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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

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MY BROTHER "AIYAN"

By G. A. NATESAN

AMONGST the many duties of a journalist, the most melancholy is that of writing obituary notices of distinguished public



G. A. VAIDYARAMAN.

G. A. NATESAN.

workers with some of whom he had been a fellow worker and had had an unbroken record of friendship for years. The task becomes all the sadder, when, plunged in the depths of grief, you have to pay a tribute to one to whom you owe almost everything in life, one who was, in a special sense, dear and near to you.

At about 1 O'clock on Wednesday the 8th, in the stillness of the night, there, on a sudden, passed away at Mambalam (a quiet suburb of Madras) one of Nature's finest gentlemen. The end was quite in keeping with his gentle and peaceful disposition. Mr. G. A. Vaidyaraman—my beloved brother Aiyen, as he was familiarly known to all his relations and friends—was really the father and founder of *The Indian Review*, with its distinctive features. Indeed it was the child of his creation and he handed it over to me to be nursed and reared. As he himself stated in his felicitous message to the Silver Jubilee of this *Review*, it is a very difficult task for a parent or guardian to determine the career of his son or ward. My brother Aiyen not only chose the calling for me but toiled night and day for years amidst a busy official life, to help me on in the enterprise. As I think of all he did for me during the many years in which, day after day, he watched over my work not only in the conduct of the *Indian Review* and the publications of my firm but also in my public activities as a Congressman, as a member of the Madras Corporation, as a member of the Senate of the University of Madras and latterly even of my doings in the Council of State and elsewhere, I cannot but feel what a severe strain this un-

common fraternal care must have caused him. With the discipline characteristic of the official mind and with a scrupulous regard for accuracy and thoroughness, he would insist that everything that appeared in the journal was substantiated by facts. Evidences of this could be found in many of his own contributions to the pages of this *Review*, sometimes under his name, and more often under cover of anonymity. Agriculture, commerce, finance and economics were his special forte, and he gave abundant evidence of his capacity for handling these subjects in later years when he conducted with great ability a Tamil journal by the name of *Practical Life* and an English monthly entitled *The Wealth of India*. His heart overflowed with sympathy for the poor. When over twenty years ago he feared that his end was drawing nigh, he recorded in a pencil-note valuable advice to me on many matters and I reproduce to-day one sentence from it as typical of his noble heart :

Be respectful to all, careful in your speech and writing and do some permanent good to the people. The aim should be to put more bread into each man's mouth.

Curiously enough, with perhaps absolutely no idea of what he had scribbled years ago, he reiterated the same advice in the following message he sent me for the Jubilee number of the *Review* :—

The *Review* to-day contains all the features with which it started and some more. Please continue them, so that it may be a record of the future as it is a history of the past twenty-five years.

Remember that agriculturists all the world over are poor and India is an agricultural country. The aim should be to put more bread into each man's mouth and this should be possible if the government is a good and just one. Let the purpose of the *Review* be to secure such government.

Remember the motto with which the *Review* was started, i. e. *Absit Invidia*. The communal quarrels so rampant nowadays will disappear in due course when under proper education people reach the true sphere of religious, moral and social codes. If only the Britisher

in India will so conduct himself that we begin to think he is one of us and not over us, then the foundation of a good and just government is well and truly laid.

With this ideal ever before him he spent the last years of his life in rendering unceasing service to the residents of Mambalam, the place he chose for his retirement and the place where he breathed his last. I am sure no reader of the *Indian Review* will have the slightest feeling or suspicion that I am using the pages of this Magazine for unduly exalting the merits of my brother who has passed away. For, let me assure the reader that his was a life nobly lived, and full of beneficent activity, and years of service rendered quietly and unostentatiously. I have had from him not only the legacy of a business which has up till now been prosperous and a journal of which he and many others have to some extent been proud. My success in life, my prosperity and advancement were ever the object of his care, and I think in his endeavours to see me advance he often suppressed himself to a degree which alone and those few only who knew him intimately could appreciate. Was it because I was only a child of two when my father died that he felt he had to discharge the responsibility of a parent and a brother? How else am I to account for his unbounded love of me and the boundless sacrifice he made for me? At the risk of being egotistic I may say that during his lifetime he did nothing which in any sense made him feel that I had proved myself unworthy of his great kindness and affection to me. I am certainly more than content with what he has done for me and with what I am to-day. I can only say whatever else may be in store for me life will not be the same to me hereafter.

देशे देशे कलत्राणि देशे देशे च बान्धवाः ।

ते तु देशं न पश्यामि यत्र भ्राता सहोदरः ॥

THE LATE MR. G. A. VAIDYARAMAN

BY THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C., C.H.

ANOTHER landmark removed in my life by the unheeding hand of time! Aiyar—that was the name of G. A. Vaidyaraman in intimate circles—was as quiet and unobtrusive in the manner of his death as in every action of his life. Fuss was abhorrent to his nature. You could never hustle him. No horn announced his approach, no impatient knock, no loud summons by name. He had perhaps seated himself and was putting down his umbrella beside him when you noticed his presence. His talk was brief and to the point. I wonder whether he ever made a speech or could have composed a volume. He did not read much or widely, but reflected deeply on what he read, and took notes, sometimes on paper but oftener in his mind. Method and restraint were his characteristics. For everything big or small, he made careful preparation. Official training had taught him to avoid excess and exaggeration. Smartness or ornament he would condemn in speech or writing as he would avoid it in his dress or appearance. Being associated with him in the first days of the *Indian Review*, I observed the painful effort it cost him to bring another's contribution into tolerable conformity with his own standard. Not unoften he would end by recomposing it all himself. Sham, deviousness or ostentation he could neither practice nor endure. What he seemed he was. What he thought he expressed. What he taught he practised. Vague longings after the infinite, dreams of the impalpable, doubtings and travail of the soul—these never appealed to him in life or literature. He limited himself sternly to the practical. With a half glance sideways, and a gentle deprecatory smile, he would put aside ambitious schemes and refuse to indulge in idle

speculation. Puritanical in taste and rather selective in friendship, he was at the same time highly tolerant of differing views and modes of life. Few would have suspected him of world-wide sympathies or of tremulous suffering for the woes of our kind. Yet I have known him give freely and readily to plans of relief and succour which appeared sensible and well-directed. He once confessed to me that he avoided reading of the ruin and misery caused by flood, fire and earthquake though it be in Mexico or New Zealand. These devastations of nature, which admit of no precaution or mitigation, puzzled his mind and wounded his soul. But he had no sympathy with the state of mind which counts misery and refuses to provide against it. When the disease which proved fatal clearly declared itself, he read all he could about it and armed himself fully against it. Why, he told me a week before the end that my life was in my hands as his life was in his. Such assurance comes to the layman who treats himself with specifics with apparent success. Brave as the thought was, I have no doubt he knew clearly he was under sentence of death but a kindly fate had granted a reprieve which might be revoked without notice. Wiser than most heads of families, he had so arranged his affairs that he was not indispensable for their management. It is true he did not dazzle the world by brilliant gifts or earn fame by notable achievement. No one however, would deny him credit who knows how to honour virtue even when displayed on a small stage. He worked his way up from poverty to competence, but never kept a cowrie he owed or took one he had not earned. The talents he had at birth he developed fully and turned to excellent account. He preferred the ways of gentleness and humility. He did harm to none and good to many. He left his little corner better than he found it. If that much could be said of many that drop out of life all round us, this world, would be better and happier than it is.

(FOR OTHER APPRECIATIONS : SEE p. 257.)

THE STATUS OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE

BY SIR H. S. GOUR, KT., M.A., D. Litt., D.C.L., LL.D., M.L.A.

NOW that the future constitution of India is shortly to be placed on the legislative anvil, it is just as well to review the position India has already attained in the comity of nations and to which legislative expression would now be given for the future constitution. It is well known to the student of constitutional law that English constitution is still unwritten and it is reduced from documents, conventions, understandings and usages which have developed the constitutions of England's major colonies now designated as Dominions and possessing, what is now known as Dominion Status. The understandings and usages have, so far as the Dominions are concerned, being crystalized into set formulæ which have from time to time been enacted as Acts of British Parliament, but most of which still remain to be enacted in a formal Instrument of Government. The Imperial Conference of Self-governing Colonies have been, for a number of years, holding Conferences in London, where questions of the domestic and international status and other questions of common interest to the Empire are settled. By the Resolution passed at the Imperial Conference of 20th April, 1907 India was placed in a position of disability being treated as a mere dependency, but in recognition of her war services the Imperial Conference of 1917, by a Resolution dated 13th April, 1917, secured to India permanent representation at the Conference. In the Resolution which Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada, moved and was seconded by Mr. Massey, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and was unanimously passed India's position in the British Commonwealth was defined in the following terms :

That the Imperial War Conference desires to place on record its view that the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 20th April, 1907 should be modified to permit of India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences, and that the necessary steps should be taken to secure the assent of the various Governments in order that the next Imperial Conference may be summoned and constituted accordingly.

In the Imperial War Conference of 1918 India along with the other Self-governing Colonies was given the right to control the composition of her own population by means of restriction on immigration. This raised an important question regarding the rights of Indians in other parts of the British Empire, which was decided by the following Resolution which deserves to be quoted *in extenso* :

The Conference, while reaffirming the Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918, that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognizes that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of the opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognized.

The representatives of South Africa regret their inability to accept this resolution in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union.

The representatives of India, while expressing their appreciation of the acceptance of the resolution recorded above, feel bound to place on record their profound concern at the position of Indians in South Africa, and their hope that by negotiation between the Government of India and of South Africa, some way can be found, as soon as may be, to reach a more satisfactory position.

In admitting India to equality with the self-governing Dominions Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England, in his opening speech on the 20th June 1921, stated as follows :—

India's achievements were also very great. Her soldiers lie with ours in all the theatres of war, and no Britisher can ever forget the gallantry and promptitude with which she sprang forward to the King Emperor's service when war was declared. That is no small tribute both to India and to the Empire of which India is a part. The causes of the War were unknown to India; its theatre in Europe was remote. Yet India stood by her allegiance heart and soul, from the first call to arms, and her soldiers are still serving far from their homes and families in the common cause. India's loyalty in

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THE STATUS OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE

that great crisis is eloquent to me of the Empire's success in bridging the civilizations of East and West, in reconciling wide differences of history, of tradition and of race, and in bringing the spirit and the genius of a great Asiatic people into willing co-operation with our own.

He also stated that the Empire unity for which the Conference was working was proved by the sacrifices of the component member of the British Commonwealth in the Great War, and that the sacrifices of the sons of the Empire hollowed by the war should be perpetuated by closer tying between the mother country and all the Dominions including India. A year previous to this Conference when the League of Nations was started the self-governing States were eligible for membership. India having been already treated as a self-governing member in the international comity was made the foundation member of the League.

Two years later another session of the Imperial Conference took place when the procedure relating to the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties by the component members of the British Commonwealth was laid down, India was represented on the committee appointed to examine the whole question. This Conference once more examined the question of the position of Indians in the other parts of the Empire. Three years later the Imperial Conference held another session at which the memorable declaration regarding the status of the Colonies was made at the instance of Lord Balfour, Chairman of the Committee known as the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee, appointed by the Conference to report upon the question of the status of the Dominions and India. The declaration is made in the following terms :—

They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Secretary of State for India was at the head of the Indian Delegation. Referring to India the Committee said :—

It will be noted that in the previous paragraphs we have made no mention of India. Our reason for limiting their scope to Great Britain and the Dominions is that the position of India in the Empire is already defined by the Government of India Act, 1919. We would, nevertheless, recall that by Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, due recognition was given to the important position held by India in the British Commonwealth.

It will thus be seen that while India's important position in the British Commonwealth was recognized and her international status admitted no declaration upon her status as a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth could be made in view of the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919. It is true that similar enactments, many in number, equally stood in the way of the declarations made regarding the status of the Colonies, but the fact is that while the Colonies had secured internal autonomy and were therefore crying out for a measure of external sovereignty India followed the very reverse course of being brought into line with the other self-governing Colonies as regards her external relations, whereas her internal position remained limited by the narrow provisions of the Government of India Act. In other words, while the Colonies were sufficiently strong to improve their external position, India's internal position being weak she was not able to demand an equal status with the other self-governing Dominions. It is an anomaly that her external stature outgrew her internal organ

of Government, but the fact remains that such has been the constitutional position of India.

The Statutory Commission who were called upon to report on the future Government on the basis of the Declaration of August 20, 1917, embodied in the preamble to the Government of India Act 1919, had before them nothing else but the Government of India Act, whereas the Central Committee displayed a broader outlook in formulating their recommendations, but even they failed to take note of the natural course of evolution which the past history of India made inevitable. In my memorandum appended to the Central Committee's Report I was constrained to differ both from the Statutory Commission and my colleagues of the Central Committee, and the conclusion of the Round Table Conference will show how far my dissent was justified. It is now acknowledged that the future evolution of the Indian Reforms cannot be considered apart from federation. In fact the International status which India has acquired includes both British India as well as the Indian States. It is true that in their internal economy the Indian States are not as advanced as British India, but this is the very reason why they should be brought into Federation, as otherwise their progress would remain fossilised as it has been for centuries past. The Indian States subjects complain that under the Federation outlined by the Round Table conference the internal autocracy of the Indian States remain unaffected. How far these apprehensions are justified I know not, but it is quite possible that the judicial powers of the States might be delegated to the Supreme court which would ensure the even

handed administration of justice. That would be a good beginning. And the fact that the law and justice are federal subjects postulates their administration by a Federal Court. The Round Table Conference have, therefore, proceeded on the right lines in their scheme for the future constitution of India. It is true that apprehensions are roused in certain quarters that Federalism would develop parochialism and that the Federal Governments being land locked within their narrow spheres would militate with the growth of healthy nationalism implicit in a unitary constitution which India has enjoyed for a century or more. I do not think that this apprehension should stand in the way of uniting the two Indias. No other scheme has been proposed except the one which supports the federation of British India and its union with the Indian India by devising a council such as I recommended, and which recommendation was confirmed by the Simon Commission. But that is a detail and so long as the true picture of Federalism is kept in view it does not matter how an approach to the question is made so long as the ultimate object we have in view is not lost sight of. It seems that the Round Table Conference are now too far committed to consider any other scheme of Federation. The question of safeguards inherent in the scheme as published need not detain us long nor indeed frighten us. Some safeguards are embodied in all constitutions, but the point to see is that they do not detract from autonomy and do not act as a crutch to the ministry. The Declaration of His Majesty's Government has made it clear that the safeguards themselves would be sufficiently safeguarded.

THE CONGRESS DECISIONS

BY MR. S. SATYAMURTY, B.A., B.L.

THE Karachi Congress met under somewhat unpromising auspices. The execution of Bhaghat Singh and his two comrades,



MR. SATYAMURTY.

just on the eve of the Congress, the tardy manner in which political prisoners were being released by the Local Governments in pursuance of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, and the general feeling of discontent in the country tended to accentuate the feeling against the

Gandhi-Irwin Pact. But, in spite of this, the Karachi Congress practically and unanimously ratified it.

It is the fashion to describe this resolution of the Congress, as a mere personal triumph of Mahatma Gandhi. That undoubtedly it was. But it was very much more. Mahatma Gandhi was trusted, and his Pact was upheld by the Congress, not because he was the Mahatma, but because he had led the Civil disobedience movement during the past year with singular success, and was therefore trusted to be able to carry on the peace negotiations and because if he failed he will be able to lead the next struggle also, equally if not, more successfully.

It was not as if the Congress had no faults to find in the terms of the Pact. It was not as if the Congress had forgot the goal of complete national Independence, laid down at Madras and reaffirmed at Lahore. It was not as if the Congress did not realise that, even if the truce were perfected into peace by goodwill and trust on both sides, the result is bound to fall short of complete national

Independence or even complete and immediate Dominion status.

But, in spite of it all, there were two main grounds on which the Congress ratified the Pact. The first and the most important ground was that our distinguished compatriots-like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. Jayakar, who had attended the Round Table Conference, were keen on securing Congress co-operation in the future stages of the Round Table Conference. They assured Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee that, on practically all the major points, the questions were still open, and that if the Congress came in and helped to put up the fight for "the Substance of Independence," India might get it. It would have been churlish on the part of Mahatma Gandhi and of the Congress, if they had turned down this proposal unceremoniously. So Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress have stooped to conquer, the Liberals and other friends who attended the first Round Table Conference. We expect those friends to stand by the Congress when the Round Table Conference next meets, either in London or in India.

Another factor which weighed with Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress heavily was that, to-day world opinion, especially American opinion being so strongly on the side of India's non-violent struggle for her freedom, that opinion ought not to be alienated by any appearance on our part of being unreasonable. If Great Britain wants to discuss with us at the Round Table Conference, India's political future, on the basis of a self-governing Federation with a strong central responsible government, it shall not be said of Indians that they sulked and did not want to face the discussion. World opinion then would know that India is very reasonable and that she will negotiate for peace with Great Britain. If peace, however, does not come, India expects and trusts that by this gesture of peace on our part, world opinion will continue to be increasingly on our side,

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The Congress demands to be put forward by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress delegation at the Round Table Conference are by no means unreasonable. Indeed, judged from the point of view of the Lahore Congress, it is a great surrender. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress will be satisfied with the substance of Independence but with nothing less. If there should be a transitional period, it should be as short as necessary for the purposes which are relevant. If safeguards there must be, they must be as few in number as is necessary, and they can only be accepted, if they are proved to be "demonstrably necessary in the interests of India." If incidentally they be also in the interests of Great Britain, we shall have no quarrel. But if they be solely in the interests of Great Britain and against the interests of India, the Congress cannot and will not accept them. Especially in the matter of control over the Army, Foreign Affairs and Finance the Congress can accept no unsatisfactory compromise. The bulk of army expenditure should come under Indian parliamentary control. For Foreign affairs too, India must have the same freedom as the self-governing dominions to-day have. England's enemies are not necessarily India's enemies; and India cannot be made a party to any war to which she is not willing to make herself voluntarily a party. As regards finance too, there can be no surrender. There may be a reasonable guarantee for *bona fide* vested interests and the payment of all reasonable obligations. But, subject to these things, the power of the purse should be in the hands of the Indian Parliament.

As regards safeguards, I desire to write only on one matter, i.e., the preposterous claims of British birds of passage in India, for equal rights of citizenship along with Indian citizens. That is unheard of in any constitution. We have no objection to the Britishers settling in India and acquiring Indian domicile by seven years' residence, etc., under the general laws of naturalisation. But if they want to retain their British citizenship, come here for a time, exploit this country, and go back to theirs with their profits, India is no longer going to

be a party to that. India must have full freedom to lay down and follow any financial industrial, economic or tariff policy, which she feels is in the best interests of Indian industries and Indian agriculture, although it may mean discrimination against non-nationals.

The next important resolution of the Karachi Congress was the definition of Swaraj in a long resolution. That resolution might have been drafted a little more carefully. But on the whole, it will be found that barring criticisms in detail it is a necessary and useful resolution. The Swaraj that Congress has been working for, is in Desabandhu Das' words, not merely for the two per cent. who have but for the ninety-eight per cent. who have not, and when Swaraj becomes a reality the masses must be given the assurance in advance that they will more or less come by their own. This resolution consists of three parts (1). A Declaration of fundamental rights of citizenship which usually finds a place in written constitutions—to which there can be no exception, except in points of drafting or of detail. (2) The rights of labour which may have to be examined carefully with a view to make them comprehensive and consistent (3) Administrative reforms bearing on taxation and expenditure on several of which there is not much difference of opinion. But I should prefer the whole thing being examined a little more carefully. However, the principles underlying those reforms are unexceptionable.

On the whole the Karachi Congress has taken a wise, patriotic and statesmanlike view of the whole situation, and given a proper lead to the country. The future is in the laps of the Gods. But if the country as a whole will stand by the Congress to the extent of strengthening its prestige and influence and will promote khaddar and swadeshi and bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth and of as many foreign goods as possible, Britain will feel that, unless she settles the Indian question, she cannot trade with us and rather than become a second Holland in Europe, I think, concede the just demands of the Indians.

The Future of Anglo-Indians

BY

COL. H. GIDNEY, F. R. S. (E), M.L.A., I.M.S. (RETD.)

WHAT the position of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community will be in India's new constitution is a question that is agitating the minds of leaders of the community as well as Europeans and Indians both in India and England. There is no doubt that no other community in India has been more seriously prejudiced by the operation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms during the past decade, and they, therefore, view the giving of self-government to India with a majority rule, with considerable apprehension. Indeed, this was so forcibly represented to the Round Table Conference that the Services Sub-Committee felt it necessary, in the economic interests of the community, to pass unanimously the following resolution:—

*Services Sub-Committee: Resolution 5 (4):—*The Sub-Committee recognise the special position of the Anglo-Indian community in respect of public employment, and recommend that special consideration should be given to their claims for employment in the Services.

That such protection was necessary the following figures will prove: Whereas in 1921 there were less than 1,000 Anglo-Indians unemployed, to-day, after a decade of operation of the Reforms and despite the powers conferred on Governors in the Instrument of Instructions, 14,000 Anglo-Indians, or one-third of the employable male population are unemployed and the total is daily increasing. It is my considered opinion that, unless early and adequate protection is afforded to the community, the next 20 years will assuredly see its complete extinction from

all Government Services, most of which they have helped to build up and maintain. The desire, moreover, to standardise wages based on the lower Indian standard of living would still further penalise the community and deny it the right and means to live, as it has been accustomed, while further reduction in the educational grants-in-aid to European schools would not only result in most of them closing down, but compel those children to obtain education at local Anglo-Vernacular schools, which, in turn, would seriously interfere with their religious training, a condition which no constitution could permit.

The peculiar position of the Anglo-Indian community in the body politic of India, which, with that of the Europeans, has been one of enforced complete social and economic isolation from the rest of India, while it was a distinct advantage to them when these two communities dovetailed into the policy of the Government of the past, is to-day its chief handicap and has resulted in the creation of a gulf separating Europeans and Anglo-Indians from Indians. Anglo-Indians have for obvious reasons always tried to emphasise their Western origin and concealed as much as they could their kinship with the Indian. The result has been the development of a class of people who, ashamed as they would appear to be of their nationality, are disowned by both East and West and, to-day, find themselves fallen between two stools, not wanted by either at the moment when India, faced with a

wave of nationalism, is entering through the doorway of Dominion Status into the hall of national freedom and equality within the British Commonwealth of nations and communities have entered a life and death struggle for their very existence.

It is not, therefore, surprising that the Indian, awakened to a sense of national pride, refuses to recognise Anglo-Indians as natives of India for employment purposes, unless they come down to his level in every way. But ethnographically, socially, economically and religiously, Anglo-Indians have lived apart, and must perforce continue to do so, unless both sides are prepared to forget the past and realise that India is their common Motherland and they must, together, destroy all barriers that have held them apart and work together as brothers for the good of India. In short, both Indians and Anglo-Indians must completely change their orientation of each other and work together for the development of India and her new constitution.

As a community, Anglo-Indians have failed lamentably to realise the rapid political and economic changes that have been and are taking place in India. Employed as they have been for decades in hide-bound compartments of official labour, with their prospects of advancement entirely in the hands of the European official, their political conscience and national pride have been confined to the perimeter of their vocations in life, steeped in the infallibility of the European and indifferent to India's national aspirations e. g. civic rights and duties, political developments, the advent of democracy and the birth of India's desire to be her own mistress have been of little concern to the Anglo-Indian for

the simple reason that he has refused to believe England would or could ever grant Dominion Status to India—in short his belief has been in the infallibility of the European. Indeed, his education, as it is to-day imparted in European schools, continues to develop his mind in this direction with the result that, he exhibits a marked inferiority complex as far as the European is concerned, and an inexplicable superiority complex towards the Indian. His public school education, imported as it is from Cambridge, has alienated him from his own country, India, and he finds himself a child of the Indian Government's creation, neither wanted by the European nor the Indian. Pathetic as this is, the position of the Anglo-Indian is rendered all the more tragic in the recollection of the great and glorious part the community has played in the past, and still plays in the present development and defence of India. No one would deny the Anglo-Indian his due share of credit in the present efficient state of the various revenue-bearing Departments of the Government of India, e. g. Railways, Telegraphs, and Customs. Indeed, in this respect it can truly be said that the community have been empire builders, and that both England and India owe it a deep debt of gratitude. But this is all past history and, although the community has every reason to be proud of its past record of service and traditions are undoubtedly excellent foundation-stones on which to build its future, none can deny that the findings of the Round Table Conference have laid new foundation-stones for the future Federal India; and if the Anglo-Indian is to play as great a part in the new India as he has done in the past, he must be prepared to let

the dead past bury its dead, and with a completely altered mentality and outlook, work with the Indian in erecting the new Federal structure. The present-day conflict between an ever-changing East and a never-changing West must find the Anglo-Indian ranging himself more and more alongside the Indian in a constitutional advance to Dominion Status. This, I submit, is the first essential for the future of the Anglo-Indian community, otherwise India offers no place for the community. But by this I do not mean that he must sacrifice his communal identity and distinctiveness or that loyalty to the new India implies disloyalty to Britain. On the contrary, I could not conceive of a prosperous and well organised and administered India separated from England, for each is equally in need of the other's loyalty and co-operation, without which neither nation will prosper or advance. As Anglo-Indians we must learn to look upon India as our own country and be prepared to make sacrifices and work for her advancement and progress. Unless we are prepared to do this, our position will be untenable; but the Indian must also be ready to forgive and forget the past and be willing to trust the Anglo-Indian and treat him as a brother, and not as he does to-day as an alien.

Having said this, I now turn my attention to the Round Table Conference with a view to examining the position of the minorities in the proposed Federal India. It is an admitted fact that the most serious and difficult problem which faced the Indian Round Table Conference was the position of the minorities; indeed the entire Conference was seized with the importance of this problem and the urgent neces-

sity for safeguarding their interests, and felt that, unless this matter were satisfactorily settled, India could make no real progress to self-government. Every representative of every minority at the Round Table Conference admitted his fears and demanded adequate and statutorily guaranteed safeguards, and I, as the Anglo-Indian representative, lost no opportunity to press my views on this matter. Each community demanded a Declaration of Rights to be embodied in the Statute which not only safeguarded their representation and interests in the various Cabinets, but gave each one the right of appeal to the Governor-General and Parliament against any adverse action on the part of Provincial Governments. In the demand I made, as the Anglo-Indian representative, I confined myself to the statutory protection of economic and educational safeguards if only during the transitional period. It is well known that many new Constitutions have embodied such safeguards in their Statute books, but none have been able to put them into practical effect, with the result that they have not been worth the paper on which they were printed. This might be true in the case of European and American constitutions: things are very different in India where the minority problem is more complicated. The New Zealand Commonwealth Statute for instance contains statutory safeguards for the Maori community, which, to-day, is being satisfactorily operated. If this is possible for New Zealand, why, I contend, is it not for India, where such safeguards are much more necessary?

The Anglo-Indian community is in a unique position in India because, like the European community which has been given statutory

safeguards, it is the only community that is not purely Indian in origin, manners and customs. Indeed, it is entirely European in upbringing, and for this reason, for purposes of Indianisation the Indian looks upon it as no less alien than it does the European. Further, the Round Table Conference which included delegates representing all Indian communities not only admitted this claim on the part of the Anglo-Indian community, but passed a Resolution granting it special economic consideration. Surely, if the Indian has admitted this claim, the British Parliament will not refuse to give it statutory effect and incorporate a suitable clause in the Statute? In my opinion, this Resolution is a foundation stone on which the British Parliament can and *must* build suitable statutory protection for the Anglo-Indian community, and so ensure its future. But the community must not for

a moment think that this protection will be afforded it in perpetuity, for it is impossible to legislate for all times. Anglo-Indians, therefore, must completely alter their angle of vision, and develop within themselves a true spirit of Indian national pride. They must realise they are the sons of the soil of India and so conduct themselves as to earn the trust, the love and confidence of every son and daughter of their motherland, India. The ultimate future of Anglo-India lies not so much in communal safeguards, necessary as these are, as in the cultivation of mutual trust and co-operation with every community in India. India needs us as much as we need India. India is our home, our motherland: let us be proud of such a heritage, even as we are proud of our British heritage, and our future in the new India is assured.

Labour in the New Constitution

BY DR. P. P. PILLAI, M.B.E., Ph. D.

ONE of the points which will have to be considered in the settlement of the future constitution of India is the place to be assigned to labour. It is, of course, obvious that in studying the division of functions between provincial and central governments as regards labour legislation and administration, a clear distinction must be made between the constitutional authorities competent to undertake legislation and the authorities responsible for the administration of enacted laws. An examination of the constitutional and administrative position of

the various countries in this respect reveals a baffling diversity in principle and practice. Thus in the U. S. A., Canada and Australia labour legislation falls within the competence of the Provincial or State Governments, with the notable and significant exception that, in the case of labour legislation relating to conditions of work at sea, the Central Government is everywhere the legislating authority. In Germany and Switzerland, however, the Central Government has the right to take the initiative in labour legislation, but the provincial governments

may legislate on any matter not already regulated by the Central Government. As regards administration of labour laws in Germany, this falls almost exclusively within the domain of provincial authorities. In Switzerland, competence is divided between the Central and Cantonal Governments. In the United States, Canada and Australia, the administration of labour laws is a matter for the provinces. It will thus be observed that the honours are more or less evenly divided between the Central Governments and the Provincial Governments; the national practice in the various countries, therefore, affords us no guidance in our own attempts at constitutional reconstruction. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in such a matter as the legislation and administration of laws relating to labour at sea, even those countries which insist on their full meed of provincial autonomy have stipulated for uniform regulations by the Central or Federal authorities. This is a principle which ought to be regarded as the only guiding principle in determining the allocation of labour legislation and administration in a federal country. An explanation for labour being treated in some federal countries as a purely provincial subject may probably be that when many of the constitutions which we have examined were drawn up, industrialisation was not yet fully developed, and its evils had not yet become conspicuous enough to be noticed. The dominant motive of the framers of many of these constitutions was to secure for the provinces as much liberty of action as possible, and to give the central government as limited powers as were consistent with the due exercise of their authority. The authors of

these constitutions were then thinking in terms of politics and of provincial *amour-propre* rather than in terms of economics. To-day, however, economics has displaced politics in importance, and it is everywhere being recognised that every effort ought to be made to frame economic policies which shall be nation-wide, and not merely provincial, in scope. In determining, therefore, the subjects which should be handed over completely to the provincial governments, it is essential to keep in mind the principle that no impediments ought to be placed in the path of a uniform advance in labour matters. It will be remembered that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was in favour of handing over to the provinces the power of legislation in all labour matters, inter-provincial migration alone being singled out as a fit subject for central administration. If that scheme had gone through, it would have been impossible for the Central Government to provide for uniform regulations in such matters as factories, mines, trade unions, workmen's compensation, etc. The proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were altered later on both by the Southborough Committee and by the Government of India, with the result that we have to-day a good many acts, which seeing the paucity of provincial legislation up to date, would possibly never have been accepted by all the provinces acting on their own initiative.

In my opinion, labour matters are of such supreme importance, and uniform advance in this sphere is so essential, that, in the future constitution of India, labour should become an even more "centralised" subject than at present. The interests of Indian workers should be regarded as one composite whole,

and should not be subject to the vicissitudes of provincial legislation. The difficulties arising from the existence, side by side, of divergent labour standards are clearly brought out by a comparison between British India and Indian States. Progress in labour conditions in British India has been impeded to a great extent by the Indian States which remain as survivals of a medieval economic system and refuse to join in the attempts of British India to impose more humane standards. The Indian States, however, are there, and have to be accepted as a legacy from the country's political past; but one need not accept with the same philosophical resignation the plea that the labour questions of each province have a peculiarity of their own, and have, therefore, to be legislated upon by the provincial Governments. If the successful political experiments at Geneva have any lesson to teach at all, it is that the existence of divergent social and economic standards need not necessarily operate to hinder attempts to ensure uniform progress. Geneva frankly recognises that "differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and individual tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of *immediate* attainment"; and the way devised at the Paris Peace Conference to overcome this difficulty was nothing less than to temper the wind to the shorn lamb. The procedure there laid down is that in framing legislative proposals, the Labour Conference should have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisations, or other special circumstances make the industrial con-

ditions substantially different, and should suggest the modifications which may be required to meet the case of such countries. (Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles). Applying this principle to India, there should be no objection to the new federal Parliament of this country taking control over labour legislation both in the Provinces and in the Indian States and suggesting the necessary modifications to suit the case of those Indian States which have not yet come to the economic and industrial level of British India.

At Geneva, both Workers' and Employers' Delegations have energetically pleaded for bringing the Indian States into line with British India in this respect. The latter (spokesman: Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty) stated specifically: "If in our own country and in the adjacent territories of Indian Princes there are to exist working conditions which will mean serious competition to us, then we as employers shall be bound to resist the application of the Geneva Conventions to British India itself." That the competition to which Mr. Chetty referred is already in operation is evident from the fact that in recent years there has been a tendency on the part of certain British Indian capitalists to evade the Indian Factory Act by establishing mills and factories in the Indian States. The considerations which Mr. Chetty has urged for a review of the present situation regarding British Indian labour legislation and administration, *vis a vis* the Indian States apply with equal force in framing the social and economic policy of British India itself in the near future. For, if divergent labour codes are permitted to grow up in the various provinces, it is inevitable that there will be a tendency for the indus-

trialist to migrate from one province where higher standards are imposed by legislation to another where lower standards are permitted to prevail.

Thus, then, the dominant principle in settling the allocation of functions in respect of labour legislation and administration between central and provincial governments is the need for ensuring uniform progress. Judged by this principle, labour will have to be retained and developed as a federal subject in the new constitution of this country. Provincial and State administrations have not usually shown themselves gifted with any great enterprise or initiative in this matter; and it would not be wrong to assume that members of the provincial councils would be more concerned with looking after their comparatively narrow provincial interests than in endeavours to build up an economic system which shall ensure uniform development in all the provinces, which are federated into a common political unit. It is perfectly true that Bombay took the initiative in bringing in a bill to deal with trade disputes, and that the Central Government took nearly eight years to enact legislation of its own on this particular matter. Again, though Mr. Joshi has long been pressing the Government of India to pass an Act dealing with maternity benefits, it was Bombay again which first granted this concession to the workers. In spite of these two stray cases, the plea for the "federalisation" of labour has still to be maintained. As already pointed out, the logical outcome of the development of provincial labour legislation like this will be to drive the industries of these provinces to others where no such legislation exists, and a feeling of interprovincial

acrimony will be created which it ought to be the duty of every citizen of this country to avoid. Nor should we omit to pay heed to the fact that, if Bombay has distinguished herself by her progressive social legislation, the other provinces in the country have as yet refused to follow her lead. The jute industry of Bengal is quite as important a factor in the country's productive activity as the cotton industry of Bombay; how long are we to wait before the jute workers are afforded the same amenities of life as the cotton operatives of Bombay? An inevitable result of such interprovincial differences in labour standards will be the lowering of the labour standard everywhere.

How the existence of divergent practices and methods in the various provinces acts as an impediment to the passing of progressive legislation is proved by the attitude taken up by the Government of India as regards some of Geneva's decisions. The May-June Labour Conference of 1929 adopted two recommendations regarding the prevention of industrial accidents. One of these recommendations dealt with the provision of first-aid appliances in factories. Some of our Provincial Governments have passed administrative orders of a kind on this subject, and others have not. Further, accident prevention forms part of the duties of the provincial Inspectors of Factories; on these grounds the Government of India appear to be contemplating shelving a measure which other civilised countries regard as of great importance. The other recommendation requires that the supply and installation of power-driven machinery should be legally prohibited unless it is furnished with

safety appliances. In India, safety regulations relating to machinery vary from province to province. There is an all-India Act to regulate the use of boilers, but Section 18 of the Factories Act leaves the bulk of the safety measures connected with factory machinery to be laid down by rules prescribed by local governments, and these rules vary from province to province. On these grounds the Government of India consider it impracticable to pass an all-India measure, overlooking the fact that if attempts are not made at the earliest moment to introduce uniformity in law and practice, the question will become more difficult and more complicated later on.

The present moment when political conditions are yet fluid and the constitution is again in the melting pot affords a unique opportunity for placing labour legislation and administration on a satisfactory basis. As compared with the Provincial Legislatures, the Central Legislature has to its credit a brave array of labour legislation, and the members of the Central Legislature have gradually cultivated what we may call an all-India rather than a provincial mentality. This is only natural since the problems they are called upon to deal with are India-wide in character, and their outlook must, therefore, become national rather than provincial. There are many who are not quite satisfied with the attention that the elected members in the Assembly have till now bestowed on industrial and labour problems; nevertheless, the record of the Assembly's achievement in this respect, as compared with what the provinces have been able to accomplish, inspires one with confidence. If labour had been classed

as a provincial subject, as was proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, labour legislation would still have been in the doldrums. Thus, apart from the fact that the failure of any one province to adopt humane labour legislation will act as a deterrent to the other provinces and thus hold up the entire social progress of India, the history of the Indian legislatures during the past few years shows us that the Central Legislature is more progressive in its outlook and more active in fulfilling its declared intentions than the Provincial legislatures, and there is no reason to suppose that the new federal Parliament will be less liberal in this matter, once the Geneva principle of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb is properly explained to it. The Indian States are not ruled over by inhuman monsters, but by enlightened princes who are genuinely interested in the well-being of their population. They have a legitimate fear that the sudden adoption of the labour codes of the more advanced industrial countries may make it difficult for indigenous industry to develop in their domains. But when it is pointed out to them that British India expects no violent or drastic changes to be introduced into their social system, and that their special economic conditions and circumstances will be duly and sympathetically considered by their brethren in British India, any suspicions they may now entertain about the possibility of their being "rushed" in the matter of social legislation by a federal Parliament are sure to vanish. On this basis I consider that the Indian States will be prepared cheerfully to waive the objections, if any, they may have to Labour Legislation being treated as a federal subject,

THE PROBLEM OF JUTE CULTIVATION

BY PROF. S. C. BOSE,

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A great catastrophe has recently overwhelmed the jute industry. The price of jute has gone down to an exceedingly low level, and the agriculturists have, in consequence, been faced with ruin and starvation. Two causes have combined to bring about this unparalleled depression. On the one hand, the general trade depression all over the world has meant a temporary fall in the demand for jute and jute manufactures; on the other hand, the output has been abnormally large during this year. The result is a headlong decline in the price of jute.

It should, however, be observed that the present crisis is not without a precedent. There have been similar occasions when excessive production often combined with a reduced demand has brought about a sharp decline in prices and the consequent distress to the peasants. For example, when, encouraged by the high prices of 1896-97 the output was increased by as much as 56 lakhs of maunds from 288 lakhs to 344 lakhs during the next year, there was at once a marked fall in price. Again, in 1914-15, a large harvest was reaped because of the stimulus received from the good prices obtaining in the previous year; but the collapse of the trade owing to the outbreak of the War and the consequent decline in prices meant a year of wide-spread economic distress and ruin for many an agriculturist. Similar circumstances were followed by similar results during the years 1925-26 and 1926-27. This year the slump has, however, surpassed the previous occasions both in magnitude and intensity and has therefore received greater attention from the

public than ever before. Though, on the whole, it may be conceded as the Director of Agriculture in Bengal stated the other day that the cultivation of jute has materially added to the prosperity of the agriculturists of that province* we cannot however be blind to the financial disasters befalling them from time to time owing to the extremely fluctuating prices of jute. These frequent ups and downs have hit them hard and given rise to severe hardship as has been witnessed during the current financial year.

For the smooth progress of the industry as well as in the interests of the cultivators, it is necessary to take steps in order to stabilise the price of jute and to prevent as far as possible such recurring trade depressions. This can only be done if there is some machinery to control the output. At first sight, it will appear that the supply of jute is eminently suited to being successfully controlled according to the demand for it. Its cultivation is practically concentrated in the small area of a few closely situated districts of Bengal which is the monopolistic producer of this important fibre, thereby facilitating a compact organisation among the producers. Besides, unlike tea for example, jute can easily be replaced by another staple crop, the same land being used for the cultivation of both jute and rice. Indeed, of all the agricultural products of international commerce, jute is decidedly best situated for being artificially

* Cf. "From my long experience as a travelling Agricultural Officer in Bengal I am decidedly of opinion that the jute crop has on the whole improved the condition of the rayats of the jute-growing districts of Bengal who form the bulk of the population."—N. C. Chowdhury in *Jute in Bengal*, p. 3.

regulated in its output so as to eliminate to an appreciable extent the vicissitudes of trade that fall to the lot of other agricultural crops due to over production. With much less favourable conditions of controlling the world supply, remarkable results have been achieved in U. S. A., Australia and Canada by what are called the "pools" in marketing their agricultural produce. Yet, inspite of the unique position of Bengal as the sole producer of jute, the Bengali cultivators have suffered terribly from extreme fluctuations in price. This has been due to the utter want of concerted action amongst them. They form an illiterate, ignorant and unorganised mass, altogether incapable of regulating the output and supply of the material according to the probable demand of the market, and consequently suffer. The only permanent remedy for such a state of affairs is an agriculturists' association which will attempt at controlling the output as well as the stock put forward for sale in the market. The remedy, though easy to suggest, is however very difficult to be worked out in practice under present conditions. It will take a pretty long time to organise the industry on such a scale as to bring all the numerous small producers within the scope of one central body which will be in a position to systematically regulate the supply of the raw material.

In the meantime other temporary measures, besides the grant of immediate charitable relief from public and private resources in case of dire hardship, have to be devised in order to minimise the evil. Three such measures have been suggested which we shall briefly examine in the following paragraphs :

1. It was advocated by some influential people of Bengal that the Government should purchase the surplus stock and thereby help to raise the price of jute. This is what is technically called "valorisation." It has been tried in Brazil in connection with coffee but not with conspicuous success as will appear from the reports of experts who have made close investigations on the spot.* For, such a step, instead of reducing production, will rather go to stimulate it, thereby aggravating the evil of over-production which we are to fight against. Besides, the resources of the Government are too inadequate for undertaking such a step. Jute is a bulky and cheap material which does not remain undeteriorated for a long time. Valorisation will therefore be a most unpractical step from the financial point of view.

2. Another measure proposed is that propaganda work should be carried on both by official and non-official bodies to reduce the cultivation of jute. Steps have already been taken to some extent in this direction. True, the cultivators will themselves reduce the area under jute because of the fall in prices; and as history shows, the price-level has worked almost as a barometer in determining the production of jute. Leaving aside the steady expansion in the cultivation of jute consequent on an increased demand for the fibre, the year to year output has oscillated like a pendulum. A high level of prices prevailing in a certain year has been followed by enhanced output the next year which, in its turn, has been succeeded by a lower price-level thereby again resulting in curtailed production in the

* Cf. "The artificial Control of Raw Material Supplies" by J. W. F. Rowe in the "Economic Journal" for September, 1930.

year following. Nevertheless, some propaganda work is needed to induce the agriculturists to keep the cultivation of jute within certain limits. They should be made to realise that high prices obtaining in a particular year can be kept up in the following years only if there is no rise in production, and that, if encouraged by high prices, they put more land under the crop, they will in all probability get much lower prices. From our personal experience, it appears that this aspect of the question has not been thoroughly explained to the cultivators who are themselves too ignorant, to comprehend its implications clearly. Some propagandists often put forward the wrong argument by saying that the returns from jute are *always* less than those from the other alternative crops. This is nonsense. The agriculturists, however illiterate and ignorant they may be in other respects, have this much of commonsense to discriminate as to which crop is more paying. What does not at once strike them is that the more remunerative crop

of this year may be converted into the less remunerative one the next year by considerably increasing its outturn.

3. The third measure is to find out new uses for jute and thus to increase its consumption. This will be really beneficial to the industry in the long run, though its immediate results will perhaps be almost imperceptible. For, it will take time to find out new uses for the fibre in large quantities and then to have a wide market created for those novel products. But there is no doubt that attempts in this field will ultimately bring about a permanent increase in the normal demand for jute and will therefore be of lasting benefit to the industry.

All these measures are, however, only palliatives, and it remains true that without any intelligent and co-operative organisation among the cultivators, no permanent results can be achieved. So long as they are resourceless and unorganised, they will have to pass through these alternating periods of extreme prosperity and squalid distress.

THE INDIAN PUBLIC DEBT

BY MR. T. SIVARAMA SETU PILLAI, M.A., B.L.,

Indian Audit & Accounts Service, Madras.

THE problem of the Indian Public Debt has always been an anathema to the Indian politician and economist alike. Professor Dubey has therefore to be congratulated for his attempt at a scientific and comprehensive treatment of an admittedly dry and complicated subject, and publish the results of his labours in a volume* of 372 pages, at a price of Rs. 8/- per copy. The book is intro-

duced to the public by Sir George Schuster, Finance Member to the Government of India.

Reviewing a book of this kind, heralded under high auspices, is a trifle embarrassing. The great historian Mr. Gibbon has recorded for the benefit of posterity what he conceives to be a reviewer's duty :—

Till now, I was acquainted only with two ways of criticising a beautiful passage, the one to show, by an exact anatomy of it, the distinct beauties of it, and whence they sprung the other, an idle exclamatory or a general encomium, which leaves nothing behind it. Longinus has shown me there is a third. He tells me his own feelings upon reading it, and tells them with such energy that he communicates them.

* THE INDIAN PUBLIC DEBT. By Dr. L. Dubey—The Indian Press, Allahabad. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Price Rs. 8.

Mr. Augustine Birrell in quoting this with approval observes, that the reviewer should also have an element of humanity, and eschew malice.

Dr. Dubey's work deserves handling on the lines set out above, and though one may lack the necessary equipment to do justice to all parts of a reviewer's work, one may attempt in all humility to exhibit some merits of the work, and record in passing some of his feelings.

Dr. Dubey's central theme is the Indian Public Debt, its size and character; and round it he has woven a useful thesis on the possibility of establishing his country on a sound economic and fiscal structure. The Indian Public-Debt has a size which by itself need not alarm any nation, and its total of about Rs. 11,38. 23 crores in 1929 is covered by tangible assets. The general features of the debt lead Professor Dubey to a comfortable cheery optimism, and an abiding hope in his country's future guides his comments on India's credit and fiscal problems that are dealt within this small book.

On opening the book the reader gets encouragement from the following :—1. Great Britain has only one sixth of her foreign investments in India; 2. India's unproductive debt is only 7% of her total debt; and 3. Two-thirds of India's debt is managed by public bodies. Comforting as the thought is, an economically depressed India would have benefited to learn of; (a) the actual drain or otherwise of her national income on account of her public debt; (b) the sources to which the proceeds of the productive debt go to strengthen and whether the debt shown as productive in her public accounts are really productive judged through a correct system of

profit and loss accounts; and (c) the nature and constitution of the public bodies that control the two-thirds of her public debt. It is Professor Pigou, I believe, who states with emphasis that the size of a Nation's public debt may not indicate the extent of the drain on her resources, for, if practically the whole of it is owned by her own citizens, the payment of interest charges would only mean a mere transfer of purchasing power from one section of the community to the other, whereas a good part of it owned by foreigners may involve a dangerous inroad on the total income of a Nation. Dr. Dubey has indeed devoted some attention to this part of the subject, but India would no doubt welcome an acute analysis of the problem from this specific point of view by such a competent hand.

The next few chapters deal with the growth of the sterling debt and the post-reform phenomenon the Provincial Debts. India will note with some concern the rapid growth of the sterling debt after the War, from £177.06 millions in 1914, to £352.54 millions in 1929, though it may be assured from the summary given in page 28, that the increase is mainly due to the purchase by the state of the shares owned by private individuals in the company managed railways. To those who play with the argument of, or express themselves in deep sorrow over, the decline in India's credit, Dr. Dubey gives a convincing answer, and notes the following reasons for India to be counted among England's best borrowing clientele; (1) 4/5th of her public debt represents solid assets (2) money raised in England is mostly spent in England for the purchase of Railway materials

etc. (3) India has never been a defaulter like Russia, (4) India keeps her reserves of about £50 million in London, (5) India has always made liberal provision for debt redemption and, (6) India's revenues etc., are still largely administered by the British. After this, may one record a hope, that India's honesty as a debtor may cease to be discussed.

Dr. Dubey proceeds next to discuss the history of borrowing by the Provinces in some detail. Among the points noted, the protest recorded against the tendency of many Provinces to regard revenue items as capital is not too early. The cry is for full provincial autonomy and it is well that before the proverbial caution, conservatism and what one may term "The Treasury" instinct, are well acquired and imbibed by usage, and till a safe tradition is created in the newly created finance departments of the Provincial Governments, some restrictions on their financial powers are placed, and control exercised by an outside authority.

Dr. Dubey's inherent sympathy for the material welfare of the mass of the Indian people and his keen anxiety to see his country occupy its right place among the nations of the world are indicated in his suggestions for helping "the small investor" and establishing and developing a money market in India. The small investor is as fabulous a being in the opinion of some as the proverbial 'hoard' of the Indian Zamindar. The pessimism that pervades a certain classes of people that persist in harping on the poverty of the Indian peasant is not for creative reformers like Dr. Dubey; for he believes in the existence of a large mass of people scattered all over the expanse of this country, who have something

to put by and who need to be zealously tapped if they are to be drawn out.

That India has absorbed precious metals to the tune of 565 crores of rupees during the 14 year period 1914-28, in liquidation of a part of her favourable balance of trade, stands proved by Dr. Dubey's figures at page 298, and if one knows how to bring this out and mobilise it for constructive development is it too much to hope that India can create a powerful money market to feed her annual requirements!

There does exist a money market in India and its development is in the hands of her own "sons". Government's part in the monetary operations of any Nation is frankly difficult, and specially in India very embarrassing. Experiments during the War have proved the efficacy of private agencies, and with some help at the initial stages it should be very easy to develop a good organisation. After all a very small amount is needed for India's annual capital requirements, and given an expert agency, as a Reserve Bank, or a Board for National investment, it is possible to put India on a strong self-reliant economic and financial position.

It is in this note of optimism the book concludes, and one may be permitted to add his prayer, may everything get along well! A well ordered scheme is given and may it be well executed. India needs constructive statesmanship at this critical hour, and a large number of men who will devote the necessary time and labour to study and understand her problems. Professor Dubey has placed all such men under a deep sense of gratitude, and his book on the Indian Public Debt has supplied a real want at an hour when the want is likely to be keenly felt.

India's Millions and the London Conference

BY MR. N. G. RANGA, B. LITT. (OXON).

THE British Labour Party has rightly placed its faith in the Round Table Conference for the proper solution of the Indian problem because it has realised quite a long time ago that only through such a conference could the British public opinion be properly and adequately persuaded to take a more liberal and sympathetic view of India's legitimate aspirations. Though the Labour party was quite prepared to assist India in attaining Dominion Status without any unnecessary delay, it had not courage enough to risk a general election on India in view of the ignorance of the public about the marvellous development that has taken place in India in her political training and aspirations. Naturally its leaders were very much upset, though unreasonably, over the Congress boycott and could not think of postponing the Conference. That their *bona-fides* were right and their intentions honest has been abundantly made clear during and after the Conference. Hence my anxiety that our public should not misunderstand the impatience shown by the Labour Government in holding the Conference in London.

A good deal of work in favour of India had already been done in England, in educating the public, before the Conference assembled. Many well intentioned friends of India told me quite earnestly that the Simon Report has done much good in preparing the public opinion for a very large grant of freedom to India and that but for the report, signed unanimously by responsible Englishmen, it would not have been possible for the friends of India to rally the public so soon and so easily in favour of India. But the most

important influence that has come like a wind fall to guide, stimulate, inspire and assist the friends of freedom was the great Satyagraha campaign and the personality of the Mahatma. Every social worker, religious preacher, political leader, internationalist and anti imperialist began to question himself as to the propriety of his own attitude and action regarding this epoch-making and path-finding movement of the Indian sage, which resembled so largely the example of Jesus Christ, who is still venerated in the West. He came to the unerring conclusion that he should whole heartedly support India's right for self-government, if he thought that a non violent fight for freedom is the best, might can never be right, and no country has any right to dominate over another country. It was in this manner that hundreds of enthusiastic converts were made to the cause of India and the cult of the Mahatma and these people have been working for India with a missionary zeal and perseverance. Such important and influential organisations as the Friends' Union of Democratic Control, Women's International, No More War Movement, Catholic Crusade, Independent Labour Party, Religious Reform Movement, Congregational Churches, Anglican Churches have organised Indian Affairs Committees and carried on a regular campaign in favour of India. One cannot but admire the indefatigable work done by the leaders of the I. L. P. and the Friends for the cause of India. Whenever I expressed thanks to them on our behalf, they used to reply that they were only rendering their homage to the most Christian saint of this century.

When the Conference had actually met, the Anglican Churches offered prayers for peace between India and England. From the very first moment, one personality alone commanded the interest of the world and the spirit of the great prisoner at Yerawada was echoed through every speech made by every Indian and even the spokesmen of the Conservative party could not resist this all pervading and all powerful appeal of a great soul. It must be said to the credit of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that he commenced the deliberations in a highly dignified and nationalistic manner and that the Rt. Hon. Sastri has set a very high standard of public spirit. Sir Md. Shafi and the late Moulana Md. Ali nobly rose to the occasion, disabused the mind of the Conservatives and definitely made it known that Muhammadans were as anxious about Swaraj as the others. Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. K. T. Paul readily came forward to demand immediate Dominion Status. As one member put it, it was really surprising how solidly and unitedly the large number of delegates pulled together for the rights of India and the explanation lies in the Satyagraha movement.

The achievements of the Conference are not many but they do deserve much of the credit so universally given in this country.

To mention only the most important achievements, Sankey's Draft Constitution for a Federal India is certainly a bold and statesmanlike contribution and India's thanks are due to the great Lord Chancellor; and equally important is the introduction of the principle of responsibility in the Centre. (5) The new factor of Princes and the excellent gesture made by H. H. the Maharajah of Bikanir and the Nawab of Bhopal, in accepting

a scheme of Federation for Greater India has weighed with the Conservatives in the country in favour of granting Dominion Status to India and with their leaders as an explanation for the concession they were anyhow prepared to make in order to negotiate with the Satyagraha movement.

But the Conference has more or less neglected the interests of the working classes of this country by refusing to grant adult suffrage. The fundamental rights, that it proposes, though good in themselves, cannot afford the necessary protection either to the people at large or to the States Subjects. The failure of the Conference to assure the States Subjects at least an equality of status in the future federation and to provide for their representation in the Federal Legislature goes a long way in vitiating the merit of its achievements. The result will be the substitution of a Brown Oligarchy for the present White Domination. The future Federal Legislature will be filled, if the present conference scheme were to be accepted, with the nominees of the Princes, though a few of them may be said to be elected, and the nominees of the Viceroy, who may be expected to represent the minority interests and as many elected members. Any executive depending upon such a legislature cannot be and need not be expected to care for the interests of the people and will always side with the vested interests and Princes whenever their interests run contrary to those of the people.

There is another aspect of the work of the Conference regarding which it is impossible for an impartial observer not to be angry with its members. It is indeed a most undignified sight to see these Indian members

staging, for well over a month, for the benefit of the world, as it were, a fight over the Hindu-Muslim problem. Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Subbarayan have made moving appeals to the male members.

According to the Conference proposals, the Viceroy will become the future counterpart to the great Moghul and will wield much more power than the American President. What with his control of the Executive and Legislature, with the loyal co-operation of the Princes, his trusteeship of minority interests, his guardianship of the finances, his uncontrolled power over defence and foreign affairs and the consequent unbounded patronage and power and his irresponsible suzerainty over the Paramountcy rights, the future Viceroy can be, if he so chooses, the most powerful autocratic ruler in the world.

THE DELHI SESSION

BY "A STUDENT OF POLITICS".

THE first session of the Fourth Assembly and of the third Council of State has ended with a record of work and output which may stand comparison with that done in any of the previous sessions. For one thing every new Assembly, in particular, must raise interest in the matter of election of its President and the formation of the so-called Opposition parties, their strength, their division of office, and their leadership. And in these spheres the Fourth Assembly has shown interesting development.

The session that commenced on 14th January got unusual advertisement for a formal sitting, because of the attempt of the Congress picketers to prevent the Chairman from attending the session. The attempt, of course,

It is now the duty as well as the privilege of the Congress to remove all these and other defects, to lay the real foundations for a democratic government, to provide the people in Greater India with adult franchise and a real and effective voice in the Councils and Senates of the country and to immediately assure Indians with the right of equality of status in the comity of nations of the modern world. India need not be hard upon these who have gone to London because they have worked for the country and she must be eternally grateful to the Saint of Sabarmati and the thousands of her sons and daughters who have so nobly served her in her hour of trial. The world also has a deep debt of gratitude to repay to India for having fought the war of independence without the usual brutalities of violence and bloodshed.

failed and the House got through its oath-taking formality in a dignified manner. The second sitting of the Assembly found itself plunged rather deep by the motion of condolence over the death of Maulana Muhamed Ali which was moved by Mr. Muhamed Yakub. The convention hitherto established was that none but Members or ex-Members of the House would be so mentioned but Mr. Shanmukham Chetty who was in the Chair allowed this deviation. The chief interest at this time was the question of the election of President. Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar was the only potential rival of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah but when he withdrew only a pin prick remained in the form of revolt of Maulvi Muhamed Yakub who did not like to be so let down in the matter of govern-

ment patronage. An eleventh hour understanding with government also eliminated him and the formal contest was left between Sir Ibrahim and Sir Harisingh Gour.

Next day, 17th January, followed the election of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah by 76 to 36 votes. The House cheered the new President and there was a general desire to help him to keep up the high standards set by his distinguished predecessors. Sir Ibrahim also promised to the House "wise impartiality."

As soon as the election was over Lord Irwin came for his inaugural address and, as usual, he had mixed with his usual official speech the Irwin touch when he referred to the "great Congress organization" and acknowledged Gandhi's great spirituality and love of India. In fact for the first time a Viceroy pleaded that the Mahatma should give the British credit for similar honesty in the service of India as his. The Viceroy's speech however left the atmosphere tense as there was no 'gesture' in the form of amnesty, while, on the other hand, two bills in the form of Press Law and Instigation Bill had been placed before the Assembly for enactment. But the non-official members' wishes soon found an echo and on 19th January Sir James Crerar announced that as "it has been represented to Government" that the Premier is to make a declaration which called for peaceful atmosphere he would not proceed with the twin bills at present. The language chosen to convey this decision was typically bureaucratic but the House passed it over as it had gained the substance.

The first rebuff that Government received was on 20th January when it lost by 64 to 48 votes on Mr. S. C. Mitra's dilatory motion for

circulation of the Bengal Criminal Law Bill which was to permit Bengal detenues being transferred anywhere else in India. This disturbed government greatly for at the very first test the Muslim votes which they thought would follow Sir Fazli Hussain's lead, were entirely absent. The disillusionment came but not wisdom. And the session as it unfolded told many a similar tale.

Now came the Premier's declaration. It created a profound effect but ignored the need for a 'gesture'. So the lobbies of the Assembly echoed "But what about amnesty?" The House waited for a week and on 26th January the Viceroy removed their anxiety by announcing the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee. This gave the Assembly some peace of mind and the members began now to devote their attention to party formations and legislative work. This serious reflection of the Assembly's mind found a very definite expression on 28th January when, on a lead given by Mr. B. Das, which also brought the European group within the fold of opposition, Sir George Schuster was made to confess that the Galvanized Iron Sheets Protection Bill was really taxation measure in disguise. Mr. Shanmukham Chetty who had been elected Deputy President unanimously, rushed to the help of the Finance Member and proposed taxation for 1 instead of 3 years. The House took a charitable view and agreed.

29th January was a day which had been looked forward to with much interest for it was the first non-official sitting and on its Order Paper were the resolutions of Mr. K. C. Roy for a debate on the Round Table

Conference and of Mr. Sadiq Hassan for a policy of conciliation and amnesty. The House lacked the strength of mind to discuss the former and the strength of will to determine the latter and both these stood adjourned. But the story was different on the first non-official sitting for private bills. Sir Harisingh Gour's Civil Marriage Bill was so much attacked that the House would not agree even to its circulation and killed it outright. The feeling of course was that the social reformer had had enough already and should first consolidate the ground already won before starting a fresh onslaught. The adjourned debate on the amnesty resolution of Mr. Sadiq Hassan fell however on 5th February. Wire-pullers had been busy. Mr. Rangachariar had been saved by the strength of his party members from agreeing to the formula of conditional release proposed by Sir George Rainy. But the Leader of the House found an easy target in the Yakub-Abdullah Haroon section and they sponsored it. No less than 16 speakers took part in the debate but Mr. Rangachariar's sudden departure for Madras owing to illness combined with the unorganized state of the opposition benches made the Opposition vote for its *sine die* adjournment.

Now intervened the New Delhi Inauguration Week when members were to have a holiday. They took little interest in the Inauguration ceremonies as they found them too official and little imaginative when members of 'India's Parliament' had no place of honour in the scheme of opening. But this holiday gave them time to think in terms of better party organisation. Thanks to the efforts of Mian Shah Nawaz, whose wife had made such a name at the Round Table Conference, the

Central Muslim Group was not revived. But the Muslim members all the same remained unled. They would not accept Maulvi Muhammed Yakub nor Dr. Suhrawardy. Sir Abdur Rahim was sitting watchful and not in a hurry, when suddenly the news came from Reuter, that Mr. Jinnah had decided to settle down in London to practice. Now Sir Abdur Rahim's way was clear and he accepted the call for Independents' leadership. The organizers of this party wished to make it even more non-communal than Jinnah's was in the last Assembly and through the efforts of Mr. Lahiri Chaudhury and Mr. S.C. Mitra this object was achieved. The party now needed a Deputy Leader, and he should be a Hindu. The place was deliberately kept vacant for Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar. This annoyed Maulvi Muhammed Yakub who thought that as an ex-president he must at least be a front-bencher and he soon drifted to government side and became a cross bencher. But during this Inauguration a tragedy of the greatest magnitude occurred through the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru and the House adjourned in mourning, a mark of respect which was unparalleled and created a new precedent.

When the Assembly reassembled on 11th February it found itself confronted by a Burman Member, Mr. Tun Aung, with a motion for adjournment against declaration, as unlawful, of the Burmese General Council Association. He created a profound impression. The vote led to a tie and the President standing for *status quo* voted against it. But during the day non-official ranks had been successful in carrying by 58 to 39 votes an important resolution of Mr. Bhupat Singh

urging stoppage of import of vegetable ghee into India.

But on 17th February the Assembly stage was shadowed by the arrival, on peace mission, of Mahatma Gandhi, and for a month the Assembly proceedings suffered in advertisement, in consequence. The Assembly work was nevertheless of considerable interest and importance. For instance on the very day of Gandhiji's arrival the House discussed Mr. Gyaparsad Singh's bill to amend Section 144 but government manoeuvred to win by just a majority of one vote. This lack of public interest in the Assembly's proceedings of course gave less publicity to the Railway Budget debates than they deserved. For, though the tale told by Sir George Rainy was nothing but sad, his definite bid for Muslim support through active Muslimisation of service was a challenge thrown to the House. None objected to the carrying out of the policy laid down by Sir Malcolm Hailey but the objection was to its interpretation by the Railway authorities which wished not only to provide for inequalities now and hereafter, but to practically stop Hindu recruitment thereby closing this door of economic relief to the educated classes of this community. And in the matter of voting, the House was not able to assert itself. Its vote for nine per cent. cut as a measure of retrenchment was no doubt carried by majority as also its cut urging stoppage of European and Anglo-Indian recruitment but on the whole these left little effect on the minds of Government spokesmen for they not only defended their extravagance but thought that that alone was the way to run the railways through special officers! This week was

important mainly for the motion of adjournment carried over the execution of Habibnūr. This Peshawar execution reminiscent of medieval days roused the conscience of the House too strongly to make them hear Mr. Acheson argue in defence of it and the vote of censure on such application of law was carried by 56 against 42. Hardly any Indian elected member joined the government side over this. But the most significant event of this week occurred in the Council of State when in reply to Mr. Hasan Imam's resolution Sir Philip Chetwode announced that hereafter Indianisation of the army would be a reality and an expert Committee with that end in view would meet shortly.

28th February marked the introduction of Sir George Schuster's General Budget. It did not surprise any one but pained everybody, for it aimed at heavy taxation especially of industry and of the income-tax payer. The general debate on the 5th March was held in an atmosphere of peace arrived through the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 4th/5th night so that Sir George had the ordinary political bitterness removed and felt that his budget would receive consideration on merit uninfluenced by constitutional issues which had hung heavily on the budget debates during the last five years. And so it happened with one important exception. The general debate on the Budget led to its examination on merits and a good debating attack on the occasion was made by Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar who had by this time arrived and taken the Deputy Leadership of the Independent Party. This debate was significant for the fact that Sir George Schuster announced his conviction that in a democratic government the scale of

salaries must be reduced. The three opposition parties worked in alliance and carried token cuts demanding from government general retrenchment, reduction in army estimates, and reduction in incidence of income-tax. For all this Sir George Schuster was prepared and went on pleading 'you come and sit on retrenchment committee and satisfy yourself that we have done all that was possible.' This was of little attraction to the Opposition and hardly found a way out of the impasse. But Sir George was taken unawares by a censure vote for failure to prevent dumping of India by foreign wheat and sugar. But he succeeded in getting the verdict of the House in favour of his estimates and he argued that "having voted all this money you must now give me funds to carry on."

The Finance Bill came on the scene and the first unexpected shock it received was from Mr. Kyew Myint a new Burmese member whose ingenuity had discovered that he should hold up the Finance Bill for a day to speak against separation of Burma. And this important precedent the President allowed to be established following logically the principle established by Sir Frederick Whyte and Mr. Patel of "redress of grievances before supply." And it is no exaggeration to say that this debate unsettled the whole Burma issue and has outwitted the Innes group of "Imperialist separatists." It established beyond doubt that the Assembly is a powerful forum for the discussion of popular grievances.

In the meanwhile the Council of State was not keeping quiet. Though a revising Chamber it did a good piece of work when Government accepted Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das's resolution for giving concession in assessment

over legal expenses incurred in recovery of loans or interests, by an assessee.

It was on 19th March that Mr. Rangachariar, Leader of the Opposition, threw the gauntlet. He would vote for 9 crores of extra tax and reject 6 crores. This laid his cards on the table too early, and he himself became its undoer by having to remain neutral and allow Mr. S. C. Mitra's motion for reduction in kerosene oil to be defeated by 54 to 47 votes. He thought income-tax alone should not be increased and on that he lost by 59 to 35 votes. But the Assembly voted by 62 against 48 for Sir Cowasji Jehangir's amendment on behalf of the Independent Party for reduction of 2½ crores of income-tax proposals. This time Sir George Schuster misplayed his card. Just as Mr. Rangachariar had suffered by premature disclosure the Finance Member suffered by premature heroics. He adopted a tone of challenge and anger but found it had only made Opposition more united so that they rejected even the Viceroy's recommendation by 60 against 56 votes and the last attempt by the Viceroy to retrieve the situation hardly succeeded in removing the deadlock though it led to a better atmosphere in which the session was to end. There was this year a significant departure from the normal practice in that Salt Bill and Wheat Bill followed the Finance Bill. In both these cases inter-provincial interests were not identical and there was a genuine reflection of the kind of views that would be more frequent in a federal legislature of the future and the surrender of revenue which Sir George Schuster made to the provinces affected by the Salt Bill may be a precedent for which a federal government may not be altogether thankful to the Finance Member. But that he did it gracefully was to his credit.

WORLD EVENTS

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

THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM

EVERY little while something appears in China which one cannot understand unless he has some acquaintance with the historical background of that unfortunate country. One of the best ways of becoming oriented is to study the writings of those who have had long connections with the people and the problems of the country. Sometime ago three men of long and intimate associations with the Far East were chosen to deliver a series of lectures at the University of Chicago, U. S. A. on the general theme of The Far Eastern Problem; their lectures help one to understand some of the troubles that are so persistent in China. Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead, C. B. E., an Englishman of twenty years' residence in China, where he was the editor of the PEKING AND TIENTSIN TIMES and of the CHINA YEAR BOOK, lectured on Problems of Present-Day China; Mr. Julean Arnold, American Consul and Commercial Attache in China since 1902, and editor of the COMMERCIAL YEAR BOOK OF CHINA, dealt with China's Economic Resources; and Mr. H. K. Norton, author of THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC OF SIBERIA, contributes to the series The Russians in the Far East. In these lectures we get an interpretation of a very complex problem from men who are keen observers and who were able to get their facts at first-hand. They have made a real contribution to our knowledge of the far eastern problem.

To clarify the situation and to understand the present status of the Chinese Republic one

must be acquainted with certain important movements which have been working in China since 1911. One significant fact is that China is not and never has been a real republic. The Revolution was due to the government's attempts at centralisation. Although the former Manchu Emperor was an absolute monarch, he was not an absolute ruler, and the provinces enjoyed a large measure of independence. The Chinese people were ready for the overthrow of the Manchus, but not for a strong, central government, and most of the civil wars since have been waged by provinces and rival war-lords against a central control. The scene then shifts to the roles played by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and Yuan Shih-Kai; centres of political influence are organised at Nanking and Peking for the north, and at Canton for the south; they represent armed camps of rival interests. The problems of the first phase of the republic centred around the questions of political supremacy, the disbandment of the revolutionary armies, and the financial situation of the central government. These were not disposed of before the World War brought to distracted China a new set of problems. Japan seized upon the war situation to push her interests in China, and the notorious Twenty-one Demands of China were made in January, 1915, which if acceded to would have reduced China to the position of a Japanese protectorate. Yuan Shih-Kai seemed powerless because of the lack of co-ordination and the political unrest in China in the face of the strong demands of Japan, and accordingly

he seemed to be working for a monarchical restoration. That movement however died with the death of Yuan Shih-Kai in June, 1916. The subsequent history is a very confused story of the numerous struggles between rival war-lords, with no strong, central power to keep them in check. "I must emphasise," says Mr. Woodhead, "that no real question of principle has been involved in any of the numerous civil wars with which China has been afflicted since the overthrow of the monarchy. They have all been sordid struggles for power by militarists and politicians".

It is a sorry story that Mr. Woodhead has to tell about China's constant civil warfare her only nominal and weak republic, her millions of illiterates, her economic stagnation, and her financial bankruptcy. "Ever since the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916 China has been in a ferment. There has hardly been a week when a civil war has not been in progress in some part of the country. At no time has the nation possessed a government capable of enforcing obedience outside of the walls of Peking. The actual power has remained in the hands of rival militarists, who have raised enormous armies which owe allegiance to them, and not to the government, and are supported by wholesale extortions from the people. In 1912 China had 240,000 soldiers To-day she is afflicted with some twenty five independent armies, totalling nearly one and a half million men, not one of which is under the orders of the Central government. . . . In one province alone—Szechwan—there are 114,000 men under arms . . . The administration is completely overridden by the militarists, who impose whatever taxes they fancy, and occupy and

ruin the railways. . . . and appropriate practically all the revenues to their own use."

About eighty per cent. of China's 400,000,000 cannot read or write. Millions upon millions have not the least idea whether their country is a monarchy or a democracy. How can a country be a successful democracy and practise a republican form of government with conditions like that? Financially, China is bankrupt at the present moment expenditure is far ahead of revenue. The government follows a hand-to-mouth existence, raising loans on the estimated customs and salt surpluses years ahead. The present absorbing interests in China are political; her economic resources are tremendous, but they are being sacrificed to the selfish ends of the political and military agitators. What China needs supremely to-day is stability and real governing power of the central authority, the education of her illiterate masses, and a vast programme of economic development. To this end the outside nations may help or prove a menace according to their foreign policy.

Britain, though hated in China, has pursued a consistent policy aiming at the maintenance of the open door and equality of opportunity, the extension of commercial and industrial facilities, and the continuation for the present of existing treaty rights. American interests in China are mainly commercial, financial and educational. Japan, as her recent relations with China clearly show, is in China for all she can get. Her aggressive policy is for the moment stayed, but not abandoned. In control of railways and telegraph communications, in making large loans to China which have not been repaid, making China a debtor to Japan

and in numerous smaller ways the clever Japanese is getting a hold upon his larger neighbour which looks much like penetration for national ends. The worst sinner in this respect was the Soviet Government of Russia. Bolshevik agents have had a great influence in China; soviet military instructors were employed and the Russian policy has been to foment anti-foreign feelings amongst the Chinese. China presents to Soviet Russia a vast field for exploitation if China can be made to throw off her alliances with other foreign powers.

It is to be hoped, however, the China will begin to settle down politically this year; if she does open her markets to peaceful trade again that will help considerably towards the economic recovery of the world.

GOLD DISTRIBUTION

Sir Charles Addis, speaking recently in London at a meeting of the League of Nations Union, said that nearly three-fifths of the monetary gold supply of the world was locked up in the vaults of the United States and France. This maldistribution was one of the predominant causes of the continuous fall in prices. This League of Nations has had a committee at work dealing with the problem of the distribution of gold; their recent report is of considerable interest at the present time. The Committee states that the operation of the gold standard, the withdrawal of gold from circulation, and the general adoption of a rigid percentage reserve system are among the chief changes which have taken place recently in reference to a gold policy.

The rapid growth of New York as a money market; the favourable trade balances in Paris, and the disposition of these two centres to

lend less money than formerly, together with their policies of requiring payment in gold have attracted gold to those centres to the detriment of the other countries of the world.

To try and remedy the situation the Gold Delegation of the League's Financial Committee make several suggestions: not to allow gold to be put into actual circulation; to lessen the amount of gold required for cover purposes for the paper currency by international agreement; close collaboration between central banks; and an international control of the supply and the distribution of gold for monetary purposes.

DECLINE IN THE VALUE OF SILVER

In addition to or rather as a part of the general trade depression the decline in the value of silver has augmented the economic troubles of such silver-using countries as China and India. Before the War the price of silver reached as high as 65 cents per fine ounce, last year it had fallen to as low as 30 cents, or a fall of 100 per cent. That means that savings in silver have been cut in half, and the silver purchasing power has fallen by the same ratio. So serious is this movement that China is considering a gold standard in the future. Some are seeking to revive the old remedy of bimetallism, that is having both gold and silver legal tender with a definite ratio between them, but in the light of the instability of the value of silver it is not desirable to try that solution of the problem.

THE VATICAN CITY STATE

Since the Lateran Agreement establishing the Papal State was signed on February 11, 1929, there has been considerable activity in alterations, the erection of new buildings, and numerous State extensions. The Vatican

City State has its own special railway station; its own Constitution and its own independent executive and judiciary. It has its own postage stamps; its own currency, or soon will have it; and it has set up a complete system of internal administration. This is a return to the old city states of the ancient Greeks; we shall watch with great interest the experiences of this modern City State.

THE CARNEGIE TRUST

The idea that great wealth is socially made, and should be utilised for the good of society is gaining ground; it is a significant movement in our times. Mention has been made already of the benefactions of the Rockefellers, and Harkness in these columns. Carnegie money

is also available for social purposes, as the following report will indicate: The annual meeting of the trustees of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland was held at the Hotel Russell, London. Lord Sands presided, and among those present was Sir James Barrie.

The twenty-ninth annual report (for the year 1929-30), submitted by the executive committee, stated:—

The various distributions by the Trust now cover the period from October 1, 1902, to September 30, 1930. The total grants amount to £1,646,882, and have been distributed as follows:—For libraries, towards the provision of books, &c., £159,850; for buildings and permanent equipment, £905,101; for endowment of chairs, lectureships, and pension schemes, &c., £437,701; and for other general purposes, £143,730. By the close of 1930 there will have been endowed 20 chairs and 28 lectureships, towards which grants from the Trust have been applied.

HEAVEN

BY HERBERT E. PALMER.

—:O:—

When I am dead and transported and under the ground,
 Wrapped by walls that are soundless, out of Earth's centre and round,
 One joy will be mine that none of the living shall share,
 For I shall be perfectly quiet as I lie there.
 Oh! Life will be soundless, though deluged with essence of sound.
 Shut in walls that are soundless, though reared to us out of the ground,
 And the noisy shall know and repent where no life jars,
 Where the hush of the flowers is blent with the chime of the stars.
 And a hundred pitying glow-worms shining low,
 And a thousand quickening angels, row on row,
 Will point in the Book of Life, whose leaves are seven,
 That Heaven is Quiet and the soul has peace in Heaven.

Spectator.

FORTY YEARS OF FRIENDSHIP

BY MR. S. ANANTANARAYANA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

I think it is appropriate that I should say a few words in this *Review* about the late Mr. G. A. Vaidyarama Aiyar. He and I had been good and fairly intimate friends for over forty years and as I wrote in another connection some years ago this *Review* was practically born at my house at Madurantakam when Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar and his distinguished brother, the present editor of the *Review*, Mr. (now the Right Hon'ble) V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and the late Prof. K. B. Ramanatha Aiyar were all down on a visit to me. Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar was as much responsible for the starting of the *Review* as his brother and my personal belief is that its early success, especially from the point of view of business, was largely due to him. Mr. Natesan was the dynamic force that drove the *Review* but Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar was the dammed-up reservoir that furnished much of the real power. In later years, naturally, his influence became less and less but it is due to him to say that in the beginning the *Review* was largely influenced by his tact and judgment.

I propose to draw attention to a few of the virtues of the late Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar as a man and as a citizen. Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar belonged to a rare type of men. Under a quiet and subdued exterior he concealed a strong and powerful intellect. He was perhaps not very "clever" but I have rarely seen any one who could beat him in the matter of hard and clear thinking and pulling things to pieces. He looked miles ahead and took time to form his opinions and when he did so, they were clear, precise, and well grounded.

Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar was a man of extensive and varied information about men and things. In fact, his thirst for information was immense; equally so was his patience in collecting and classifying it and filing it for future use in the pigeon holes on his table and in his brain. He made a special study of economics and trade and it is no exaggeration to say that what he did not know about these is not worth knowing. One would have expected him to make a successful businessman. As a matter of fact, for reasons of a private character, he retired from service under Government at a comparatively early age and thereafter tried his hand at business of sorts, including the publication of a Tamil journal intended for general circulation and an English Journal devoted to such special subjects as business, trade, finance, etc. With his qualifications, he ought to have made a success of these but unfortunately they were not. I honestly believe that the main reason for this failure was Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar's conscientiousness. He would not publish rubbish and was anxious to supply really good value to his subscribers. Readers of C. M. Sheldon's "What Would Jesus Do" may remember how the editor, the lawyer, and the doctor lost their clients when they resolved to do nothing which would not be approved by Jesus if he were alive now and Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar's case was not very different.

Mr. Vaidyarama Aiyar was a kind-hearted man with large sympathies. He took great interest in local civic affairs and was always ready to help people with advice regarding these matters. His friends know what an

amount of trouble and labour he spent over the Mambalam Co-operative Society of which he was Secretary for five or six years. He managed to straighten out things and place the affairs of the Society on an extremely satisfactory basis, a work which few others could have done. The work, as I know, cost him much time and thinking but he did it all willingly because he felt that it was his duty.

He came to reside at Mamblam about eleven years ago and soon became extremely

popular in the place and the general feeling is that he might have been spared for a few years more.

He was a gentleman of the finest type. I have rarely seen him lose his temper and I believe he never spoke a falsehood or did a mean thing. Half in jest and half in earnest, I used to call him Yudhishtira or Dharmaraja, the eldest of the Pandavas, and I believe that the nick-name was quite justified. May his soul rest in peace.

A MODEL GENTLEMAN

BY MR. B. NATESAN

G. A. V. lived a quiet and retired life, away from the hum and bustle of the city. He shunned publicity like a vice; and during the last ten years was content to see the great procession go by without participating in the throng. But he had a living interest in the things that matter—the lives and fortunes of those nearest and dearest, and of the Colony of which he was at once the doyen and founder. And it is my belief that whoever went to Mambalam went to see the genial old man who discoursed facetiously on all things with a wealth of knowledge and civic enthusiasm that many a younger man might envy.

The last time I saw him he was in the pink of health and spirits, and we talked on all things all the evening through. I like to recall that last picture of him in the peaceful setting of his garden house, disturbed if ever, only by the voices of his grand-children as they came floating down the evening breeze. He sat reclining in an arm chair and talked without a touch of condescension. That was his way. You felt yourself quite at home with him. His broad expansive forehead set

in a face of classical mould shone with a fresh radiance at any happy thought or lucid interval. To him the Gandhi-Irwin settlement was a happy surprise and he brightened at the vast possibilities ahead. I seem to see again that calm and unruffled face wreathed in benignant smiles as I told him that the clouds we dreaded so much were big with mercy. He looked a picture of sweetness and light, at peace with all the world, somewhat amused but quite tolerant.

Of course he talked of gardening and medicine—his twin hobbies—the cultivation of plants and the resuscitation of health—subjects he made his own in recent years. And to think that those plants are shooting without his nursing and his interminable lists of drugs and diseases simmering in the pigeon holes! How pathetically they await the touch of the master to rescue them from their dusty quarters and transform them to the dignity of a printed *magnum opus*? It is difficult to believe that one with such vivid interest in life and such encyclopædic knowledge of things could willingly die.

And yet who does not know G. A. V.'s habitual mood of resignation and deep content? I have never known him break into a temper or utter an expletive in anger. He was perfectly self possessed and a picture of patience and dignity. It must be very happy for him to die in peace and in the plenitude of his physical and intellectual powers—as did his good old friend K. B. R. It was his desire too

To cease upon the midnight with no pain,
and he died as he longed to—and lived—
quietly, unobtrusively, with no noise or
dramatic gesture.

So ends the quiet labour of a life
That loved the things of peace.

G. A. V. was in fact an artist in life, an artist with this difference that he was a critic as well, and even his enthusiasm was in moderation. Indeed he retained through life something of Victorian placidity; and he brought the keen edge of reason to play upon the facts of experience. The result was bracing common sense in an uncommon degree.

For never saw I mien or face
In which more plainly I could trace
Benignity and home-bred sense.

Sceptical to a degree, he invariably preferred the line of least resistance. I believe he followed convention just to avoid a scene (his hatred of publicity) or not to wound susceptibilities (his innate kindness of disposition). But he had none of the shallow cynicism that mocks at the faith of others. He was full of simple kindness and genuine feeling which expressed itself in a gracious, unwearying courtesy. In this he was truly religious. G. A. V. had a wholesome scorn of high flown sentiments and he carefully eschewed purple patches in speech or writing. He seldom essayed unprofitable discussions on ultimate problems. Too practical to be idly speculative, too cultured to be merely materialistic, he combined in himself the simple

virtues of the paterfamilias with the practical idealism of the man of affairs. Indeed "the limits of the practicable" was one of his obsessions and he looked askance with a half deprecatory smile at any suggestion of building castles in the air. He was on firm ground. And he had the temperament of the pagan philosopher, pleased with life, and not too exacting. He was besides too sensitive to be a politician and he shrank from publicity, content to live his life in scorn of its vulgar prizes. Like the man in black in Goldsmith he was content to do good by stealth; and he was rich in

that best portion of a good man's life
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love.

Of his connection with this *Review* and his contributions to it, it is not for me to speak. Straight from the Secretariat, he imparted to it something of his departmental mind, his versatility and urbanity. The *Review* still bears on its pages the impress of his early attentions as it continues those sections which are his pet creations. The early volumes are full of notes and criticisms from his pen which are easily distinguished alike by their practical outlook as by the trenchancy of their diction. For his sentences were all as clear and unambiguous as his character.

G. A. N. will recollect many an hour of soothing counsel and practical wisdom and will sorely miss the genial warmth of an elder brother's affection. G. A. V. was singularly free from the desire for personal advancement and whatever noble ambitions stirred his fraternal bosom found their fulfilment in his more ebullient brother's uninterrupted success—and this gave him unalloyed satisfaction. In spite of temperamental differences, no two brothers ever lived in greater harmony and concord. It is said that whenever a knotty enquiry came to the younger brother always referred to the elder for decision; and an English friend who could not understand this deference remarked: every one in India seems to have an elder brother or an uncle to consult! Yes; but there will be no more elder brother to consult: and the thought must be heart-breaking to G. A. N.

My First Journalistic Mentor

BY MR. S. P. THYAGARAJAN

Indian Correspondent, "Al Ahram" (Cairo) & "Pioneer" Allahabad.

ON the strength of certain articles of mine to the daily press on State Aid to Industries, an issue that provides strange perplexities in many lands even today, Mr. G. A. Vaidyaraman appointed me in 1915 sub-editor of his monthly journal, the *Wealth of India*. I must count it a singular piece of good fortune for a young and untaught man straggling into the field of journalism to have early found a master like him. Next to the choice of a profession, the choice of the Master to whom to go to school is a great problem. And both these are often solved for us by fortuitous circumstances. Indian employees as a rule are not pictured in the best light possible. But for fourteen months we lived the life not indeed of master and employee, but of an elderly Mentor placing the rich store of his mind and the warning lessons of a life rich in experience of men and in the study of books at the service of a raw youth. I know not if, excepting the late great editor of the *Hindu*, who brought it to its present high pitch of technical perfection, Mr. Vaidya Raman had any one to match him in this human quality of treating his employees. In fact, in many other matters, his likeness to Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar stands out prominent; and it was no surprise to any one that these two great souls had genuine regard for each other.

From the professional point of view I was not competent to assess him, much less is there the need to pronounce his particular place in the small but effective band of public men who have made Indian Finance their especial province. This at any rate can be affirmed without fear of contradiction. Eminent authorities on Finance, like Sir Dinshaw Wacha, held him in high regard and cared to take note of his views on these

problems. He had one great handicap that effectively shut him out from much of the publicity that, nowadays, seems to be the only criterion of the importance of a public man. Though the kindest of men, he abhorred sentimentality as if it were the scarlet sin. And he was not to be imposed on by the most sonorous prose even. You cannot thrust down his throat any statement on mere authority. Facts were weighed dispassionately, even the most insignificant was given its due importance, and judgment was then given; and nothing would deflect him from a position so taken. In the fourteen months I had seen him as active commander of an economic monthly, then a somewhat hazardous novelty, and in view of the unacademic heat these questions in these days generate, I had never once seen him betray the slightest trace either of impatience or anger at men who held views that to him seemed untenable.

His friends, I am obviously the very last person to chronicle. That they were of a wide circle, and comprised all those who mattered enormously in the formative stage of our politics is all that need be put down here. And every one of them sought his guidance on many matters of intricate concern for the future of the land: nor did any go disappointed. Both when he lived in the city and after he went down to the suburb, a day spent with him was a day well worth. It is true he had none of that half chat that passes for conversation, nor did he gather up the small beer of society. He lived with a high seriousness; and he paid you the compliment of thinking you did likewise. Men like that, who live at great depth of being, do not hit off well with the effervescence of callow emotion. In these days when stridency seems to be the one essential of wisdom and there are too many occupants of the Tripod, his friends will long cherish the memory of his tolerant outlook, manly judgment and mother-like heart. And here let me take my farewell of his great shade.

MUSLIM NATIONALIST CONFERENCE

By "A NATIONALIST"

IT is a happy sign of the times that the nationalist Muslims who have been growing in numbers and who count among them

The All-Parties Muslim Conference, which met at Delhi recently does not represent the views of the majority of the Mussalmans. It was mainly composed of the members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures who owe their present position in public life not to any service to the community or country, but to the exploitation of communal prejudices and the religious antagonism of the illiterate and uninformed Muslim voters. They know that the replacement of the present system of election by joint electorates would mean the end of the political life of most of them and therefore in the constitution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference they have found a sound platform for their propaganda.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Moulana Kutbuddin Abdul Wali of Feringhi Mahal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, after expressing regret at the loss sustained by the country by the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Moulana Mahomed Ali explained how the situation has changed since the Gandhi-Irwin pact and the cessation of Civil disobedience.

Mr. Gandhi, the accredited leader of the Congress, was trying his best to adjust the Muslim claims, but there were certain Muslim leaders who, apparently with a view to impede communal settlement, were insisting on separate electorates which admittedly were detrimental to the growth of the Indian nation.

We are virtually at war with our fellow countrymen. If any group or community wants to come to terms with us, we should not reject their offer. Do you think we can afford to fight both our own countrymen and the Government as well? I should think not. Why then, should we not make peace with the party that is extending the hand of friendship?

"We want to organise the Muslims" he continued, and he asked "is it necessary for that purpose to be perpetually at war with your fellow countrymen?"

SIR ALI IMAM'S ADDRESS

Sir Ali Imam in his presidential address recalled the Morley-Minto days when the supporters of the joint electorate scheme could be numbered in one's fingers. He himself belonged to that school of political thought which laid great stress on separate electorate and was, in fact, a Member of the Deputation that waited on Lord Minto in 1905,



SIR ALI IMAM

the bulk of the intelligentsia of the community should gather together in conference under the presidency of that old veteran leader Sir Ali Imam. The Conference met at Lucknow on the 18th amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and was attended by over a thousand delegates from different parts of the country.

It was apparently a counterblast to the Delhi Muslim Conference and an answer to Moulana Shoukat Ali's challenge. The *raison d'être* for the gathering of leading Indian Muslims at a special Conference was given in a statement issued by Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Secretary of the Muslim Nationalist Party.

but in the interval between 1905 and 1909, he had time to carefully study the question, and he had definitely come to the conclusion that separate electorates was not only a negation of Indian Nationalism, but also positively harmful to Muslims themselves.

The president went on to observe that the Muslim advance to the principle of joint electorate during the last two decades has been stupendous. The result has been a rapid advance in nationalist spirit among the Muslims :

"I venture to prophesy", said Sir Ali Imam, that this movement among Indian Moslems will gather force which no power on earth can thwart. There is no need to despair. Time and tide are with us.

Proceeding, Sir Ali Imam said one had only to take note of the sufferings and trials of Moslem nationalists in the last two years, to know the contribution that Moslems had made in the recent struggle for freedom. It was impossible that their sacrifices would go in vain.

If I were asked why I have such abiding faith in Indian Nationalism, my answer is that, without that, India's freedom is an impossibility. Separate electorate connotes the negation of nationalism. Political problems are but a reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in their politics, you destroy the social fabric. Day-to-day life will become unsupportable, if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions. Consider the implications of separatist clauses in the Constitution. The plea is Moslems are numerically inferior, deficient in education and economically backward. The argument is then developed, and it is asserted that they would never succeed in the polls in the face of the powerful Hindu opposition. It is taken for granted that every Hindu is a potential enemy of the Moslems. I do not believe in these generalities but should they be assumed true, what are the logical inferences? They are, firstly, that the Moslem is too weak to look after himself, secondly, the Hindu as an enemy is relentless and, finally, the necessity for protective clauses in the Constitution. I do not believe that such protective clauses will afford any protection, that such they had some sanction behind them. If a Moslem cannot protect himself and a Hindu will not protect him, then the sanction must rest in a third party. Is not that a negation of nationalism? Does it not show that the separatist notion is based upon support which can not be found in this country, and this tantamounts to not be found in tutelage? Is it surprising then that the perpetuation of tutelage? Is it surprising then that the Nationalist Moslem who cherishes the idea of freedom, scorns to subscribe to the embodying of a separatist clause in the Constitution?

Sir Ali Imam next referred to the nationalist awakening in the Frontier and wound up with an appeal for communal unity and peace.

The Conference then met in Committee and discussed the resolutions to be adopted at the open session. Four resolutions were finally adopted.

RESOLUTIONS

The first resolution which was put from the chair at the open session referred to the death of Pandit Nehru and Mr. Mahomed Ali.

The second resolution which was carried unanimously ran as follows :—

This Conference, while congratulating the nation on the splendid sacrifices it made in the recent struggle for freedom, notes with gratification the fact that the part played by the Moslem community, in particular Moslems of the Frontier Province, was quite in keeping with its tradition, in as much as over 12,000 Moslems went to jail and a large number of them lost their life and limb and suffered in other ways, thus vindicating the honour of their co-religionists who are determined not to lag behind any other community in the fight for national freedom.

Dr. M. H. Farrouqui next moved

that the Conference regretted that the Local Governments in various provinces had not fully honoured the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, as was evident from the continued detention of many satyagrahi prisoners, including Moulvi Habibur Rahman of Ludhiana, Hafiz Ali Bahadur, Khan Abdul Hamid and Mahomed Siddique of Bombay, Hafiz Mahomed Sami, Peer Mahomed Munis and Sheik Adalat Hussain of Behar, and hoped that they would forthwith be released.

It was seconded by Mr. S. A. Brelvi and passed without opposition.

The last resolution occasioned a prolonged debate. It ran as follows :—

The Conference while strongly condemning communal riots which occurred in Benares, Agra and Cawnpore and other places, causing enormous loss of innocent life and property and dereliction of duty on the part of officials on these occasions, particularly at Cawnpore, offers its heartfelt sympathies to the families of those who fell victims to the communal frenzy, and pays tribute to the rare patriotic sacrifice of Mr. Ganesha Shanker Vidyarthi. This Conference appeals to all communities not to be influenced by the wicked propaganda carried on by certain interested individuals and, in the face of the grave provocation, to preserve peace and thus refuse to play into the hands of the enemies of the country's freedom.

Mr. Malick Barkat Ali, moving the resolution, bitterly criticised the provocative speeches

which were being made by certain communal leaders, in connection with these tragic incidents and were thus attempting to rekindle the dying fire.

Certain amendments calling on the members of the two communities to abstain from mutual recriminations and urging withdrawal of all cases arising out of communal rioting were also passed after some discussion in which Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras and Moulvi Shahid of Allahabad took part.

There was a prolonged debate in the Subjects Committee over the draft resolution regarding the measure and method of representation in the federal and provincial Legislation.

The resolution as it emerged from the Subjects Committee ran as follows :—

Having secured general agreement in regard to the following matters which affect the interests of the nation at large.

(1) That there shall be a provision of fundamental rights in the Constitution guaranteeing to all citizens protection of their culture, language, script, education, profession and practice of religion, religious endowments and economic interests.

(2) That fundamental rights and personal laws shall be effectively protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

(3) That the future Constitution of the country shall be Federal, and residuary powers shall vest in federating units;

(4) That all appointment, shall be made by Public Services Commission according to the minimum standard of efficiency without, at the same time, depriving any community of its fair share in the services and that in case of lower grades no monopoly shall be permitted;

(5) That Sind shall be constituted into a separate province and.

(6) That the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have exactly the same form of Government and administration as the other provinces in British India.

The Nationalist Muslim party strongly holds that the settlement of the outstanding questions relating to the measure and method of representation in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures should be based on the following principles:

- (a) Universal adult franchise,
- (b) Joint electorates,
- (c) Reservation of seats in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on population basis for minorities of less than 30 per cent. with right to contest additional seats.

Having regard, however, to the present unfortunate position of the country, particularly propaganda carried

on by a body of Mussalmans as well as the attitude of certain section of other communities and with a desire to secure a speedy settlement and create a peaceful atmosphere in the country, the Nationalist Muslim Conference is prepared to negotiate for settlement of the outstanding questions on the basis of Joint electorates and adult franchise.

Dr. Ansari, in moving the resolution, made an eloquent speech denouncing the action of those communalists who are at the bottom of all the misunderstanding and trouble.

An atmosphere is being created in which the central problem of Indian political life—an understanding and readiness to co-operate between the two great sister communities of India—is daily becoming more difficult to solve. I appeal to you, gentlemen, to strain every nerve to see that these mischievous designs are readily thwarted.

And he warned his co-religionists of the danger of persisting in a campaign of separatism. Such a policy he said, would ultimately prove suicidal to the best interests of the community.

I wish to tell the Muslim community through you that, apart from wider national considerations, the insistence on separate electorates would prove suicidal to the continuance of the Mussalmans in this country as a political and cultural force of any significance.

Mr. Sherwani, who seconded the motion, said that the separate electorates scheme was being utilised by interested parties for their own benefit. He cited an instance of five Muslim members being returned to the Assembly in 1926 in spite of the fact that they knew not how to write either Urdu or English.

Mr. Meharali (Bombay) moved an amendment urging omission of the clause relating to the reservation of seats for minorities on a population basis. He thought that the reservation clause was added to placate Communalists and added that the Communalist was a walking plague; there was no place for him in the modern world.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani, was specially allowed to speak, on the amendment, which however was opposed by Choudhury Khaliqussaman and others and eventually rejected.

The resolution, as recommended by the Subjects Committee, was carried without any opposition.

The Despatch on East Africa

ON the eve of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastry's departure to England to present the Indian case before the Joint Parliamentary Committee the Government of India have done well to publish their despatch on the scheme of closer union in East Africa. The Government of India's views are in substantial agreement with those of His Majesty's Government but the Indian Government suggest the provision of certain safeguards in the interests of the Indian community.

The despatch explains the opposition of East African Indians to such a scheme due to fears that it might develop into a political coalescence which will reduce the three territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika to provinces of a unified State exercising Executive and Legislative powers.

The Government of India, however, are not opposed to such a proposal for closer union but urge the appointment of at least one Indian from each of the three territories on the Central Council and the retention of the safeguarding clause whereby any matter can be referred to the Colonial Secretary at the request of three members.

There are again insuperable difficulties in the way of closer union as defined in last year's white paper—difficulties aggravated by German opposition to the inclusion of a mandated territory like Tanganyika in this scheme of union. It is therefore a matter of speculation what the Joint Select Committee of Parliament may recommend; but whatever they do, the Government of India will be well advised to stand by the clearly expressed wish of the Indian settlers. If however the scheme should be decided upon

there should be due representation on the Central Council of Indians in the various territories; that if Europeans are allowed to represent natives, Indians also should be allowed to represent them in the same proportion and that the High Commissioner should refer any such measures passed by the Council "to the Secretary of State for the Colonies if it is demanded by any three members."

The Government of India also welcome the proposal for the establishment of a common roll for election to the Kenya Legislative Council and suggest that the inquiry for this purpose should be undertaken as soon as possible. This is a point on which Indian opinion in East Africa is unanimous. As has been rightly pointed out:—

The demand for such a roll is not merely based on sentiment but upon the conviction that the progress and welfare of the colony depend upon a system of representation based upon common electorates; that only such a system would ensure the disappearance of racial differences; and that separate electorates would perpetuate and intensify racial antagonism

The despatch supports the declaration of His Majesty's Government that the interests of the African natives must be paramount and urges that if non-officials must be nominated to represent the natives, the choice should not be restricted to Europeans but should include Indians as well.

The despatch does not refer to other grievances of a specific character "such as the reservation of the Highlands, the ban on the purchase by Indians of landed properties in certain townships, inadequate representation of Indians in the services, and lack of educational facilities."

The problem, of course, should be tackled in a comprehensive fashion and we may trust that Mr. Sastry's intimate knowledge of the situation and his skilful advocacy will contribute not a little to its satisfactory solution.

The Indian Communal Problem

BY DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI M.A., Ph.D.

IT is a matter of national humiliation that the delegates to the Round Table Conference and its Minorities Sub-Committee, even under the consummate direction of the Prime Minister, failed to achieve a solution of the Indian communal problems. It was chiefly because these problems were approached and sought to be solved from a purely communal, and not from the national viewpoint. Each community felt it its duty to push its own claims to their limits, with the result that the differences between communities, instead of being bridged or abridged, became wider and deeper, and the Minorities Committee, instead of achieving concord and conciliation, had to break up in a violent clash of opposed and exaggerated opinions.

This communal problem, apparently laid to earth by the Congress of 1916 at Lucknow, has since travelled from place to place, from Calcutta to Bombay, from Bombay to Simla, and from Simla to Delhi, until it crossed the seas for rest. From London it has now been returned to India for solution. It has been throughout forgotten that the communal problem can yield only to a strictly national point of view.

SIX PROPOSITIONS

This view may be embodied in the following propositions:

(1) Communal Electorate is a negation of democracy and completely incompatible with Responsible Government with a Ministry of persons coming together as belonging to the same party, and not as belonging to the same creed.

(2) Communal Electorate or Reserved Representation is neither adequate nor approved means of protection of Minorities.

(3) All Minorities, as citizens and nationals of the same state, should work a common electorate with Majorities to build up a genuine Democracy.

(4) Majorities cannot fairly claim reserved representation as a statutory guarantee for their dominant position.

(5) Minorities should not claim protection by weightage of representation secured by reducing the weight of other communities.

(6) Minorities are entitled to full protection but only on the lines settled by the League of Nations as the most impartial tribunal.

THE HINDU POSITION

It will appear that the Hindus are likely to assent to these six propositions from the cables sent on the subject in January last to the Prime Minister from a representative meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall and also on behalf of the Hindus of U. P. and of Bihar and Orissa, by their accredited leaders, like the Hon. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, and Mr. S. Sinha, Ex-Finance Member of Bihar Government.

This means

(a) that the Hindus, even where they are Minorities, as in Bengal and the Punjab, will not claim any protection through Communal Electorate or Reserved Representation:

(b) that, in these two provinces, they will be prepared, even as Minorities, to work a Common Electorate with Muslim Majorities, in the interests of a popular, responsible government;

and (c) that they take this position in the expectation that the Muslim majorities in these two provinces will not seek the artificial protection of statutory guarantees for their natural position as majorities by any kind of reserved representation.

THE PRIME MINISTER ON COMMUNAL ELECTORATE

It may be noted that all these six propositions have now received the authoritative approval of no less a person than the Prime Minister of England who declared it in no uncertain terms in

his last speech on the subject of the Round Table Conference at the debate he initiated in the House of Commons. This will be evident from the following quotations from his speech :—

If every constituency is to be earmarked as to community or interest there will be no room left for the growth of what we consider to be purely political organisations which would comprehend all communities, all creeds, all classes, all conditions of faith. This is one of the problems which has to be faced, because, if India is going to develop a robust political life there must be room for National Political parties based upon conceptions of India's interest, and not upon conceptions regarding the well-being of any field that is smaller or less comprehensive than the whole of India. Then there is a modified proposal regarding that; a proposal is made that there should not be community constituencies with a communal register, but that there should be a common register in the constituencies; but that with a common register, a certain percentage of representation should be guaranteed to certain communities. It is the first proposal in a somewhat more attractive, democratic form, but still essentially the same.

It is very difficult to convince these very dear delightful people (advocates of communal representation) that if you give one community weightage, you cannot create weightage out of nothing. You have to take it from somebody else. When they discover that, they become confused, indeed, and find that they are up against a brick wall.

The position, indeed, could not be stated better and more forcefully by a nationalist Indian than by the British Premier, because it is the only position which is compatible with Nationalism and Democracy. What adds special weight to the Premier's conclusions is that they embody not his casual remarks in an after dinner speech but his well-considered and deliberate judgment based on his first hand experience of the issues he had himself handled, and failed to settle, as Chairman of the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, and delivered in his official capacity as Prime Minister to the House of Commons, to rank as a state document of the highest authority.

VIEWS OF MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD

But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as the spokesman of his Majesty's Government, spoke there also as the mouthpiece of the House of Commons which endorsed his views in that debate. Nay, he spoke as the mouthpiece of British opinion in and outside the House of Commons. That well known publicist, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, one of the

best brains in British Journalism, has recently written in the same strain for instance to the *Nation and the Athenaeum* from his first hand study of the communal problems in India. He writes (January 10, 1931) :

The advance will be perilous and unhappy unless the new constitution brings with it the reality with the forms of democracy.

On one condition there ought to be no hesitation, Parliamentary institutions cannot function on the basis of separate communal electorates. While these remain, no stable parties can be formed, nor can the electorate be trained to vote on the social and economic issues which clamour for constitutional handling. If the Moslem diehards veto any voluntary settlement with the Hindus, the British Government must be prepared to dictate. That way out of the impasse even the Muslims in their hearts might welcome. So much in a talk which I had at Delhi, their ablest leader confessed. Back and forward we had argued when at last he startled me by blurting out : " A Government should govern. You all believe in a single electorate. Why don't you impose it ?

With this one change, the possibility of genuine democratic government would begin for India. Parties would be driven to seek support for programmes, where to-day it suffices to appeal to religious prejudices.

A PRIVY COUNCIL JUDGMENT

These views are indeed, typical of entire British political thought. More than a hundred years ago Edmund Burke sounded the first note of warning in his own inimitable language :

Parliament is not a Congress of Ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain as an agent and advocate against other agents and advocates but Parliament is a deliberative assembly of one Nation with one interest, that of the whole : where not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole. (From Bristol Speeches.)

A well known judgment of the Privy Council delivered by Lord Shaw (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants vs. Osborne, L. R. 1910, A. C. 87) quoting the above words of Burke, has gone so far as to hold that the principles of community representation can find no place in the body of English public law.

IS LEGISLATURE TO REPRESENT RELIGIONS ?

VIEWS OF THE PREMIER

And yet English opinion is up against what is a very mild form of the evil. The evil has assumed its most dangerous form and proportions in India, where different communities and Minori-

ties are out to claim that the Legislature is to represent not regions but religions, not areas or interests, but castes and creeds, by a strange electoral system based on 'the grouping of voters by religion in separate communal electorate'.

The system is so strange and impenetrable to the western mind with its democratic outlook that the Prime-Minister was hard put to it in making it intelligible to the House of Commons at the recent debate. He said :—

It is a very curious problem, and if hon. members who are interested in these constitutional and political points care to read carefully the Minorities Committee's Report, I promise them one of the most fascinatingly interesting studies which they have undertaken.

'You build up a Legislature, as this is built up, by constituencies. Voting in constituencies is not to take place and cannot at the moment take place in the way that voting in our constituencies takes place, where you might have an aristocrat as one candidate and a working man as another. You would have your constituencies divided up into sections with a certain number of working class constituencies where no body but working men could run as candidates, a certain number of, say, Church of England constituencies where no body but communicating members of the Church of England could run, until you filled up the hundred per cent. of your constituencies in this way. Then, before any election took place it would be perfectly certain that Church of England people would have, say, 15 per cent. of the seats here, working class, say, 25 per cent., and so on.

Another problem that faces us from that point of view is, if your legislature is to be composed in these watertight compartments, those community-tight compartments, whom are you going to appoint your Executive? The claim is put that the Executive, i. e., the Administration, the Cabinet, shall also be divided into watertight compartments.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATE INCOMPATIBLE

WITH RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Is not such a system the very negation of democracy or responsible Government which the British Government are pledged to grant to India? If, for instance, the Moslem communal claims are conceded in Bengal and the Punjab and statutory standing Moslem majorities are established in the Legislature of these two provinces, the Ministry that must be formed out of such a majority will not be responsible to the whole House but only to a particular section of it, thus transforming Responsible Government into Communal Government, and the Legislature into a Parliament

of Religions, a mere mechanical collection of fixed communal blocks in place of parties forming, growing, and changing on the basis of live and current national issues, social, economic, and the like.

ADMINISTRATIVE EVILS OF COMMUNALISM

Besides destroying the democratic character of the Legislature, communalism also affects Administration in ways which are thus graphically described by Mr. Brailsford in his article referred to :

The absorbing concern of each communal party is to secure for its own co-religionists as high a proportion as possible of jobs, large and small, ranging from Ministerial Portfolios down to the humblest appointments in the Customs, the Police, the Post Office or the Railway. Where entry is by examination, the struggle is transferred to the schools and colleges; and Moslems, who are in the mass rather poorer and much worse educated than Hindus, will fight to secure the reservation of a fixed percentage of places, irrespective of merit, in every Governmental Training College. Not only must there be a Moslem member in every Ministry; one-third of the students in a Veterinary college must look to Mecca for salvation?

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES : THE MINORITIES

GUARANTEE TREATIES OF THE LEAGUE

OF NATIONS

To disallow communal electorate and representation is not to disallow protection of Minorities. On this subject, the position already taken by many Nationalist Indians is that nothing better can be done than to follow the scheme of the League of Nations produced by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the leading Nations of the world to inaugurate the New Order of Peace. This scheme is embodied in standardised settlements called the Minorities Guarantee Treaties which the League has now forced upon more than 20 different states of Europe including Turkey as condition of admission of each state to its membership. Each of these states is thus one party to the transaction and the other party is the league represented by its original members, each of whom is a signatory to it. Among these original members are both India and his Majesty's Government who have thus already signed and bound themselves by that settlement so far as it concerns other sovereign states. The question is,

Why should they not apply it to themselves? How can India be denied the justice and benefits of a settlement which she has herself approved and enforced for other countries? Nay, more: The League has laid down the international law that questions concerning Minorities are to be treated as matters of international concern and not the domestic concern of a particular state.

India has suffered most by her isolation from world politics. Even her membership of the League is not allowed to fully operate as a remedy. It is sought to be made out that Indian Minorities are strange creatures very different from the Minorities of Europe, as if Indians form a separate species of mankind! On the contrary, the problem of Minorities is more a burning problem in Europe where it led to the conflagration of the Great War, and remained a standing block to peace, in all its conceivable complications, difficulties, and diverse features, until it was taken over and satisfactorily solved by the League of Nations. There is no possible aspect of any Minority, Indian or European, which is not covered by that comprehensive solution.

THEIR PRINCIPAL FEATURES

The principal features of that solution may be summarised as follows:—

WHAT IS A MINORITY?

The scheme of the League of Nations begins by first defining a Minority. In India it is left undefined. The result is a multiplicity of Minorities and a race for privileges. In India a Tom, Dick or Harry can get up one fine morning, form themselves into an Association, and proclaim:—We are a Minority: give us special treatment'. The League does not permit Minorities to spring up in this way. There must be very grave and good reasons for which a group of citizens and nationals of the same state can claim any kind of separation and differentiation from the rest.

The League lays down the following conditions for a legal and politically recognisable Minority and provisions for its protection:—

(a) That it must form 'a considerable proportion of the population' which must not fall below the irreducible numerical limit of 20 per cent. of the total population of the country concerned.

It is to be noted that this limit applies only for the state or country as a whole. For its local areas, it is higher. Special treatment is not economically and administratively feasible for microscopic minorities. The Estonian Republic requires a Minority so to distribute itself that it can appear as a majority in local areas to claim special treatment.

(b) That, where a Minority comes up to the prescribed standard of density in its population, it must satisfy the further condition that it differs from the rest of the citizens in such fundamental features as (1) Race (2) Religion and (3) Language and not in any accidental, assumed, or artificial features of its own creation.

The only legal Minorities which the League thus recognises are Linguistic, Racial, and Religious Minorities.

The League rules out Minorities formed on any other principles or interests, political, social or economic, such as Liberals or Communists, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, Depressed Classes or Backward Communities in the social sphere, or peasants and Industrial Workers in the economic sphere. The principle of differentiation for a group must be limited to Language, Race and Religion that it may call itself a Minority. Groups forming on other principles are to be distinguished as *parties* which should not be confounded with Minorities. It is also clear that the condition (a) which requires a Minority to form 'a considerable proportion of the population' necessarily follows from (b) which requires the Minority to differ from the rest of the population in only three respects and no other viz., Race, Religion and

Language. A group of citizens must be sufficiently large in size to form a separate race by itself and develop its own language and religion.

PROVISIONS FOR ITS PROTECTION

(c) That for a minority legally eligible for protection under conditions (a) and (b) aforesaid, the protection legally permissible must be confined to the three aspects or bases recognised for a Minority, viz., Race, Religion and Language. That is to say, a Minority can claim that it must have its racial features and characteristics protected by the state, its particular social customs and personal law expressing its racial individuality; that it must have full liberty to pursue, preserve, and promote its own religion (where it does not offend against public morals and conscience); and that it must be allowed to cultivate and promote its own language by its own resources through its own schools and other organisations. Denominational schools may be granted state-aid provided the number of pupils forthcoming for such schools comes up to the limit prescribed in the League's scheme, viz., 40 for a primary and 300 for a secondary school.

LIMITS TO PROTECTION

(d) That besides the three kinds of protection, the Linguistic, Racial and Religious protection of Minorities, no other kinds or means of protection are permitted to Minorities.

(e) That the following measures for the protection of Minorities are ruled out by the League of Nations, viz.:—

(1) Communal electorates, i.e., grouping of voters by religion.

(2) Communal Representation in the Legislature, i.e., creating religious groups or blocks in the Legislature.

(3) Reservation of seats in the Legislature to different religions.

(4) Common electorate coupled with reservation of seats for each religion.

(f) That the threefold protection of Minorities, Linguistic, Racial and Religious, is to be secured by statutory safeguards, but in all other matters and interests different groups must enter the Legislature by a common electorate, dropping their respective religious or communal labels, and form themselves into parties to promote secular welfare on the basis of their special party programmes.

A study of these and other provisions of the Minorities Guarantee Treaties set up by the League of Nations will show that it was not certainly their intention, (in the words of Sir Austen Chamberlain speaking at the League Council on Dec. 9, 1925), 'to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life but to secure for Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged.' The French representative who followed also said that they must avoid 'creating within a state a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organisation of the country.' The Polish representative uttered the same warning: 'We must avoid creating a state within a state. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group, instead of being fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities will to the last extreme, these Minorities will become a disruptive element in the state and a source of national disorganisation.'

It will thus be seen that, in pursuance of these principles, provisions for protection of minorities in the League's scheme were so framed as to remove all possible disabilities, chances of injustice, or inequality of treatment due to differences of Race, Religion or Language, and not to

build up any structure of positive privileges which might emphasise and perpetuate the aloofness of a Minority and lead to its progressive consolidation as a permanently alien group in the state. This will be clear from the following sample Provisions taken from the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey of 1923 which was also signed by India and England and other original members of the League :

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance admission to public employments, functions, and honours or the exercise of professions and industries.

Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem Minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems.

In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control *at their own expense* any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education with the right to use their own-language and to exercise their own religions therein.

All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

The Turkish Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem Minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those Minorities.

It may be observed that, even this last month of February, 1931, the British Government, as the Mandatory Power in Palestine, has settled on the aforesaid lines of the League scheme of the bitter dispute that recently broke out between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine regarding 'safeguards for their civil and religious rights.' The Prime Minister's last letter on the subject states that 'these words indicate that in respect of civil and religious rights the mandatory is not to discriminate between persons on grounds of religion or race and that this protective provision applies equally to Jews, Arabs and all sections of the population.'

It is to be hoped that the safe-guards for Indian Minorities in the coming constitution will also be framed on these lines given effect to in this the latest decision of his Majesty's Government for Palestine. 'guaranteeing

to Minorities,' in the words of M. Briand, 'their language, their culture, their religion, and their tradition,' in a word, freedom of national-cultural development' or 'cultural autonomy.'

APPLICATION TO INDIA

We may now in conclusion sum up the applications of the scheme of the League of Nations concerning Minorities to India in the form of the following propositions :—

(a) The Minority problem is not a Moslem problem but a Hindu problem in India. The Moslems in the different provinces of India are either in a majority or are in a hopeless minority below the numerical limit fixed by the League; for example, about 6 per cent in Madras, 10 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 4 per cent. in C. P., 14 per cent. in U. P. and 19 per cent. in Bombay. Hindus are in the majority in nearly all the provinces except Bengal and Punjab where, however, they are in a Minority which forms 'a considerable proportion of the population,' as required by the League, more than 45 per cent. of the population, which is much higher than the minimum percentage fixed by the League for a Minority.

The Minority problem is a Moslem problem where the whole of India is concerned, of which the Moslems form about a fourth of the population, and thus satisfy the numerical test imposed by the League.

(b) The Hindu Minorities of Bengal and Punjab are not entitled to any special electorate or any reserved number of seats in the Legislature. They are entitled only to the kind of protection, Linguistic, Racial, or Religious, which the League permits.

(c) Thus the Hindu Minorities of both Bengal and Punjab must be prepared to work a common electorate with Muslim Majorities in those provinces without any reserved representation for themselves in the Legislatures or statutory guaran-

tees as to the number of seats they must obtain in the Legislature through the avenue of the common electorate.

(d) The Hindu Minorities in the two provinces aforesaid are however entitled to the full protection of their language, their religion and their racial characteristics, their social customs and personal law. They can even claim denominational schools out of public funds if they can produce sufficient number of pupils to take advantage of them, 40 in the case of Primary schools and 300 for secondary schools.

(e) If in any local area within the province a Muslim Minority appears to be numerically larger than 20 per cent. of its population, it will be entitled to all the three kinds of protection, Linguistic, Racial, and Religious on the lines indicated above.

(f) Similarly, if the Sikhs who form only about 11 per cent. of the population of the Punjab, and thus fail of recognition as a legal Minority form more than 20 per cent. in certain local areas, there they will be entitled to full protection as indicated above and to denominational schools for purposes of the training of their children in their mother-tongue and religion from public funds.

The Sikh position has been made clear by the patriotic declaration by the Sikh representative to the Round Table Conference, Sardar Ujjal Singh, at its last plenary sitting to the effect that the Sikhs will withdraw their demands for separate electorate or any reserved or weighted representation if the whole of the Punjab is thrown open equally to all creeds and communities for building up a genuine democracy on the basis of a common electorate or constituencies representing only localities or special interests.

It is to be hoped that the whole of India, irrespective of creed or community, will declare itself with one voice against communal electorate or representation which is the very negation of

democracy and is entirely incompatible with, and completely contradictory to, any form of popular, responsible Government, or Dominion constitution, which British policy stands pledged to grant to India.

Will not the different communities and minorities of India, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Anglo-Indians, and Depressed Classes rise to the height of the occasion, and, placing country before community and creed, achieve for their common motherland a sound, stable, and strong democracy comprehending in a common citizenship and nationhood her many races and communities or will they, against the law and constitution of every civilized country in the world, carry their communal differences beyond their legitimate sphere to legislature and administration to split them up into sections and permanently disfigure and disable the entire body-politic?

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INDIA IN PARLIAMENT

IN THE COMMONS

THE outstanding feature of the India debate in the House of Commons on the 12th March was Mr. Baldwin's speech repudiating Mr. Churchill's views on the Indian question and confirming the Conservative attitude to the Round Table Conference.

MR. BALDWIN'S SPEECH

Mr. Baldwin who initiated the debate said that the Conservative Party stood exactly where it stood in his speech at Newton Abbot, when he said that the main objective was an All-India Federation, but there were many grave difficulties. The Party was uncommitted, indeed everyone was uncommitted he said, because it was impossible to pronounce a definite opinion until a definite plan was submitted. They must judge how far it was possible to achieve the federal idea without surrendering the essential safeguards.

Mr. Baldwin, continuing, said there had been recently much excitement about nothing. Government after the Conference made a suggestion, involving sending delegates to India. He himself and the colleagues he had consulted, including the four delegates to the Round Table Conference, were unanimously of opinion that it was the business of the Government of the day to take the matter in hand.

Mr. Baldwin expressed his firm determination to carry out this policy in no niggardly spirit, and said:—

I shall carry out, so long as I am here, that policy. I shall carry it out in no niggardly spirit. I shall carry it out with every desire to overcome the stupendous difficulties that face us.

But if there are those who would approach this subject in niggling, grudging spirit, who would have to be forced out of their reluctant hands one concession after another and if they be in a majority, in God's name, let them choose the man to lead them.

If they cannot and if they are in a minority, let them at least refrain from throwing difficulties in the way of those who have undertaken almost a super-human task on the successful performance of which

depends the well-being, prosperity and duration of the whole of the British Empire.

"I have been told" he continued, "that I have surrendered to Mr. Churchill. (Laughter) There has been no surrender and there has been no victory but there has been the victory of commonsense." Mr. Baldwin concluded by paying a tribute to Lord Irwin saying that such conclusion as had been reached could have been reached by no other Englishman.

MR. BENN'S SPEECH

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India, said that after Mr. Baldwin's historic speech there was really nothing to add from the viewpoint of the Indian situation. He was certain that Mr. Baldwin's words would be read with relief and delight by all sections of opinion in India and no one would be more encouraged in his task than the Viceroy.

If Mr. Baldwin stood by the declaration which Lord Peel had made on January 26—and it was so, Mr. Benn declared—the work on which they all had been engaged would go forward and with success. (Cheers).

The Secretary of State for India welcomed the Irwin-Gandhi agreement and paid a glowing tribute to the Viceroy. After setting out the good effects of the Delhi Settlement, he said that Government had carefully considered the sending of a Parliamentary Delegation to India forthwith to reconstitute the Round Table Conference with the addition of the Congress representatives.

But the advantages of this plan were outweighed by important practical considerations, including the exigencies of the Parliamentary situation and the necessity of much preliminary work in India by Indians.

As soon as the Indian delegates were prepared to resume discussions, it was proposed to invite them and the Congress leaders to London to take up the work of the Federal Structure Committee. He hoped that the Committee would make progress in England during summer and mean-

while the expert investigation of particular problems recommended by the Round Table Conference would be undertaken in India. By this means, the whole problem, it was hoped, would be ready for final discussion early in autumn.

That is the spirit in which we will advance. If anything were needed to prove the necessity for direct contact, it has been the misunderstandings of the last two days, two whispering galleries separated by an ocean. If we can come face to face with our Indian friends, if we can discuss freely our doubts and difficulties, if the mischief-makers will be silent and men will cease to sow tares, then there is a real hope of peace and understanding.

MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

Mr. Churchill was pessimistic about the chances of an agreement among all Indians and such an agreed scheme being endorsed by Parliament and added that the Conservative announcement left undecided the question whether the Conservative Party should participate in any further Conference that might be held in London.

MR. MACDONALD'S SPEECH

The Premier, who wound up the debate, said that he had asked the Government of India through the Viceroy to bring about a meeting of the Federal Committee in England as quickly as possible. "We cannot stand by with all the change that is going on in the East, particularly in India," he said, and added that the Indian problem was a test of Britain's honour and capacity.

We are placing now a test upon the honour of this country, and not only upon the honour of this country but upon the capacity of this country to face a very difficult political situation—a political situation probably more difficult than any Government has had to face before. That is all a new order of things. It grows. I should have liked to hear my Right Hon. friend (Mr. Baldwin) and give the wording of the resolutions which he accepted at the Imperial Conference of 1926. Everyone knows that verbal statements of a logical kind in all constitutions have to be taken as imperfect expressions of living interests. The Right Hon. Gentleman, in his speech, referred to the organic nature of our Empire. This is the only way in which we can face our problem, in the scientific frame of mind, and that is how we are facing the Indian problem now.

THE BOYCOTT QUESTION

The serious condition created in Lancashire as a result of the boycott in India was referred to in

a debate in the House of Commons on Wednesday the 25th March when Conservative members stated that the political element in the boycott had not disappeared despite the Irwin-Gandhi Agreement. They further observed that the boycott was not directed against Japan, which was the main competitor to Indian cotton mills.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, declared that sufficient time had not elapsed to appraise the effects of the Delhi agreement on the boycott of British goods. Referring to the imposition of duties in India, he said, it was impossible for any Secretary of State to attempt to hinder the operation of the Tariff Autonomy Convention which had been accepted by all parties.

Mr. Benn declared that he believed that the Delhi agreement would be honourably discharged. It had restored civil quiet and industry and trade would now flourish. He said, it would be a great mistake to represent that the agreement had been made with a commercial aim.

On April 2 again, Mr. Hacking a Conservative member of the House drew attention to the Agency company and said that pressure was brought to bear on the merchants to join the company: and this he complained was a clear breach of the Irwin-Gandhi Agreement. Com. Kenworthy suggested that the stipulation that a trader making terms with the Agency must undertake not to purchase more British cloth was a violation of the Delhi Agreement.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn declared that members who knew Lancashire's interests intimately were of opinion that they would be best served by the promotion of the spirit of goodwill. He was convinced that the parties to the Agreement intended to carry it out. He said that there was much evidence of their intention to do so both in letter and spirit.

IN THE LORDS

In the House of Lords on March 18 the Duke of Marlborough—a close relative of Mr. Winston

Churchill—drew attention to the “increasing gravity of the situation in India and the adverse effect produced by the Round Table Conference”, and invited a categorical statement regarding the safeguards, which the British Government considered indispensable. He asked for an opportunity for discussing the Simon Commission's report and expressed deep concern at the trend of events and said that the appointment of the Round Table Conference had resulted in ‘jettisoning the Simon Commission's Report.’

LORD SANKEY'S SPEECH

The outstanding speech of the debate was that of Lord Sankey, who spoke on behalf of the Government with weight and authority, having been the Chairman of the Federal Structure Committee of the Conference. The main points of his speech may be thus summed up (in his own words):

The situation in India had greatly improved. The Conference had produced not an adverse but a good effect. The fact that the Conference had gone beyond the Simon Report was due to the patriotic action of the Princes, who declared, on their arrival in England, for an All-India Federation. That was the ideal which the Commission had set before themselves, but they saw it “through a glass darkly”. Now India was watching a dream that was coming to birth. It is perfectly possible to draft a Federal Constitution which will be fair and just to everybody, and the combined wisdom of East and West can and will do so.

As far as British politics is concerned, the future of India does not depend upon party manoeuvres. The collective conscience of the Nation will exercise itself in a matter like this. The Federal Sub-Committee's Report might justly be described as Indian responsibility, with due safeguards for the interests of both Britain and India. The basic assumption of the Report was the recognition of the principle that, subject to certain special provisions, the responsibility for the Federal Government of India should rest upon Indians themselves. The safeguards are indispensable. If they are satisfactory, it will be wise to defer to Indian views and desires on other details, because it is Indians who will have to work the Constitution. It was to be hoped and expected that the safeguards would be rather on paper than in use.

Lord Sankey explained his Committee's proposals and said:

What is to be our policy in India? What do you want? If you choose conciliation you will gain nearly all [you] desire and you will lose but little. If you resort to repression, your difficulties will increase and multiply. Put up the sword. An appeal to force is bankruptcy of

statecraft. You may impose peace, but you will produce a desert. The future of India is no longer in the melting pot. The metal of her new Constitution is being hammered out on the anvil of public opinion.

Lord Sankey referred to the pledges of every party to India and to Mr. Baldwin's speech in the Commons on January 26. He concluded by saying:

My Lords, it is too late to go back. It is by their moral actions, not by their material successes, that Empires are judged at the bar of public opinion and by the verdict of history. It is spiritual things which exalt a Nation, and by them we shall be remembered when our triumphs are forgotten.

Lord Peel while welcoming this declaration wished Lord Sankey had explained how the safeguards were to be worked out so as to form an effective part of the new Constitution.

Lord Reading expressed his satisfaction at the debate having shown unanimity on the main lines of the policy to be pursued in India.

Lord Lloyd who counselled caution, said the Government was going dangerously fast.

Lord Passfield wound up the debate, and the motion was eventually withdrawn.



HEAD OFFICE :—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

E. Sept. '31.

British Trade Rights in India

By SIR P. C. RAY

It was no rabid Congressman but a British historian, H. H. Wilson, who pointed out how the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of



SIR P. C. RAY

political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.' By imposing prohibitive duties in England and keeping the Indian market free, the 'vested interests' of British traders were established. I do not know how everyone in the face of the cotton excise duty which has been even officially admitted to be inequitable can claim that British trade interests are established in this country by fair methods and open competition and without the assistance of the State. In railway rates again, it is common knowledge that the rates are so adjusted and manipulated as to assist the export of raw materials and the import of manufactured goods, that is, to aid non-Indian interests at the expense of Indian interests. Or take the ship-building and shipping industries. Their ruin was achieved by methods similar to those adopted in the case of the cotton industry. The employment of Indian-built and Indian manned ships was prohibited in the trade between England and India. On the other hand, British shipping enterprise in its initial stages was assisted through Government subsidy as shown in Martineau's life of Sir Bartley Frere. The non-Indian inland navigation companies have,

I understand, private agreements with certain State railways for through traffic precluding similar agreements with other, that is Indian, companies.

In banking also it is well known that racial discrimination is made in the matter of credit and Indians despite their assets do not receive the same treatment as Europeans as regards facilities. Lala Harkishanlal in his evidence before the Industrial Commission stated that:

I also know that an application was made by a European to an Anglo-Indian bank for loan and he was first asked to state that his loan would not benefit any Indian in any form or shape or any existing bank in any form or shape; and he was told that if he assured them of that the loan would be negotiated, otherwise not.

Similar instances of differential treatment are known to every businessman and have been brought to the notice of the Banking Enquiry Committees. Moreover, as the exchange business was the monopoly of foreign banks, mostly British, the Imperial Bank was by the Act constituting it debarred from engaging itself in that kind of business while despite its being, in a sense, the bankers' bank, it was allowed to compete with the Indian Joint-stock banks. This is another illustration of the unperceived yet real privilege enjoyed by British trade.

Lastly, the manner in which non-Indians have been assisted in starting and running public utility companies in the important towns of India shows what a 'fair field' there is in the country. You are perfectly entitled to argue that the British rule of India is not exactly a matter of philanthropy and that it is natural that Britishers as the ruling race should benefit by the political connection of their country with this. But in that case the myth that all non-Indian vested interests are legitimately built up or that Indians suffer no handicaps because of their race and political subservience must be abandoned once for all. Let the British candidly acknowledge that they are interested rulers or privileged traders—there is no alternative category.—(From a letter to the Statesman).

THE KARACHI CONGRESS

THE Karachi Congress marks a turning point in the history of that organisation, as after a decade of non-co-operation the Congress has turned its attention once again to constructive work. Just as under Mr. Gandhi's advice it took to non-co-operation and civil disobedience so now in obedience to his command it has turned a new leaf.



MAHATMA GANDHI

The outstanding feature of the session is "the tremendous popularity and importance it has attained in the counsels of the nation, and also the supremely important place which Mr. Gandhi occupies, both as the pilot of that institution and as a patriotic statesman."

Mr. Gandhi has scored victory after victory all along the line. The Delhi Pact has been ratified, and he attends the next Round Table Conference, to all intents and purposes, as the sole plenipotentiary of the Congress.

In a communication to the Press Mr. Satyarnurthy, who participated in the discussions, has drawn attention to the special features of the session :—

Karachi has established a record as the first Congress to be held in March, instead of in December, as was the case in the last forty-five years. It was held under the sky and not under a roof, and within six weeks of the Congress ceasing to be an "unlawful" organisation. Most of the workers for this Congress were in jail until

March 10. Within such a short time the Reception Committee succeeded in achieving miracles

THE CONGRESS EXECUTIVE

The Congress executive met at Karachi on the 27th March and completed drafting five resolutions; one of which while disapproving political violence, appreciated the spirit of Bhagat Singh and his comrades; the next confirmed the Delhi pact, and appointed Gandhi to lead the delegation to the Round Table Conference; the third urged the release of all political prisoners; the fourth conceded the right of self-determination to Burma and the last condoled the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Moulana Mahomed Ali.

When the Subjects Committee resumed on the afternoon of the 28th there was a storm over the annual report of the Congress in which reflections were made on the Indian Press and South India in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement. The report had to be ultimately withdrawn.

The resolution on the Gandhi-Irwin pact was ratified by the Subjects Committee without any amendment by an over-whelming majority.

The Congress having considered the provisional settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India endorses it and desires to make it clear that the Congress Goal of Purna Swaraj or complete independence remains intact. In the event of the way being otherwise open to Congress to be represented at any conference with the representatives of British Government Congress delegation will work for this goal and in particular so as to give the nation control over army, external affairs, finance and fiscal and economic policy and to have a scrutiny by an impartial tribunal of financial transactions of the British Government in India and to examine and assess the obligations to be undertaken by India or England and the right to either party to end the partnership at will, provided, however, that the Congress delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India.

The Congress appoints and authorises Mahatma Gandhi to represent it at the Conference with addition of such other delegates as the Working Committee may appoint to act under his leadership.

Mahatma Gandhi who moved the resolution made a long speech extending over an hour. "Refuse to ratify if you are not satisfied," said

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THE KARACHI CONGRESS

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Mahatmaji. He maintained that the Lahore resolution on Independence was not lowered by the settlement by which Congress was in honour bound to go to the Round Table Conference.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that independent judgment of the House was paralysed by the spell of one man and if the pact was made by any other man than Mahatma Gandhi, he would have been thrown into the sea.

On being called by the President Mr. Subhas Bose made a statement on the left-wing position and said that the Pact was highly disappointing and unsatisfactory, but at the critical juncture of the country it was not advisable to divide the Congress and walk into the trap Government had laid for them by executing Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

Mr. Sen Gupta moved the re-drafted resolution on the release of political prisoners.

A committee to enquire into the riots at Cawnpore was appointed by the Working Committee.

OPEN SESSION

The fortyfifth session of the Indian National Congress began at Surat on Sunday the 29th March in an open air stadium named the "Motilal Pandal" which was packed to overflowing with delegates and visitors.

Shortly after 6 o'clock, the President-elect, Mr. Vallabhai Patel, came to the Pandal in procession headed by volunteers carrying two national flags immediately followed by the Frontier "Red Shirts" playing a band. In the procession were also Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the Working Committee and Mr. Subhas Bose and Mr. Abdul Gaffur Khan.

The proceedings began with the singing of a famous national song of Rabindranath Tagore. Numerous messages of goodwill and support from those not attending the session were noted.

DR. GIDWANI'S WELCOME ADDRESS

In welcoming the delegates Dr. Choithram Gidwani, Chairman of the Reception Committee

paid glowing tributes to the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and Moulana Mahomed Ali. He referred to the traditional amity between Hindus and Muslims in Sind.

In Sind, twelve centuries of contact have created adjustments and understandings between Hindus and Muslims that amount almost to a new culture which, I feel confident, will endure, and grow, in spite of the ugly reactions of recent times.

Proceeding, he said that communal adjustments would admit of no further delay, and they must not go to "Chequers" or Whitehall for a solution.



DR. CHOITHRAM GIDWANI

Satisfaction with the *status quo* had been ruled out by every community that claimed to be patriotic, and he suggested arbitration by one or two men in whom all sections of the people had full confidence.

Passing on to the attitude of Britain towards India's demands Dr. Gidwani observed :

Britain must acknowledge our inherent right to be masters in our own home. She must abandon the insolent theory of trusteeship, agreeing to no longer lecture to the minor wards but to talk on equal terms to the people who are her equals in stature and who claim their rightful equality in status.

Referring to safeguards Dr. Gidwani said :

Every safeguard must be in India's interests and not of England. The Army of occupation as such must go and our financial administration must be as unfettered as that of Britain.

In conclusion he exhorted the Indians to present a united front without which all the dreams of immediate Freedom would be idle fancies.

MR. PATEL'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. Vallabhai Patel's Presidential address was brief and businesslike. It echoed the familiar



SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL

views and sentiments of Mahatma Gandhi, blessed the Gandhi-Irwin pact and declared that

independence does not exclude the possibility of equal partnership for mutual benefit and dissolvable at the will of either party.

Without wasting much rhetoric Mr. Patel went straight to the point :

Your Working Committee has entered into a settlement in anticipation of your approval. You are now invited formally to endorse it. The Committee having accepted it as your accredited representatives, it is not, I take it, open to you to repudiate it; but it is open to you to pass a vote of no confidence in the present Executive, and appoint better agents. But whilst it is but meet that I should draw your attention to the constitutional position, I have no doubt whatsoever that you will endorse the settlement which I hold to be perfectly honourable for both parties.

As regards safeguards, when power passes from one to the other by agreement, said the President, there are always safeguards in the interest of the part in need of reparation or help. He continued :—

The continued exploitation of India for close on two centuries renders it necessary for us to seek assistance in several respects from external sources. This we would gladly take from Britain if she is willing to give it. Thus we would need military skill, and there is no reason why we may not receive English assistance in this direction.

There is no receding from the Lahore resolution of complete independence, the Sirdar continued.

This Independence, however, does not mean, and was not intended to mean, a churlish refusal to associate with Britain, or any other power. Independence, therefore, does not exclude the possibility of an equal partnership for mutual benefit and dissolvable at the will of either party.

Federation is a fascinating idea, but it introduces new embarrassments.

The Princes will not listen to severance, but, if they will come in the true spirit, it will be a great gain. Their association must not be to impede the progress of democracy. I hope, therefore that they will not take up an uncompromising attitude that may be wholly inconsistent with the spirit of freedom.

Referring to the communal tangle, he said :—

The Congress can be no party to any constitution which does not contain a solution of the communal question that is not designed to satisfy the respective parties. As a Hindu, I would adopt my predecessor's formula, and present the minorities with a Swadeshi fountain pen and paper and let them write out their demands, and I should endorse them. I know that it is the quickest method; but it requires courage on the part of the Hindus. What we want is a heart unity, not patched-up paper-unity. Whether unity is reached that way or any other, it is becoming plainer day after day that it is useless to attend any conference unless that unity is achieved.

Turning to the question of the separation of Burma, the Sardar said it was a question for the Burmese alone to decide. He then explained how far picketing and boycott of goods was permissible under the terms of the Delhi Pact. Alluding to the demand of the British commercial community for equality of trading rights with Indian Nationals, the President said :—

We have hitherto occupied a position, in some respects lower than the suppressed classes. The protection of Indian industries and enterprise, to the exclusion of British or foreign, is a condition of our national existence. Even under a state of partnership, protection within even the British Commonwealth is no new fangled notion. It is in vogue in the Dominions to the extent necessary for their growth.

After the addresses were delivered the Congress adopted resolutions condoling the deaths of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Mohamed Ali, demanding the release of all political prisoners, whether violent or non-violent, condemning the Cawnpore

riots and appointing a committee to inquire into the cause of the disturbances.

Pandit Jawaharlal moved the resolution on Bhagat Singh, which, while dissociating Congress from, and disapproving of, political violence, expressed appreciation of the spirit of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, and regretted their execution at this juncture.

THE DELHI SETTLEMENT

On the 30th after three hours' debate, the resolution approving the Delhi Settlement and empowering Mahatma Gandhi to attend the Round Table Conference was passed by an overwhelming majority in the open session of the Congress. The occasion provided a convincing demonstration of the influence of Mr. Gandhi who, concluding one of his most persuasive efforts, said: "I give no promise, no undertaking, that the Congress delegation will bring back complete independence, but I pledge my word that they will not bring back greater bondage."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the resolution and was supported among others by Dr. Ansari, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Dr. M. Alam, Mr. Satyapuri and Mr. Gaffur Khan, familiarly known as the Frontier Gandhi.

Among the oppositionists Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's speech made a great impression. He was puzzled, he said, to find that during twelve months Mahatma Gandhi had given at least five interpretations of independence which even Aristotle could not follow. He was of opinion that the Pact meant the virtual death of the Lahore resolution on independence.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

At the Subjects Committee meeting there was a heated debate extending over many hours over a resolution prepared by Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, and redrafted in the select committee "explaining to the

masses what Swaraj means." The resolution provided among other things for living wage for industrial workers, free primary education, adult suffrage, abolition of the salt duty, a



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

progressive Income-Tax on agricultural income, reduction of military expenditure by one-half of the present scale, reduction in civil servants' salaries, substantial reduction of land revenues and agricultural rent and control by the state of key industries and mineral resources.

In introducing the resolution to the Subjects Committee Mahatmaji said :—

We need not be afraid that the resolution might be the subject of complaint by the British people. We must be plain and frank and tell the world what exactly we want and tell the peasants what the Congress delegation to the Round Table Conference would strive for.

Referring to the reduction of salaries, he said that India could not afford to pay salaries on the present scale.

The re-drafted resolution on Fundamental Rights of Free India as passed by the Subjects Committee was moved by Mahatma Gandhi in the open Congress on the 31st and carried. The resolution defined the fundamental rights under a Swaraj Government, and Mr. Gandhi described it as an elaboration of his famous eleven points, and it was accepted in principle by the Subjects Committee of the Congress.

Mahatmaji declared that the resolution was mainly drafted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who replying to the criticism that the scheme was socialistic said that the time was not yet for a full socialistic programme which might be worked out in India.

The first seven items relate to the Declaration of Fundamental Rights, Religious Neutrality of State and to Labour conditions while the remaining items state that Congress would stand for

- (i) Substantial reduction of Land Revenues and Rent.
- (ii) Imposition of progressive income-tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed income.
- (iii) Graduated Inheritance Tax.
- (iv) Adult suffrage.
- (v) Free Primary Education.
- (vi) Military Expenditure to be reduced by at least one half of the present scale.
- (vii) Expenditure and salaries in civil departments to be largely reduced. No servant of the State to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not originally exceed Rs. 500.
- (viii) Protection of indigenous cloth.
- (ix) Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.
- (x) No duty on salt.
- (xi) State Regulation of Exchange Ratio.
- (xii) Control by the State of key industries and Mineral resources.
- (xiii) Control of Usury, direct or indirect.

It was declared that any future constitution that did not guarantee the rights and scheme as outlined or did not give facilities to the Swaraj India to work it out, would be totally unacceptable to Congress.

BURMA AND FRONTIER

Other important resolutions carried in the Congress included opposition to the separation of Burma and condemnation of Government's "Forward Policy," in the Frontier.

To expedite work seven resolutions were moved from the chair and declared carried without any discussion.

MUSLIM SUPPORT

In moving a resolution on communal riots a statement was made by Maulana Kutubuddin Wali

of Lucknow who assured Muslim support to Congress to establish Indian Rule.

The session continued till far into the mid-night. Utkal was announced as the venue of the next Congress. Mr. Vallabhai Patel, in bringing the Session to the close, said that two resolutions which might be regarded as landmarks in the history of India were those relating to the Delhi truce and to the Declaration of Fundamental Rights. He referred to the anti-Gandhi demonstrations on 25th March and characterised the action of the young men who did it as reprehensible.

No man had ever had a following as Gandhiji had today. The best advice he could give to young men was:

Talk does not count. It is service and it is action which makes men respected.

If you have strength behind you and if you do not approve of the constitution which the country has, as a result of the Round Table Conference, you can always throw it into the waste paper basket; but if you have no sanction of action behind you then thousands of Gandhis cannot get you freedom.

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After the Irwin-Gandhi Pact

It is not to be supposed that a settlement, however perfect, could satisfy all interests and all parties equally. There were of course left-wingers in India, as in England, who felt bound to, repudiate it. But they were in a minority and by no means represented the considered judgment of either people. But still they were vociferous as they always are. Mahatma Gandhi's reply to them was straight and unequivocal.

I will ask the Karachi Congress to ratify the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement and if it was not acceptable to the country, they could move a vote of no-confidence in the Working Committee and elect another Committee and carry on the work of the Congress.

said Mahatma Gandhi at a mass meeting in the Queen's Gardens, Delhi, on the 7th March. The occasion was the distribution of a large number of Red leaflets in which *Young India* (their organ) had announced that the peace ushered in by the Agreement was no peace as the Martial Law and other prisoners, convicted of violence, were still in jails. Mr. Gandhi added that, if they faithfully carried out both in letter and spirit the terms of the compromise, not only prisoners convicted of violence but even Garwalis could be set free. Personally he was for the release of even dacoits and thieves for he was against corporal punishment.

Referring to the cult of the bomb, Mahatma Gandhi said, if they felt that by giving up the path of peace and taking up the path of the sword they could achieve their mission, they must remember that they would not have to sacrifice one Bhagat Singh, but thousands of Bhagat Singhs for which he was not prepared.

Hence I say let us achieve Swaraj by peaceful means which does not require sending a single man to the gallows. If you, on the other hand, take to sword, you must remember that sword will not hurt the Englishman alone. Once the sword gets into vogue, you will not be able to check its course. History is full of such instances. But if you wish to save the condemned persons through this compromise, you must accept it in full and you must scrupulously carry out its provisions and come to me after six months for a reply to your question.

Proceeding, Gandhiji referred to communal differences in the matter of representation in the

Councils and Services, and said that he would give them the same advice to-day as he gave in 1921, that if only one of the two communities would be brave enough to tell the other "Take whatever you want. We shall be content with the rest," the whole communal tangle would be solved. But the Hindus, being the majority community, should take the lead. It was only a question of being brave. He advised the Hindus to give up the spirit of bargaining and follow the course of bravery. The Mahatma continued that in the last twelve months they had disobeyed all laws and Ordinances and still no power on earth could destroy their entity or snatch away their rights. Even if the Mussalmans and all other minorities took away all seats in the Legislature, the Hindus would not lose much.

We want to be humble servants of India and to seek no office. Let us compete as much as we like in the sphere of national service. If this proposition was not acceptable to Hindus let them have done with me, but if they want to establish communal concord they must say that they do not want anything. If they do this you will save India and establish *Purna Swaraj*.

CONSERVATIVE REPUDIATION OF R.T.C.

Meanwhile an important decision reached by Mr. Baldwin that the Conservatives would not be represented at the contemplated sittings of the Round Table Conference in India was revealed on the termination of a meeting of the India Committee of that party at the House of Commons on the night of the 9th March.

The Conservative decision had the effect of a bomb-shell. Not only was the Government surprised, but also the rank and file of the Conservative Party not closely associated with the India Committee.

GANDHI'S REPLY TO MR. BALDWIN

Interviewed on Mr. Baldwin's decision about the non-participation of the Conservative Party in the Indian sessions of the Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi said:—

Mr. Baldwin's statement does not come upon me as a surprise. I must say that the Congress position is

unequivocal and quite simple: the Congress is out to win 'Purna Swaraj' at the earliest possible moment. It will, therefore, look with grave suspicion upon any dilatory tactics. The Conservative fears about the so-called safeguards are justified: the Congress would accept no safeguard which is not clearly proved to be in the interest of India, and those that were discussed in London were certainly not in India's interest.

But the suspicion that the Conservatives were backing out and would not help the Government any further in carrying out the work of the Round Table Conference was dispelled by Mr. Baldwin, Leader of the party, in a speech opening a debate on India in the House of Commons on March 12. Further work of the Conference was the business of the party in power, and the Conservatives, he said, would join when the picture had been filled in. He paid a tribute to the Viceroy for bringing about the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. He added

that he was in complete accord with the policy proposed in India. If he were in power he would carry it out in no niggardly spirit. If his policy was not acceptable to a majority of his followers, he asked them to choose another leader.

Mr. Benn said that Mr. Baldwin's words would be read with relief and delight by all sections in India. None would be more encouraged than the Viceroy.

The Prime Minister, in winding up the debate, announced that he had already cabled to the Viceroy to invite Mr. Gandhi to participate in the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee to meet in London.

RECEPTION AT AHMEDABAD

Meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi saw the Viceroy again on the 7th and left for Ahmedabad where arrangements were made to accord him a magnificent reception, as it was the Mahatma's first entry into his city after the historic march to Dandi twelve months ago. A lakh and a half people waited for hours on the river sands in the scorching sun when the citizens' address and purse were presented to Gandhiji. When Mahatma Gandhi came, the rush of people was so great that several were trampled down

by the onrush of the surging crowd. With the greatest difficulty Gandhiji took his seat on the raised and decorated rostrum. Lady Chinubhai read the welcome address which narrated the various phases of the struggle under his leadership. The address referred to the success of the non-violent struggle and the people's sacrifice "May Gandhiji live long to lead the country to the goal!" concluded the address.

Replying to the address, Gandhiji justified the Agreement and asked the people to respect it in letter and spirit. Proceeding Gandhiji said

that the settlement that had been arrived at was so simple that even a child could understand it and even a child should try to understand it. From the standpoint of the speaker and the Congress Working Committee, they had gone as far as they could in arriving at a settlement. Swaraj was not won thereby but the second door to Swaraj was opened. They were trying to win Swaraj by the willing weapon of Civil Disobedience. Meanwhile, they as Satyagrahis should try to open the door through negotiation and settlement and they should enter if the door was opened. They should fulfil the conditions of the agreement. If they wanted to increase their power manifold, they should effect communal unity, eradicate the drink evil, banish foreign cloth and produce khaddar. Then they would secure "Purna Swaraj."

A purse of Rs. 70,000 and a gold takli were presented to Gandhiji by Lady Chinubhai on behalf of the citizens. The gold takli was auctioned by Sjt. Mahadeva Desai. It was purchased by Mr. Chaitanya Prasad, son-in-law of Sir Chinubhai for Rs. 1,000.

Mr. Gandhi was interviewed by a group of journalists in the afternoon. Asked what he would do if the Karachi Congress rejected the truce terms, Mr. Gandhi said he would not be then called to attend the Round Table Conference. He saw the Viceroy not as Mr. Gandhi but as a Congressman.

Asked if he would visit his Ashram Mr. Gandhi said he could not go because the inmates of the Ashram would drive him out if he went there. He could stay wherever he could get 'bhiksha' (food). He could return to the Ashram only if a constitution acceptable to the Congress was achieved at the Round Table Conference.

TOUR IN GUJERAT

Gandhiji's tour of the Gujarat District especially Bardoli and the taluks that had played so decisive a part in the no-tax campaign was marked by great demonstrations of rejoicing. Everywhere he went, he enjoined the people to pay up the taxes and respect the Pact. In the course of a long statement to the people of Gujarat he observed:

It would be culpable of us to refuse to attend the Round Table Conference.

Referring at first to the need of suspending all fighting activities and undertaking constructive work seriously Mr. Gandhi said that

even as a farmer, after tilling the land, devotes his entire attention to the growing of crops, so should the Congress workers, after a year of destructive work in the form of civil disobedience, take seriously to the constructive side of the Congress programme.

"YOUNG INDIA" AGAIN

This was also the burden of his writings in *Young India* and *Navjivan*. *Young India* which for sometime past had been appearing in cyclostyled form following the confiscation of the *Navjivan* Press under the Ordinance, appeared again in printed form on the 12th March. In the course of his first signed article therein, under the title "How to do it," Mr. Gandhi explained the implications of the Delhi Agreement and the Congress obligations thereunder. He emphasised that, while the truce lasted, it was obligatory on them meticulously to respect laws and orders, even if these appeared capricious. He proceeded to note:

We need not expect a change of heart in the official world all of a sudden.

If we are conscious of our strength and our ability to resume civil disobedience whenever it becomes necessary, we should find no difficulty in obeying even irksome orders.

That was the spirit in which he worked to fulfil the conditions of the truce—a spirit which was fully recognized by H. E. Lord Irwin who, in a speech at the Jaipur Banquet, observed:

Throughout my conversations with Mr. Gandhi, I felt complete assurance that I could implicitly trust his word and I am confident that he will do everything in his

power to give effect to those undertakings which are recorded in the published statement.

IN BOMBAY

Gandhiji returned to Bombay on the 16th March with Vallabhai Patel and Jawaharlal; and thither had come leaders from the Provinces to confer with him on the conditions of the truce. Bombay, as might be expected, gave him a rousing reception, the like of which has never before been witnessed. And yet there was a rumble of discontent among the more extreme wing who expressed themselves in continual interruptions. Even Gandhi was accused of betraying the labourers, while the demand for the release of Meerut prisoners and the Bengal detainees was voiced by Subash Chandra Bose and others. In the midst of interruptions by labour "Red-flaggers," Gandhi declared that he had never betrayed the workers in his life, and that the Congress would stand by the Independence Resolution passed at Lahore, which would be reiterated at Karachi, and a clear mandate given to the Congress delegates to the next Round Table Conference that they should not accept any scheme of Swaraj which did not satisfy the country in the light of his Eleven Points or did not contain the substance of Independence.

LORD IRWIN AND THE MAHATMA

Mr. Gandhi also employed his time in Bombay in calling a Conference of mill-owners and arranging for the relief of sufferers from the foreign cloth boycott. He then left for Delhi and had a further interview with H. E. Lord Irwin on the 19th when he discussed the question of the release of political prisoners in accordance with the Agreement. He had also a long interview with Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary.

The rest of his stay in Delhi was occupied in conferring with the Princes and representatives of the Muslims and Sikhs. At the Princes' Banquet to the Viceroy on the 20th, His Excellency

paid an eloquent tribute to the honesty, sincerity and patriotism of Gandhiji with whom "it had been a pleasure and a privilege to work." His Excellency said now that he would be relieved of his official duties, he would be in a position to go back to England and explain to his people and to his political friends the implications of the truce, and the state of affairs in India.

Lord Irwin declared that Mahatma Gandhi on his side was doing everything possible to convince his fellow-countrymen and to bring about an atmosphere congenial for peace. Lord Irwin, on his part, hoped to do everything to make it possible for England and India to arrive at a peaceful settlement.

On the 21st a number of Round Table Conference delegates and Mr. Gandhi met the Viceroy in an informal conference, when Mr. Gandhi's opinion was backed generally that a responsible British delegation should come out to India at an early date.

THE EXECUTION OF BHAGAT SINGH

While Mr. Gandhi was doing everything to fulfil the terms of the truce both in letter and spirit, there was no end of obstacles. Foremost of these was the hanging of Bhagat Singh and his comrades of the Lahore Conspiracy Case, which, though it was no part of the settlement, was felt by Gandhi as an undue strain on the patience of the public which could not countenance the execution under the orders of a tribunal created by the Ordinance which expired with the truce. The unwisdom of carrying out the execution in the teeth of universal outcry against normal procedure seemed to be in conflict with the heralding of the new era of friendliness and co-operation which was expected to take the place of suspicion and revenge. The Government lost an excellent opportunity for a gesture of magnanimity and goodwill which would have won over even the recalcitrants to the side of reason. Gandhi felt that the sudden execution under such circum-

stances was cutting the ground underneath the feet however technically unconcerned it might be with the terms of the truce. The nation's duty, he said, was clear.

The Congress must not swerve from the path chalked for it. In my opinion, notwithstanding the gravest provocation, the Congress should endorse the settlement, and test its capacity to yield the result hoped for. We must not put ourselves in the wrong by being angry. Let us recognise that commutation of the sentences was no part of the truce. We may accuse the Government of goondaism; but we may not accuse them of a breach of the settlement.

In my deliberate opinion, the grave blunder committed by the Government has increased our power for winning the freedom for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades have died. Let us not fritter away the opportunity by being betrayed into any angry action. Universal hartal is a foregone conclusion. No better mark of respect can be paid to the memory of the deceased patriots than by having absolutely silent and respectful processions. Let the event be one of self-purification and greater dedication to the service of the country.

GANDHI AND THE RED SHIRTS

Thereupon Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Vallabhai Patel, the President-elect of the Congress and other leaders from Delhi arrived at Karachi on Wednesday the 25th morning. In spite of a trick calculated to avoid demonstrations, hostile or friendly, "the Red Shirts," representing the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, greeted Mr. Gandhi with shouts of "Down with Gandhi" and "Long Live Bhagat Singh." While the leader of the party presented Mr. Gandhi with black flowers.

Not content with making hostile demonstrations and practising Satyagraha against Mr. Gandhi, a party of volunteers of the "Naujawan Sabha" besieged the camps of Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal in Congress Nagar shortly after their arrival. They indulged in their usual slogans and threats and refused to clear out of the camp. Eventually Pandit Jawaharlal came out and "faced the music."

They displayed throughout a menacing attitude to the Congress leaders and volunteers and practically held them up more than once. It was left for Mr. Gandhi to bring them over to the side of reason and non-violence (at any rate for the moment) by his wise counsel and

courageous stand. Gandhiji later addressing a public meeting of about 50,000 referred to the Red Shirts' demonstration and said the action of the young men did not anger him, but on the other hand he was pleased with the dignified way they had behaved towards him. They might have done worse. They might have killed him for which none required a premeditated plan.

But none can harm me as long as God wills that I should serve India. But the moment my day comes, none not even the cleverest doctors, could save me.

Proceeding, Gandhiji said their struggle was based on truth and righteousness and they must advance on that basis alone. In short this was Gandhism which the young men were shouting down. Gandhiji continued that the death of him or of all those who believed in Gandhism could not kill Gandhism which was the cult of non-violence and love. On the other hand it was through non-violence that India could show the fight of last year's which attracted thousands of men, women and children to the fray. This would be impossible under violence, and he appealed to young men to come out and embrace his creed. Proceeding, he observed:

If the young men try to make the work at the Congress session impossible, they could not bring back Bhagat Singh. On the other hand they would retard the progress of the country. I aspire for Swaraj—Ramraj or Government of peace and love—which alone could be achieved through non-violence. This is my only dream. I live, I eat, I walk, I speak, and I move for that dream alone, but the day my inner voice tells me that the country has no longer need for me and I am convinced that the people have refused to respond to my call, I will starve myself to death.

THE KARACHI CONGRESS

Gandhi then had a talk with Mr. Subash Chandra Bose the leader of the Naujawan Sabha and was able to persuade him to fall in with the Congress view. Thereupon Mr. Subash made a statement declaring that the Red Shirts would do nothing to impair the authority of Gandhi and the Congress—a declaration which set at rest all fears regarding the peaceful conduct of the sessions. The Congress Subjects Committee met on the 28th

and adopted by an over-whelming majority, the resolution of the Congress Working Committee ratifying the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement and choosing Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the Congress Delegation to the Round Table Conference with a mandate to demand Purna Swaraj with such adjustments as might be necessary in the interest of India.

Mahatmaji assured the Subjects Committee that the terms of the Truce did not in any way bring down the prestige of the Congress. On the other hand it had added considerable strength to the Congress. In the open Congress it was left to him to support the resolution which was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal. The Congress unanimously stood by him and gave him full authority to negotiate with the Government in the name of the people.

No promise has ever been made, and no promise is being made now, that if the Congress deputation goes to the Round Table Conference either here or in England, and enters upon further negotiations, the deputation is going to bring Purna Swaraj. Purna Swaraj will come when the full authority of the Congress has been manifested, and not a minute before. All that I promise faithfully on my own behalf and that of the deputation, which you may wish to send is, that we shall not be disloyal to the Congress in any shape or form.

With these striking words Mahatma Gandhi wound up the debate on the resolution on Congress participation in the Round Table Conference.

The resolution was supported by many leaders of note. A few including Mr. Jamnadas Mehta of Bombay opposed it. Eventually, the resolution was put to the House and carried practically unanimously amidst deafening shouts of "Vandemataram" and "Gandhi-ki-jai."

Another resolution to which some objection was taken by a few Congressmen was what is known as the Declaration of Fundamental Rights, embodying Mr. Gandhi's famous eleven points and a few more which Mr. Jawaharlal had introduced into it. But Gandhi sponsored the resolution and, as might be expected, he had his way. There was no doubt that everyone was anxious that Mr. Gandhi should

have a free hand and should be unfettered in the exercise of his powers. Congress had gained greatly in prestige under his authority and every section of the house, was prepared, in the interest of Congress discipline, to abide by his counsels. Mr. Gandhi's hold on the Congress and the country was thus supreme at the time and the Karachi Congress gave him an unrestricted mandate and invested him with full authority to speak and act in the name of the country.

Fresh from his triumph at Karachi, Mr. Gandhi turned his attention to the solution of the communal problem which he rightly regarded as the greatest obstacle in the way of India making a unanimous demand for freedom. Accordingly he proceeded to Delhi where the All-India Muslim Conference was sitting and tried to get into touch with the leaders of the League with a view to reach a settlement. But in this he was disappointed. After an interview with the leaders, he issued a statement in which he pointed out that his view on the Hindu-Muslim question was that of full surrender to any unanimously expressed wish of the Mussalmans and Sikhs. Before he cultivated Hindu opinion, he wanted to have that formula, but it had not been forthcoming. He added that he was unable to identify himself with any solution based on communalism.

OPENING THE FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS

On April 7, Mr. Gandhi opened the session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce before a distinguished assemblage, including Sir George Schuster. He said that Swaraj meant the rule of justice, therefore the Englishmen's rights must be protected. The problem was like the one he faced in South Africa during his talks with General Smuts. Mr. Gandhi was told that the real problem was that the South African settlers wished to safeguard their civilisation against Eastern influences and domination. Mr. Gandhi conceded that the view-point of General Smuts could similarly be applied to India.

She wished to preserve her civilisation against inroads by other civilisations. If Englishmen and foreigners respected the Indian civilisation and lived as true servants of India, they had a most honourable place in the country.

Urging the Federation leaders to capture the Congress Mr. Gandhi said that the entire Congress strength was derived through adult franchise. Indian nationalism was such that they neither wished to exploit others nor allow others to exploit them. The Federation leaders could capture Congress not by means of the purse, but by greater sacrifice for the masses.

Gandhiji then left for Amritsar to attend the meeting of the Sikh League. He was given a rousing reception by the whole people and on the 8th April was presented with an address by the Municipality.

Gandhiji, then returned to Ahmedabad and he sent the following message to the Gujarat Vidyapith on the occasion of its Convocation. The message congratulated the Vidyapith graduates on their sacrifices in the last struggle and that Mahatmaji expected a great deal from them. Mahatma Gandhi continued in his message:

You must be experiencing the atmosphere is at present surcharged with violence. I do not want to go into the causes why it does not gather much force, but I remind the graduates that they are and ought to be the embodiment of non-violence and truth. If they have properly imbibed the spirit of truth and non-violence, then alone they will be able to dispel and clarify the clouded atmosphere of violence to a great extent.

GANDHIJI IN BOMBAY

But Gandhi arranged to be in Bombay to bid farewell to Lord Irwin and had his last talk with His Excellency on the 18th April. He also interviewed the Governor of Bombay in connection with the carrying out of the truce terms, particularly with reference to the restoration of confiscated lands in Gujarat. The conversations were, in the nature of the case, private but; it was understood that the retiring Viceroy earnestly pressed Mr. Gandhi to attend the Second Round Table Conference in London. On the same day the Corporation of Bombay presented an address to Mr. Gandhi—an address which paid a glowing tribute to the services and achievements of the Mahatma to the country.

Financial and Economic Notes

BY "SHANKER".

THE GOLD DELEGATION AND THE RESERVE BANK SAFEGUARD

THE Gold Delegation of the League of Nations has published its second Interim Report which will be of special interest to India in connection with the proposed safeguard regarding the creation of a Reserve Bank for India. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee felt that it would be impossible, under present conditions, to create a Reserve Bank with sufficient gold and sterling resources. It was presumably working under the scheme of the Hilton-Young Commission which suggested a gold backing of 40% to the total liabilities of the Reserve Bank with a margin to allow for emergency expansion. The Gold Delegation has, in view of the imminent shortage of gold basis for monetary expansion, suggested that Central Banks should attempt to work with a smaller ratio, about 35% of gold assets. If this is accepted, as we should, in consideration of all circumstances, the gold requirements for our Reserve Bank need not be more than seventy-five crores of gold and sterling, which the Government of India now have in their Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves. Even if we allow for the Reserve Bank to assume a Rupee Redemption Fund as proposed by the Hilton-Young Commission, the shortage will be only five crores for providing a forty per cent. backing of gold assets. If the present ratio of exchange reflects the true external value of the rupee, the Reserve Bank's gold assets are bound to grow every year and there need therefore be no fear in starting it even now.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS

Another matter of interest in connection with the proposed safeguards is the report of the International Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners. The Minorities Sub-Committee proposed that existing vested interests should be secured

for Britishers. In the first place, any such safeguard should apply to all foreigners in India. Secondly, the principle involved throughout the discussions of the League Conference was that certain spheres like key industries, state controlled services and monopolies, coastal trading and river navigation, peddling and hawking (meaning the retail trade), insurance companies, and possibly banking, could be reserved for the nationals of the country. The right of foreigners is with regard to the promotion of international trade and commerce and this rightly begins and ends with the port towns and with the wholesale selling and buying at those centres. It is not intended that foreigners should enter into the field of domestic marketing or of manufactures or industries.

The same standard should be set to determine what existing rights should be safeguarded for foreigners and, in-so-far as any rights were acquired under the present Government, which do not harmonise with the canons described above will be subject to restriction and modification in the future if the Dominion Government of India should find it necessary to protect Indians from competition in these spheres. The doctrine would naturally apply also to the banking system and the foreign banks may be required to confine themselves to the port towns and the financing of the foreign trade.

THE PROTECTION FOR WHEAT AND SALT

The Government have just been able to pass certain measures for the protection of wheat and salt. In regard to the latter, the Tariff Board had pointed out that foreign salt was being widely sold in Bengal at cheaper rates than Indian salt. In regard to the latter it was pointed out that though more than one million tons of wheat was lying stored in the Punjab, the Australian product could be landed at Calcutta and even Karachi at cheaper rates.

The cost of transport from Sydney to Karachi or Calcutta is only eight annas per maund while the railway freight is Re. 1-8-0 from Lyallpur to the ports. The Government, rather than make the wheat move by a special freight rate for wheat, have made both kinds of wheat costly to the consumer, without guaranteeing that the Indian product is made to sell.

In most agricultural countries there is a prohibition of imports of the commodities produced in the country. This prohibition may be legal or moral and may be lifted in times of scarcity due to famine, but will be operative in keeping off the foreign product in times of plenty. Such prohibition should also be enacted in India as the present measure is purely of a temporary nature.

In the case of salt, the true form of relief will be the reduction of the salt tax so as to make it no more costly than the foreign product. No amount of production will help to create the proper market for Indian salt unless the railway tariff is also suitably altered.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FIRST MILLION

Sir Alexander Loveday recently broadcast a speech from London, in which he expressed his opinion that the problem of unemployment in England is somewhat more complex than is generally supposed to be. Of the two and a half million unemployed people in that country, there are two divisions. The first comprises what he called the first million of primary unemployment and the other is the one and a half million of secondary unemployment. The latter have been created by the present acute depression and may be expected to disappear when equilibrium is again restored between agriculture and industry and industrial products are again in demand. But the former is a more or less permanent liability to the nation and must be relieved by permanent and radical schemes.

The primary unemployment is due to the introduction of improvements in machinery and

the replacement of human agency in production. In fact, as the *New Leader* fears, such may be the progress achieved by large scale production that it may be possible for the capitalists to increase the primary unemployment in Britain by another million or two, without at the same time, improving the financial status of the nation. The more unemployed there are, the more will be the cost of social services and the higher will capital have to be taxed. Even the most Conservative Government cannot hereafter afford to sit quiet and watch millions of human beings die of starvation.

There is a very important lesson for India to learn from this exposition of Sir Alexander. It is not so necessary for us to manufacture more goods and compete with other products both at home and abroad, as it is that the manufacture of these goods shall be accomplished with the *maximum amount of human labour*. In other words, if handspinning will employ more individuals than mills, the former is to be preferred. In the same manner, it is necessary that the nation should give preference to cloth woven in handlooms than to mill products. It is far better to give the ordinary villager a chance of earning his livelihood and, if possible, pay for the education of his children, than that industry may be in the hands of a few and *free primary education* be given as a matter of charity.

The national policy should therefore be to encourage the individual to earn a living. Of course, even in the matter of cloth, it will be impossible for India to do away with foreign cloth without utilising the production of the mills and, to this extent, their existence will be welcome. But, in the near future, they may have to take more to producing yarn than to weaving, except those kinds of fabric which the handloom cannot cope with and which are essential.

Indian Chambers' Federation

It was in many ways a unique gathering that met at the old Assembly Chamber in New Delhi on April 7. For the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry was attended by members of Government on the one hand and members of the Congress Working Committee on the other: and this gathering of distinguished officials and non-officials, of merchant princes and politicians was addressed by Mahatma Gandhi who inaugurated the proceedings with a notable speech.

LALA SHRI RAM'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Lala Shri Ram, President of the Federation in his welcome address, said that there was a general lack of confidence in the country and there were



LALA SHRI RAM

no signs whatsoever of any serious constructive effort on the part of the Government to raise the country out of what is veritably a slough of despond. He said the major causes of depression in trade in European countries did not apply to India, much of whose suffering was due to the currency policy of the Government. He added:

It is no use persisting in a policy which was based on a belief, which the events have conclusively shown to have been a wrong one. In the absence of any tangible evidence of an effective international co-operation for the purpose of stabilising the value of gold, the best policy

for this country would be for the present to let the exchange take its own course. The Government having lowered the country's credit were not justified in opposing the transfer of control to responsible Ministers. Economic reconstruction could be tackled only by a minister who could rely on popular support.

Referring to the impending changes in the constitution and the delegation of powers to the Provinces he warned that the development of the industry and the tariff policy of the Central Government are intimately related.

Lala Shri Ram regretted that the Congress resolution on the declaration of rights had been passed hurriedly and hoped that in the economic field the Congress would first consult the Federation. He maintained that the statutory safeguards for British interests would be of no benefit, and he assured the British people that Indians wanted an honourable place within the Empire. The commercial community, he assured Gandhiji, was in no way behind any section of the country in seeking the substance of Swaraj so that Indians be masters in their own house.

GANDHIJI'S SPEECH

Gandhiji opening the proceedings referred in Hindi to the President's remarks regarding British traders in India. He said that as by Swaraj he meant rule of justice, the Englishman's right in India must be protected, but the problem was like the one he faced in South Africa. During his talks with General Smuts he (Gandhiji) was told that the real problem was that the South African White settlers wished to safeguard their civilisation against Eastern influences and domination. Gandhiji willingly conceded that point of view to General Smuts. The same was the problem in India. She wished to preserve her civilization against inroads by other civilizations. This had been done by England and the U. S. A. Two civilizations could not work together. Therefore subject to this that Englishmen and foreigners respected Indian civilization and lived as true servants of India, they had a most honourable place in it.

He asked the Federation leaders if they so choose to capture the Congress which could not be done by means of the purse but by greater sacrifice and work for the masses. There could be no more democratic basis than that for the constitution of the Congress which had worked for ten years on the basis of adult franchise. To those who ridiculed the idea of adult franchise at present, his answer was that not only the Congress had worked it successfully without proper resources but that the entire Congress strength had been derived through it. Englishmen and English women had an honoured place in the Congress and he wanted Englishmen to join the Congress.

There is always the door open for a person like Mr. Andrews. Our nationalism is such that we neither wish to exploit others nor will allow others to exploit us. If the commercial community which rendered valuable service to the Congress movement made still further sacrifices the movement for Swaraj would become irresistible.

RESOLUTIONS

Sir George Schuster, Finance Member of the Government of India, addressing the Federation the next day made an important statement in defence of the Government's currency and exchange policy.

The Federation discussed, and eventually passed, a resolution urging drastic retrenchment in every department of national expenditure, regulation of the currency and fiscal policy to promote the productivity of the country, asking the Government to stop further efforts at maintaining the value of the rupee at 1s. 6d., and expressing amazement at the Government's determined persistence in maintaining exchange at that ratio on the eve of the transfer of finance and commerce to popular control.

Another resolution drew attention to the protests against the proposal to separate Burma from India and desired that the decision should be left to the Burmese. A third resolution urged employers of labour to bring about improvements in wages and in the hours and conditions of work.

The Federation also adopted a resolution urging the Government to make India self-supporting in the matter of salt supply, to give effect to the Tariff Board's report on the match industry and to the recommendations of the Hide Cess Committee, to give protection to the tanning industry and to take steps for the development and protection of a national mercantile marine.

Sir George Rainy, Commerce Member, replying to the criticisms of the Government assured the Federation that there was no sinister motive behind the Government's actions. He explained the measures being adopted by the Government in this direction and expressed the hope that the Round Table Conference would find a commercial agreement which would be to the mutual benefit of India and England and would result in goodwill between the two great nations.

By far the most important resolution passed by the Federation was the one which disapproved clause 14 of the Minorities Sub-Committee of the R.T.C. and refused to agree to any restrictions on the discretion of the future Government of India.

It was laid down that restrictions would so fetter the future Government as to render it powerless to protect or promote indigenous enterprise. The Federation expressed the opinion that no reservations or safeguards of any nature whatsoever would be acceptable unless they were proved to be in the interests of India.

The agreement referred to above precluded discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies, trading in India, and the rights of Indian-born subjects and foreshadowed an appropriate convention based on reciprocity for the purpose of regulating these rights.

The Federation also lifted its boycott of the Round Table Conference and nominated Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. Jamal Mahomed (of Madras) as its representatives at the Second R. T. C.

The Gathering of the Princes

By A "CHRONICLER".

THIS year's session of the Princes' Chamber which met at New Delhi on the 16th March had a record attendance, in view of the fact that the Princes had to consider the important issues presented by the Round Table Conference. In his opening address the Viceroy referred to the work of the Round Table Conference and welcomed "the statesmanlike decision which the States' representatives took to join with British India in the constructive work of fashioning a constitution for the complete unity of this great country."

Lord Irwin reviewed the work of the Chamber during the last ten years of its existence and hinted that the Chamber might now yield place to a bigger Chamber of a Federated India. He declared that there had been a steady improvement in the standard of administration in the States during the past few years and outlined the duties of a ruler and the essential conditions for the welfare of his subjects.

Lastly the Viceroy expressed the opinion that the Princes' personal and dynastic relations were likely to lie through the Viceroy with the Crown and under the same guarantees as heretofore.

After the conclusion of the Viceroy's speech, the Maharaja of Patiala made a statement on the work of the Princes' delegation to the Round Table Conference, explaining their position in relation to the federation scheme.

Two resolutions were passed; one embodying the air-convention referred to by the Viceroy, which provides, *inter alia*, for the prescribing of prohibited areas in the States in normal times and of places for landing; the other asking that there should be no objection to the inter-linking of the telephone systems of adjacent States.

The Chamber met again on the 18th when the Maharaja of Bikaner presented a lucid statement reviewing his work at the Assembly of the League of Nations and Imperial Conference.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala proposed and Maharaja of Patiala seconded the vote of thanks to Bikaner for his meritorious work at both the Conferences.

The Viceroy in associating himself with the remarks of Kapurthala and Patiala said the reports of the work done at the League bore testimony to the close contact between the politics of India and the world. The motion was adopted and the Chamber adjourned for the day.

At the meeting of the Chamber the next morning the Maharaja of Patiala moved a resolution of fervent loyalty and devotion to the Throne, which was passed unanimously.

Among the other resolutions passed in the Chamber the same day were (1) appreciation of the warm interest of His Majesty's Government and Parliamentary Parties in securing to Indian States their rightful place in the future constitution of the Government of India (2) authorising on behalf of the Chamber representatives to carry on discussions and negotiations subject to final confirmation and ratification by the Chamber and each individual State. The resolutions relating to the Round Table Conference are important because the Princes have agreed to accept the Federal idea.

On the 20th, the concluding day of the session, the Nawab of Bhopal was elected Chancellor in succession to the Maharajah of Patiala. The Standing Committee of the Chamber was also elected, its members being the Princes of Nawanagar, Alwar, Bikaner, Patiala and Dholpur.

The concluding business of the session was a speech by the Maharaja of Patiala, the retiring Chancellor. In reply to the Viceroy's opening address His Highness urged the early establishment of direct relations between the Viceroy and the States still in relationship with Provincial Governments.

Lord Irwin expressed his gratitude to Their Highnesses, bidding farewell to them, and the session was thus ended.

NEW RATES OF INCOME-TAX

THE following are the new rates of Income-Tax as recommended and certified by H. E. The Viceroy and passed by the Council of State:—

A. In the case of every individual, Hindu undivided family, unregistered firm and other association of individuals not being a registered firm or a company—

	Rate.
(1) When the total income is less than Rs. 2,000	Nil.
(2) When the total income is Rs. 2,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 5,000	Six pies in the rupee.
(3) When the total income is Rs. 5,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 10,000	Nine pies in the rupee.
(4) When the total income is Rs. 10,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 15,000	One anna in the rupee.
(5) When the total income is Rs. 15,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 20,000	One anna and four pies in the rupee.
(6) When the total income is Rs. 20,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 30,000	One anna and seven pies in the rupee.
(7) When the total income is Rs. 30,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 40,000	One anna and eleven pies in the rupee.
(8) When the total income is Rs. 40,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 1,00,000	Two annas and one pie in the rupee.
(9) When the total income is Rs. 1,00,000 or upwards	Two annas and two pies in the rupee.

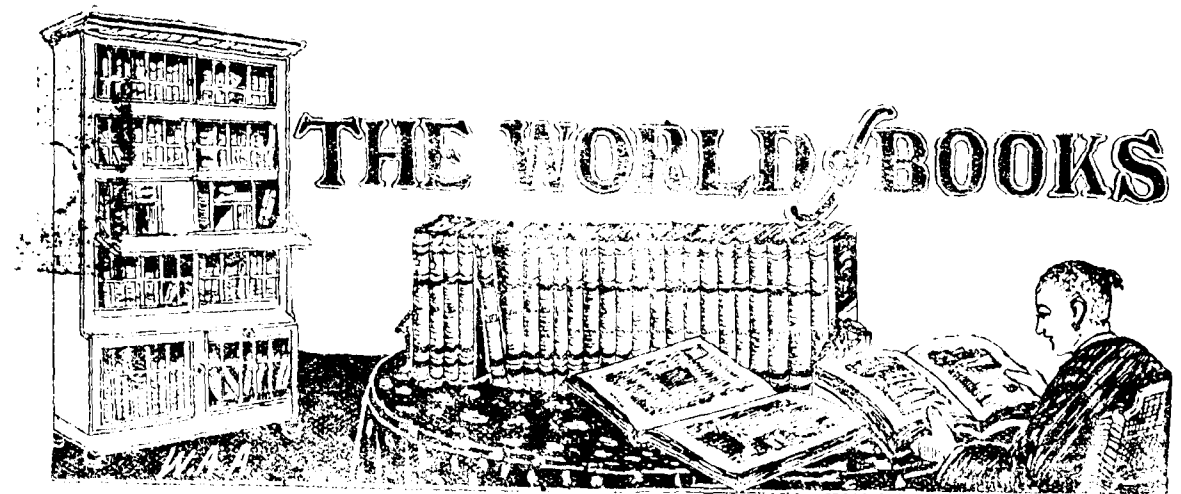
B. In the case of every company and registered firm, whatever its total income—

Two annas and two pies in the rupee.

RATES OF SUPER-TAX

In respect of the excess over thirty thousand rupees of total income—

	Rate.
(1) In the case of every company—	
(a) In respect of the first twenty thousand rupees of such excess	Nil.
(b) for every rupee of the remainder of such excess	One anna in the rupee.
(2) (a) In the case of every Hindu undivided family—	
(i) in respect of the first forty-five thousand rupees of such excess	Nil.
(ii) for every rupee of the next twenty-five thousand rupees of such excess	One anna and three pies in the rupee.
(b) In the case of every individual, unregistered firm and other association of individuals not being a registered firm or a company—	
(i) for every rupee of the first twenty thousand rupees of such excess	Nine pies in the rupee.
(ii) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	One anna and three pies in the rupee.
(c) In the case of every individual, Hindu undivided family, unregistered firm and other association of individuals not being a registered firm or a company—	
(i) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	One anna and nine pies in the rupee.
(ii) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Two annas and three pies in the rupee.
(iii) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Two annas and nine pies in the rupee.
(iv) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Three annas and three pies in the rupee.
(v) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Three annas and nine pies in the rupee.
(vi) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Four annas and three pies in the rupee.
(vii) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Four annas and nine pies in the rupee.
(viii) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Five annas and three pies in the rupee.
(ix) for every rupee of the next fifty thousand rupees of such excess	Five annas and nine pies in the rupee.
(x) for every rupee of the remainder of such excess	Six annas and three pies in the rupee.



MORAL SENSE. By James Bonar Law, LL.D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

The work under review represents the latest addition to the well-known Library of Philosophy Series edited by Professor J. H. Muirhead. It aims at tracing the origin, growth and decline of the theory of Moral Sense which had prevailed in Great Britain and Ireland for the greater part of the eighteenth century, and is thus mainly historical in character. The book begins with an exposition of the theories of Moral Sense according to Shaftsbury and Hutcheson, the two leaders of what has come to be known as the school of Aesthetic Intuitionism, and subsequently it deals with the ethical doctrines of their principal followers and critics, such as Butler, Hume, Adam Smith and Kant.

The work, as is evident from the profuse and valuable references at the end of every chapter, is the result of a very careful and extensive study of the literature bearing upon the subject, and the exposition is delightfully clear and systematic. The only thing which is not very convenient, and might try the patience of a curious reader, is the absence of references in foot-notes, all the references relating to a certain chapter being given at the end of it.

On the whole there is very little to be said against the author's interpretation of the various theories of Moral Sense dealt with in the work

and of the criticism of its opponents. The author does not claim to put forth any moral theory of his own. His remarks, however, at the end of the book, are true and genuinely philosophical with reference to both the theory of Moral Sense and Moral Philosophy in general. 'For our present discussion,' says he, 'it is enough to say that, even as an occasional refuge when others fail, the theory of a Moral Sense is without a patron, whether as an organ of perception or as a fount of principles.' Then again: 'New words must be added to the moral language when new ideas call for them; we may take Green's simile quite seriously, and regard society as standing to character as language to thought. We must use the powers bred in us by society to alter that society itself, the thought reacting on the language.'

THE CARPETS OF PERSIA. By Cresssey Tattershall. Published for the International Exhibition of Persian Art Royal Academy by Luzac and Company, London.

The book gives a general account of Persian Carpets. The author has clearly stated their technique, design, colouring and classification. He gives the key to find the dates of the carpets and also explains a method of study. The book will be indeed very useful to those who use and admire the Persian carpets.

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CHRISTA SEVA SANGHA. By J. C. Winslow. S. P. G., London. One shilling.

"When you bring Christ to us," said Ram Mohan Roy, "bring Him not as a civilised European but as an Asiatic ascetic whose wealth is communion and whose riches are prayers." Almost a century later, the *Sangha* translates into action this message. Started in 1922 in a village, the *Sangha* has expanded and its head *ashram* is now in Poona. The *Sangha* and the *ashram* form a blend of Catholic (Eastern) and Hindu practice. The *Sanyasis* who inhabit the *ashram* are of all races and castes but vegetarians, celibates, and wearers of *Khaddar*. The mode of life is Hindu, also the food and dress. The forms of worship, prayer and praise are those of the Eastern Orthodox Churches, while the music and outward rendering are Hindu.

The effect cannot be measured by tangible results which are scant. The underlying goal is the opening (wherever possible) of a village *ashram* as the centre of a devotional, religious life. It is the ancient Vedic ideal. Mr. Winslow (the *Acharya* of the *Sangha*) has given a modest account of the experiment which takes us out of the beaten track.

BUX. By Hans Possendorf. Chapman & Hall. 1931. 7/6.

A circus performance or a fairy tale is a thing to which both old and young are equally attracted. The story is primarily concerned with Bux alias Willbald Buschbaum who is the clown in the circus. Bux is suspected of the murder of three persons at different times, and it ultimately turns out that the murders were committed by his pet elephant. Bux marries after a romantic period of love making the lady of his heart, but the marriage leads to tragic consequences. The story itself is thus very interesting but the author has given us very vivid pictures of life behind the circus.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KASHMIR. By Pandit Gwasha Lal. Published by Apla's Commercial Corporation, Srinagar.

This short sketch of Kashmir history is prefaced with a note on the charm of the happy valley, the Ultima Thule of Hindu pilgrims and another on Kalhana who wrote his famous History about 1150 A.D. The legendary origin of Hariparbat, the Baramulla Pass and Jaldhar, of Pravarasen and his city of Srinagar is followed by the tracing of Asoka's connection with the land and the coming of Buddhism. The rule of Tartar and Indo-Scythian Chiefs including Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, the raids of the White Huns and of Mihirakula (the Indian Nero) Matrigupta and Durlabhavardhana bring us on to the 7th century and to firm historical ground. Lalitaditya Muktapida, Jayapida and Avantivarman raised Kashmir to a quasi-imperial status in the 8th and 9th centuries. The succeeding centuries of confusion are depicted in detail by Kalhana and Jonaraja. The Muslim epoch began in 1340 A. D. and was rendered illustrious by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, of blessed memory. Akbar's conquest of the valley rendered it the Mughals' summer resort and produced the Shalimar. Subsequent Afghan and Sikh rule and the Dogra dynasty in power are all sketched in outline. At the end is an account of the Kashmiris and their achievements, intellectual, artistic and otherwise.

SUPERIORITY OF VEGETARIAN DIET. By S. A. Asana, B.A., B.L. Published by the Madras Vegetarian Association. Copies can be had of the Secretary, 'Tharaka Vilas,' Cathedral Post, Madras. Price Annas Eight.

This is an interesting essay written from the scientific and hygienic standpoint in a simple and straightforward manner. The relevant statistical and scientific information are clearly explained. The booklet deserves wide publicity.

FACTORS IN INDIAN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. BY. N. S. Nilakanta Iyer of Idigarai, Coimbatore.

In this booklet of less than 90 pages, an attempt has been made to deal with most of the problems confronting India, in a spirit which can be best described as "ultra-modern". More than a hundred authors have been pressed into service. We cannot entirely agree with the general outlook of the author. Many of the statements, which the author accepts with hearty approval, have been vigorously challenged in this country. His advice, "either Westernise or clear out" is, to say the least, capable of modification. He accepts Sir Basil Blackett's dictum: "The fundamental reason for India's peculiar economic conditions is to be found in the Hindu social system, the doctrine of Karma, the absence of effort for material progress and the active determination of Brahminism to perpetuate age-old social outlook, enshrined in the caste-system." Students of Indian public finance hold a different view and Sir Basil himself ought to know that none of the factors mentioned by him (unless it be the people's karma) was responsible for his disastrous decision to fix the rupee ratio at 18d.

Take again this sentence of Aldous Huxley: "Spirituality, ultimately the product of climate, is the primal curse of India and the cause of all her misfortunes." We may expect many people in India to differ.

INDIRA DEVI: A ROMANCE OF MODERN POLITICAL INDIA. By A. Subrahmanyam. (Advocate, Nellore). Ganesh & Co., Madras.

This story takes us twenty years into the future, to 1951. It is declared as having been written with a political purpose, but this statement seems unnecessary and unjustified by the contents. There is enough story to sustain the novel. The book seems to want to concentrate on the excesses of a democratic party hostile to the Brahmin

which brings in absurd legislation like one to force persons to marry those of another caste or religion than their own. The social mixing of Europeans and Indians in such conditions (chiefly of intermarriage) as are pictured in the book is impossible now and more so hereafter. The villain of the story is a Muhammadan Nawab who worries Indira Devi with unwelcome love, and an English officer delivers her from his clutches. The author has no doubt thought much on the communal and religious differences making democracy so difficult in this country, but he offers no profound suggestions. It must be difficult to make a novel serve a political purpose, and the author may write a story without such external impositions. He is already bold in his imagination and shows considerable powers of constructing a story, and he may improve considerably avoiding occasional crudities of conversation and of language.

We wish however to express a partiality for books of this kind. The author of "Indira Devi" deserves to be congratulated heartily for his most promising venture to depict modern India under British rule, even if the venture is capable of being improved upon considerably.

A PREPARATION FOR SCIENCE. By Richard B. Gregg. Published by Narayan Dwarakadas Parik, Mahamatra, Gujrat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad. Price Annas twelve.

Mr. R. B. Gregg sprang into fame as the author of the noteworthy 'Economics of Khaddar'. In this book he tries to utilise the experience he gained in Indian villages for planning out a scheme of scientific education for the village children. It is intended chiefly for the Indian village teachers and it takes special notice of the peculiar conditions prevailing in Indian villages. The book is certain to prove of great value to all interested in rural education.

REGULATION OF BANKS IN INDIA. By M. L. Tannan. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

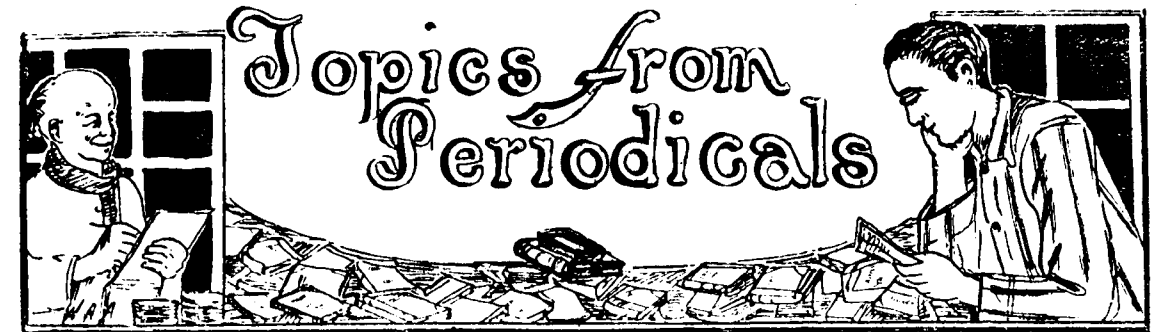
This is a short sketch about Government regulation of banking and the history of recent attempts in favour of banking legislation in India. A few suggestions are put forward mainly for Indian joint-stock commercial banks and for the regulation of foreign banks doing business in India. Insistence is laid upon the maintenance of a proper reserve and on the need for distribution of risk by restrictions on loaning. Lumping of items should be prohibited in balance sheets; and there should be frequent publication of statements of position. A suggestion is made that a bank inspection section should be added to the Finance Department of the Government of India under a Director-General of Banks, with an Inspector-General in each province. Such an organisation is desirable for the purpose of collecting and publishing statistics. Another idea put forward says that permission from suitable authority should be obtained before any person can put the criminal law in motion against a bank. The need to safeguard Indian depositors in foreign banks and to protect Indian banks against foreign competition is also urged; and several suggestions are made for regulating foreign banks.

PERSIAN ART. Cloth boards 3/6. Sewn 2/6. Published for the International Exhibition of Persian Art Royal Academy 1931, by Luzac & Co., London.

This is a collection of Essays on Persian Art, edited by E. Denison Ross. The essays on "Persian Painting" by Laurence Binyon, on Architecture by K. A. C. Creswell, on Pottery and Glass by Bernard Rockham, on textile art and metal work by Leigh Ashton, and on Early Persian Art by C. F. Gadd, are very interesting and show great research. Art lovers and art critics would find the book highly useful.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE INKY WAY. By Mrs. C. N. Williamson. Chapman & Hall, London.
- THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS. By Santosh Kumar Das. Mitra Press, Calcutta.
- THE VEDIC GODS. By V. G. Rele, L.M. & S. D. B. Taraporewala, Bombay.
- AN OXFORD PORTRAIT GALLERY. By Janet E. Courtney, Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.
- L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI. A Biographical Study. By Leo Proserpio, S. J., Mangalore.
- THE SUBJECT AS FREEDOM. By K. Bhattacharya, M.A. Published by G. R. Malkain Amalnar, Bombay.
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- OUTLINE OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A. Ph.D. Chakrabarty Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta.
- VOYAGE OF A NATURALIST. By Charles Darwin (World's Classics). Oxford University Press.
- UNCLE REMUS. By J. C. Harris (World's Classics). Oxford University Press, Bombay.
- RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM AND THE FEDERATED STATES OF HINDUSTAN. By Akshay Kumari Devi, Vijayakrishna Bros., Calcutta.



THE CHURCH IN SOUTH INDIA

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Whitehead, ex-Bishop of Madras recounts in the pages of the *Church Overseas* for January his experiences of the work of the Christian church in South India. In South India in particular the work of evangelisation has gone on with the untouchables, with more or less satisfactory results. The intelligentsia have hardly been affected. Says Dr. Whitehead:—

The way of approach to the outcastes is free from many of the special obstacles that beset the approach to the intelligentsia and the caste Hindus. Racial pride, passionate devotion to the traditions of Hinduism, the reaction from Christianity as a religion brought from the West, the false conscience and indifference to historic facts that have been created by the religious philosophy of Hinduism—all these are entirely absent from the outcastes. For a thousand years their traditions have been those of slavery, oppression and contempt; treated as untouchable, their pride has been trampled in the dust; taught by their caste masters that their suffering and misery are due to sins committed in a former life, and that it is impious to try to remove them, they are ready to accept the call to repentance and the promise of a free forgiveness.

Thus it is easy for the church to deal with the outcastes who are easily susceptible to missionary influence. And it has been altogether for their good. For we see wherever Christian missions have been at work among the outcastes there has been rapid progress.

There are now, as a result of about eighty years' missionary work, very nearly a million Christians in that part of India, and they are increasing at the rate of about 50,000 a year. And the main evangelistic force that has brought into the Church of Christ this large number of converts is the changed lives of those who have already become Christians.

Some idea of the rapid growth of Christianity in the Telugu country is given in Dr. Whitehead's

record of his travels in the south with the Bishop of Dornakal.

During the last five years about 12,000 of the caste people have been baptized in that area through the changed lives of the Christians. Two years ago I visited, with the Bishop of Dornakal, a village which is the headquarters of a rural deanery in the Dornakal diocese. On the Sunday morning I had the privilege of celebrating the Holy Communion in the village church. Among the communicants nine different castes were represented, from the Brahmans to the outcastes. In the afternoon Bishop Azariah, together with the Indian priest in charge of the deanery, baptized by immersion in the river 175 new converts. Of these 152 came from various castes. The problem of the approach to the outcastes is thus rapidly changing in the Telugu country to the approach to the caste people through the outcastes.

The most obvious and striking difference between the approach to the intelligentsia and caste people in the towns and the approach to the outcastes in the villages is that in the former case the approach is mainly to individuals and in the latter to groups or large masses. And the people are quite alive to the very material advantages of conversion. A few years ago the Bishop of Dornakal visited a congregation composed of recent converts from the outcastes of one of the villages in his diocese. He asked them what benefits they had gained by becoming Christians.

The people joyfully answered; "We are much better off," and it was obvious from a casual inspection of the village that this was the case. The village was kept clean, the houses were neat and tidy, the children were washed and decently clad. There was a general feeling of well-being about the village in spite of their poverty. Then the bishop asked: "But have you not received any other blessings?" The people replied at once: "Oh yes, we don't get ill." And it was a striking fact that in the village no Christian had died during the preceding year, and there had been remarkably little illness among them.

THE PRESS AND PARLIAMENT

The recent fulminations of the Rothermere press against Mr. Baldwin and his supporters has naturally suggested the title of this article in the March *Fortnightly*. The writer of the article, the Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton, P.C., M.P., has been a member of the House of Commons for 26 years and has also been a frequent contributor to the daily, weekly and monthly Press as well as the Editor, for a time, of a periodical. He points out that the rivalry between press and Parliament to direct and influence public opinion is as old as either institution.

If that portion of the popular Press which, since the War, has done its best, both overtly and covertly, to lower the prestige and belittle the actions of Parliament, were to disclose its real motives, it might suffer unpopularity. No one really wishes the Press to control our destinies, however much some may deplore the incompetence of Parliament in doing so. Since "dog does not eat dog" the rest of the Press is disinclined to unmask the batteries of its powerful contemporaries. As for the politicians, they have a not ungrounded fear of attacking the Press, which is considered to have such a powerful influence in marring or making the careers of those in public life.

Now at times the fighting is open but for the most part it is insidious. As Lord Winterton puts it figuratively "the combatants remain in covered and indeed camouflaged trenches in which intense sapping and mining go on day and night.

Prominent statesmen and equally prominent newspaper men meet at public banquets and extol each other's virtues; the burden of their speeches is always that the two professions are complementary to each other and cannot do without each other. That is true in a sense, but has never and will never prevent their rivalry. They are competing for the public favour as surely as do the cinema and the stage. These two institutions are complementary in the sense that you must instil in the individual a desire to see dramatic presentation in some form before he or she will pay money to enter a theatre or a cinema.

In these days of specialisation and mass production the opposing armies are well organised and munitioned.

The circulation of the popular newspapers of those days was much less than it is to-day, and Press combine were fewer and on a smaller scale. The controllers of those combines were not known to the public as well as they are now, and none of them, of course, had held ministerial office, as later some of them did during the war. Statesmen and politicians on both sides of the House had the advantage of a faithful party Press with it is true, a lower circulation, but a greater prestige, than that of the new popular Press. Unlike the latter, these party newspapers did not attack individuals within their party or run political "stunts" at the command of their owner. A party and its leader knew that unless they did something incredibly foolish or outrageously mischievous they could count on the firm support of their Press; equally they knew whether they did well or badly they would have to face the consistent hostility of the Press of the other party. Both these factors had a steady effect on policy and outlook.

But public favour is capricious and the press that caters to the demands of the public, in order to increase its circulation which is the source of its strength and resources, can hardly act on well defined principles. It cannot stick up to its position when once it finds the people anxious to change their interests. Its policy is seldom consistent and is generally dictated by considerations of expediency and circulation. Then it becomes a public danger as its responsibility is never more insistent than the responsibility of the elected persons who undertake to guide and direct the destiny of the nation.

But all newspapers are not irresponsible busy bodies and "the responsible Press" in England is unequalled anywhere for accuracy of news and sobriety of judgment. It, together with a number of weekly, monthly, and quarterly journals, maintains the prestige which the British Press enjoys in foreign countries.

It may be objected that Press criticisms of Parliament and attacks on politicians could not be persisted in if it were not for popular support. That may well be so, though the public has not a very accurate diagnosis of what is wrong.

The mistakes that are made, and the disappointment that is caused, is not due primarily to the faults of politicians or the inadequacy of parliamentary machinery to suit the needs of the times. Politicians are often blame-worthy and the procedure of Parliament is often fatuous, but the Public themselves and the Press who encourage them are the chief culprits.

"GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT"

The *Empire Review* for March has some very pertinent remarks on the British parties and their attitude to the situation in India. It recognises that perhaps the most important achievement of the Round Table Conference is the opportunity which it has provided for the inauguration of a positive and constructive policy towards the Indian problem. The conclusions of the conference have in no way tied any body's hands. But the federal idea holds the field:

Within the four corners of this idea, the military and financial safeguards, upon which the Conference rightly laid stress, must be fitted. The shaping of a new Constitution will be neither easy nor rapid. But Federation plainly provides the one possible exit from an otherwise hopeless impasse. This is the real answer to Mr. Winston Churchill and to those who think with him. To talk of surrender, or of abdication, gets us nowhere. We have so to adapt our policy as to make it fit with the requirements of the time. A contented India is an Imperial asset; a turbulent India an Imperial liability. And, although we can govern India by force, we cannot by force compel her to trade with us. In fact, our own interests, no less than those of India, point directly to the necessity of a "gentleman's agreement" between this country and the leaders of Indian Nationalism.

The centre of gravity of political interests, has, since the conclusion of the Round Table Conference, shifted from London to India. But the writer warns that the moral impetus provided by ten weeks in St. James's Palace is not inexhaustible. For delay of any kind, he fears, will merely strengthen the irreconcilable elements in India.

Lord Irwin acted reasonably in releasing Mr. Gandhi and certain other Congress leaders; if only because you cannot get a man in prison to see, until he resumes his touch with ordinary life, that the circumstances in which he went to prison have been modified. The difficulty about Mr. Gandhi personally is that he is not interested in constitutional reform; and schemes of government mean little to him. He cares far more about the prohibition of alcohol and of intoxicating drugs, and the promotion of hand loom weaving, than about the relative merits of a Unitary and of a Federal Constitution.

But the enthusiasm of Mr. Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the interview with Lord Irwin must have opened, says the writer, to the possibilities of constitutional arrangements.

To us it seems unlikely that the interviews between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Irwin, and the continued conversations which have been carried on between the Round

Table Conference delegates and the leaders of the Congress, will lead immediately to any very startling or dramatic results. But that eventually the scheme propounded at the Round Table Conference will cut the ground from under the feet of the Indian Left Wing in politics is certain. Indeed, there are already signs that this is beginning to happen; but, although the political atmosphere of India is likely to change for the better within the next few months, it is necessary to remember that the Indian problem can only be solved by patient persistence in a policy at once sensible and generous.

THE RETURN OF PEACE

Writing in the current issue of *Triveni*, the Editor in his Current Topics welcomes the cessation of hostilities as a result of the prolonged interviews between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin. This, he says, is but a prelude to the convening of another Round Table Conference in which Congress will participate and help to evolve a constitution for Swaraj India. For the terms of truce indicate that each side has shown commendable anxiety to restore normal conditions and settle down to constructive work. Thus has been achieved "a moral triumph rare in the world's history and absolutely unique as between a dominant and a dependent nation."

Here it was not a victor that dictated terms to the vanquished, but the representatives of two great nations—good men and true—that discussed all problems in a friendly spirit and explored the avenues to peace. The spirit behind the agreement is thus of greater import than the terms.

For the first time in recent years, the Congress and the Government of India have been brought face to face, not as opposing powers claiming the nation's allegiance, but as the Governments of to-day and of tomorrow. The Congress is no longer a mere deliberative organisation 'ventilating grievances' and pressing for reforms, but the incarnation of the National Will—the one body which the Government of the day must satisfy and treat with. The discussions of Gandhiji with the Working Committee on the one hand, and of Lord Irwin with the Executive Council on the other, have taken on the character of deliberations of cabinets of equal rank, preparatory to the conclusion of an alliance of amity and friendship. This is an immense gain from the national point of view, even apart from what is yet to follow.

Mahatma Gandhi has once again demonstrated that he is essentially a man of peace.

Where smaller men would gloat over their triumphs, he is filled with humility and calls upon his followers to be likewise. His success at the present moment is of happy augury not for India alone but for the world, for, has he not shown that in the strife between nations there is a power mightier than the sword? Verily is he the Prince of Peace, the harbinger of a new era in human history.

THE INDIAN ARMY

Mr. G. T. Garrett, writing in the *Nation and Athenaeum* draws attention to the question whether the present organization of the army, against which Indians have been protesting for the last half a century and more is "the result of our deliberate 'policy' or is an inevitable development due to Indian conditions." He writes:—

It may be necessary to remind English readers that three quarters of a century ago the Indian army was far more of a national army than it is to-day. It contained 215,000 Indians and only 40,000 Europeans as against the present proportion of 150,000 Indians and 60,000 British troops. The Indian troops were drawn from all parts of the peninsula, instead of entirely from the Punjab and the United Provinces. They had their own artillery units from which they have been debarred since the Mutiny and no attempt was made to introduce that counterpoise of natives against natives inside the army which has been a feature of the organization since 1860. The pre-Mutiny army was a national army, organized for the purpose of defence and aggression; it was turned into an army of occupation definitely under British control.

TYPES OF CIVILISATION

"The problem of Indian freedom, as I understand it, is not one of paper-resolutions but of men—creative men!" says Prof. T. L. Vaswani in *Dawn*, "men who would not imitate, but men who hear the call of the Future and believe in their creative 'shakti' to make India not in the mould of England or Russia or Turkey but 'Herself'—a new nation, an India greater and mightier than she was even in her ancient past."

"Will India's young men help her to fulfil her high destiny? Then must they combine the modern spirit of science, technics, and criticism with the wisdom of the Rishis. For the Rishis developed a wonderful science—the Science of Man-Culture. It is the need of this Civilisation."

PAN-EUROPA

In our last two issues, a writer has discussed the possibilities of a United States of Europe. Apart from its possibilities, what are its advantages to the world and its dangers? Mr. David Mitrany discussing the hopes and dangers of this movement in the pages of the *Political Quarterly*, points out in the words of Count Condemore-Kalergi that "the Pan-European movement is not a movement for world peace but for union, similar to the movements for German and Italian union in the nineteenth century. These movements for union were inwardly also movements for peace." But outwardly? Mr. Mitrany answers:—

"International economics and politics can no longer be divided into watertight compartments, and far from resenting it, we use all our ingenuity to further the process of interchange. Indeed, none are more active in this than those economic factions which—on the Continent, in England, in America—are at the same time demanding to be protected from the rest of the world. In this paradox lies the answer to the question put in the title. Pan-Europa, Imperial Crusade, American isolation—they all and equally are the last ditch of the old doctrine of sovereignty, which taught that, for a nation, the ultimate test of law and morals lay in an enclosed territory and not in a universal principle. To widen the territory is merely to "rationalise" nationalism. Its size in no way affects the fact that to isolate a region politically is tantamount to claiming for it immunity from the fundamental rules of conduct which man, at his greatest, has proclaimed in his ethics and religions. As a philosophy of international society, therefore, those ideas hardly go beyond that which has prevailed since the creation of the sovereign national states. And, whatever man's professions, his practice rarely excels the law he accepts."

TEACHING OF HISTORY

Writing under the heading "Education for human brotherhood", in the *World Unity* Prof. Rufus M. Jones says that History teaching ought, as far as possible, to be liberated from the incubus of propaganda. One of the most terrible devices for the distortion of truth and for the permanent injury of souls, is, according to the writer, the use of a history class room for the cultivation of hate in innocent young minds towards the people of a rival nation or race.

"It is bad enough to use the scenes of past battle-fields for the purpose of arousing national pride and for glorifying one country at the expense of another one, but it is far worse to make use of battles and of the enflamed passion that has been born of past wars to create a new passion in the hearts of children that can be cashed in as an asset toward preparation for new wars. History impartially taught can be made one of the most potent forces of culture for the discovery of the laws of life and for the formation of social ideals."

The honest use of history as a genuine method of culture ought to be as sacred an obligation, opines the Professor, as is the impartial study of the laws of nature.

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE

"In literature we have to allow for the play of fashion a greater extent than in science. We see the idol of one generation being rolled in the mud by the next; never did it seem so dangerous to die as it does just at present in the world of letters," writes Maude Petre in the *Dublin Review*.

"... There is no finality in human art, nor in human science. In spite of ourselves, we are apt to think at each stage of human development, that we have reached some point of rest. If we accepted more thoroughly and inwardly the notion of knowledge as a continual process there would be less talk of youth and age in questions of literature; there would be less conflict of faith and unbelief in matters of science."

PROLEGOMENA TO FASCISM

Mr. C. E. M. Joad analyses in the *Political Quarterly*, certain tendencies operating in the minds of politically minded young men just reaching maturity. There is among them a dissatisfaction with the labour movement and a searching for new outlets. The less intelligent have heard the voice of Lord Beaverbrook; the more intelligent and less easily caught have yet to find their affinity. The primary object of dissatisfaction is the rule of old men, who are indistinguishable in motive, outlook and attitude from the statesmen of the war era. They are failing in the face of the economic catastrophe; and it is thought by these men that only a drastic reorganisation and reform of the nation's finances can bring any lasting improvement. They consider that government is the expert's job and the present system of the election of the rulers is bad. They are for the abrogation of national sovereignty and the subordination of national governments to the arbitrament of some central international authority, by whom war can be prevented. They demand the control of the birth-rate, in accordance with the principle of the optimum population, both for the world and for individual states. They want an international economic board for the control and rationing of raw materials, as the only alternative to imperialism and wars. They are dissatisfied with the class-conscious approach to politics and talk in national terms and of the possibility of a super-national government. They condemn party politics as merely a political game and as not fulfilling its primary object of producing a body of men willing to govern. They want the remodelling of the Parliamentary system, the relegation of some of its functions to other bodies. They thus display a conflict between a Socialism which is vestigial and a Fascism which is incipient.

INDIAN FREEDOM & WORLD POLITICS

Under the caption "Indian Freedom and World Politics" Dr. Tarakanath Das contributes an article to the January number of the *Modern Review*. In it Dr. Das says that when one examines the present tendency of world politics it becomes clear that Britain's position is not so very secure nowadays as it was once. For, at the outset it must be recognised that the result of the last Imperial Conference does not speak for solidarity among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, in matters of Imperial economics and commerce. In spite of all talks and exchange of fine expressions about Anglo-Indian relations, naval rivalry and extreme commercial competition among the two nations exist. British statesmen fully realise, says Mr. Das, that Britain cannot fight America and so they have surrendered to American demand of naval parity. To sum up, Britain cannot count on the help of Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, China or Japan if any war breaks out between England and any European Power. On the contrary these powers may take advantage of such a situation to embarrass Britain. Mr. Das continues:—

In any European conflict of the future Britain will be involved seriously. It is generally expected that Britain will take a stand in favour of that group which will oppose Soviet Russia. It is to be expected that during the next European war, Britain will follow the same policy of strengthening her position in Asia as she did during the World War. Britain could play a dominant role, during the world war, because India supplied about a million soldiers and spent hundreds of millions of pounds sterling for the safety of the British Empire. In any conflict in Asia which may be directed against Soviet Russia and her allies Turkey, Persia and others. Britain will need two to three millions of Indian and Arab soldiers to fight for the glory of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Just as a few years before the War Britain conferred Dominion Status upon the Boers in order

that they might not join with the Germans in Africa, says Mr. Das, some British statesmen are now anxious to bring about a new Federated India in which Indian Princes and loyalist moderates may play the role of the defenders of the British Empire, by supplying Britain with men and money and to prevent Indian nationalists from making common cause with Britain's enemies. For

Britain's economic and international position is such that in any major conflict among nations in which she may be involved *without Indian support she will be doomed to failure*. Therefore the present Round Table Conference on India, held in London, is devising some means by which Indian support will be reasonably guaranteed during the coming conflict in Europe. Britain will try to convince the world and ignorant Indians that she was very generous to India and has willingly agreed to confer some kind of limited self-government, *with certain vital limitations*, upon the Indian people. But, the fact which the Indian public should realize, is that Britain cannot maintain her present position as a great Power economically and politically, without Indian support. (*What is the price Britain is willing to pay to secure Indian support?*) This being the case, it is to be expected that a true Indian statesman should not act as a "beggar seeking crumbs from Britain's table." On the contrary, he should demand and secure legitimate price from Britain for Indian support in world politics. Indian statesmen, anxious to support British rule in India, should enquire from British statesmen what will be the price they are willing to pay to secure India's support in world politics.

INDIA, A FEDERATION?

By Sir Frederick Whyte. Rs. 2-12.

INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Rs. 2-8.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

By R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B. Rs. 4 net.

GROWTH OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION AND CONSTITUTION

By Prof. B. G. Sapse, M.A. Rs. 4.

RECONSTRUCTING INDIA

By Sir M. Visweswaraya. Rs. 5-10.

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

SCIENTIFIC RELIGION

The bringing about a union between science and religion, in place of the conflict which has been raging between nations in the East as well as in the West, will make the beginning of a new era in the life of the human race, writes Babu Bhagavan Das in the pages of the *Theosophist*. Mr. Bhagavan Das says the signs are now hopeful.

Slowly the artificial barriers are breaking down between science and science, between science and religion, between religion and religion. It is beginning to be recognized and said that sciences are not many but that science is one. It is to be hoped that before very long, with the help of that same completely unified science, it will soon come to be recognized that religions, too, are not many, but that religion is one, and finally that science and religion are but different aspects of, or even only different names for the same great body of Truth and its application which may be called the Code of Life.

Modern Science which was fathered in its infancy and persecuted in its youth by religion, now endeavours to repay the kindness after having retributed the injury by renovating religion in its finer form.

With the breaking of the fences between science and religion and by the fuller scientific thought will come the breaking of the hedges between religion and religion: then it will be possible for the artificial boundaries which now separate country from country to be obliterated, and the barriers to be cast aside which divide nation from nation in head and in heart. Then may the new civilization dawn, dreamt of by the poet and the socialist, and idealized and also practicalized by Manu; then may be realized the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World, the Organization of the whole Human Race in one vast Joint Family and Brotherhood.

The League of nations tries to fulfil in a way (though only in a small degree) the writer's hopes.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PRESS

Mr. C. P. Scott, writing in *The Political Quarterly*, says that the first duty of a newspaper is to select and discriminate in the collection and distribution of news. The acid test of quality, according to President Wilson, is to respond to each demand of the people; the folly of the newspaper is to affect omniscience; but its function is to supply all the material needful for those that know. It should also supply some guidance in the maze of things, and act not merely as

purveyor, but also as interpreter; and there are cases in which nothing is so misleading as bold fact; to be understood it must be seen in its whole connection, as part of a process and not merely as an incident. This work of interpretation makes a demand not only on knowledge, but also on an impartial temper. Impartiality is a poise of the mind and not merely indifference. The first condition of a real understanding is perhaps a sympathetic approach. Serious mischief is easily done by newspapers: there may be no actual perversion of the facts; a judicious selection may equally suffice; and this will be effective apart from any real malice. That is why sources of information are so important and the responsibility of the purveyors of news is so great. The important may be shown as unimportant, and *vice versa*, by devices so simple and innocent as types, head-lines, position on the page etc. The newspaper has to adjust itself to differences in time and space; it has to over-leap barriers; its interests should be as wide as the field that invites them; indeed not be without allies or scorn the expert; but it must observe them carefully. The newspaper stands to interpret and where it can, to help.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

SOME ASPECTS OF HINDU MUSIC. By Srimathi Ragini Devi. [Triveni, Jan.-Feb. 1931]

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNALISM IN INDIA. By Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D., [The Modern Review, April 1931].

THE BRITISH IN INDIA: MATERIAL SUCCESS AND SPIRITUAL FAILURE. By Robert Sencourt, [The Aryan Path, April 1931].

THE INDIAN CHURCH AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION. By Rev. Stephen Neill, [The Church Overseas, April 1931].

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT ON THE THOUGHT OF THE WEST. By Swami Ashokananda, [Prabuddha Bharata, April 1931].

ARITHMETIC IN ANCIENT INDIA

Mr. Charles Johnston, I. C. S. (Retd.) writing in the April number of the *Prabuddha Bharata* under the heading "The destiny of India," says that recent books seeking to give a general account of philosophical and scientific thinking have shared the shortcoming that they begin everything with the Greeks and practically ignore India thereby throwing the whole subject out of perspective. He says :

We find Laplace, who died more than a century ago, pointing out that it was India that gave us the ingenious method of expressing all numbers by means of ten symbols, each symbol receiving a value of position as well as an absolute value, a profound and important idea which we now so completely take for granted. Laplace adds that the very simplicity of this system of ten numbers, and the great ease which it has lent itself to all computations, put our arithmetic in the first rank of useful inventions. We shall appreciate the grandeur of this achievement the more when we remember that it escaped the genius of Archimedes and Apollonius, two of the greatest men produced by antiquity.

The importance of these Indian numbers, popularly mis-called Arabic; of the cipher, or zero, also borrowed from India; and of the system of value by position in virtue of which the number one has different values when it is the first figure of ten, a hundred, a thousand, and so on, is worked out in detail by Dr. Tobias Dantzig in his new book on *Number, The Language of Science*. He proves to demonstration that we are debtors to India both for the scientific and for the practical development of arithmetic. The most matter-of-fact merchant makes obeisance to the Rishis when he adds up the totals in his cashbook. He uses symbols borrowed from India every time he writes a check. As suggesting our debt to India in other fields of mathematics, we may follow Dr. Dantzig in quoting from the Brahmin Bhaskara, who is assigned to the twelfth century of our era, a sentence which has a singularly modern flavour :—

'The square of a positive number, as also that of a negative number, is positive; and the square root of a positive number is twofold, positive and negative; there is no square root of a negative number, for a negative number is not a square.'

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

Under the caption "The British in India," Mr. Robert Sencourt contributes an article to the April number of the *Aryan Path*. He says that the Englishman has, for the most part, not gone to India for self-sacrifice but to gratify ambition. For "he has claimed all the rights of supremacy; his manners have been often overbearing; and he has done very little to spread the ideas or standards of the highest European culture. The English in India have developed the faults and virtues of the material greatness they have for three centuries attained." * * *

"In India they have brought their railways, their telegraphs, their machinery, their organization, their background of international prestige, and as between Islam and Hinduism the neutrality of their government. The benefit has been immense. The principle of their commerce is so close to that of universal life that it is intrinsically august, as peace and justice are. But as long as they confuse material order with spiritual order, as long as the brute weight of force is held to be the authority of government, so long will the English be incapable of providing India with either freedom or a government."

The writer is of opinion that the high debate of policy which drew to London Princes and people of India was occupied with a sweeping change in government in India. He concludes :— "The idea of the British race in India as a dominant, race, in the sense in which the Moguls once were dominant, or as the Romans or the Normans once were dominant in England, has gone for ever."

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA UNDER A BUREAUCRACY. By John Dickinson. Rs. 2.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

By Prof. G. Anderson. Second Edition. Rs. 3.

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

Questions of Importance

THE JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA

Addressing the annual session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema on the 1st April, Gandhiji referred to the communal riots in Agra, Benares, Cawnpore, Mirzapur, etc., where Hindus and Mussalmans fought like enemies.

I appeal to you, learned theologians of Islam, to use your good offices and eradicate the poison of communalism from Mussalmans and teach them the doctrines of mutual goodwill and toleration. I will make a similar appeal to Hindus not to return blow for blow, but to treat the Mussalmans as their brethren, even if Moslems are in the wrong.

Gandhiji continued that Hindu-Moslem unity alone could achieve Swaraj for India and he was convinced that unless the inter-communal tangle was solved it would be useless to go to the Round Table Conference. Speaking personally, he said he was prepared to concede to Mussalmans anything and everything they wanted.

Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, President of the Session thanked Gandhiji and others who had attended the Session and said that it was an irony of fate that those Mussalmans who had drunk deep from the fountain of modern learning, had not joined the movement. But members of the Jamiat who were scholars of Arabic on old lines had thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the fray. He assured them that Gandhiji's message of love would find a ready echo in the hearts of Mussalmans and they would soon prove it by their actions, that they stood shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus.

The Conference adopted a number of important resolutions. One resolution ratified the Gandhi-Irwin Pact as a truce. Another embodied the future programme of continuance of peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops in cooperation with the Congress, and recruitment of volunteers in all provinces.

The Working Committee was authorised to negotiate with the Congress and other Muslim parties for a Hindu-Muslim settlement. The Jamiat directed its Working Committee to be tolerant in the matter of Hindu-Muslim settlement.

THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE

The All-India Muslim Conference, met at Delhi on the 4th under the presidency of Mr. Shaikat Ali. The Moulana has now turned a new leaf and is vigorous in his denunciation of the Mahatma by whom he swore during the Khilafat agitation. His recent utterances are in striking contrast with his erstwhile views. In the course of his address the Maulana hoped that the Hindus would now accept the Muslim demands, which were in no way unfair to them. A good deal depended on the good sense, reasonableness and wisdom of the Hindu community. He regretted that Muslim leadership was poor; but they all stood by Mr. Jinnah's "Fourteen Points".

The Conference was very sparsely attended and there was considerable disagreement even among those who participated in the discussions. But there was a great deal of excited and angry speeches. "A mere sham," and "an unclean political stratagem" were phrases used in condemning the "so-called non-violence of Congress satyagraha" in a resolution adopted by the Conference. After referring to the "wanton aggressiveness of Hindus culminating in the riots at Benares, Agra, Mirzapore, Cawnpore and elsewhere," the resolution added that the attitude of "sham non-violence" of the Hindus "will lead to a state of civil war in India." The resolution warned the Government that "pandering to the Congress will create a condition of things in India which will spell the complete ruin of this unfortunate country." Mr. Zahur Ahmed, who moved the resolution, said: "Mr. Gandhi has said: 'there will be civil war in India and that it will continue till one of the two communities is completely exhausted.'" The speaker declared: "Why not test our metal to-day and take decisions thereupon?"

Mr. Gandhi, when later informed of Mr. Ahmed's speech, said his remarks on the subject had been mischievously distorted.

LORD WILLINGDON'S FIRST SPEECH

On the 17th April Lord and Lady Willingdon arrived in Bombay. Mr. Banoo Behram, President of the Bombay Corporation read the address of welcome. Replying to the address Lord Willingdon said :—

"May I at once thank you very gratefully for the most generous and encouraging expressions contained in your address in welcoming two old friends back again to your city on their return to India, which has, in very truth, become to them their second home within the British Empire? We are deeply grateful to you, gentlemen, for your cordial greeting, and are delighted to see around us so many old friends in this distinguished gathering, which has assembled here to meet us to-day.

"As I walked up the steps just now leading up to this fine building, rightly called the Gateway of India—and in the erection of which I am proud to feel that in the years gone by the then Government of Bombay and I had some part—I recalled to my mind a very similar occasion in the month of April, eighteen years ago, when I arrived for the first time in India to take over the duties of the Governor of the Presidency of Bombay and commenced my intimate association with the people of your city and this Presidency, which lasted for six happy and eventful years and included four years of the Great War. I still vividly remember all our activities during those years, years of strain and anxiety not only to India but to the whole British Empire, years during which this city became the base of all military activities of India, years, when in our efforts to do our full part to secure victory for our arms, I received the wholehearted co-operation of all the Princes and people in the Presidency, working for one great common purpose to achieve one great common aim, safety for our Empire and peace for the civilised world.

"May I read you a few lines of my reply to the farewell address from the Bombay Municipality when I gave up my duties as Governor of the Presidency, which will better express to you my feelings at that time? I said then: 'The times we have lived in have brought with them burdens and responsibilities heavier and more anxious than any of our predecessors have borne, heavier and more anxious I trust, than any generation that succeeds us will ever be called upon to face. Through all that time I have been constantly supported by the generous help, loyalty and friendship of citizens of every part of the Presidency, of every creed, race and every rank of society, and more particularly by the citizens of this city of Bombay.' To-day I return to you and you tell me in your address that 'few Viceroys have been called upon to preside over the Government of India at a more critical period of her history.' With the recollection of those former years still fresh in my mind, I would only say that we have successfully surmounted together anxious and critical times in the past and on the threshold of my service amongst you as Viceroy of India, I feel sure, I may ask with all confidence for that same co-operation, that same loyalty and friendship from the Princes and people of India to help me to overcome all the difficulties that lie before us, to lead our great country on in the spirit of mutual goodwill, freedom, fairplay, and obedience to the laws of the land, so that she may move forward rapidly towards her goal of responsible government to a position of absolutely equal partnership with the other Dominions under the Crown. In a word, I shall endeavour to carry on the great work which has been done during the past five years by Lord Irwin, whose sympathy, patience, courage and earnestness of purpose, have secured for him the abiding affection, regard and admiration of all classes of the people of this country."

STATES' PEOPLES' MEMORANDUM

The memorandum prepared by the Indian States' Peoples' Conference and submitted to the Working Committee of the National Congress makes certain definite demands among which the following are the most important :

1. That paramountcy should not be divided, and that it should ultimately vest in the central federal government.
2. That during this transition period the Princes should so adjust their governments as to establish responsible government in the States and undertake to bring about progressive realisation of the same.
3. That the States should be admitted into the federation only on condition that the standard of government in them is of the same type as prevailing in those of British India units.
4. That the States should be represented in the federation only through the elected representative of the people and that the nominees of the Princes should on no account be permitted to sit in any Houses of Federal Legislature.
5. That federal laws relating to federal subjects must directly be operating in the States and that administration of federal subjects must be entrusted to the federal executive and that any violation of federal laws or any vagaries in the administration of federal subjects committed within the limits of Indian States must be cognisable by the Federal Supreme Court.
6. That until responsible government is established in the States and until no independent judiciary comes into existence and until rule of law prevails in the States they must be linked to the Federal Supreme Court.
7. That the declaration of fundamental rights of the people must be embodied in the federal constitution and these rights must be guaranteed to the States' people and the infringement of the same must be cognisable by the Federal Supreme Court.
8. That the people of the States must be enabled to send their representatives to participate in the future conference convened for shaping the Indian constitution.

NIZAM'S GIFT FOR SCIENCE COLLEGE

The All-India Womens' Education Fund Association held their second annual meeting at the Red Cross Hall on the 28th January when Lady Irwin presided. The meeting fully discussed the report of the Central Committee for starting a Home Science College and adopted it after making one or two changes and amendments. Her Excellency announced that she had received a wire from the Nizam giving Rs. two lakhs towards starting the new institution. The meeting welcomed the announcement and passed a vote of thanks to the Nizam.

STATES AND BRITISH INDIA

The report of the special committee appointed to investigate certain facts relevant to the economic and financial relations between British India and Indian States is published.

The Committee was presided over by Mr. W. W. Nind, Collector of Customs, Rangoon, with Mr. V. Narahari Rao, Under-Secretary, Foreign and Political Department, and Mr. S. P. Bhargava, as members.

Summarising the results of their enquiry in tabular form, the Committee point out that under the head Customs, the total revenue or other figures for the whole of India is Rs. 41,48,50,000. The States' share is (A) Import Duty Rs. 5,88,97,000 (B) Export Duty Rs. 9,98,000.

Under the head Excise (A) (Imperial) the total revenue or other figures for the whole of India from Petrol and Kerosene is Rs. 1,35,45,000 and Rs. 70,27,000 respectively and the States' share is Rs. 20,02,000 and Rs. 15,46,000 respectively (B). The Provincial. The States' share is Rs. 15,36,000.

The head Salt shows Rs. 5,94,25,000 as the total revenue or other figures for the whole of India and Rs. 1,11,20,000 as the States' share.

Under head Tributes Rs. 72,04,000 represents the total amount of those tributes which are paid by Indian States to the Government of India and which are available for general expenditure.

Army Expenditure of the States (1) Indian States Forces is Rs. 2,38,71,000 and (2) other army expenditure Rs. 1,59,71,000.

SARDA ACT AND MYSORE

The Mysore Government publish a non-official Bill, analogous to the British Indian Sarda Act, proposed by Sir Puttanna Chetty, the oldest member of the Mysore Legislative Council, calculated to restrain child marriage in the State. The Government observe that, this being social legislation "vitally affecting a very large section of the public," they desire to elicit public opinion thereon before taking any further action.

ANTI-INDIAN BILL IN SOUTH AFRICA

A press message from New Delhi controverts the statement that the Government of India had approved of the provisions of the Union immigration Amendment Bill. It is now stated authoritatively that the Government of India were not consulted about the provisions of the Bill at any stage before its introduction in the South African House of the Assembly.

Even their Agent in South Africa, we are told, was not aware of the measure until after its introduction and it is understood that he strongly supported the demand of the local Indian community for its postponement until the Conference to revise the Cape Town Agreement met. When it was ascertained that the Union Government were not agreeable to this course, efforts were made to get the provisions of the Bill modified. As regards the provision, which sought to restrict in future the freedom of inter-provincial movement now enjoyed by Indians in the Union, these representations substantially succeeded. Unfortunately this was not so with regard to the provisions of the measure relating to registration certificates, and holders of these certificates, who had not returned to South Africa by 5th July, 1930 and who have been away from the Union for more than three years will not under the Bill be able to re-enter South Africa on the strength of their registration certificates.

As regards holders of registration certificates already lawfully resident in the Transvaal the Minister was given an assurance that those Indians who are already lawfully resident in that province will in no way be molested or deprived of their rights. In the light of the information available it seems reasonable to assume that the new Bill will not affect the security of Indians resident in the Transvaal and that its only effect will be to put holders of these certificates who have been away from South Africa for more than three years in the same position as regards re-entry as Indians residing in Natal or the Cape Province.

INDIANS IN QUEENSLAND

It will be remembered that Indians settled in the State of Queensland in Australia do not enjoy the right to vote at elections for the State Legislature. Attention to this disability was drawn by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri with a view to seeking redress when he visited Australia in 1922. Mr. Sastri in his Report explained that in Queensland "Indians as aboriginal natives of Asia are disqualified from membership of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly (Constitution Act 1867) and from voting at elections for the Assembly (Elections Act 1915, section 9)". The Council, which like the Council of State in India was the upper house has now been abolished in Queensland. This disability also formed the subject of representations subsequently made by Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar, Sir Darcy Lindsay and Mr. Shanmugham Chetti when these gentlemen visited Australia. News has now been received that the Queensland local franchise law has been amended, so as to remove the existing disability of Indians resident in the State.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Karachi Congress:

The Congress views with alarm the trend of events in South Africa and East Africa regarding the position of Indian settlers in those countries. The contemplated legislation in South Africa is in contravention of the promises and in some respects constitutes an attack even on legal rights. But India being still in bondage this Congress realises its helplessness for rendering effective help to the settlers, save sending them a message of sympathy. This Congress nevertheless appeals to the Governments concerned to mete out to Indian settlers the same measures of justice that they would claim for their nationals in free India. The Congress tenders its thanks to Mr. C. F. Andrews and Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru for their selfless labours on behalf of the settlers overseas.

LORD IRWIN ON SWADESHI

In the course of his farewell address to the Chelmsford Club H. E. Lord Irwin pointed out:—

No Englishman can, without being false to his own history, and in recent years to his own pledges, take objection to the pursuit by others of their own political liberty; nor have I ever been able to appreciate the attitude of those who might be the first in Great Britain to exhort their countrymen only to buy British goods and yet would regard a movement for the encouragement of swadeshi industry in India as something reprehensible and almost, if not quite, disloyal.

I am well aware that in these matters the methods employed are of the essence of the business, and that is why in my agreement with Mr. Gandhi I laid stress, which he readily accepted, upon the importance of allowing traders and purchasers complete liberty of action so long as they were occupied in the discharge of legitimate avocations. It may be that from time to time these methods of persuasion, propaganda and advertisement will be transgressed. What I am, however, concerned at the moment to assert is that anyone like myself, who has preached on behalf of British industry in Great Britain and advocated tariffs for its protection, seems to me debarred from raising points of principle against those who would wish India to supply, so far as she may, her own requirements from her own resources. It is also well to remember that trade will only flourish when it reposes upon a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis, and that the more successful Great Britain can be in finding a solution of the political side of the problem the more will she be doing, by the restoration of general friendly conditions for the benefit of British trade.

It follows that just as my diagnosis is different from that other which I sketched just now, so I would consider that a different treatment was required. In so far as the present movement involves any of the forces that we call nationalism, I would repeat what I have said more than once, that an attempt to meet the case with rigid and unyielding opposition is merely to repeat the unintelligent mistake of King Canute. And therefore it behoves us to seek another and a better way.

TARIFF BOARD'S RECOMMENDATIONS

The Tariff Board's report on the question of granting protection to the Indian sugar industry is published. The Board is satisfied that the conditions for the grant of protection, laid down by the Indian Fiscal Commission are fulfilled in the case of the sugar industry.

The report definitely disapproves any assistance to the Indian industry by the grant of bounties which is held to be impracticable on administrative grounds. The Board, therefore, proposes a protective duty of Rs. 7-4 per cwt. for the first seven years and a duty of Rs. 6-4 per cwt. for the next eight years.

LABOUR CONFERENCE

The Indian Delegation to the Fifteenth Session of the International Labour Conference which will open at Geneva on May 28, 1931 will be composed as follows:—

TO REPRESENT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Delegates:—Sir Atul Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India, London; 2 Mr. A. G. Clow. Substitute Delegates and Advisers:—1. Mr. Tin Tut, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India Department of Industries and Labour. 2. Mr. A. Dibdin, India Office, London. Adviser:—1. Mr. N. A. Mahrben, Bombay Labour Office.

TO REPRESENT EMPLOYEES

Delegate:—Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Limited, Bombay. Advisers:—1. Mr. S. C. Ghose, Chairman, Indian Mining Federation, Calcutta. 2. Mr. E. S. Tarlton, Chairman, Indian Mining Association, Calcutta. 3. Mr. Rameshwar Prasad Bagla, M.L.A. of the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore.

TO REPRESENT WORKERS

Delegate:—Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Secretary, Indian Trades Union Federation, Bombay. Advisers:—1. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Vice-President, Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta. 2. Mr. K. N. Sen-Gupta, President, Indian Colliery Employee's Association, Jharia. 3. Mr. V. M. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M.L.C., President, Madras Central Labour Board. Mr. N. A. Mahrben will also act as Secretary to the Delegation.

INDIAN COMMERCE AND THE 2nd R. T. C.

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber has addressed a telegram to the Viceroy telling him in view of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, Indian commerce should be represented in the Federal Structure Committee and also at the next Round Table Conference by not less than six persons.

Agricultural Section

RELIEF TO FARMERS

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce which met at Delhi adopted the following resolution on April 8:—

The Federation views with alarm the abnormal depression brought about by the unprecedented fall in the prices of agricultural produce specially wheat, cotton, groundnuts jute, etc., and while noting Government's action in reducing the rail freight rates on wheat in certain cases, deplores the general apathy in giving immediate relief to the agricultural population of the country.

The Federation suggests for acceptance of the Government of India substantial reduction in railway freight on agricultural produce, which would also result in stimulating a greater volume of trade.

The Federation expresses gratification at the recent imposition of an import duty on wheat, even though it is a very tardy step in that direction, bearing in mind that the price of wheat in market centres upcountry had declined to under-cost of cultivation about a year back.

The Federation suggests a similar import duty on, or prohibition of, the import of rice from foreign countries.

The Federation further urges upon the Government of India the necessity of revising the land revenue policy with a view to afford adequate relief to agriculturists in case of such unprecedented slump in prices.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The United Provinces Government has notified that a Board of Economic Inquiry will be constituted immediately, as also a small department called the Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research the object being rural reconstruction and development of industries both rural and urban.

RED PASSES FOR AGRICULTURISTS

Mr. H. V. Braham, Collector, by a recent notification announced the issue of red passes to the landholders in the Bardoli Taluka with a view to facilitate the removal of crops by those who are willing to pay land revenue.

This measure has been necessitated in order to facilitate the work of the land revenue officers in discriminating between those paying the revenue and those non-co-operating, thereby relieving the former of undue delays and difficulties hitherto experienced at the hands of the authorities.

NEW BRIDGE OVER NARBUDA

The only new work of any magnitude which it is proposed to take up during the year is the Narbuda Bridge on the main line of the B. B. and C. I. Railway between Bombay and Delhi.

The cost of this is estimated at Rs. 87 lakhs and an allotment of Rs. 15 lakhs has been made in the Budget. Reference was made to this undertaking by Sir George Rainy in his Railway Budget speech.

FOOLING THE PLANTS

Experiments conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture reveal that some plants which normally flower in the fall, such as the late cosmos, will blossom in early summer if given proper treatment. Through the efforts of research workers at the Boyce-Thompson Institute, plants have been grown in an artificial climate with fair success. Electric lamps are used to stimulate the various seasons; the plants are fooled, and bloom.

MILCHING MACHINE

A new machine that washes, cleans, and milks fifty cows at a time has been installed by a dairy company at Plainsboro, New Jersey. The machine carries the cows on a turntable operated by electricity.

IS SUICIDE A DISEASE?

That suicide is a mentally infectious disease is declared by Dr. Dennis H. Geffen, Medical Officer to the Urban District of Enfield, who says :

"In actual practice it is a most extraordinary fact that the troubles of those who commit suicide are usually of a temporary nature and far from serious."

The doctor suggests that a Government commission should investigate the cause of this disease, which, he states, results in many thousands of deaths each year.

TREATMENT OF TUBERCULOSIS

Lord Irwin has selected Dr. A. R. Mehta, District Medical Officer of Lahore, former Rockefeller Scholar, as organising Secretary of the Thanksgiving Fund collected after the recovery from his recent illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Dr. Mehta, with his headquarters at Simla and Delhi, will utilise the annual interest of Rs. 50,000 from the fund, which amounts to Rs. 10 lakhs, for the prevention, abolition and treatment of tuberculosis.

SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT ON ASTHMA

"Sir Almroth Wright K.B.E., C.B., the well-known medical scientist, who was the originator of the now-familiar method of anti-typhoid inoculation, has some interesting facts to tell us about asthma," says the *Nursing Mirror*. "There are, he says, 100 different kinds of this troublesome and disabling disease, and he quoted an example which might pardonably be overlooked by anyone unskilled in research work on this particular subject."

'One of our patients in St. Mary's Hospital, he said, came in with asthma, which soon cleared up, but promptly returned when he went home. On investigation of his home conditions, it appeared that the man's wife was given to much washing of the linoleum on the floors.

“Turning up the linoleum, mould was found underneath from the dampness caused by frequent washings. This was the cause of his asthma. Another man, he continued, got asthma whenever he ate fish, while cats, or other animals, are responsible for infecting other classes of persons. The treatment, he added, is to give these patients so much of the cause that they finally lose susceptibility.”

NEW HOMEOPATHIC HOSPITAL

Performing the opening ceremony of the Dr. D. N. Roy Memorial block of the Calcutta Homeopathic Hospital, on April 10, the Minister for Local Self-Government said that though it had not been the policy of the Government to support a homeopathic hospital, it might become necessary for them to revise that policy and extend official recognition to useful institutions like the Calcutta Homeopathic Hospital. That of course would depend on the popular demand.

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SIR C. V. RAMAN

The Madras Corporation gave an enthusiastic civic reception to Sir C. V. Raman at the Ripon Buildings on March 18 and a welcome address, eulogising his scientific achievements, which not only immortalised him but raised the prestige of India throughout the learned world was presented to him enclosed in a silver casket by the Corporation President.

Sir C. V. Raman made a suitable reply in the course of which he declared that if they surveyed India's contribution in the field of knowledge they would find that their output was wholly disproportionate to the vast area of their country, its vast population and past cultural history.

HOW MOON AFFECTS SPEED OF CLOCKS

The moon has the effect of slightly speeding up or slowing down clocks located in earth home.

This conclusion, reached after four months of research by Professor E. W. Brown and Dirk Brouwer, was outlined in the opening paper at a recent meeting, at New Haven of the American Astronomical Society.

According to results outlined by the Yale scientists, the accuracy of a clock is affected by its elevation, or distance from the gravity centre of the earth. If a clock were raised or lowered successively every six hours by as little as one inch, it was stated, the effect of the change in the earth's attraction on the pendulum could be detected in a month's observations.

STILL ANOTHER NEW PLANET

Another small planet has been discovered and photographed by Professor Count Luigi Volta, Director of the Pino Tironese Observatory in Italy. It has been temporarily charted as a star of between the thirteenth and fourteenth magnitudes, and has been labelled CA. 1931.

A planet named "BA" was discovered by Professor Lacchini, of the same observatory.

INDIAN MATHEMATICAL CONFERENCE

The seventh Indian Mathematical Conference commenced its session in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, Trivandrum on April 3, under the presidency of Mr. M. T. Narayana Iyengar, President of the Indian Mathematical Society. The delegates included representatives of various colleges and universities all over India. Mr. C. G. McAline, Director of Public Instruction, Travancore, welcomed the delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Before the Conference was formally opened by Mr. V. S. Subramania Iyer, the Dewan, he read out to the audience a message from Her Highness the Maharani Regent extending to the members of the Conference a hearty welcome.

Declaring the Conference open, the Dewan paid a great tribute to the substantial work turned out by the Society during the last 23 years of its existence. Messages of sympathy and good wishes were then read out by the Secretary of the Conference.

After the brief report by the Secretary of the Society about its activities since its last session, the President read out his address in which, after dealing with the work of the Society as a whole and chronicling the important events in the mathematical world since the last Conference, he made a strong plea for extending the scope of research work in mathematics and appealed for help and support for achieving the end from the various Governments, universities and individual sympathisers in India.

AUTOMOBILE RADIO BATTERY

With the ever-increasing popularity of radio on automobiles these days, it is perhaps not surprising that battery manufacturers are turning their attention to the production of special batteries for such use. The type likely to be popular was used by the Byrd Antarctic Expedition. It is of the same construction as all Burgess batteries.

THE KESARI—GOLDEN JUBILEE

On the 20th March, the public of Maharashtra offered their congratulations to the *Kesari-Mahratta* institution on its attainment of the fifty-



MR. N. C. KELKAR.

first year. This took the form of the presentation of the *Kesari-Prabodh* volume to the Trustees, Mr. N. C. Kelkar and Mr. D. V. Vidwans. There was a large and representative gathering present. Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, President of the Kesari Mahotsava Mandal explained the origin and development of the idea of presenting a volume containing the gist of what the *Kesari* had stood and fought for all these fifty years. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in accepting the gift, expressed his appreciation of the ceaseless and abounding sympathy of the Mahratta public. The Sri Bankaracharya also gave his blessings.

CALCUTTA JOURNALISTS' MEETING

Two emergent meetings of the Journalists' Association were held in the Association Hall, Calcutta on March 15, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Modern Review* and *Prabashi* presiding. The first which was a meeting of the executive council considered the serious situation arising from the jute depression. A resolution was passed requesting the journalists to take the question of the jute problem in the columns of their papers. The second was a general meeting of all journalists held to consider the communal problem and the present situation. Resolutions were passed requesting the journalists to do their utmost to bring about an atmosphere of good-will and confidence to help the solution of the communal problem in Bengal and especially requesting them to discuss the question without passion or prejudice and urging the formation of a board of nine members to be in constant touch with the journalists.

ARNOLD BENNETT

The death of Arnold Bennett removes a very genial figure from the world of letters. Miss Rebecca West in the *Daily Telegraph* referring to the tragedy of Mr. Bennett's death at 63 says: So thoroughly did he enjoy life that no life would have been too long for him. It is bitter that one to whom life really was a gift should not have lived out the allotted span. As a writer he claimed for English literature the right to take the whole of life for its province. His attitude to the subject matter of literature found its chief expression in "Old Wives Tale" with its joyful exploitation possibilities of every day round and common lot as artistic material.

JOURNALISTS IN CONFERENCE

A number of important resolutions bearing on the profession of journalism in India was passed at the annual meeting of Upper India Journalists Association held in the first week of this month at the Chelmsford Club with Mr. K. C. Roy, president, in the chair.

CO-EDUCATION

The Secretary, National Mahavidyalaya writes :—To impart education on National lines to boys and girls, it has been decided to start a National School in Sutar Mandi. The School will be run on the basis of co-education and will impart education up to the Matriculation Standard.

Besides, arrangements have been made for the study of Hindi Rattan, Hindi Bhasha, Hindi Prabhachar, Budhimani Vidyani in Gurmukhi.

Mrs. Bhagat Ram Puri is the President of the Managing Committee. Kumari Kalzan Kaur will be the Principal of the institution.

INDIAN SANDHURST

It is understood that the Indian Sandhurst Committee, as recommended by the Round Table Conference, will meet in Simla after the 20th May. His Excellency Sir Philip Chetwode will preside. The Committee will consist of seventeen members including three representatives of Indian States. It will work out details for the establishment of a college to train cadets for commissions in all arms of the Indian Defence Services and train prospective officers of the Indian State Forces.

RURAL EDUCATION

Reviewing the report on the administration of Panchayats in the Madras Presidency during 1929-30 the Government state: Government are pleased to observe that substantial improvement has been effected by Panchayats in the matter of education, communications and water supply. They also appreciate the services rendered by the honorary workers.

SIR SULTAN AHMED

At the Special Convocation of the Patna University on March 28, His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, the Chancellor, conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law upon Sir Sultan Ahmed in recognition of his valuable services as the First Honorary Non-official Vice-Chancellor.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

A review of the progress of education in India for the year ending March 31, 1929, has just been issued by the Government of India. It shows that there were at the end of the year 258,016 educational institutions in the country and 12,165,839 scholars. Of these, primary schools numbered 201,688 and the pupils in them 9,013,591. The total expenditure on education increased by Rs. 1,24,54,928 from Rs. 25,82,77,325 to Rs. 27,07,32,253. These figures are arresting, but India has considerable leeway to make up yet in the education of its youths. Progress is mainly dependent on finance. At the moment, close upon 50 per cent. of the expenditure on education comes out of Government funds. District Boards and Municipalities provide only 14.6 per cent. and the amount realised in fees is a little over 21 per cent. Endowments, public subscriptions and private funds hardly provide 15 per cent. of the total expenditure.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY DEGREES

The Senate of the Bombay University at its meeting on February 2 under the presidency of Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Khan, Vice-Chancellor, unanimously adopted a resolution for conferring the honorary Degree of L. L. D. on Sir Dinshaw F. Mulla, who has been recently appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, head of the Department of History, has been deputed by the University of Benares to represent the University at the ensuing Congress of the Universities of British Empire to be held in London in July next.

SIR PRATAP SINGH SCHOLARSHIP

A Sir Pratap Singh Memorial Scholarship of £100 at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, has been awarded to Gentleman Cadet, Masaud Khan, who qualified through the Prince of Wales College, Dehradun, and was admitted to Sandhurst for the Spring term.

THE ADVOCATES' CONFERENCE

A Conference of Advocates of the Presidency, under the auspices of the Madras Bar Council, was held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, in the first week of April. Dewan Bahadur Alladi Krishna-swamy Iyer, Advocate-General, who presided, delivered a striking speech in which he referred to the great traditions of the Bar, mentioned the names of illustrious lawyers, who had adorned the High Court Bench and passed on to review the various tasks that lay before the Conference.

The Conference passed several resolutions, the most important of which urged the establishment of a Supreme Court for All-India as a part of the general Federal Structure. The Conference endorsed the recommendation of the majority of the Services Committee of the Round Table Conference regarding the elimination of the civilian element from the judiciary and advocated immediate effect being given to the principle of separation of the Executive and the Judiciary. The Conference recommended the institution of a Faculty Society of Advocates for the whole province with authority to admit and enroll practitioners and exercise complete disciplinary jurisdiction over them.

MISS SAHIBSINGH SHAHANI

The Court of the Judicial Commissioners of Sind has issued to Miss Jamna Sahibsingh Shahani, B.A., LL.B., a certificate authorising her to practise as a pleader in all the civil and criminal courts, excluding the Judicial Commissioner's Court of Sind. Miss Jamna Shahani is the first Amil Sindhi lady to have graduated in law, obtained her "sanad" and started legal practice in that province. She is the daughter of ex-Principal Sahibsing Chandsingh Shahani, M.A. M.L.A., of the Amil community of that town. It is learnt Miss Shahani proposes starting her legal career at Karachi in partnership with her eldest brother.

MR. JUSTICE MADGAOKAR

On the eve of his retirement from the Bench Mr. Justice Madgaokar was given a farewell address by the members of the Original and Appellate side Bar of the High Court, Bombay.

The Advocate-General on behalf of the Original side Bar and Mr. Shingne, the Government Pleader, on behalf of the Appellate side Bar paid glowing tributes to Mr. Justice Madgaokar's high character and ability and the many qualities that made him a capable and popular judge.

Mr. Justice Madgaokar who was visibly moved at the thought of parting from the scene of his labours, said in his reply:

You have referred to the fact that I am the first Indian member of the Indian Civil Service permitted to reach the High Court. From the time I entered the service, the inefficiency of Indians was an axiom of Government, always to be acted upon and to be publicly proclaimed to justify our exclusion from this Court or from Secretaryships to Government upwards. We are not so fortunate as even the Provincial Civil Service in Madras and other provinces.

Our consolation is the thought that political agitation has enabled Government to discover Indians of the necessary calibre who come up to its standard in point of character and ability and are thought worthy to share its counsels.

In any case I must express my gratitude to Government who deemed me worth a trial, and to you whose words remove from my shoulders at least any responsibility, if the Indian Civil Service is not represented in the High Court of the future.

"If I were convinced," continued his Lordship, "that there would be a gain by the exclusion, from the Bench, of the Indian Civil Service I, for one, would be prepared to agree."

It was neither bureaucrat nor an ordinary politician but a wise statesman and philosopher, the late Lord Morley who wrote "Weaned confidence in our Parliament would be formidable, but confidence destroyed in the Courts of Justice would be taking out the linch-pin."

Let each one of us remember that it is in our common interest of justice that our independence and our liberty centre, so that Liberty is duty not license.

To-day I look back as the last day of nearly forty years of public service.

With age, concluded his Lordship, youthful enthusiasm wanes, personal ambitions retire, but ideas should remain, ideals without which this gown of a lawyer is but a trapping and a mockery.

LORD IRWIN'S FAREWELL MESSAGE

Lord Irwin before he left New Delhi on 16th April, received a number of addresses from public bodies at the Government House appreciating his



LORD & LADY IRWIN.

great services to India during his five years of office. Particular emphasis was laid on the new orientation of policy for which the Viceroy is primarily responsible, the Round Table Conference, and the settlement with the Congress.

Replying to the addresses, Lord Irwin pleaded for a policy of trust and confidence between Britain and India, and hoped the majority community would allay the suspicions and satisfy the demands of the minorities. His Excellency added:—"Let all men pursue peace, not as a temporary expedient, but as an enduring blessing, and I have no doubt that it is thus and thus only that the abiding interests of India shall be served."

Assuring the people of India that he would continue to take an abiding interest in Indian political questions, and that he would make every endeavour to interpret to the British nation the

ideals and aspirations of Indians, Lord Irwin said: "In taking this farewell of you, I need not assure you that any influence or knowledge that may be mine will continue to be at the service of India, and that no warmer wishes than my own will always accompany those who are loyally striving for the greater good."

THE LATE MR. K. T. PAUL

Mr. K. T. Paul whose death at Salem on the 11th April is widely mourned was one of the best products of the Y. M. C. A. movement in India, and was General Secretary of the National Council for India, Burma and Ceylon for 18 years. He was known as a great social worker in the South, where he laboured for the poor, by inaugurating social schemes in backward areas, and by encouraging the co-operative movement for the relief of the farmers and peasants from the hands of money-lenders.

Mr. Paul was a great Christian Nationalist, and denounced communalism in all its aspects as dangerous to the progress of the country. He was a delegate to the Round Table Conference and spoke for the Indian Christian community at St. James's Palace.

Believing in the loftiness and utility of the Christian ideals, Mr. Paul made them the basis of his public and private life and it was perhaps these that brought him into intimate touch with Mr. Gandhi and the social and political thought represented by him.

Mr. K. T. Paul contracted the illness to which he succumbed during the sessions of the Round Table Conference in London. It necessitated his premature departure from the Conference. The illness was due to overstrain as a result of strenuous work during the past few years on behalf of the various organisations and causes with which he was connected.

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION

The Council of the All-India Liberal Federation, which met at Bombay on April 19, under the presidency of Sir Pheroze Sethna, has



THE HON. SIR P. C. SETHNA

passed a number of resolutions; most of these relate to the pending constitutional questions.

The Council regrets the declaration in Parliament by the Government representatives, that there could be no abatement of the reservations and safeguards, when the Federal Structure Sub-Committee has specifically recorded that any agreement arrived at is "provisional," and that "every member of the Committee reserves to himself the right of modifying his opinions". Similarly it expresses its surprise at Mr. Benn's statement in the Commons that the Government has decided on the separation of Burma, while the Round Table Conference proceedings show

that the separation is still an open question. The constitutional provisions as to safeguards and transitional arrangements should, in the opinion of the Council, be coupled with provisions ensuring their termination in the shortest period possible. It declines to agree to any financial safeguards which would curtail the control of the Indian Legislature and the Government over currency and exchange operations, or as to any other matter except external loans.

On the question of Army Indianization, the Council is strongly of the opinion that the Government of India should have power to accelerate Indianization of the Army and make adequate provision for the military training of Indians, so as to replace the present British Army by a Dominion Army; that the Legislature should have full power of discussion on Army estimates and the right to vote supplies in excess of a non-votable grant, fixed from time to time by a Committee representative of experts and the Legislature.

The Council appeals to all to accept joint electorates, with such legitimate reservations and weightage as may be necessary. It urges the Government to convene the Round Table Conference again without any more delay.

The next annual session of the Federation will be held in Poona in June.

NATIONALIST MUSLIM PARTY

"We Nationalist Muslims have decided not to accept anything but joint electorates in the future constitution of India, and over that issue we shall even fight Mr. Gandhi, because we believe that if separate electorates are allowed to continue, communalists on both sides will manage to create communal trouble and capitalists will deprive the masses of the fruits of freedom" declared Syed Abdulla Brelvi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, in an address to a meeting of Muslims under the auspices of the Nationalist Muslim Party on April 13 at the People's Jinnah Hall.

BOAT RACE

Cambridge won the Boat Race by $2\frac{1}{2}$ lengths. The official time is 19 minutes 26 seconds.

Oxford won the toss and chose the Middlesex side. Even at the start, however, Brocklebank, the Cambridge stroke gained a lead and this was never seriously challenged except at the mile where Oxford seemed as if they might draw level but were shaken off. Oxford's time was 19 minutes 36 seconds. The crowd was the greatest in the history of the race.

EMPIRE GAMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The annual meeting of the South African Amateur Athletic Association with reference to the holding of Empire games in South Africa in 1934 has decided to uphold the "colour bar" and in view of the conditions existing in the Union not to permit athletes from countries like India and West Indies to participate "even at the risk of appearing to be discourteous."

A SPORTS CLUB IN JAMNAGAR

The Maharaja Jamsheo "Ranji" of Nawanagar opened in his State on March 30 a Sports Club and donated a sum of Rs. 6,000 per annum. The Club pavilion is estimated to cost Rs. 2,00,000 and His Highness has sanctioned this sum also. His Highness has also presented the Club with a billiard table and all the necessary furniture in order to make a good start.

CANADA AND THE KING'S TROPHY

Canadian boys, for the second time in succession, have won the King's Trophy, awarded under the auspices of the National Rifle Association, with the record score of 86.96 points and Britain was third (68.85.) New Zealand and Australia both scored 63.16. The rest (India and Rhodesia) did not qualify.

INVITATION TO M. C. C.

The Cricket Control Board, Bengal and Assam, announced on April 14 that the All-India board have decided to send an invitation to the M. C. C. asking them to send a cricket team to India in the coming cold weather.

U. P. CRICKET ASSOCIATION

The United Provinces Cricket Association was formed at a meeting held at Benares and has applied for affiliation to the Board of Control at Delhi.

The Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagaram, whose team, including Hobbs and Sutcliffe, had a very successful tour in India and Ceylon last winter, was elected the first President.

The headquarters of the Association will at present be at Benares.

With the formation of the Central India Cricket Association at Indore in the near future, the primary object of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, to cover India with Provincial Cricket Associations, shall have been very successfully fulfilled.

TENNIS STARS

Visitors to the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Championships this summer will see a brother's touching tribute in memory of two of the greatest players of fame produced in the form of handsomely wrought iron gates which are being erected at the south eastern entrance to the All-England Club. One of the supporting concrete pillars bear a plaque suitably inscribed to the memory of R. F. Doherty and H. L. Doherty, the famous brothers who made lawn tennis a household word and who both died in the prime of life.

The Rev. W. V. Doherty, another brother, wrote offering to pay all the costs in connection with making the erection of the memorial gates and the All-England Club gladly accepted it.

BOXING IN WALES

Welsh administrators of boxing have made a courageous move, says the *Hindu*, by creating a rule which will not debar a coloured boxer from taking part in championships. The only qualifications now necessary to compete for the Welsh title are birth or residence in Wales for three years, which implies that a coloured boxer born in Wales, or adopting the country as his home, can enter the lists as a contender.

COST OF NEW DELHI

Sir Joseph Bore stated in the Council of State that the total amount spent on the construction of New Delhi up to the end of December, 1930 was Rs. 14½ crores. An idea of the fees drawn by architects can be gathered from the fact that Rs. 39½ lakhs have been paid to the joint account of Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker. In other words both these architects have drawn every month for twenty years the salary of the Commander-in-Chief in India.

RAILWAY RATES COMMITTEE

Owing to Sir B. N. Sarma, President of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee, proceeding



SIR B. N. SARMA.

on five and a half months' leave, with effect from April 18, 1931, it has been decided to suspend temporarily the sittings of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee, which, however, will be resumed after the expiry of the President's leave.

MR. GUEDELLA ON MR. CHURCHILL

In these days when the diatribes and fulminatory mouthings of Mr. Winston Churchill are painting red the Indian political horizon, it will be interesting to the reading public to know what Mr. Philip Guedella has said about him in that inimitable book *MEN OF AFFAIRS*. "Mr. Churchill is seeing Red. That attractive primary colour has often exercised a peculiar influence upon less sensitive intelligences. Bulls are alarmed by it; mild persons of progressive views derive a sharp satisfaction from irradiating themselves with its wicked light; but its most remarkable effects may be observed in those of the opposite opinion. It takes them like a fever. The eye becomes wild; the speech grows incoherent; references to the Third (and even to the Fourth and Fifth) International begin to appear; frequent quotations from Lord Tennyson on the subject of "Red ruin and the breaking up of laws" afflict the sufferer; and his waking vision is haunted by a constant hallucination of sinister little figures..... lurking in corners.....with foreign accents.....and inexhaustible supplies of dangerous pamphlets. The patient becomes practically unapproachable upon all economic topics and sends, on the slightest provocation, for the police. It is a distressing malady, for which no cure is known except a complete rest.....Other men have seen little in politics beyond the dreary machinery for the transaction of public business. But he has always dramatized them: he seemed to regard them as an intensely thrilling scenario with at least one strong part.....The red replaced the German peril; and his old fire supported the vigorous artiste through an act or so. But there was something dreadfully unreal about his new performance. An anxious public was beginning to concern itself with the readjustment of industry; and he talked to them about the wrath to come. Solemn (but quite respectable) men argued gravely about the control of monopolies; and Mr. Churchill answered them with wild-eyed exclamations about Moscow. There was a total loss of contact with reality."

Diary of the Month

March 19. Mr. Gandhi interviews the Viceroy for the first time after the truce.

March 20. The Princes' Chamber elects the Nawab of Bhopal as Chancellor.

March 21. International League of Aviation votes Miss Amy Johnson as the best air woman of 1930.

March 22. An Austro-German Economic Agreement has been signed.

March 23. Bhagat Singh and two other accused in the Lahore Conspiracy case are executed.

March 24. Mr. Thomas Johnston is appointed Lord Privy Seal.

March 25. Working Committee of the Congress meets in Karachi.

March 26. Serious rioting in Cawnpore results in 50 deaths and many wounded.

March 27. Arnold Bennett is dead.

March 28. Indian National Congress meets in Karachi under the Presidency of Sardar Patel.

March 29. Congress condemns the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

March 30. Council of State passes the Finance Bill as certified by the Governor-General.

March 31. Congress ratifies Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

April 1. Council of State passes the Salt Duty Bill.

April 2. Lord and Lady Willingdon leave London for India.

April 3. Mr. Neville Chamberlain succeeds Mr. Churchill as Chairman of the Conservative Party Finance Committee.

April 4. Mr. Shaukat Ali meets Mr. Gandhi.

April 5. All-India Moslem Conference meets in Delhi, Mr. Shaukat Ali presiding.

April 6. Sardar Abdul Gaffar Khan addresses a meeting in Bombay on Hindu-Muslim Unity.

April 7. Mr. James Peddie, District Magistrate of Midnapore, is shot dead.

April 8. The Central Sikh League opens at Amritsar, Master Tara Singh presiding.

April 9. Sajjan Singh, the murderer of Captain Curtain's wife is hanged.

April 10. The Central Sikh League ratifies Irwin-Gandhi Pact.



Mr. K. T. PAUL.

April 11. Mr. K. T. Paul is dead.

April 12. Mr. Walter Scott Penfold, famous international Lawyer is dead.

April 13. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari delivers the Convocation address to the Gujarat Vidyapith.

April 14. Spanish King abdicates : Spain is declared a Republic.

April 15. Lord Irwin leaves Delhi *en route* to England.

April 16. Mr. Gandhi bids farewell to Lord Irwin.

April 17. Lord and Lady Willingdon arrive in Bombay.

April 18. Lord and Lady Irwin leave Bombay for England.

April 19. Nationalist Muslim Conference declares itself in favour of Joint-electoralates.

April 20. Women's Conference in London welcomes Irwin-Gandhi Pact.

April 21. Sir Walter Schwabe, ex-Chief Justice of Madras, is dead.

April 22. Mr. Justice Patkar is appointed Ag-Chief Justice of Bombay High Court.

April 23. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru lands at Colombo and is given a rousing reception.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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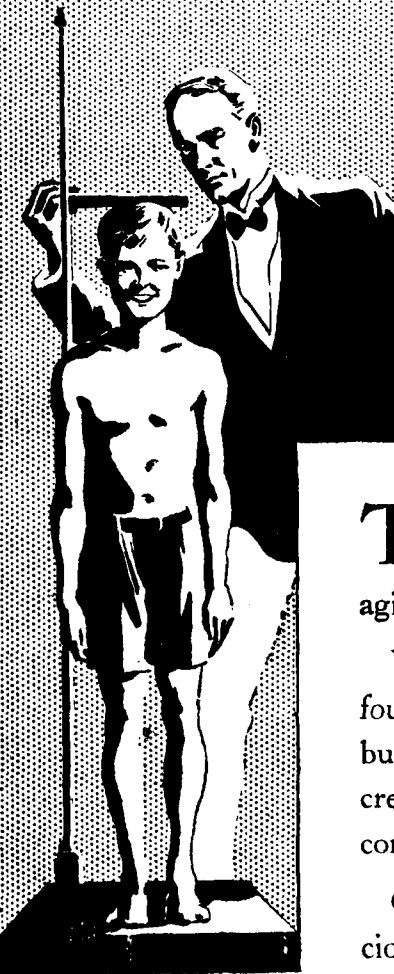
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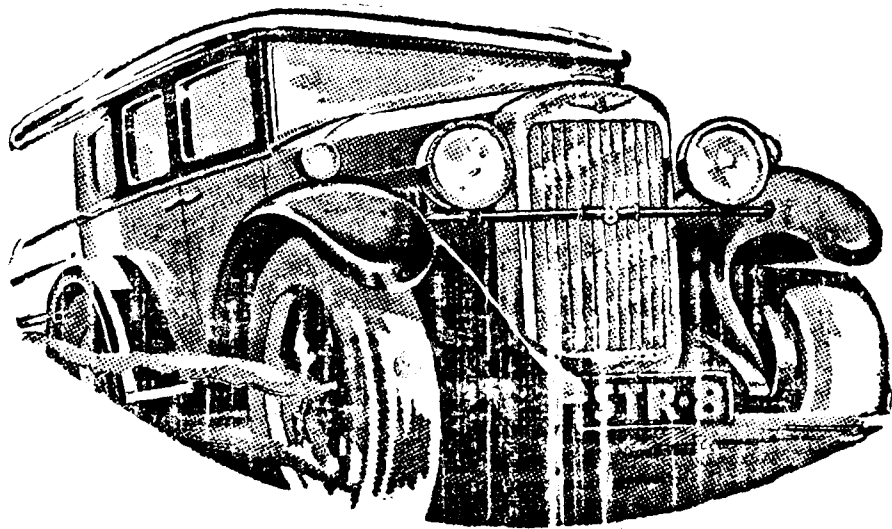


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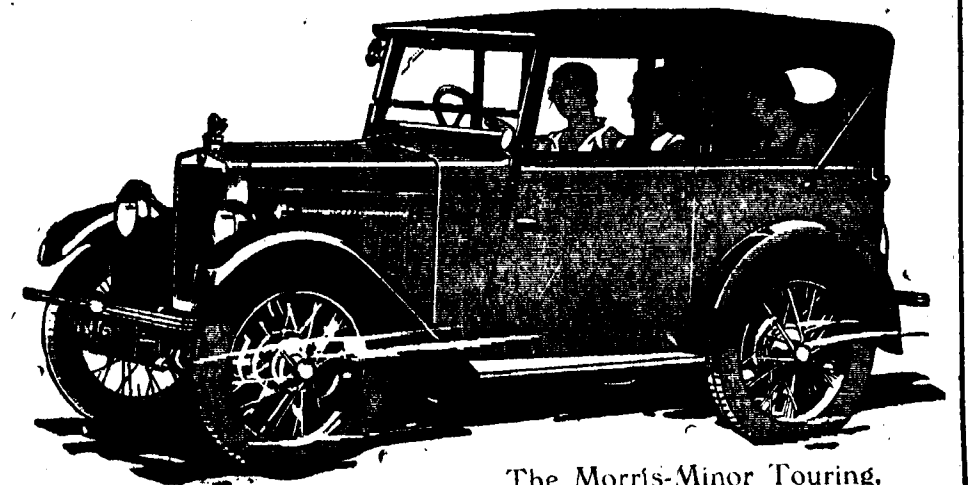
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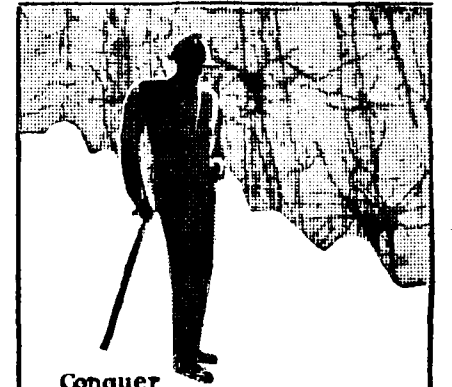
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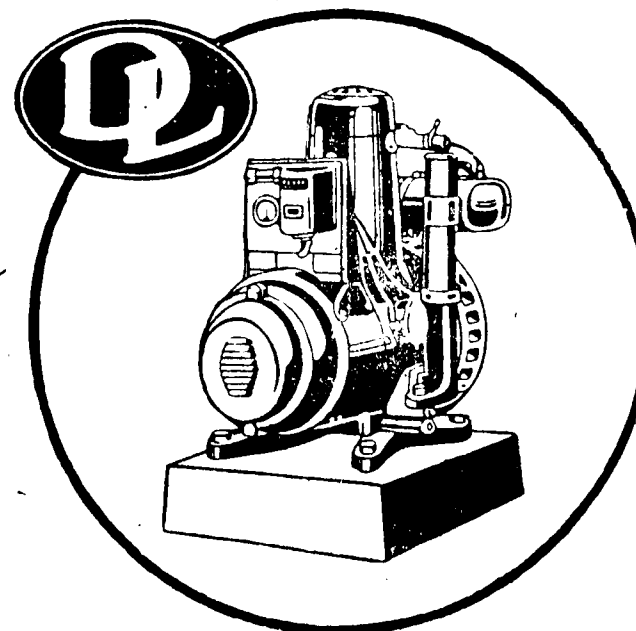
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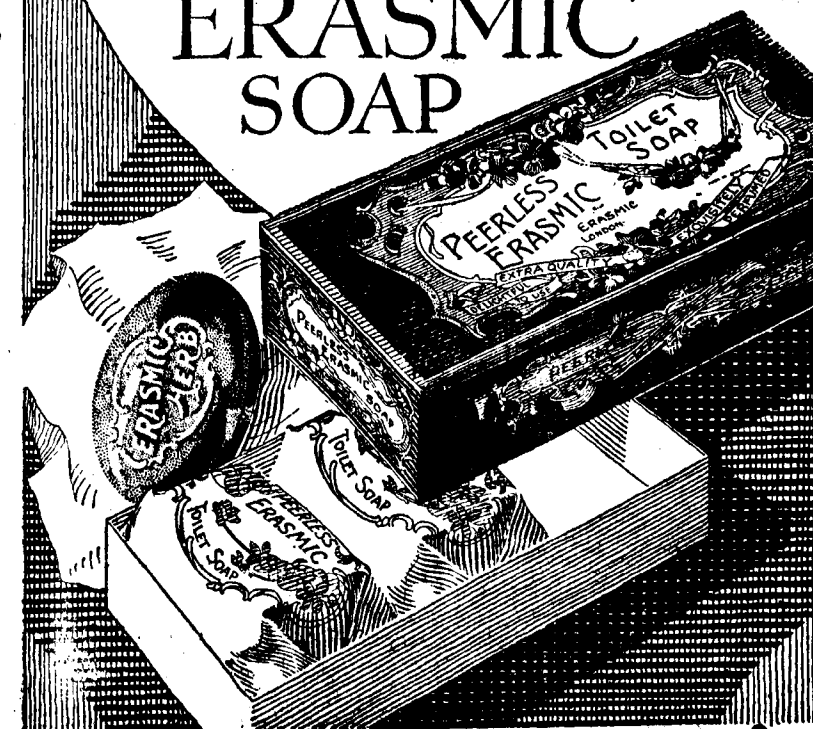
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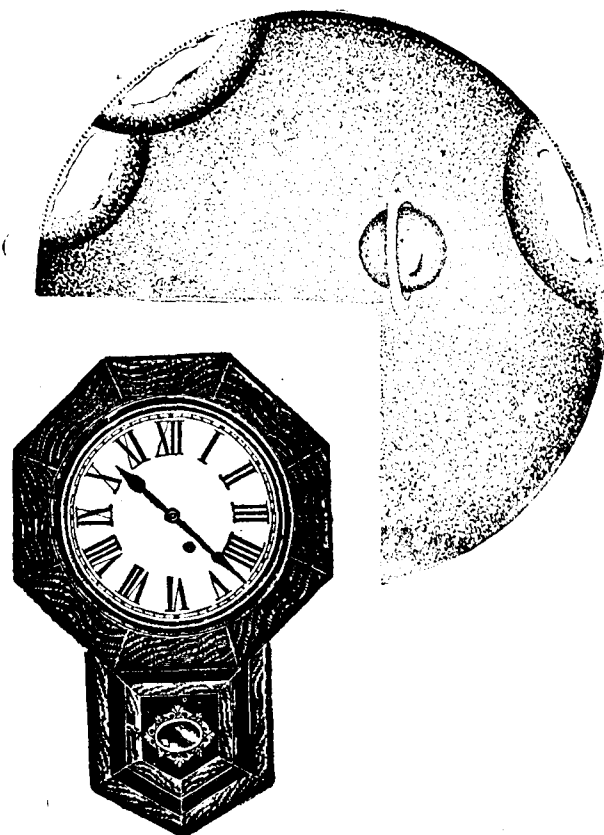
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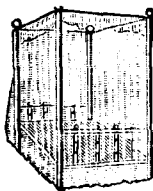
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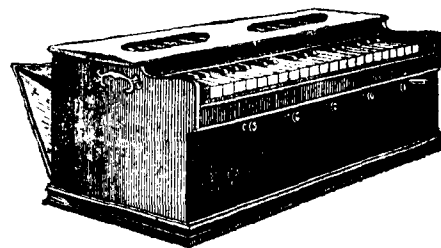
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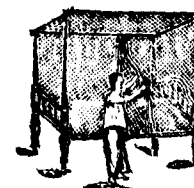
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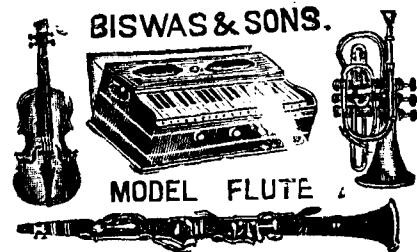
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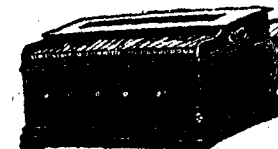
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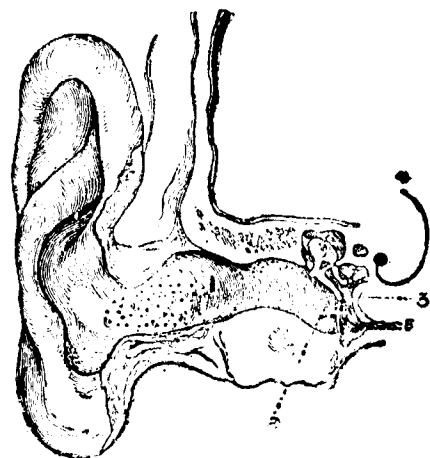
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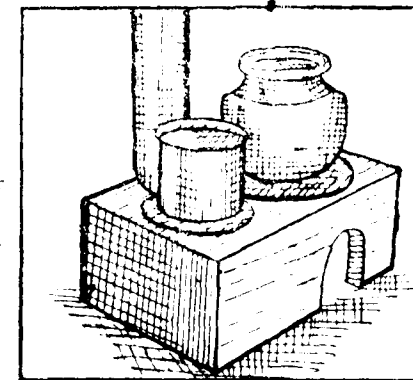
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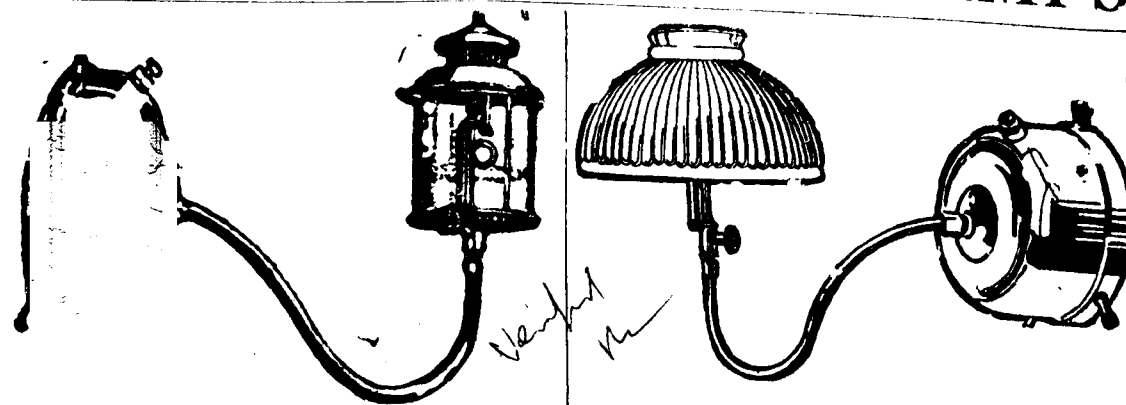
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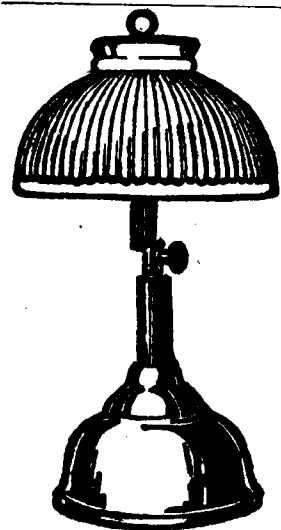
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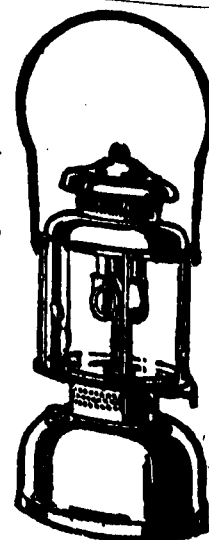
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