respectively.

(4) if any appointments to the Medical Research Department have to be made before the Recruitment and Appointments Board has been established, how should they be made,

(5) is it desirable to adopt any system for training of research workers for the Medical Research Department and, if so, what it should be.

The discussions were opened by the Chairman, Sir Frank Noyce, after which, there were many speeches, pleading for the location of the Institute at a University centre.

Dr. Ziauddin favoured Dehra Dun, while Dr. Rahman (the Punjab) favoured Kasauli.

Col. Gidney said they could not separate basic research from clinical research and, while professing to have an open mind, preferred Calcutta as the most suitable place. At any rate he was in

favour of the Institute being as near a University as possible.

Dr. Jivaraj Mehta (Bombay) argued vehemently in favour of a University centre and spoke more or less on the lines of the resolution passed at the Inter-Universities Conference.

Eventually, the Conference voted in favour of a University centre as the best place to locate the Institute, Dr. Ziauddin and Dr. Rahman voting against.

THE CONGRESS HOSPITAL

Mr. C. W. B. Raynor of the Muller and Pheps (India), Ltd., was one of those who visited the Congress Free Hospital last month. He sent some medicines and other provisions free of charge for the use of the Hospital and also promised to send more when needed. Being much impressed by the work done in the Hospital he entered the following remarks in the Visitors' Book:—

"I am very much struck by the smiling faces that I have seen in this Hospital. In spite of their injuries all the patients are happy and I have no doubt that they would once again join the fray should it be necessary.

"The arrangements are wonderful and praise must be given to all the volunteers who have made it possible for innocent people to obtain treatment. I wish all success and feel sure that this righteous movement will come out with success."

DR. CHUNILAL BOSE

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose, distinguished doctor of Calcutta, died on the 2nd of this month. He was a Professor of Chemistry in the Calcutta Medical College, and filled many important positions being elected Vice-President of the first Indian Medical Congress 1894, and Sheriff of Calcutta in 1921. Dr. Bose took keen interest in social welfare work.

"If you want to know the time ask the Observatory clock itself by telephone."

The director of the Paris Observatory, Professor Henri Deslandres, wants precision, so he has invented a wonderful clock which telephone subscribers can ring up.

With a small model clock the professor gave a demonstration before the members of the Paris City Council, and that body immediately voted £80 for preliminary work. The clock itself costs about £160, which is certainly not a lot to pay to enable a big city to be in time for its appointments.

Two chemists of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly claim to have evolved a method of treating coarser grades of tobacco to give them the taste and aroma of the best tobacco and eliminating all components dangerous to lungs and mucous membranes. The application of the treatment will save the monopoly several million francs because it will diminish the import of foreign tobacco, but the terms have not yet been made with the inventors who expect that the discovery will revolutionise the world's tobacco industry.

That power engineers are beginning to give thought to the sources of power to which future generations must look is evidenced by papers which were presented at the recent World Peace Conference in Tokio says the Tokio correspondent of the Ceylon Observer.

power sources, in so far as large-scale practical results are concerned, have long been considered as hopeless by the best engineers. This view is rapidly changing and the most forward looking of those in the profession are beginning to consider such things. It is granted, of course, that the power is there, just as it is for example in the sun's light. The problem is purely one of a method of collection and storage. It is felt that this is hardly too much of a problem for those brains which have given as many other miracles during the last half century.

In a defence of the English climate which Mary Bordon contributes to HARPER'S MAGAZINE, she writes :

The English climate is not a forcing house. It doesn't produce exotic blooms, gaudy plants, flamboyant birds, or men and women of a dazzling brilliance. Neither birds of Paradise nor Orchids, nor Cleopatras nor Mussolinis thrive in this dim, misty, shrouded land that is saturated with salty moisture. But all manner of robust and gentle, modest and wholesome things thrive in it, and some very frail and exquisite. Race horses and lovely long-limbed women with flowerlike faces, long horns and short horns and roses, Gloucester spots and bluebells, Stilton cheese and respectable publicans, oak trees and beeches and the fancies of poets, laughter and leisure (the last doesn't spell on one's hands), green grass, deep, lush, fragrant grass that is green all the year round.

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