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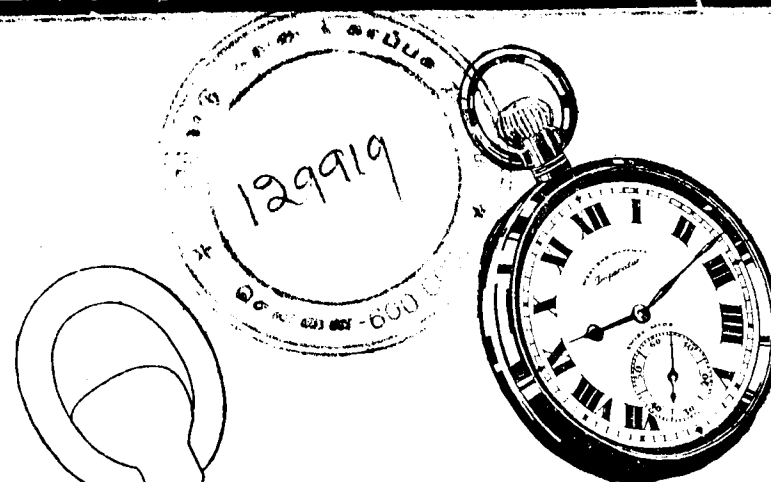
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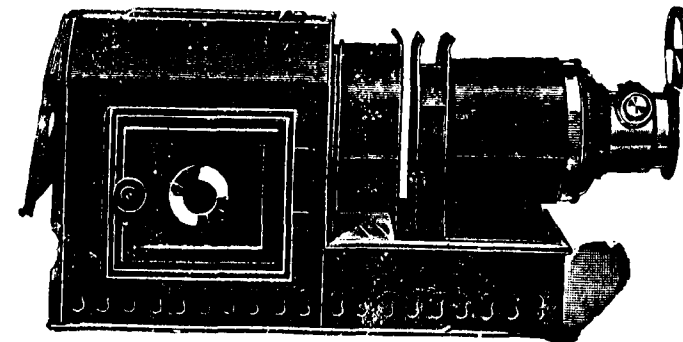
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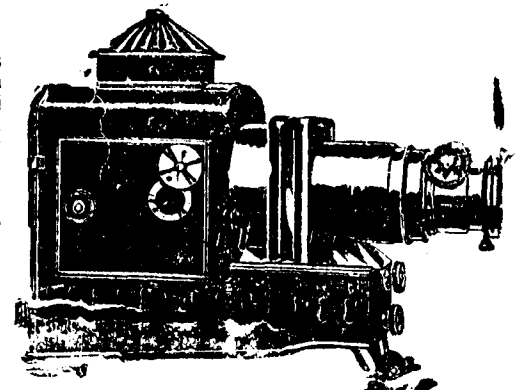
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[No. 2.]

India and the Transvaal*

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS

A very serious new danger has arisen in the Transvaal owing to the introduction of the Asiatic Land Tenures Bill of 1930. The Bill was framed after an enquiry by a select committee into certain acts by Indians who wished to trade in the crowded centres along the Gold Reef in places that were called proclaimed areas.

For nearly fifty years the harshest legislation had existed which placed obstacles in the way of Indian trade in the popular centres. But in spite of every obstacle Indians had hitherto found help from European friends whereby they might occupy sites and carry on trade under what might be called European protection or Trusteeship. For these sites were entirely at the disposal of Europeans who might turn out the Indian occupants at a month's notice. Such trust however was placed in the credit and good faith of the Indians who were trading that on no occasion as far as I have heard was any Indian defaulting in payment. Nevertheless it was always recognised that the position was a very precarious one. Under the old Boer Republican Government things went on from year to year without much trouble. In one case a high government official called the Mining Commissioner actually became trustee for Indian traders in Pretoria. It might be said that the Indians managed to pay their way

among the easy going Boer officials. After the Boer War the whole position of Indians in the Transvaal was reviewed. They were comparatively few in number and they have never increased beyond fifteen thousand in all. Even at the present time it is very unlikely that they have reached this figure.

When Lord Crewe as Secretary of State for the Colonies, was asked by the Attorney-General, Mr. Jacob de Villiers to sign on behalf of the Crown a new Gold Law which was intended to restrict all mining rights to Europeans, he inquired from Mr. de Villiers whether Indian rights would be adversely affected. He was told that no trading or occupancy right would be injured because the new Act dealt solely with mining rights. On this understanding Lord Crewe signed on behalf of the Crown the Gold Law of 1908.

The Indians naturally thought that they could go on holding occupancy rights under Europeans as before but when unfortunately a case was tried in court at a later date the Law itself was found to be faulty. So they tried to find a loophole within the law by forming companies and owning shares in these companies. Here the law protected them for a time and up to the year 1919 such companies were not declared illegal, but after that year owing to restrictive legislation they were deprived of the means which they had used so well under the law of forming companies for trading purposes.

Even after this from 1919 to 1930 they managed to survive by finding further loopholes whereby their trade and occupation could be



THE LATE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

Born:— 6th May 1861.

Died:— 6th February 1931.

* As we go to press we have the cheering news of a cable report from the Durban correspondent of the *Times of India* who says that he is informed on good authority that the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill is being withdrawn. Mr. Andrews went to South Africa at a very opportune moment and if the report is well founded it must be no small satisfaction to him that his unwearied labours on behalf of our countrymen over there have not been in vain. [Ed. I. R.]

carried on without a definite breach of the Law, but in the year 1930 some of these methods were tested in the courts of law and were declared illegal. This brought matters to a crisis because nearly seventy per cent. of the Indian trading and occupancy in the Transvaal might possibly be challenged by law in the same manner. The Bill which was then proposed after the enquiry by select Committee sought to make absolutely effective the prohibition against all trade and occupancy of this kind which had been carried on hitherto and proposed to give the occupants and traders five years in which to wind up their business and retire to certain defined areas which would usually be right outside the town and the trading centres. It also declared that even when a mining centre had been worked out and was called "Deproclaimed" it should be prohibited for Indian occupancy and trade. Thus the new

THE LATE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

IT is with profound regret that we record the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru at Lucknow on the morning of the 6th. Though he was ailing for some months past it was hoped that he would recover and live to see the fruition of his labours in the cause of freedom. But that was not to be, and the end came with a stunning suddenness from which the country will take long to recover. Pandit Motilal could not be said to have died young, for he had just passed the psalmist's three score years and ten but his removal just at this time when his wise counsel and sagacious statesmanship would have been so invaluable to the cause of peace, is nothing short of a disaster.

A Kashmiri Brahmin, Pandit Motilal Nehru was born in Delhi in May 1861. He began his career as a vakil in Cawnpore, later moving to Allahabad where he was admitted to the Bar. His legal acumen and forensic eloquence, coupled with his suavity of manners, quickly brought him a lucrative practice.

law which was proposed would not only shut up the last loophole by which trade could be carried on but would also prohibit trade and occupancy over far wider areas than before.

Last year owing to the earnest inter-position of the Agent of the Government of India this Bill was postponed. A promise was given by Dr. Malan that it would be brought in again without any alteration early in the parliamentary session of 1931. At the time of writing this article the whole matter stands at this critical point. Personally on arriving at Cape Town, I endeavoured with the utmost care and anxiety to obtain a still further postponement. For it was clear to me that if the Bill was passed the Indian Community would be ruined. Perhaps before this reaches the press the whole question may be settled one way or the other. But this article will show how immensely difficult the situation is.

Pandit Motilal came to the limelight in politics when he presided over the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress in 1919, just at the time when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were announced and the country was in the throes of a tremendous agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. His address was a scathing indictment of the martial law administration and the regime of Gen. O'Dwyer. He also laboured hard as a member of the Congress Enquiry Committee into the Punjab Disturbances.

With the launching of the non-co-operation movement by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920, a great change took place in his political outlook. For the Pandit could never do anything half-heartedly, and it was typical of him that when he became a disciple of Mr. Gandhi he did so thoroughly, giving up his extensive practice and style of living. On the 6th Dec. 1921 he was arrested on a charge of signing the Congress pledge and for the first time he was incarcerated for six months with his son and nephews

and ever since his release he continued to devote his entire time and energy to the service of the country. In 1922 when Mahatma Gandhi was in prison and his boycott programme was suspended, Pandit Motilal, with the late Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. V. J. Patel and Hakim Ajmal Khan, held an inquiry into the working of the civil disobedience movement. As a result of the findings of this Committee, Pandit Motilal, Mr. C. R. Das and other leaders of the non-co-operation movement founded the Swaraj Party "to give battle to the bureaucracy on all fronts." The object of the new Party, they explained, was not to lead a revolt against the Congress but to supplement the work of Mahatma Gandhi's party, the "No-Changers" as they were called, by "carrying the battle into the enemy's camp." Pandit Motilal thus became the leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, just as Mr. C. R. Das led the Swaraj Party in the Bengal Council.

He led the Swaraj Party in the Legislative Assembly with ability and distinction and gave proof of his great qualities of Parliamentary leadership. He succeeded in defeating the Government on numerous occasions; and his powers of debate, knowledge of Parliamentary procedure and trenchant criticism made him a formidable opponent of Government. As it was, he had to be content with exposing the hollowness of the Reforms, and this his party did, under his distinguished leadership, with conspicuous success. On March 8, 1926, the Swaraj Party, led by Pandit Motilal Nehru, walked out of the Legislative Assembly after he had made his dramatic statement on the floor of the House.

After the "walk-out," Pandit Motilal Nehru did not remain idle. He devoted his entire time and energy to the work of organising the country and educating the electorate. He fought the next general election and returned to the Assembly at the head of the Swaraj Party, which still cons-

tituted the largest single party in the legislature.

In the meantime he was called upon to preside over the Congress a second time, and under his leadership, the Calcutta Congress in 1928, laid the foundation of the present civil disobedience movement by passing a resolution, which has been described as an "ultimatum" to the Government. That "ultimatum" remained unheeded, and at Lahore in 1929, the Congress under the presidentship of his son, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, passed the Independence resolution and embarked on the civil disobedience movement, with results which are to-day visible on all sides.

But the Pandit had undoubtedly constructive ability of a very high order, and in any other country his gifts would have easily won for him the highest position in the State. For, during the same year he presided over the All-Parties Conference held in Bombay and was the author of the famous "Nehru Report," a document which he prepared in collaboration with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in answer to the challenge that Indians could not produce an agreed constitution. That Report was widely appreciated and is in fact the basis of India's demand for Dominion constitution. The fact was the Pandit was by temperament and training a constitutionalist and it was the peculiar irony of circumstances that conspired to make him spend his life in opposition.

After the Lahore session of the Congress, Pandit Motilal along with other Swarajists resigned from the Assembly and closely associated himself with Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movement. As a result of his activity in connection with the movement, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment on July 2, 1930, under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Section 117 of the Penal Code.

While in jail, he, along with his son, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was taken to Poona from

Allahabad to have a consultation with Mahatma Gandhi regarding the peace-parleys conducted by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. Owing to his serious illness he was unconditionally released before he completed his full term of imprisonment. But he was never able to recover from that illness.

In the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru has passed away a prince among men. The universal tribute that is being paid to his memory is an index to the extraordinary hold he had on the affections of his countrymen. Nay more, he was beloved of all and Mahatma Gandhi's most poignant outburst is but an expression of national grief. Of his gifts and accomplishments, of the magnitude of his personal sacrifices* and sufferings for the cause he espoused, of his outstanding ability, his courage and integrity, and his commanding position in the public life of the country, eloquent testimony has been borne by everyone who has known him. Sir George Rainey spoke truly when he said in the Assembly that the Pandit

had a personality which impressed itself on the most unobservant. Eminent as a lawyer, eminent as a speaker in the first rank and as a political leader, he could not but take the foremost place wherever he might be, whether within these walls or outside them. The quickness of his intellect, his skill in debate, his adroitness as a tactician, and his strength of purpose rendered him a formidable adversary in controversy. These qualities were there for all to see, but he had other qualities which lent distinction to his character in private life as well as in politics, and it is these I myself often recall. An endearing courtesy, a ready sense of humour, freedom from malice and bitterness and a wide and deep culture rendered him unrivalled as a host and the most charming of companions. We shall not again see in this House his well-remembered figure, but we shall often recall that exquisite fitness of attire which aptly symbolised the clean fighter and the great gentleman and that impressive face, deeply lined and careworn on which character and intellect were so deeply imprinted.

Yes, it was the charm of his manners and the courtliness of his behaviour that disarmed his political opponents. He had a striking and magnificent appearance. "His finely shaped head and strong face were outward manifestations of the

mental brilliance which distinguished him alike in law and politics; he was moreover a man of sterling character and highest integrity both in public and private life."

As we think of that life our mind involuntarily goes back to the days when he was living the life princely. What a change has been wrought in that life by the influence of the Mahatma whose company has been to the son of the departed patriot "a solace and an inspiration," in this hour of trial and sorrow! How completely his views of life and habits have changed and what a resurrection has been wrought in him will be evident from a perusal of his own letter to Mr. Gandhi written from Ramgadh about the middle of 1921:—

You will be interested to know the kind of life I am leading here. In the good (?) old days, two kitchen establishments—one English and the other Indian—accompanied me in the hills. After Chota Hazri in camp, we would start off for the jungle with a full equipment of rifles, short guns and ammunition, and on occasions with quite a little army of beaters and killed such innocent creatures as came on our way till late in the afternoon—lunch and tea being served in the jungle with as much punctilious care as at home. A hearty dinner awaited our return to camp, and after doing full justice to it we slept the sleep of the just! There was nothing to disturb the even tenor of life except occasional annoyance at a stupid miss which saved the life of some poor beast. And now—the brass cooker (purchased in Delhi when we were all there for the opening of the Tibbi College) has taken the place of the two kitchens, a solitary servant, not over-intelligent, that of the old retinue—three small bags containing rice, dal and masalo that of the mule loads of provisions (I shall never excuse Kamala for making these bags of Bideshi cloth instead of Khadi)—one square meal of rice, dal, vegetables, sometimes khir (milk and rice cooked together) in the middle of the day, that of breakfast, lunch and dinner a la' Anglais—lots of fruit with morning and afternoon tea and occasional egg or two when available.—The Shikar has given place to long walks and the rifles and guns to books, magazines and newspapers (the favourite book being Edwin Arnold's *SONG CELESTIAL* which is now undergoing a third reading). When it rains hard as it is doing now, there is nothing but to write silly letters like this, "What a fall, my countrymen!" But really I have never enjoyed life better. Only the rice has given out, and I have applied Brahmin-like for a dole from the ministerial stores of Jagatnarayan who happens to be near.

That gives a measure of the transformation that was wrought on the life and fortunes of one who for more than a decade was second only to Mahatma Gandhi himself in influence and authority among his countrymen.

THE ROMANCE OF COMMUNICATIONS

POSTS, TELEGRAPHS, TELEPHONES AND BROADCASTING IN THE U.S.A. AND CANADA.

BY MR. H. A. SAMS, C.I.E.,

Director-General of Posts & Telegraphs.

POSTS

IT is always interesting to see how one's own job is done in another country, to note the points of difference and to see how the methods adopted elsewhere can be used with advantage in one's own Department. This interest is specially marked when the countries compared with India are the U.S.A., and Canada, both somewhat larger than India and Burma with the same wide spaces, the U.S.A., more highly developed than Canada, Canada more British in its outlook and therefore perhaps more analogous in its methods to Great Britain and to India. Both these countries have this great advantage over India; generally speaking, they are dealing with only one language, English, though in some parts of the U.S.A., there is Spanish and German spoken and in the Province of Quebec French is as common as English and in fact in that Province all Government forms and documents are in both French and English. Nevertheless postal and telegraph matters are not so complicated linguistically as they are in India.

In the U. S. A., and Canada where clerical and operative labour is of course expensive, every effort is made to employ machines rather than humans. Everywhere one sees ingenious mechanical contrivances to save both time and pay.

The main point of difference between the P.O. in the U.S.A., and the P.O. in India is the colossal traffic of the U.S.A., of nearly 27 thousand million articles a year against 14 hundred million in India, i.e., nearly twenty-six times as great, with a staff only three times and a number of offices only double those in India. These figures immediately show not only the vast postal traffic in the U. S. A., where practically everyone is literate and everyone writes a letter or receives a parcel, but also the fact that the average office is incomparably larger than the average office in India and that as much as possible of the work is

done by machinery. It is a revelation to watch the parcel sorting at the Van Buren Office, where the tons of parcels filter from the top storey of the sorting office to the ground floor along a moving band which is worked by a handful of sorters who throw the parcels on to half a dozen other moving bands working in all directions towards shoots, until they reach their destination on the ground floor. Very much the same thing happens to letters which are dumped on to the moving band of the mechanical pick-up table where they are handled by clerks who separate them into large and small articles by dropping them upright into one or other of two troughs which carry them, already faced, by a moving band to the obliterator.

A feature of the U. S. A. Post Office is that, while for inland letters, packets etc., there is a uniform rate, for parcels the rates are arranged according to the distance, varying from 9 cents* for a local parcel to 61 cents if the parcel travels over 1,800 miles.

Travelling along the countryside both in the U. S. A., and Canada, you will see cylinders fixed to the top of posts by the roadside into which are dropped articles for delivery by the cycle or motor-car official as he passes. There is no waiting as in India to find the addressee or his servant.

It is a curious fact that out of 50,000 Post Offices in the U. S. A., in 4,500 the Post Masters are political appointments, made by the President, confirmed by the Senate and held for four years. The American citizen realises that such a system does not make for efficiency, but it is part of the political 'game'. He shrugs his shoulders and gets on with his job of making dollars.

In Canada the postal traffic is very nearly the same as in India; the personnel however including the transport contractors is very much smaller

* It was only last year that Pandit Motilal Nehru bequeathed his palatial Allahabad mansion, "Ananda Bhavan" to the Indian National Congress. It is now called "Swaraj Bhavan."

* 1 cent=approx 6 pies.
1 dollar=approx Rs. 3.

being some 23,000 as against our 130,000. The number of offices in Canada is only half of the number in India. In Canada as in the U.S.A., postmen are not sanctioned for a town of less than 12,000 inhabitants. As all of them are literate and expect letters a Canadian post office in a small town is a busy scene at delivery time when many of the 12,000 inhabitants flock to the post offices for their letters!

As in the States, the rate for correspondence in Canada, is flat; but parcels are paid at a Zone rate. For correspondence there is a minimum rate of 2 cents whether for letters or postcards. This accounts for the few postcards seen in Canada, except picture postcards which go for 1 cent.

The Air Mails in the U.S.A. have reached a wonderful stage of development. For the month of July 1929 there were 31 separate routes with a total length of 13,928 miles, of which that from Chicago to San Francisco accounts for nearly 2,000 miles; 1,260,980 miles were flown and 645,653 lbs. of mails were carried; \$1,247,400 = Rs. 32,29,400 was paid in that month to contractors. The Air Field at Chicago, the great Air junction, is a wonderful sight aeroplanes constantly rising and alighting.

Canada cannot boast of such air mail figures as the U.S.A., but the air mail in Canada has made remarkable progress. In December 1927 the total mileage was 367 miles, the scheduled trips 3 the weight 1 ton. By October 1929, less than two years later, the total mileage was 3000, scheduled trips 300, weight 30 tons, mileage flown 50,9385. Both in the U.S.A. and Canada it is fully realised that night flying is essential to an air mail service.

There is an interesting air mail service between Montreal and Rimouski near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River a distance of 330 miles. The mail is placed on and taken from the steamships at Rimouski, thereby saving from 24 to 72 hours in transmission. The load carried per trip is

approximately 800 lbs., confined to letters only. No additional postage is charged.

The Air Mail in Canada has transformed life for dwellers in remote and hitherto inaccessible places. By this means communications, which would take days and weeks by dog-teams travelling over the frozen wastes, take hours only by aeroplane which carries to the isolated miner his letters, medicines (often ordered by wire) and often spare parts of machinery.

TELEGRAPHS

Unlike India, Telegraphs both in the U. S. A. and Canada are functioned not by the State but by Corporations. In the U. S. A., the two rival and competing companies are the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph Cable Company, the latter name is somewhat of a misnomer, as it has nothing whatever to do with the Post Office. In Canada the two competing companies are the Canadian National Railway Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the former being operated on behalf of the Canadian Government. The fact that in each country there are two rival systems gives the public, as may be expected, a wonderfully efficient service. In the larger towns the offices of the rivals may be found cheek by jowl. In the principal hotels both rivals are represented often at the same Telegraph Bureau and at the main railway stations an office of both will be found.

The figures below give a comparison between these systems and the Telegraphs in India:—

	India.	U.S.A. W.U.	P.T.C.Co.	CANADA. C.P.R.	C.N.T.
Places served	10,360	25,000	2,300	1,566	1,797
Miles of line	102,402	214,799	32,385	16,035	20,216
Miles of wire	475,499	1,747,453	315,176	151,329	120,574
Miles of land cable	1,132	3,419	670	—	—
Messages in year in millions	20¼	164½	35½	6	7½
Revenue in lakhs of Rs.	296	3,953	802	163	—
Expenditure in lakhs	326	3,475	686	33	—
Net profit or loss	30	438	136	130	—

Comparing India with the Western Union only it will be noticed that while the Western Union has only twice the mileage of line, it has four times the mileage of wire and sends 8 times the number of messages.

All four Companies in the U.S.A., and Canada have adopted the Zone rate, i.e., payment by distance, varying from 24 cents per ten words for local messages to 120 cents for the furthest distance. In India it costs the sender the same amount to send a telegram from Madras to Ooty as from Madras to Razmak in Waziristan. In the U.S.A., and Canada the Telegraph systems pay; in India they do not.

TELEPHONES

To appreciate the wonderful development of telephones in the U.S.A., one only has to remember that 59 per cent. of the telephone business of the whole world functions in that country and that 85 per cent. of the world's phones can be reached from any of the 19 million telephones. In 1928 more than a million dollars or Rs. 26½ lakhs were spent every day in telephone development only. In India the total yearly expenditure on Government telephones is only 51½ lakhs, i.e., two days' cost of telephone development in the U.S.A. Telephones in the U.S.A., are growing at the rate of 800,000 telephones a year and saturation point does not appear to be in sight. For every telephone in India there are a thousand in the U. S. A. From the Walker Street Exchange in New York alone 30 million trunk calls a year are sent and received employing a staff of 3,500 operators and 400 supervisors. If in India there were only a fraction of the same demand for telephones, what a chance of employment for the unemployed middle classes of this country! We could not equal the 334,000 employers of the A. T. & T., but even a third of that number would help to solve the problem of unemployment in India.

The whole of the marvellous system of telephones in the U. S. A. is handled by the

American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (the A. T. & T.) the mother Co. with some seventeen operating companies working under it and the "Bell Telephone Laboratories Incorporated" devoted entirely to research, employing a staff of 2000 highly trained scientists and engineers.

In Canada there has been an amazing growth in telephones. In 1911 there were 300,000: by the end of 1928 there were 1,300,000 and the number is increasing at the rate of 60,000 a year. Unlike the U.S.A., where the great A. T. & T. controls the whole telephone system, in Canada there are some nine telephone administrations, three of which are run by Government. The largest Company is the Bell Telephone Co., which operates chiefly in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. It is closely connected with the A.T. & T. which owns a third of its shares, and it has access to all the patents and research work of the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

In Canada great use is made of rural telephones, as is only natural in a country of wide spaces and long distances. These rural phones, are generally as the 'Party' system, three or four farmers sharing the same line, a system which makes for economy but not for privacy.

RADIO

As might be expected in progressive countries like the U. S. A. and Canada Radio has made remarkable strides. In the U. S. A., it is, I believe, practically in the hands of one Corporation, the Radio Corporation of America. Considering that the R. C. A., is only 10 years old the progress made by it is phenomenal. It is in radio communication with most countries of Europe, the Argentine, Brazil, Columbia, Chile, Dutch Guiana, Porto Rico, Venezuela, Canada, Hawaii, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China. At present there is no direct route with India. The R. C. A. also sends inland radiograms between Boston, New York and Washington on the East to San Francisco on the

West; it works a ship to share service not only with ships at sea but also with ships sailing on the Great Lakes. As an example of their methods in getting new business I may cite the following. As soon as a message is received for a new addressee, a white slip is prepared and handed to a canvasser who has to call on the addressee within twenty-four hours, interest him in Radio generally and suggest a reply by Radio to the radiogram received.

In Canada Radio Work is divided by Government, the Marconi Co., of Canada and licensed public Commercial Stations. An interesting departure has been inaugurated by which the Department sends by Radio Telephones to the Lunenburg fishing fleet on the Grand Banks and to fishing ships in other parts of the Atlantic information regarding storm warnings, the market price of fish, the amount of bait on hand at various points and any other outstanding items of interest to fishermen generally.

BROADCASTING

An article on communications in the New World would not be complete without a short account of Broadcasting.

The outstanding feature of Broadcasting in the U.S.A., is that, unlike Great Britain and India there is no listening-in license. Any one, who will, may establish a listening-in set. Who then pays for the service and for the splendid programmes which one hears in the U.S.A.? The answer is simple. It is paid for by some fifty leading commercial companies, e.g., Messrs. Wrigleys Chewing Gum, Messrs. Palmolive, Messrs. Flit, who 'sponsor' the programmes, that is, pay for a programme occasionally or periodically at so much an hour for the privilege of letting 40 million people hear the announcer say that the programme is given "by the courtesy of Messrs. So and so". Nothing further than that is said before or after any of the sponsored programmes broadcast by the National Broadcast-

ing Co., though with the smaller broadcasting companies the advertising is more blatant and defeats its object.

The outstanding company is the National Broadcasting Company of New York. Formed only four years ago it has rapidly established a commanding position not only in New York and the surrounding States, but also throughout the U.S.A. By January 1928 it owned 8,710 miles of permanent line and 1,990 miles of temporary line. From time to time it links up, with 50 stations in the U.S.A., and Canada for simultaneous broadcasting in a national emergency or on important occasions. As I have already said, the "Sponsored programme" is the "gentleman who pays the rent." Whether the same system would be as successful in India is a matter of opinion, but there would seem to be no reason why the sponsored programme should not be enlisted to soften the thorny path of Broadcasting in this country.

In Canada Broadcasting functions by private enterprise except in the Province of Manitoba where the stations are owned and operated by the Provincial Government. Curiously enough Canada has not adopted the sponsored programme which has been so conspicuous a success in the neighbouring country. In spite of the great progress of Broadcasting in Canada the Canadian Government was not satisfied with the position and recently appointed a Royal Commission to investigate and to make recommendations. The Royal Commission recommended the Broadcasting Stations should be operated by a single national utility company financed by a license fee of \$ 3 (=Rs. 9) a year, by indirect advertising (Sponsored programmes) and by general subsidy of \$ 1,00,000 (Rs. 30,00,000) no as an expedient to meet a deficit but as a matter of national importance and utility. The cost of operating seven stations is estimated at \$ 2,500,000 (=Rs. 75,00,000) a year. By the time I left Canada the Government had not passed order on the Report of the Royal Commission. The recommendations, however, show the importance that the Royal Commission attached to Broadcasting as a national institution.

The United States of Europe*

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II

THE chief causes of the present desire for a United States of Europe arises from political and economic causes. The Peace of Versailles (1919) created 27 states in Europe and there are now 35 customs barriers, 27 monetary systems and 6,000 Kilometers of new boundary lines. Politically western Europe to-day is disunited. Great nations like France, Germany and Italy are strongly suspicious about each other. The enormous war indemnity imposed on Germany, her compulsory disarmament, and denuding her of some of her own peoples and territories has continued this suspicion and hatred. The French foreign policy is manifestly anti-German. The Italian policy is imperial. Similarly eastern neighbours of Germany and Italy who were rescued and recreated by the Great War are frankly anti-German and anti-Italian. France still remembers her sufferings during the War but does not realise the sufferings she is causing to Germany. This is the political condition of Europe. Besides the political systems of many of these post-War states are not as yet stabilised. There are dictatorships and new parties, Fascists, Communists, Nationalists and Imperialists are all active within and without. Then there is the external danger of Russia with its ideas of a world revolution based on communistic philosophy which is hated by the capitalist countries of Europe. In their dread of this new social philosophy they have not recognised Russia even diplomatically. But Russia in spite of their opposition has strengthened her government and has created a strong federal soviet state over an immense piece of territory, containing about 150 millions of inhabitants and

stretching over Asia and Europe to the extent of 22 million Kilometres. She is strong in resources, fighting powers and communistic ambition. She is united, there being no civil wars within her vast territory. She is consciously organising her peoples and her power economically and militarily. As against this her immediate European neighbours on the western boundary are small states weak in resources, deficient in experience, quarrelling and ill-equipped. They cannot withstand Russia in case of an aggressive war. Therefore the Russian danger is real politically, socially and economically. It is a disturber of old values in politics, society, religion and economics. Europe, if she wants to defend herself and her civilisation, based on capitalistic, competitive and colonial systems, against the new Russia, will have to reorganise herself politically and strengthen herself economically. Her population is large, nearly 300 millions. It is vigorous, energetic, progressive and creative. Her resources in Europe and in her African and Asiatic colonies are large. But due to her national rivalries and selfishness, her mutual historical hatreds and present distrust it is a politically disintegrated and disrupted area and therefore powerless to meet the Russian danger if it were to materialise.

Economically, European nations have been dominating the world till the Great War. Their colonial possessions all over the world, their control over the carrying trade of the world, their practical monopoly of many industries and raw resources, their scientific and mechanical knowledge and their political control and dominance in the affairs of the world gave them enormous wealth and economic power. Europe was the financial centre of the world. Most of the

* Part I appeared in the last issue.

other countries were debtor countries and were in the grasp of European powers in various ways. But this enviable economic position changed during the Great War. The European countries became enormously indebted to U.S.A. The ruin caused by the War to the manpower, to long established industries, and to the control of commerce and markets gave a set-back economically to every nation. During this period the financial centre shifted to U. S. A. and European countries are greatly indebted to her. They have not been able to capture their old markets and to establish their old industries. Germany has been greatly handicapped by War indemnities, other countries by War debts and devastations. And again the old competition between these countries still remains.

Then again, the British are trying to set up a new British economic imperialism against other nations in their own interests which curtail a large area of the world for marketing purposes. In addition the awakening of Asiatic countries and their economic swadeshism and industrialism are closing the Eastern markets.

Therefore some Europeans have begun to feel that if Europe is to live securely and prosperously it must give up its policy of complete national separatism and of economic self-sufficiency of its units, and adopt some common policy and organisation in political and economic matters. Its states cannot now live in complete isolation and independence and dominate the world in security. In order to live in security politically and economically they must agree to unite in some form for the common purposes and needs.

European states now 26 in all have many things culturally, politically and economically in common. Their inheritance of Hellenic and Roman art and culture, their Christian traditions, their scientific mind and progressive outlook, their political parliamentarianism, nationalism, their economic

capitalism and socialism are uniquely their own creations and possessions. They are interested vitally in their protection. The underlying spirit of their culture is one.

Under the pressure of these circumstances and with a desire for security primarily economic but also political, the idea of a United States of Europe has rapidly developed amongst some continental statesmen. M. Briand is its official sponsor and Minister. Dr. Stressman had stated before the Reichstag: "I believe that a time will come, born of economic stringency when the French economic policy, the German economic policy and perhaps other economic policies in Europe will seek some common avenue of support in the face of successful competition."

M. Briand's object is to create a federal link amongst the western European States "to have at any moment the chance of coming into contact, of discussing our interests, of taking decisions in common, of building up and among ourselves a solidarity which would enable us to face serious circumstances should they come to pass."

The events which were compelling European statesmen to push forward this object were more economic than political. Industrial leaders of European countries were making agreements and working together industries successfully. France and Germany irrespective of their political enmities were making agreements in potash, iron, steel and chemical industries in face of Non-European, that is American competition. But these economic agreements are partial in their scope. Unless an economic zollverein comes, that is the protective and tariff policies of European states are given up, their customs barriers are raised and their monetary systems harmonised, the economic security of Europe is not likely to come. For this economic security there is necessary a political alliance or federation which will stabilise economic union.

There are roughly three political groups in western Europe. One is the Romanic or Latin south west—France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Belgium, the second is the Teutonic centre—Germany, Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The third is the Slavic east—from Finland to the Balkans. At present these groups have their individual fears and policies and programmes. Unless they give up their suspicions, hatred and selfishness no progress is possible. They must recognise the advantages of a common political organisation and a united economic policy. The dangers and disasters of civil war are too near to be forgotten. The would-be Russian danger, real or fictitious has to be faced or provided for. The unnecessary economic rivalry and the wasteful armament competition can be largely minimised under a new federated Europe.

The stages through which this proposal is likely to pass and to develop may be stated roughly to be:

1. A Pan-European Conference of States who are willing to join.
2. If a preliminary agreement is reached on the basis of immediate economic dangers, then an economic zollverein or a customs union and industrial agreements in order to maintain industrial supremacy and the world markets.
3. Then a Pan-European arbitration treaty to settle internal disputes.
4. Then security pacts to meet the "Russian danger," military and communistic.
5. Lastly would come the United States of Europe with a federal government on a bicameral system, one house representing the twenty-six states as units and the other representing the European peoples, about 300 millions in number.

In an International community of world powers, anarchic or atomistic Europe cannot survive. M. Briand suggested an organisation on the following lines:

1. Like the Assembly of the League of Nations, European Conference representative

of all European states who are the members of the League. Its work was to be directive.

2. Its President was to be elected annually by rotation.

3. There was to be a small Council to do the executive work.

4. There was to be a Secretariat, and

5. A number of Technical Committees.

This is purely a tentative scheme modelled on that of the League. The Federation was to "constitute a living bond of solidarity among European nations." Most of its immediate activities were to be economic and financial. It was to look after labour problems, hygiene, communication, transit, and intellectual co-operation. The economic co-operation would begin with a truly liberal tariff policy. It would create a common market and a rational organisation of production and exchange and thus eliminate waste and wasteful competition. There was also to be the encouragement of mutual credit. Labour problems were to receive special attention. All this was immediately necessary in view of the Russian and American competition. It would stop internal competition and strengthen itself against foreign competition and foreign tariff restrictions on European goods.

But there are a number of difficulties in the way.

1. Internal suspicions, distrusts and hatreds, as between France and Germany, Italy and Germany, Germany and her eastern neighbours especially Poland, The Balkan Tangle etc. The newly-won freedom and independence by suppressed small nations and dismembered big nations will not easily be merged in a new organisation or associate with its old masters and oppressors. Their political consciousness is purely national and their economic policy is of national self-sufficiency. Hence their customs and tariff barriers are meant to create a new economic and industrial world for themselves which was denied to them by their early masters.

Therefore unless the hearts and heads of these new nationalists and statesmen approve of this idea, it has very little chance of success, only if there is an immediate and pressing foreign danger, it may develop.

2. Then, Great Britain because of her Empire is not likely to welcome the proposal. Her interests are more colonial and imperial than continental. She does not really want a united Europe. It would be a great danger to her supremacy on the seas and in various parts of the world. She wants peace in Europe but not unity. She has always helped and fought for the preservation of small nations like Holland, Portugal and Belgium, and even for Turkey, nor does she want any entanglement in European matters which would bind her to any indefinite and unforeseen responsibilities. She wants freedom of action to interfere in European affairs so far as they would affect her imperial interests. She would lower her status and her Imperial interests would suffer if she were to become a member of a purely European federation. Then her colonies and dependencies are likely to break away sooner from her than otherwise. She feels herself to be a world-power and not merely a European state. Then her economic policy is either national or imperial. It can never be European, because her competitors up till now have been mostly European states, though no doubt America and Japan have also become her serious rivals. Her tariff policy is shaping itself in an imperial form. She wants to become a self-sufficient economic empire utilising all the imperial resources in men and material, largely to maintain her political and economic supremacy. She welcomes to be a member of a League of Nations in which both her European and world interests are secured as she has a predominant voice in conjunction with her colonial and dependent partners. And the League cannot interfere in her internal and imperial

affairs. So she can treat her dependencies and crown colonies in any way she likes. Then under the fiction of mandates she has attached many new territories to her empire which sooner or later she wants to absorb, only waiting for another opportunity.

M. Briand's proposal is not approved by Great Britain. She wants to know what is to be its relation to the League of Nations.

3. The League of Nations will prove an obstacle to the realisation of a Pan-European federation. European powers like Great Britain, or new nation-states or Asiatic and South American states will not easily accept the idea of Europe's federation that would increase Europe's strength which, according to them, is or has been more than justified. No doubt one point of attack against the League is that it is dominated by European interests and problems, and European powers dominate its whole working. But by way of counter attack some Europeans say that non-Europeans vote on European matters and that therefore the League should confine itself to world problems and that there should be a European federation to deal with purely European problems. No doubt the difficulty would be to distinguish between purely European problems and world problems as Europe possesses politically a large part of the African and Asiatic world. Then the League has no organic unity either economic, geographical, cultural or sentimental. In it the problems of Europe as Europe are not represented. Its members are not properly balanced. Interests of some powers like Great Britain are over represented. From the world's point of view some interests are not represented at all. Russia and America are not its members. And Europe as a whole has concern with Russia and America. Therefore without destroying the League or minimising its importance Europe wants an autonomy within the League. The League should really represent American groups, British Empire group,

European group, Russian group, Mongolian group, and the Muslim group. This is what they would say. In the European and British groups would fall the Colonies and Dominions in Asia and Africa which are possessed by them.

4. America, Russia, China and Japan cannot definitely and publicly go against this idea or this attempt. America's interest is financial and economic. It cannot prevent or protest against any such combination. Her own Munro doctrine of 1829 is itself a standing example and inspiration to Europe to invite.

Russian interest is communistic. Europe's union of Federation would not check communism if it is to succeed at all. On the contrary, national sentiment would decay. Russia's fear is and would be Europe's united military power. But she has no means of preventing European federation. Her power for offence is not very great at present, and she has her own economic difficulties to solve and wants markets for her raw products and

would like to import machinery and some industrial products from abroad.

China and Japan are in no way able to prevent European federation though they would not like a new invasion of the East by a United Europe. China is at present engaged in her eternal problems of creating a central government and of preventing provincial separatism. To Japan it is the British Empire and America which are greater dangers politically than Europe as a whole.

5. Then there are national chauvinists, communists, militarists, protectionists, imperialists who are opposed to any scheme of peace, disarmament, arbitration union or federation because their selfish economic interests are touched or aggressive political ambitions can have no scope.

The new idea has thus to find its way through all these difficulties and oppositions.

(Concluded.)

Mr. Montagu's Indian Diary

IN July 1917, in the course of a debate on Mesopotamia, Mr. Montagu, then a private member of Parliament, made a speech in which he criticised the Government of India as being

too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements. . . . The Indian Government is an indefensible system of government.

The speech made a great sensation then and doubtless divided the ranks of the politicals into two hostile camps: there were ardent admirers of Mr. Montagu as there were others in vehement opposition to him. It was almost immediately after this great speech that Mr. Montagu joined the Coalition Government of Mr. Lloyd George "on condition that he should go to the India Office confident in the great work which he felt he could accomplish for the cause he had so much at heart."

On August 20 was made the momentous announcement of the progressive realisation of responsible government for India: and Mr. Montagu set out on his historic visit to this country. The Diary* which covers the whole of his visit to India in the winter of 1917-18 was written or rather dictated, Mrs. Montagu tells us, in her brief introduction

usually against time and at all times and places, sometimes on the back of an elephant, miles out in the jungle. These week-end shooting trips were the only way by which he could save himself from a severe breakdown, which, indeed, continually threatened him.

There was no thought of eventual publication; the main idea in writing was to give the Prime Minister continuous news of how he was progressing in his supremely difficult task. Mr. Montagu, we are told, wrote impulsively on the spur of the

* "AN INDIAN DIARY." By Edwin S. Montagu. Edited by Venetia Montagu. Heinemann. 21s. Price Rs. 15-12. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., G. T. Madras.)

moment and we should not therefore be surprised to find "sweeping or hasty judgments modified or even contradicted a few pages later." The Diary therefore expresses Mr. Montagu's moods from day to day, and expresses equally all his generous enthusiasms, and his lofty aspirations for India. He was a tired and worn-out man at the end of his arduous labours and no doubt there are passages which express his resentment or querulousness, but altogether the Diary has all the vividness of first impressions and the candour of a personal record. Mr. Montagu almost wore himself out in his great work and we are pathetically reminded that, when he resigned his office in 1922, he seemed "in saying good-bye to his work for India to lose the greater part of interest in life; he was never the same man again."

There is no doubt the publication of this Diary is of service just at this juncture when the Round Table Conference has endeavoured to supplement the work done by Mr. Montagu. Once again we are confronted by almost the same problems, and though the conditions have vastly changed in the intervening years, the urgency of the problems continues unabated and in many respects the situation has become far more intense and demands just the same insight and imaginative sympathy which Mr. Montagu brought to its solution in his own day.

At the very outset we are struck by the determination and something of the apostolic fervour with which Mr. Montagu entered on his task.

My visit to India means that we are going to do something, and something big. I cannot go home and produce a little thing or nothing; it must be epoch-making or it is a failure, it must be the keystone of the future history of India.

He was throughout conscious of the importance alike of his visit to India and of the greatness of the mission that he had undertaken. The Diary is scattered with passages abounding in acute judgments and sympathetic understanding; but more than all his actual prescriptions for India's

ills the spirit which animated him during his tenure at the India Office is altogether worthy of him.

The Diary is replete with observations and reflections that deserve to be quoted, but we must content ourselves with recording Mr. Montagu's opinion on one or two matters which are still of vital interest. We shall leave the personalities altogether, for Mr. Montagu while always generous to a fault, had like all strong natures, his likes and dislikes, and in a document, originally meant to be private he naturally let himself go. And so we have a collection of admirable and telling characterizations of persons, not always judicious but certainly vivid and impressive. But his opinion of things and institutions must be recorded. Coming straight from the free atmosphere of democratic England he is struck by the wooden formalism of the court, and the way the Viceroy receives the Deputation is hit off in a characteristic note.

The formula never varies, the voice never modifies. At the close of it the leader of the deputation calls the name and description of each man, who solemnly comes forward, shakes hands with each of us, retires backwards; and when the whole ceremony is over the Viceroy bows and walks out of the tent, followed by me. We sit down until we are called for the next deputation in about ten minutes.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Yes, everything is formal, precedent following precedent in uninterrupted succession and the whole government moves on with a clock-like monotony, irresponsive to public feeling, moving on its own axis, propelled by its own force.

They (Government of India) approach their problem from the wrong side; they do the work that they are called upon to do, they wade through files; they think of their regulations; and then as to the social side—precedence, precedence, precedence. Everything is divided into Government and those who are not Government officials, and those who are not officials, Government and the opposition. Informal discussions, informal conversation, they do not know. Political instinct they have none. The wooing of constituents is their metier. Nothing is required of them but to get through their files, and carry on their social work according to the rule. Everything is prescribed, everything is printed.

Not even the Secretary of State for India could have private interviews with the leaders of the people, in the absence of the Viceroy. Lord Chelmsford resents Mr. Montagu's efforts to get into closer personal relations with Indian politicians—as if he came all the way to read the files and pass his judgments! And yet Mr. Montagu sees the danger and the futility of differing from Lord Chelmsford, the man on the spot who runs the machinery:

But I cannot leave the Government of India untouched. It is not because I said that I believed it was bad; it is because I felt it was bad. I felt it before I came out; I feel it more so now I am here. The dead hand of the Government of India is over everything, blighting it.

There must be a root and branch change in the method and spirit of government. The aloofness of the governing class, its abhorrence of intimate relations even with leading and loyal Indians and its proclivity to rule by files and regulations went against his whole grain.

He would fain introduce the more wholesome methods of democratic rule, that is, government by discussion and informal conversation. He would like the growth of social intercourse between the rulers and the ruled and the gradual development of responsibility in the people.

.....There is no such thing as an informal conversation, so much so that the Government never does anything except by message, resolution or Bill, and advice is never given by the non-official or the people of the country until it is asked for and it is never asked for.

I wish I had time to elaborate what I mean, but I still say that the social side of the question is at the bottom of the political mess in which we have landed ourselves. ...Certainly that social relationship which the English people seem to find so difficult comes very easy to me; and we shall go from bad to worse, until we are hounded out of India, unless something is done to correct this sort of thing.

And so he pleaded with Lord Chelmsford for a new angle of vision in the Government of India with regard to England's mission in the East. And what is that mission?

The historic part of Great Britain is to befriend national aspirations. I am not sure that in the East, at any rate, we have not forgotten this, and our policy of disruption and control over Persia must react on Indian opinion.

Later we find Mr. Montagu pleading with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief to give up

the old segregation policy in the Army. He bitterly resented the racial humiliation implied in the exclusion of Indians from the Scouts organisation and military service and pointed out to Sir Charles Munro

the difficulty of asking men to come into the Army merely as sepoys, with no prospect of advance. We were not making a similar request to any other part of the Empire.

He hit off the new principle he wished to introduce in India *viz.*, to shift the responsibility for the Government of India from England to India.

The main principle, as far as I can see, is that instead of founding the Indian Government on the confidence of the people of England, we are gradually to found it on the confidence of the people of India.

But in all this we are told that he was met with constant opposition from the Government of India. For having no policy of its own it could accept none from others. Its memorandum was thoroughly barren:

It shows no line of advance in the future which I think is fatal. It does not concede provincial autonomy, or begin to concede provincial autonomy. At every stage the Government of India keeps its control, and it does not go nearly far enough in giving responsibility to the Legislative Councils. I am going to read it again to-morrow, and then try and find time to write to the Viceroy to tell him that he really must push his Council infinitely further than he has gone.

Of his experience of a meeting of the heads of Provinces, here is a depressing account which shows against what odds Mr. Montagu had to fight his way through:

I told them that I was more depressed than I could say by what they had said; that I did not seem to talk the same language as they did; that I daresay they were right, but if they were right then our policy was wrong; the Morley-Minto reform scheme was wrong and India ought not to have any political institutions. . . . They must learn to be politicians; they must learn to defend themselves, and not to think of suppressing agitation.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

Judging by his observations of the working of Provincial governments, Mr. Montagu was inclined to give full autonomy for the Provinces. In his notes on the 4th Dec. he records:

I rather think, as I write now, that I am quite prepared to give full responsible government, subject to very little fundamental legislation in the Provinces..... As every day goes by I am more inclined to accept complete responsible government for the Provinces.

And he was averse to the irksome interference of the Government of India whose rights of interference with the Provinces he wanted to curtail.

I am perfectly prepared to give the Government of India power to interfere when a Province trespasses on the affairs of other Provinces or upon the affairs of the Government of India, and I am perfectly prepared to preserve their power of Ordinance. Further than this I do not like to go.

INDIAN PRINCES

Mr. Montagu's capacity for friendship was pronounced and we find him from the very moment of his arrival in India on the friendliest terms with leading Indians who in turn loved and admired him. And then he had almost a genius for ingratiating himself into the affections of his friends. Princes who used to be formal and ceremonious with British officers found in him a genial companion and confided to him their views and opinions without reserve. Mr. Montagu too quickly realised their difficult position :

They (the Princes) are at the mercy of the personality of their agents or residents, and they all seem to have suffered from this in the past. The best we can do is to weed out those members of the political service that are not fit for their jobs, and issue a model set of rules for residents, which requires careful drafting, that should be their Bible and prevent mistakes.

In the Scheme he drafted on the 12th December he proposed that Indian Princes should be invited to sit with the Government of India for imperial purposes. He visualised the federal idea, since threshed out in the Round Table Conference, and recommended a Second Chamber for the Central Legislature.

It has the incidental advantage of incorporating into the fabric of the Indian constitution something which ought to spread and extend, and be the machinery for incorporating the Princes sooner or later.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

Much is made of communal electorates. It is interesting to recall what Mr. Montagu thought of them. He was definitely against the principle of communal franchise, and said :

We must beware of this system which Morley introduced, for it is fatal to the democratisation of institutions and causes disunion between the Hindu and the Mohammedan, and we must not extend it more than we can help.

Referring to the non-Brahmin deputations in Madras, Mr. Montagu notes :

What strikes me as so astounding about these non-Brahmins is that although they are vigorous enough to object to the influence of the Brahmins, they lie on their stomachs and appeal to the Government for help instead of fighting; and although there is the beginning of the most promising party system here, they want to spoil it by the horrible extension of communal representation.

LORD WILLINGDON

In recording Mr. Montagu's notes on many matters we have particularly refrained from mentioning personalities; but it is necessary to refer to one who seems to have struck Mr. Montagu as the ideal head of a Government—Lord Willingdon. Lord and Lady Willingdon struck Mr. Montagu as best fitted for their high office, alike by their strenuous and unwearying endeavours for public weal as for their capacity for social friendship. Throughout the book are scattered affectionate and well-deserved tributes to his old friends, the Willingdons—of whom he writes :—

I leave with great admiration for the personality and character of Willingdon and for the thorough energy and success of Lady Willingdon.

Though by stress of circumstances Mr. Montagu had to tinker at his scheme of reforms to satisfy diverse interests and to secure some backing for his proposals, Mr. Montagu, left to himself, would have devised a generous measure more in accord with nationalist aspirations in India. In many things he was far in advance of his time and he truly interpreted the aspirations of nationalist India. His plea for a genuine and substantial concession to Indian demand is equally apposite to the situation in India as we find it to-day.

I would that I could make it clear to those at home that if the results of our deliberations are either something which India will not accept, or a niggling, miserly grudging safeguard, fiddling with the existing order of things, we shall have defrauded, and defrauded irreparably, for they will never believe us again—a vast continent whose history is our glory, and whose hopes and aspirations, fears and tribulations it is pathetic to see.

How true, how prophetic ring these words, written over a decade ago !

THEORIES OF PUNISHMENT

BY MR. HORACE WYNDHAM,

Author of "Judicial Dramas," etc.

ACCORDING to Lombroso, the wrongdoer is really an anthropological freak, and his misconduct is predestined from birth, while the opposite school of thought declares the one responsible factor to be environment. The acceptance of these conflicting doctrines in certain parts of the world has led to some grotesque legislative experiments in penology, for their logical implication is that punishment is not justifiable under any circumstances. This, in effect, was Tolstoi's view. It is also, no doubt, that of Bill Sikes.

If an individual should be detected straying beyond the limits laid down (more or less arbitrarily) by the civilised community of which he is a member, he is held to have infringed the social code. His conduct has automatically become misconduct, and is met with repression or punishment, or some other approved form of interdiction.

In the apportioning of punishment a point strongly urged by Garofalo was the necessity of examining the motives behind the wrongful act. While this is only elementary justice, it does not always meet with full measure of recognition from those who administer the law. Thus, the half-witted ploughboy who sets a rick on fire, merely to see it blaze, and the defaulting tradesman who deliberately burns his business premises (after first insuring the contents above their value) are each guilty of arson. Yet their respective measure of criminality is very different.

The main theories of punishment can be reduced to three, (1) retaliatory, or retributive, (2) deterrent, and (3) reformatory. The first of these has its origin in a deeply-rooted and perfectly natural instinct; and, when the world was younger, it had the full sanction of the law-givers, as is revealed by the Old Testament.

The theory of deterrent punishment is based on the assumption that a detected wrongdoer will not

commit himself a second time; and that if the "example" made of him be sufficiently severe, other people will be deterred, or at least have their criminal proclivities restrained. If this were what happened, there would be good reason for this assumption. It happens, however, to such a limited extent that the assumption cannot be accepted as sound. People break the law, knowing very well the consequences, and often after having suffered from them.

The theory of reformatory punishment also requires a pronounced optimism to accept it. If the effect is to "reform," it is difficult to understand why there should be so many recidivists, at once the problem and the despair of law-makers and prison administrators. The fact that they exist shows that something has gone wrong with this part of the punitive system. The truth of the whole matter in a nutshell is that punishment protects society, and society has a right to be protected.

If we are honest with ourselves (which few of us are) it will be admitted that all penal systems have their beginnings in vengeance. It is quite natural that this should be so, for vengeance is a reflex action, and a primary instinct and the oldest of human passions. This instinct of retaliation, too, is a perfectly comprehensible one, and in primitive times it was regarded both as an ethical axiom and a solemn duty devolving upon the injured family. This idea still holds good (or, rather, bad) in countries where the *vendetta* or blood-feud flourishes, and is thus part and parcel of the *les talionis* theory of the Mosaic law, as enunciated in *Exodus XXI*.

As, however, experience proved that the practice of giving the person wronged (or his able-bodied relatives) the right of inflicting private vengeance on the culprit made social life somewhat difficult for other people, the State gradually

took upon itself the function of judge and executioner. This assumption was the first real advance in constructive penology; and the original idea was to balance the weight of wrong by the weight of punishment. The idea of deterring and reforming came into the scheme much later.

At an early period it was held that practically any offence against the person of a freeman could be met by restitution in money. According to his status, the injured party had his officially recognised grading and cash value. From murder to a black eye, the tariff was fixed on this assumption. A rough-and-ready method of dealing with a conflict of testimony was also adopted. Thus, when two persons were accused of the same offence, and only one could be guilty, the practice was to condemn the uglier of the pair.

Now that women serve on juries, such a system might conceivably lead to violent differences of opinion.

Until the reign of Edward I terms of imprisonment were seldom fixed definitely. A man might languish in a dungeon for years; on the other hand, he might be freed almost at once. Judges "went circuit" to empty prisons, not to fill them, thus reversing the process now adopted. After the reign of Henry III, however, a practice sprang up of fixing a period that varied with the crime. It was an odd code, since carrying off a nun or stealing a deer incurred precisely the same penalty, viz., three years in durance.

It was not until modern times that humanity and the penal system in England were not on speaking terms. Arrest—or even accusation—implied guilt, and guilt implied appalling consequences to anybody once in the clutches of the Law. Mutilations, accompanied by dreadful barbarities, were, at a period when the world was younger (especially during the Saxon, Danish, and Norman regimes), inflicted almost as a matter of course. William I, who had no squeamishness in his composition, ordered that malefactors

should not be killed outright, but gradually dismembered. Short shrift, too, for erring women; and the one whose morals were found to be at fault (in however slight a degree) stood a strong chance of losing her nose and her ears. Nor were people with "get-rich-quick" complexes encouraged. Thus, the coiner had his wrist severed, as had also the sheep-stealer and the libeller; and in the year 1571 a man was actually boiled to death for putting a flavouring of arsenic in the family's soup. At any rate, that was the charge. Still, in those days of faulty diagnosis, appendicitis was often put down to "poisoning." Hence, miscarriages of justice.

Where the severity of its penal system was concerned, the reign of Henry VIII could almost have been written in blood. During this period, which lasted for thirty-eight years, a total of 72,000 men and women went to the block and the gallows; and the scourge, the rack, and the branding-iron were in constant requisition. Every village in "Merry England" had its whipping-post and its stocks, generally set up next door to the church. The stake was the regular penalty for "petty treason" (a classification which included the murder of a husband by a wife, or of a master or mistress by a servant), as well as for heresy; and in 1786 Phoebe Harris was burned in front of Newgate for coining. "A vast concourse of people attended on this melancholy occasion."

These, and similar brutalities were enjoined "so that punishment might be inflicted, and also the soul preserved." The theory that such a desideratum was secured lingered long. It was even incorporated into the disciplinary code of the Royal Navy; and for years on end bluejackets were strung up at the yard-arm, and flogged round the fleet, "for the punishment of vice and the maintenance of true religion." Such, at any rate, was the official excuse.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS

BY DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR, B.A., M.D.,

Superintendent, Government Maternity Hospital, Madras.

BERTRAND Russell is well-known to the literary world as an author who commands a terse style, a picturesque method of presentation of facts, and does not hesitate to express himself on subjects which perhaps others would be eager to avoid. The present book "Marriage and Morals"* is a philosophic study of the system obtaining from the beginning of human civilization and deals with some of the most difficult of problems of sex relationship.

Tracing the history of marriage from the earliest times, the author discusses the matriarchal and patriarchal systems in their relationship to the growth of human society. The growth of the patriarchal system is due to some of the dominant features of religion and the religious ideas of Christianity are impregnated with the majesty of fatherhood. The monarchic and aristocratic organisation of society and the system of inheritance were based everywhere upon paternal power. He discusses the Christian ethics at some length in regard to the system of marriage and states.

The Christian ethics inevitably try to emphasise upon sexual virtue and go a great deal to degrade the position of women. Since the moralists were men, woman acted as the temptress: if they had been women, men would have had this role. Since the woman was the temptress, it was desirable to curtail her opportunities for leading men into temptation. Consequently, respectable women were more hedged about with restrictions, while the women who were not respectable being regarded as sinful were treated with the utmost contumely.

Such statements must provoke many thoughts and it is characteristic of the author that in all the succeeding pages, the same dogmatic assertions are made regarding some of the most bristling questions pertaining to sex.

Discussing the subject of the liberation of women, Bertrand Russell says:—

The demand for equality between man and woman concerned itself from the first, not only with political matters but also with sexual morality. Ever since 1914.

* "Marriage and Morals"—by Bertrand Russell, George Allen & Unwin—£. 0-7-6.

modern feminists are no longer so anxious as the feminists of 30 years ago, to curtail the vices of man: they ask rather that what is permitted to man shall be permitted also to them.

We agree with the author that the whole problem of sexual morality needs thinking out afresh. The forces let loose since the War have produced new conditions and let loose new thoughts on the subject, and it is no wonder that the best brains of every country are devoting themselves to a solution of them. It is in this spirit that the author proceeds in the following chapters to a consideration of the question and he begins with justifiable condemnation on the tendency in certain quarters to taboo all sex knowledge. His criticism on the censorship that is exercised on so-called obscene literature is perhaps not exaggerated. But when he goes further and says "that the taboo against nakedness is an obstacle to a decent attitude on the subject of sex" and preaches the virtues of nudity in suitable circumstances, both on grounds of health as well as for sex education, one is forced to pause and wonder whether even with the pace at which sex education is now making progress, it would be in the fitness of things for such ideals to spread.

Bertrand Russell then discusses the place of love in human life and states: "To secure as little interference with love as is compatible with the interests of children should be one of the main purposes of a wise sexual ethic." A chapter that is bristling with new ideas, if somewhat startling, is that on trial marriage. In the first place, few will be prepared to agree with the author that in a rational ethic, marriage should not count as such in the absence of children and that sterile marriage should be easily dissoluble. The example of the United States is given where, in spite of the Miss Mayos, many almost incredulous things are happening. For instance, the author states

that owing to prohibition, it has become *de rigueur* at any cheerful party for everybody to get more or less drunk, and he quotes extensively from the well-known books of Judge Lindsey. It was Judge Lindsey's idea that first started the topic of what has been called "companionate marriage". Bertrand Russell thinks that companionate marriage is the proposal of a wise conservative and is an attempt to introduce some stability into the sexual relations of the young in place of the present promiscuity. We can admire the freedom of criticism that he allows himself, but cannot say that, at present, the world is prepared for the ideals that he sets before us.

The succeeding chapters on Divorce, Eugenics and the place of sex among human values, are equally interesting reading. The author concludes by stating :

The doctrine that I wish to preach is not one of licence : it involves nearly as much self-control as it involves in the conventional doctrine. But self-control will be applied more to abstaining from interference with the freedom of others than to restraining one's own freedom. It may, I think, be hoped that with the right education from the start, this respect for the personality and freedom of others may become comparatively easy. But for those of us who have been brought up to believe that we have a right to place a veto upon the actions of others in the name of virtue, it is undoubtedly difficult to forego the exercise of this agreeable form of persecution. It may even be impossible. But it is not to be inferred that it would be impossible to those who had been taught from the first a less restrictive morality.

The last sentence probably explains the view-point from which Bertrand Russell has tackled the whole position. And his conception of a future state of society is such that, granted the education that is necessary, it would not be difficult for people to think of these great problems, not in the restricted sense in which they are at present trying to think about them, but in a larger and a more wholesome manner; so that ideas of sex may not dominate to the extent to which they do. Perhaps there is much in this view, but still one feels instinctively that the education that Bertrand Russell himself pleads for as a preliminary to understand his view point, is an education that will take a long, long time

indeed if ever it should permeate society. At present, the whole question bristles with difficulties and those who want to introduce such radical reforms must seriously ponder and consider whether they may not be letting society into a worse state of affairs than exists at present : for, if on the one hand freedom is so largely preached, and on the other hand, the education that is needed is so long in progress, one must inevitably come to the conclusion that indiscriminate prattling about free love, companionate marriage, nudity and its virtues, and sex education, are questions which have a dangerous and possibly a harmful effect on society, when ill-understood and ill-digested.

On the whole, the book is one which gives some stimulating thought and we would seriously commend it to the attention of the student of socialism and eugenics.

A QUESTION OF CONTROL



India. "What about changing places?"
John Bull. "Well, you're welcome to see what you can do at the wheel; but I think I'd better sit beside you—within reach of the brake."—*The Punch*.

The Use and Abuse of Stimulants

BY MR. UPTON SINCLAIR.

[In our December number we published Mr. Upton Sinclair's discourse on Foods. Encouraged by the interest it has evinced among our readers we gladly make room for a supplementary discourse on Stimulants. In this article Mr. Sinclair discusses the action of drugs on the human system—the nerves, the heart and the blood-stream—and points out when and how what is known as stimulants become narcotics. It is interesting that Mr. Sinclair includes coffee and tea among the undesirable drugs and has no good word to say on the ritual of "morning coffee" and "afternoon tea" which has become all but universal among the civilized peoples of the world.—Ed. "I.R."]

THERE are drugs which affect the body in two different ways : some excite the nerves, and through the nerves the heart and blood-stream, to more intense activity ; others have the effect of deadening the nerves, and dulling the sense of exhaustion and pain. One of these groups is called stimulants, and the other is called narcotics ; but as a matter of fact the stimulants are really narcotics, because they operate by dulling the nerves whose function it is to prevent the over-accumulation of fatigue poisons ; in other words, they keep the nerves and muscles from knowing that they are tired, and so they go on working.

It is possible, of course, to conceive of an emergency in which that is necessary. Once upon a time, on a hunting trip, I had been travelling all day, and was caught in a rain storm and exhausted and chilled to the bone ; I had to make camp without a fire, so when I got the tent up I wrapped myself in blankets and drank a couple of tablespoons full of whisky. That is the only time I have ever taken whisky in my life, and it warmed me almost instantly, and did me no harm. In the same way there were two or three occasions when I was on the verge of nervous breakdown, and could not sleep, and let the doctor give me a sleeping powder. But in each case I knew that I was fooling with a dangerous habit, and I did no more fooling than necessary. No one should make use of either stimulants or narcotics except in extreme emergency, and never but a few times in a lifetime. What you should do is to change your habits so that you will not need to over-strain.

All these drugs are habit forming ; that is to say, they leave the body no better, and with a

craving for a repetition of the relief. When you are tired, it is because your muscles and nerves are storing up fatigue poisons more rapidly than your blood-stream can get rid of them. You need to know about this condition, and exhaustion and pain are nature's protective warning. If you put a stop to the warning, you are as unintelligent as the Eastern despots who used to cut off the head of the messenger who brought bad tidings. If, when you have a headache, you go into a drug store and let the druggist mix you one of those white fizzy drinks, what you are doing is not to get rid of the poisons in your blood-stream, but merely to reduce the action of your heart, so as to keep the blood from pressing so fast into the aching blood vessels and nerves. You may try that trick with your heart a number of times, but sooner or later you will try it once too often—your heart will stop a little bit quicker than you meant it to !

Drugs are poisons, and their action depends upon their poisoning some particular portion of the body, and temporarily paralyzing it. And bear this in mind, they are none the less poisonous because they are "natural" products. You can kill yourself by cyanide of potassium, which comes out of a chemist's but you can kill yourself just as dead with laudanum, which comes out of a plant, or with the contents of the venom sac of a snake. You are poisoning yourself none the less certainly if you use alcohol, which is made from the juices of beautiful fruits, and has had hosts of famous poets writing songs about it ; or you can poison yourself with the caffeine which you get in a lovely brown bean which comes from Brazil, fragrant to the nostrils and delicious to the

taste. You may drink wine and tea and coffee for a hundred years, and have your picture published in the newspapers as a proof that these habits conduce to health; but nothing will be said about the large number of people who practised these habits, and didn't live so long, and about how long they might have lived if they hadn't practised these habits.

I was brought up in the South, and my "elders", belonged to a generation which had grown up in war time. For this reason many of the men both drank and smoked to excess, and in my boyhood I lived among them and watched them, and with the help of advice from a wise mother, I conceived a horror to every kind of stimulant. The alcoholic poets could not fool me; I had been in the alcoholic wards of the hospitals. I had seen one man after another, beautiful and kindly and gracious men, dragged down into a pit of torment and shame.

Alcohol is, I think, the greatest trap that nature ever set for the feet of the human race. It is responsible for more degradation and misery than any other evil in the world; and I say this, knowing well that my Socialist friends will cry, "What about Capitalism?" My answer is that I doubt if there ever would have been any Capitalism in the world, if it had not been for alcohol. If the workers had not been systematically poisoned, and all their savings taken from them by the gin-mill, they would never have submitted to the capitalist system, they would have built the co-operative commonwealth at the time they were building the first factories. I listen to the arguments of my radical friends about "personal liberty," but I note that in Russia, when it was a question of making a practical revolution and keeping it alive, the first thing the leaders did was to drag out the contents of the wine-cellars of the palaces, and smash them in the gutters.

Tea and coffee are, of course, much milder in their effects than alcohol; you can play with them

longer, and the punishment will be less severe. But if you make habitual use of them, you will pay the penalty which all drugs exact from the system. Your brain and your nerve centers will be less sensitive, less capable of working except under the influence of drugs; their reacting power will be dulled, and they will wear out more quickly. I have watched the slaves of the "morning cup of coffee," and know how they suffer when they do not get it. Likewise I have watched the tea drinkers. It is comical to live in England, and see all the able-bodied men obliged to leave their work at four o'clock in the afternoon, and seek the regular stimulus for their tired nerves. If you are to meet anybody, it is always for "tea" that the ceremony is set, and if you refuse to drink tea, your hostess will be uncomfortable, unable to talk about anything but the strange, incredible notion that one can live without tea. I discovered after a while the solution of this problem; I would say that I preferred a little hot water, if you please, and so my hostess would pour me a cup of hot water, and I would sit and gravely sip it, and everybody would be perfectly content: I was conforming to the outward appearance of normality, which is what the British conventions require.

I have never drunk a cup of coffee, so I do not know what its effect on me would be. But once when I was run down and nervous I drank iced tea at eight o'clock in the evening, and did not get to sleep until four or five the next morning. So I know that there is really a drug in tea. I know also that I might accustom my system to it, just as I might learn to poison my lungs with nicotine without being made immediately and suddenly ill; but why should I wish to do this? Life is so interesting to me that I do not need to stimulate my brain centers in order to appreciate the thrill of it. And when I am tired, I can rest myself by listening to music, or by reading a worth-while novel—things which I have found do not leave the after effects of nicotine.

A Plea for Visionaries

BY PRINCIPAL R. P. SABNIS, M.A., (CANTAB.)

Sir Parashurambhan College, Poona.

THE feeling generally aroused by the word "visionary" is that some one is to be pitied. The man has good intentions surely, but he is so hopelessly impracticable that nothing good can come out of his teaching! A great deal of harm may be done if his views find a responsive soil in the minds of men whom a little knowledge has made dangerous. If any noble project is to be scotched, there is no more effective way of doing it than describing it as the product of a visionary brain. We propose to blow away the cheap ridicule which worldly wise men have thought fit to enshroud the visionaries in.

A man with a vision ought to be respected. To be in advance of the times is to have to fight with one's contemporaries. To progress along a beaten path is to progress rapidly, but narrow is the path and long is the waiting that leads to new light. To lead a crusade for a forlorn cause tries the patience of all but the uncommon. It is a far more difficult thing to sow and keep a sleepless watch than to reap the harvest. When great ideas are conceived and propounded, the visionary becomes a butt of ridicule, but truth will have its own way. From ridicule to appreciation and from appreciation to glorification is the irresistible march of a visionary.

There is rooted in the human mind a tendency to sloth. To rest on one's oars is the most common of phenomena. To be disturbed in one's wont is an intolerable provocation. One of the laws of motion states that if a thing is at rest, it will remain at rest until some force comes up to disturb that state of rest or if it is in motion, it will continue to move if nothing intervenes. The law is no less true in the moral than in the physical world. A force or shock is necessary to stir men out of their complacency if stagnation is to be avoided; a similar force or shock is necessary to

stop what seems a perpetual whirl that would make a community giddy. It is the visionaries who supply this force. There are what we may call revolutionary visionaries and there are also conservative visionaries. The former look at the past, are dissatisfied, and gird up their loins to drag mankind along a new path of their choosing. The latter look at the future, propose to take timely warning, and call for a halt when they are persuaded that their fellows are rushing on to ruin. The first class digs out a channel for a rushing tide to flow along it; the other stand like an immovable rock to hold it up. But both have to suffer the buffets of opposition.

Man is defined as a rational animal. No definition has been more flagrantly falsified by history. Man is a sentimental animal, man is a *will-ful* animal. Man's will is more powerful than his reason. We may have a right to say that our ambition is to make men rational animals. The way of the world has ever been to be carried away. The progress of mankind has been after the manner of the swings of a pendulum. Mankind likes to be a hare that excites admiration by its swiftness of foot though it then goes to sleep and loses the race; but it has a good-humoured contempt for the tortoise that plods along to success. It is open to us to say that things ought not to be that way and ought to be the other way. But it is no use running away from what is and imagining that what is, is not. There is far too much of action, and then there is far too much of reaction. 'Avoid extremes' is a copybook maxim that like most others is hardly ever observed in actual life. The golden mean is for ever eluding the grasp of a panting mankind. Even in England which boasts of 'steady progress'—a myth—and of freedom slowly broadening from precedent to precedent—Tennysonian chiselling of phrases—

FAMOUS PARSIS

BY MR. R. P. MASANI.

TO the enterprising firm of Messrs. Natesan & Co., we are indebted for a very formidable list of useful and inspiring volumes dealing with the achievements of Indians in diverse



DADABHAI NAOROJI

spheres of public activity. This book on famous Parsis (Rs. 3.) is a notable addition to the series and it completes the trilogy which includes sketches of eminent Mussalmans and Indian Christians.

As a numerically negligible but virile and versatile community, hitherto always found in the vanguard of progress in India, the Parsis have achieved no small measure of fame. Yet, strange to say, until yesterday there was no publication in English recording the important events in the lives of the men who have brought such distinction to the community during the past hundred years. Messrs. Natesan & Co., have, therefore, done well to give in this small volume biographical and critical sketches of the inspiring career and character of some of the most distinguished members of the community, patriots, philanthropists, politicians, scholars, reformers and captains of industry, who have left their mark on the

history of not only their own community, but also of the country generally. In their prefatory note the publishers pay a graceful tribute to those heroes. There are no more illustrious names in the roll of Indian patriots, they say, than those of

Dadabhai, Mehta and Wacha; no more distinguished captains of industry than the Tatas and Petits; no greater philanthropists than the Jeejeebhoy and Wadias, no more ardent reformers than Malabari and Bengali; no more venerated scholars than K. R. Cama and Jivanji Modi.



SIR P. M. MEHTA

The story of the lives of these men is also in a great measure the story of the growth of religious, social and political reform among the Parsis and other communities living in India. For instance, it was Dadabhai Naoroji who first chanted before his countrymen the *mantram* of *swaraj*. Indeed India has had no greater patriot than Dadabhai and not only the Parsis, but men and women of all races in the country regarded and revered him as their own. "Mr. Naoroji", said Gokhale, "has attained in the hearts of millions of his countrymen, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy, and which in its character is more like the influence which great teachers of humanity have exercised on those whose thoughts and hopes and lives they have lifted to a higher plane". India's growing poverty and the increasing drain of her wealth to foreign countries was, as it were, a nightmare to him. Loyal to the core, he believed that true British rule would vastly benefit both Britain and India. What was mischievous in the policy of the rulers as regards the economic and political

were to consist solely of those who are commonly regarded as practical men, no evil would be thought to be intolerable and no evil, therefore, would be remedied. The practical politician regards it his duty to let sleeping dogs sleep soundly. But the visionary is always bent on blocking for him the path of least resistance.

Visionaries are often regarded as mad men—as untrustworthy and dangerous. That belief only bespeaks imbecility. It is the argument of abuse employed when no other resource is available. Genius is to madness allied, but there is an impassable gulf between. Coal and diamond are shown by chemical analysis to be one and the same thing, but the world regards them as earth and heaven apart. If vision is frenzy, it is a fine frenzy; in other words it is not a frenzy at all. Has any one ever heard of an inmate of a lunatic asylum wielding an irresistible influence on vast masses and on elevated minds? Rousseau was denounced as a madman. Not only did his teaching lay the train of the French Revolution, but it cleansed the powerful, if somewhat ill-balanced, mind of Tolstoy a hundred years later. * * *

The power of a vision is indeed something miraculous. Victor Hugo has said, "there are times when the unknown reveals itself in a mysterious way to the spirit of man." Blessed is the man who has such a vision! It at once lifts him above mankind. He becomes a prophet if he is great with the gifts of intellect. Even the most ordinary persons are as it were transformed, we see them as if taking more massive proportions and nobler forms. A peasant girl tending her goats is suddenly transformed into a Joan of Arc, the terror of an immense army flushed with victory. Are not such incidents mysterious enough to baffle your understanding? So we must end with a warning to the common sense man "Scorn not the Visionary."

there is 'reformation in a flood' which tires the electorate and then there is a succession of fits of imperialism which make the nation sick. There is a howl for war and more war followed by plaintive cries for a lasting peace. No Home Rule even in a dream gives place to Home Rule for everybody. It can at best be said that in England the range of the swing of the pendulum is limited.

It is then as useless to complain that visionaries are not reasonable as to fret against the rolling of waves and the blowing of winds. Their teaching will of necessity be characterised by exaggeration. The choice is not between steady progress and revolution, but between decay and revolution. Mankind like a skilful navigator, has to adjust its sails if it wants to move towards its destination. Otherwise there will be stillness which is death.

The world being constituted as it is, it is bound to be so much the poorer for the loss of its visionaries. All that we prize in life—religion, morality, liberty—has been won for us by visionaries. Men looked and wondered, but it was left for Shri Krishna, Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ and Mahomed to explain the relation of man to his Maker. They saw as in a flash what other men could not see and fixed their grip on men's minds. For religion more than for anything else vision was necessary and it is these inspired founders of religion who have excited the greatest influence in the moulding of the world. Every rise in the level of morality, every extension of it has been the result of the lifework of a visionary. There was a time not far long ago when fellowmen could be bought and sold without the least compunction by men who boasted of their religion. Visionaries were required to convert practically-minded persons to the view that every human being has certain inalienable rights and that slavery was a most monstrous encroachment on them. Men would hardly have outgrown the stage of despotism if there had not been visionaries ready to shed their blood for their ideas. If the world

condition of the people he preferred to regard as irreconcilable with the traditions of the British people. Hence the title of his famous book, *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*. In the story of his struggles for the political and economic freedom of the country may be traced the awakening of the Indian public and the growth of Indian nationalism. On the day of his death when the funeral party was returning from the Towers of Silence, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, his great disciple and fellow-worker in the cause of social and political reform, was asked to say a few words. With his usual eloquence Chandavarkar paid a glowing tribute to the memory of one who in his days was with one voice admired and adored as the greatest political guide and *guru* of his countrymen. "The sun", said he, "that shone just ninety three years ago over India is set, but, I say, it is set to rise again in the form of regenerated India." It is indeed this characteristic feature of the lives of the famous Parsis, their whole-hearted identification with the country's cause, that enhances the charm and value of the book under review as a publication of historical interest. The bulk of the Parsi community has at times been swayed by a spirit of clannishness that has not unnaturally provoked criticism and antagonism, but it must be regarded as a passing phase in a community which found itself in a minority in the midst of much larger communities rent by sectarian prejudices and sectarian strife, but which, nevertheless, produced not a few men endowed with a truly cosmopolitan spirit and catholicity of outlook.

"We will be friends to the whole of India", was the promise that is reported to have been given to the ruling prince of Sanjan by the Parsi priest that headed the first band of Zoroastrians who landed in this country after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. Dadabhai Naoroji was only one of the numerous Parsis who strove to fulfil that promise. The first Sir Jam-

setjee Jejeebhoy, who is given the place of honour in the volume under review, also translated those words into action in the dispensation of his bounties. In recognition of his charities, distinguished for the catholicity of their character, the honour of Knighthood was conferred on him in the year 1842. He was the first Indian on whom the rank and privileges of a Knight of the British realm were conferred. "We hail it," said the inhabitants of Bombay in an address presented at a public meeting, "as the harbinger of a brighter day for India, when Britain shall no longer view her dominion here as a means of aggrandisement for her own sons, but as a sacred trust, of which the paramount object is the welfare of the children of the soil and the improvement and elevation of their moral and social condition." What a flood of light this little extract from the address throws on the history of the times! It shows that even a hundred years ago, when the country was not flooded with disgruntled graduates or disaffected agitators, the loyal and devoted subjects of the Crown thought that much remained to be done to divorce the British rule from the spirit of commerce that then dominated it.

The career of that captain of industry of All-India fame, J. N. Tata, is a remarkable illustration of that sense of public duty which makes one feel that one's happiness is wound up with the welfare of one's country and that in working for the motherland one is working for one's own self. In him was happily combined "the scientific use of the imagination with an infinite power of patriotic endeavour". Not content with developing the old industries already existing in



J. N. TATA

his time, he devoted his talents and energy to the development of the mineral resources of the country, such as iron and copper, which would give India a paramount position among the wealthiest countries in the world. Nay more. He even endeavoured to produce men who with their scientific and technological training and attainments would organise new industries and evolve new combinations of old industries in this country. With this end in view he endowed scholarships for enabling Indian youths to qualify themselves for any of the higher branches of knowledge and science and set aside the magnificent sum of Rs. 30 lakhs for a Research University for Indians.

Among the biographical sketches of the illustrious veterans included in this book there is none more fascinating than that of the Hon'ble Sir



SIR D. E. WACHA

Dinsha Edulji Wacha, that marvel of energy and assiduity, that voracious reader and indefatigable writer, the organizer and life and soul of numerous societies and institutions, the hero of many a battle for freedom in the spheres of civics, economics and politics. Thirty-two years ago, I had the privilege of succeeding Sir Dinsha as editor of the English columns of the *Kaiser-i-Hind*. I was then reading law, but nothing fascinated me more than Journalism and Dinsha Wacha, the intrepid exponent of the gospel of the Indian National Congress of the day, who could, at short notice, contribute to the columns of various journals illuminating article after article on complicated questions of high finance and statecraft, was my idol. The admiration which I then had for him as a gallant and virile knight of the pen grew from year to year, as I came in closer and closer

contact with him. Indeed, irrespective of the encyclopaedic range of his interests, I have known no more facile, vigorous and prolific writer. Well may the budding Congressman of to-day imagine that Sir Dinsha has outgrown his usefulness as the champion of the popular demands, but none can deny that to him belongs the credit of quickening the interest of the Indian public in questions of economic development and political progress. During his youth there was no public opinion in this country worth the name. To-day, at the venerable age of four score years and six, thanks to the epoch-making, pioneer work accomplished by him along with his colleagues in creating popular opinion, he finds Indian public opinion so strong and articulate as to arrest the attention not only of the bureaucracy in this land or of the Cabinet in England, but also of the whole world.

Another veteran journalist the Parsi community may well be proud of was Behramji Malabari. But it was more as a social reformer than as a writer or scholar that Malabari's memory is honoured in this land. In his earliest volume of verses he had sung pathetically of enforced widowhood and sworn like a knight-errant of old to eradicate the evil. Later, in his essay on "The Indian Problem," he reverted to the same theme in these words: "A wife at 10, a widow at 12 (in many a case the age limits stand much lower), a mother at 13—these are monstrosities, in the face of which it is madness to think of a consistent, progressive public life."

Yet, as pointed out by the writer of the sketch of his life in the book under review, his position was peculiarly unfavourable to the cause. He was a Parsi by birth and could not impeach with authority, the social abuses of an alien community sanctified by the halo of religion and tradition. Moreover, his schemes of reform were not based on Shastric versions. Still he went on urging, agitating and campaigning, and made India and England ring with the cry of the woes

of Indian womanhood from year's end to year's end. At last, the mountains were moved—the marriageable age of Indian girls was raised by legislation from ten to twelve! At any rate, it was then considered a great stride forward towards social reform and for this small mercy our thanks are due to one who, born a Parsi, derived his main inspiration from Christian life and Christian ideals and who loved to dedicate his services to the cause of Hindu social reform.

It is gratifying to see the biographies of two eminent scholars, K. R. Cama and Sir Jivanji Modi, included in the book. After all, it is more on the achievements of scholars and thinkers than on the ephemeral conquests of captains of industry or commanders of political parties that the fame of a community rests. The publishers might have included in the series the famous Mulla

Feroze who was the first to kindle in India the flame of Parsi scholarship which Cama and Modi have since fed. But it must be recognised that it is difficult to make the gallery of famous Parsis



DR. J. J. MODI

also be hailed as a solid contribution to the history of the social, industrial and political progress of the country during the last hundred years.

complete and exhaustive and incomplete though it may be, this volume will, as hoped for by the publishers be undoubtedly warmly welcomed as a fitting tribute to a community that has played its part in the shaping of

India's destiny. It will

ON AN INFANT'S DEATH

BY DR. H. W. B. MORENO

O Starlight, quenched within the sea of Time,
That rose above the marge, again to sink
Thy dartling rays of light, behind the brink,
To illumine the convex of another clime;
Fager we scan the horizon of our time;
While thou art fading from our searching eyes,
Sweeping along thy course to other skies,
Unseen to us through murky mists and grime.
Once on that shore a starlet thou didst play,
Then wearied, worn awhile, sank fast in sleep,
And whirling to the precincts of our day,
Thou opened once thine eyes fresh joys to reap,
But looked in vain around, then turned away
And closed thy lids, borne back in slumber deep.

INDIANS IN MALAYA

BY MR. N. A. PERUMAL

IN ancient days India sent abroad her sons to spread Indian culture, religion and civilisation but to-day at least to Ceylon and Malaya she is supplying men mostly to do all the menial labour in those countries. In the following few lines I have ventured to state very briefly the position of Indians living in Malaya.

There are about seven lakhs of Indians in the Malaya Peninsula to-day and this is perhaps the largest number of them living in any one country abroad. Like Ceylon, Malaya allows free immigration of Indians who are not required to hold a passport when entering the country. The Ceylonese and the immigrant Chinese are the other races that are exempted from holding a visa when entering the Peninsula.

Indians began to emigrate to Malaya since the early part of the 'nineties in sailing crafts for the purpose of trade. In 1872 the immigration of unskilled Indian labourers (mostly from South India) was legalised. Other Indians willing to come in the interests of commerce and skilled professions were also allowed to enter the Peninsula. But, it was only in 1883 the immigration of all classes of Indians was rendered practically free.

In 1928 there were in all 680,000 Indians in Malaya. Seventy per cent. of them were South Indian labourers toiling in rubber plantations, tin mines etc. Thus the Indian problem in Malaya generally even to-day is a problem of South Indian labour.

Indian labourers are generally employed in rubber estates where a male labourer earns a standard wage of fifty cents a day, a female labourer forty cents and a child twenty cents.* This wage is very low when compared to the high cost of living the labourer has to face. He could

have a moderately comfortable living only if his wife and children worked along with him daily. This grave difficulty should sooner or later eclipse, the sooner the better. If the Government of India can see that every immigrant labourer who sails for Malaya is entitled to receive a wage that will be sufficient for him to maintain himself and a family of one wife and two children, I believe the Indian labour problem in Malaya will have a speedier solution.

About seventy thousand Indian labourers were recently repatriated from Malaya on account of the trade slump in the country due to the steady fall in the prices of rubber and tin. In consequence of the slump their wages were also cut by twenty per cent. from the standard or minimum rates.

To look after the welfare of these labourers in particular and the Indian community in general



RAO SAHEB M. KUNHI RAMAN NAIR
the Government of India have sent to Malaya their representative known as the Indian Agent.

* About 60 cents is equivalent to a Rupee.

The present incumbent in this office is Rao Sahib M. Kunhi Raman Nair, who was formerly the officer in charge of repatriated South African Indians at Madras.

Among the other classes of Indians found in the country are the Sikhs who are loyal policemen in the Colony and the Malay States. They also take to money-lending like the Chetties.

The handful of Mahrattas and Marwaris are businessmen while the Northern Indians in general do some kind of trade or other. They seldom seek subordinate positions in this country. The Bengali population is very limited and they are to be found here and there as legal practitioners.

From one end of the Peninsula to the other you see Indians employed by the Government departments in various capacities, although their strength in the Government subordinate service is only second to that of the Jaffna Tamils. In these days, when the cry "Malaya for Malaysians" is being raised by the sons of the soil, Indians find it very difficult to secure appointments in the Government but the Indians born and educated in Malaya do find it easy to obtain suitable Government appointments even to-day.

Many lawyers who have obtained their degrees in England (as they alone are allowed to practise here) and a fair number of medical practitioners also hail from the Indian community.

At any rate, the Indians are not very prosperous in the field of business mainly due to their inability to stand the Chinese competition in markets. Nevertheless, petty traders, imports and exports merchants and those who carry on business in a small measure are to be found among them everywhere in the country.

Indians in Malaya have their national organisations known as Indian Associations in almost every town in the Peninsula. These bodies carry on social reform work. Delegates chosen from these Associations assemble once a year for the

All-Malayan National Conference, a body run on the lines of the South African Indian National Congress. This Conference was founded in 1927 by the Hon. Mr. S. Veerasamy an eminent Indian



THE HON. MR. S. VEERASAMY

Advocate in the country. He also represents the Indian community in the Federal Council.

The Indians play a prominent part in the administration of the country. The Federal and the Straits Settlements Legislative Councils have by virtue of Government nomination representatives on them. In other public bodies such as the Indian Immigration Committee, Municipal Commissions and Sanitary Boards, Indian representation is adequately provided.

The part played by Indians in Malaya since the early days to shape the destinies of the country is wonderful. The Indians by their immigration to Malaya have done one great thing and that is to preserve cordial friendship between Malaya and India and I have no doubt that this cordiality will continue for many more years to come for the mutual advantage of both the countries.

The Commons' Debate on India

THE Prime Minister lost no time in initiating in the House of Commons on January 26 a debate on the Round Table Conference. For one thing the debate cleared the atmosphere in separating the sheep from the goats. The effect of the R. T. C. discussions was at once visible in the support the House gave to the Government's attitude in general. The members of Government, of course, spoke in very fervid tones of the urgency and necessity of the steps to be taken towards the reform of the Indian constitution: but the spokesmen of the Opposition and of the Liberal Party also rose to the occasion and welcomed the proposals in general.

But it was not to be supposed that even the very modest proposals would be left unchallenged by what one may call the Hyde part of the House: and that malevolent roll was taken up by Mr. Churchill who spoke in the right Birkenhead vein. But the singularity and crudeness of Mr. Churchill's views only threw in bold relief the general disposition of the House which showed itself altogether favourable to a statesman-like settlement of the Indian question.

MR. MACDONALD

Mr. MacDonald's speech in initiating the discussion was in the nature of a review of the work of the Conference. After setting forth in detail the nature of the work done at the Conference, the Premier pointed out the absolute necessity there was for all the parties to agree to the general conclusions arrived at by the Conference and authorise his Government to pursue the problems in detail with representative Indians and constitutional experts. Mr. MacDonald traced the successive stages of the growth of the hope that has been fostered in the minds of Indians by Britain's responsible authorities; and after describing the aims and results of the Round Table Conference, which had been convoked to fulfil

that hope, he concluded with a magnificent peroration:—

The stage has almost been reached—I am not at all sure, I should not be quite justified in saying that it has actually been reached—when we should begin our plans with trial drafts.

If we refused, supposing we do not do this, what are the prospects? Repression, nothing but repression and it is very curious repression, very uncomfortable repression and a kind of repression from which we shall get neither credit nor success. It is the repression of the masses of the people—a great proportion of these masses being women and children.

It is repression not of organisations, not of bodies but it will develop into a repression of a whole population. If we are prepared to march our soldiers from Himalayas to Cape Comorin, then refuse to allow us to go on.

If we are prepared to subdue by force not only the people but the spirit of the time, refuse to allow us to proceed. If we are prepared to stage, for the whole world to behold, the failure of our political genius and at the same time provide it with a spectacle which will bring our name and our fame very low, indeed, then refuse to allow us to go on. If, on the other hand, you wish to bind India to you by bonds of confidence and make her happy within your Empire and Commonwealth, if you wish to hear her praise you in gratitude and remain with you in pride, then accept the work that has been done by the Conference and instruct the Government to proceed with it to its complete conclusion. (Cheers).

MR. STANLEY BALDWIN

Mr. Stanley Baldwin strongly repudiated Mr. Churchill's view of the Indian situation and made in the course of his speech the following observations:—

The imagination of the whole country had been caught by the idea of the United States of India. Therefore we were on entirely fresh territory. The whole situation had been changed by the attitude of the Princes.

I do not believe that there will be any permanent solution of the question of Indian Government until you get complete co-operation, understanding and goodwill between Indians and ourselves.

Mr. Baldwin passed on to dissociate himself and his party from the views of Mr. Winston Churchill, and made it clear to the whole of his party that, "if it should happen that we should change places with Mr. MacDonald and the members behind him, we have only one duty, and that is to implement, as far as we can, what has been done in the Conference". He would

consider it his duty, as far as he was able, to use every effort to bring about that Federal Constitution which had been the result of agreement at the Conference.

MR. WEDGWOOD BENN

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, made a vigorous onslaught on Mr. Churchill's criticisms and pointed out what the logical consequences of his policy would be. His speech was subjected to frequent interruptions by Mr. Churchill. Replying to one of those interruptions, in which Mr. Churchill stated his policy for India in the words: "British decisions and Indian loyalty and good-will." Mr. Benn interpreted that as follows:

What that has meant is lathi stick and, after rifle, the machine gun. You must either base the Government on the assent of the people or govern by force. The logical consequence of Mr. Churchill's policy, if put into force, is Government by force, without the assent of the people. The alternative is Government by the people for the people. That is why people of all parties have grasped the principle almost with unanimity.

He wound up his speech as follows:—

For the future, in our judgment, two things are necessary: one thing is sincerity, the second is speed. One of the effects of the Conference is that we have begun to re-establish the tender plant of understanding and trust by continuing the work of the Conference. We shall foster this plant for that purpose. Speed is necessary. What can be gained by delay? If India is to be fitted for self-Government she must be fitted for it at the earliest moment.

Delay had been the tragedy in the past. Thirty years ago, men, who, to-day are opposing us in India were firm advocates of the British connection.

Mr. Gandhi was a stretcher-bearer in the South-African War and it was his influence which got us a large contribution of money and endless troops. There is no tragedy like delay and that is why I say it will require not only sincerity, but also speed.

Supposing that, by the labours of all parties in the House, something is done, supposing we succeed in building up a Constitution, not of sealed and delivered pattern on the English model, but something unique and moulded according to the tradition and spirit of the Indian people and resting in their good-will, if we can succeed in that, if all parties can succeed in that, we shall have done something to discharge the true mission of the British Commonwealth, which is to extend the area of peace and contentment in the world among the free peoples.

MR. ISAAC FOOT

Another pleasing feature of the Debate was the attitude of the Liberals who have a splendid tradition to sustain. Lord Reading, had, by the

time the Conference concluded its deliberations, veered round to the statesmanlike acceptance of the altered condition of things in India and the Liberal spokesmen in the Commons expressed their ungrudging approval of any forward steps that might be taken in the direction of India's advance to constitutional freedom.

Mr. Isaac Foot, who spoke on behalf of the Liberals prefaced his speech with the remark that he was well aware that there were all kinds of anomalies in the Round Table Conference proposals, but declared that there was no anomaly so great as the government of India by the British people. He said that the matter was important before all others that came before the House. The difference between a friendly India and an alienated India was so great that no statesman could appreciate it and no economist could compute it.

I am a believer in self-Government for India, because I believe that upon those lines there is the best hope for these people. * * * Our task of bringing India within the Commonwealth is the biggest thing we have ever yet attempted. * * * I believe that along the lines of the proposed settlement that association can be maintained and that problems cannot be solved except upon lines of friendship



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

Prof. Radhakrishnan: A Study

BY DR. J. K. MAJUMDAR, M.A. (OXON.)

I

PROFESSOR Radhakrishnan was born on the 5th September, 1888, at Tirutani, a place of pilgrimage in South India, forty miles to the west of Madras. Nothing much is known of his



PROF. RADHAKRISHNAN

parents excepting that they belonged to a middle-class Brahmin family of the orthodox type, the father holding the post of a Tahsildar in the employ of a Zemindar. The father is now dead but the mother is still living. Though born in an orthodox Hindu home, Radhakrishnan's early boyhood and the best part of adolescence were spent in Christian missionary institutions under

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for "The Heart of Hindusthan" by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan. G. A. Natesan & Co., Re. 1. To Subs. of "I. R." 12 as.

Christian influence. To what extent he imbibed the Christian spirit or to what extent the Christian influence worked in the moulding of the man, is more than we can say, but if it has left any influence at all this has gone a long way to make him a truer Hindu, and who at that time knew that its product would in future enchant and enthral the minds of the very countrymen of those who at one time claimed to teach him the rudiments of knowledge? The debt of gratitude to Christian teachers from the West in his early life he doubly repaid by teaching them and their countrymen in his later life and giving more food for thinking in such a critical juncture of world affairs.

Prof. Radhakrishnan passed the entrance and F. A. examinations of the University of Madras from the American Mission College at Vellore in 1903 and 1905 respectively and was placed in the First Division. He then joined the Madras Christian College at Madras and was successful in passing the B. A. and M. A. examinations of the same University in 1907 and 1909 respectively, securing the first place in both the cases. The year in which he passed the M. A. must have been a very stiff one for the examinees in Philosophy, for he was the only candidate to succeed. The above record amply testifies to his high merit as a student, and there can be no doubt that he must have been considered a very brilliant and highly promising student by his teachers both at school and college, which has now been fully corroborated by the wonderful success he has achieved as scholar.

The year in which he passed the M. A. augured well for him. The same year he was appointed an Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Madras Presidency College in the Sub-ordinate educational service under the Government of Madras. In 1910 she went for training for the L.T., and after a short absence came back and joined his former post in 1911 permanently. In 1916 he was promoted to the Provincial grade and made a Professor there. While acting as a Professor in the Presidency College, Madras, the authorities of the University of Mysore conceived the idea of appointing him to the post of the University Professor of Philosophy. They approached the Government of Madras to lend Radhakrishnan's services for the purpose, for a period of five years from 1918-23. The rapid promotion from the

subordinate to the provincial grade together with the offer of the University Professorship at Mysore show beyond all doubt that as a teacher he must have been successful from the very beginning of his career, and as years rolled by his name and fame began to spread so widely that it crossed the boundaries of his own province and reached far-off places. We hear of Prof. Radhakrishnan's success as a teacher even at a place like the Oxford University, where he occupied a temporary position on the teaching staff recently, in a report that he marvellously kept up his audience for the three terms that he stopped there. The Government of Madras having acquiesced in the request of the authorities of the Mysore University Prof. Radhakrishnan joined the Mysore University in 1918. In 1920 the Government of Madras again promoted him to the Imperial grade (I.E.S.), the highest grade in the educational service under the Government. This further shows how even the Government did not lag behind in appreciating his merit and amply rewarding him for that.

Higher honours were awaiting him. As Indians would say, he was born under a very lucky star and was destined to be great. And those believing in fate or *adrishta* would be amazed to find how the mysterious and unseen power taking him in her kind hand was leading him on and on. Radhakrishnan may attribute his success to luck. In 1920 the King George V Chair in Philosophy in the Calcutta University fell vacant, as Sir Brajendranath Seal was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore. And Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, was on the look out for a competent man to fill up the vacancy. Prof. Radhakrishnan since his early career has been a writer and during the years he was acting as a Professor in the Presidency College, Madras, he published two books, one a primer of Psychology and another on "The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore". Both of these books were published in England. The book on Tagore was received very well indeed, and brought him forth as a writer of great ability and penetration. These were followed by another and a larger volume on "The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy" in 1920 when he was acting as Professor at Mysore, and like the other two, this was also published in England. This volume not only brought him name and fame but led to his recognition as an authority on the subject and a first-rate thinker in Europe and America. These things did not escape the notice of the great Sir

Ashutosh, and his keen intellect enabled him to pick up at once this great scholar as the most competent man for the post. Those having a personal knowledge of Sir Ashutosh know well his genius for the discovery of merit and ambition for getting the famous scholars to his University. So he went so far as to request Prof. Radhakrishnan through a common friend to apply for it on an assurance that he would be selected. And that his selection was absolutely right is amply justified by the brilliant achievements of this great scholar which have once for all silenced the critics of Sir Ashutosh who felt aggrieved at his choice. Radhakrishnan joined the new post in March, 1921. So long as Sir Ashutosh lived he never failed to give him encouragement and provide all facilities for higher work in the Post-Graduate department of the Calcutta University. We find Prof. Radhakrishnan acknowledging in the preface of his book "Indian Philosophy" his deep obligation to Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee.

In June, 1926, the Empire Universities' Congress was to be held in Cambridge and the authorities of the Calcutta University were asked to send delegates for the purpose. The University selected Professor Radhakrishnan among others. Of course, this was not the first opportunity Radhakrishnan had of proceeding to Europe. He was invited twice or thrice before but for various reasons best known to himself he declined these invitations. And even in 1926, he was not inclined to go but thanks to the persuasion of the then Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ewart Greaves, he consented most unwillingly. As soon as it was known that Radhakrishnan was leaving for England, invitations from the leading Universities, learned societies, etc., to lecture there during his stay were received in large numbers including one from the Upton Trust. Thus, while out there he must have had a very busy time, and it is quite natural that on account of the shortness of his stay there, his retiring disposition did not accept all. But wherever he went his lectures were a tremendous success. *The Social Reformer* for July 3, 1926, had the following on "Radhakrishnan in England" from a correspondent there:

To-day the Calcutta University has really honoured itself in picking up a genius like Prof. Radhakrishnan who has been sent as a delegate to the Congress of the Universities of British Empire—When he came here in that capacity, Oxford, the oldest and the best of the Universities, has availed itself of the opportunity in choosing Prof. Radhakrishnan and broke a tradition by calling an Indian for the first time to deliver the Upton Lectures at Manchester College. Mr. Jacks, the Principal of that college and the editor of the famous philosophical

journal, *Hibbert Journal*, said: 'You have honoured us by delivering your first lectures outside India in our University'—The other day Cambridge gave a reception to him. All the philosophers, logicians and metaphysicians of that famous University attended. He spoke at the Moral Sciences' Club on Bradley and Sankara. Those who listened to him were surprised at the excellent way in which he tackled the subject and especially the admirable exposition of the difficult problem of 'maya,' and the leading Professor burst out saying that no Englishman or Indian had not clearly spoken on Hindu Philosophy within the walls of Cambridge in a manner which appealed to a Western audience.

Special mention should be made in this connexion about the lectures Prof. Radhakrishnan delivered under the Upton Trust on account of their high importance. In former years such eminent persons, among others, as Miss Evelyn Underhill, Dean Inge of St. Paul's and Dr. L. P. Jacks of Manchester College, had the honour of being asked to do so, and the learned Professor was the first Indian to be selected for it. And he more than justified his selection in this, if not in anything else, that his lectures held their own against the "Eights." Those acquainted with Oxford know well that the Eights Week is the most exciting time at Oxford when both the professor and the student, the lecturer and the pupil, the Dons and the graduates get wholly absorbed in the inter-collegiate boat races. At the close of the course of lectures Principal Jacks paid a high tribute by remarking:

A course of lectures which has held its own against "Eight" is a rare phenomenon in this University; it may be claimed that this course has established a record in this respect. Without meaning any disrespect for "Eights" I may say that those, who like myself, have deliberately chosen to attend this course rather than to go to the river, have made a wise choice. In asking you to offer an expression of gratitude to Prof. Radhakrishnan for that which he has given us, I am only asking you to do what you yourselves are eager to do. He has brought before us a wonderful picture of the vast hospitality of the Hindu mind. Hospitality is the word which came to my mind a number of times as I listened to his talks; catholicity I would have called it, but hospitality, to my mind, means all that catholicity means and a good deal more. It means, depth of feeling and breadth of outlook characteristics of Hinduism as he has presented it to us. Not mere hospitality—that which offers a bare bed and a casual ward for every religious tramp; the hospitality of the Hindu mind is that which educates and enlightens the mind which accepts the Hindu faith without forcing anything on it, if it be unwilling. You will agree with me that this hospitality characterises Hinduism. As I have heard him, the words that came to my mind are those of the New Testament, 'In my father's house are many mansions'. A new meaning of spiritual charity dawned on my mind, there were moments when I was tempted very much to say almost 'thou persuadest me to become a Hindu'. But I felt that the very points that tempted me to turn Hindu

were also the very points that I hope will some day make me bold enough to say that I am a Christian. In the few remarks I made when introducing Prof. Radhakrishnan I ventured to say that the Indian mind has contributed much in the past and still has vast contributions to make. The Professor's lectures have borne out the truth of my remarks. The West has already learnt much from the East and still has much to learn, even as it has much to teach.

The Annual Report of the Manchester College, Oxford, for the year 1926 had the following paragraph:

Prof. Radhakrishnan's lectures, given under the Upton Trust, have constituted a notable event. The matter of the lectures, on the philosophy of Hinduism was profoundly important and interesting and they were delivered with a command of the subject-matter and a power of exposition which greatly impressed all who heard them. Hinduism, as expounded by Prof. Radhakrishnan, may be said to have illustrated the principles of Manchester College on a scale of which those acquainted only with Western religion have no knowledge. The lectures were as eloquent as they were profound. The audience was large, varied and attentive and it is noteworthy that they increased almost to the point of inconvenience in spite of the fact that they were held during Eights Week, when even the best lectures in Oxford have difficulty in gathering an audience.

Writing in the *National Christian Council Review* Dr. McNicol regards the Upton Lectures as "A really important work" and "represents the beginning of a movement within Hinduism which may have important developments." Again, Dr. Sydney Cave writing in the *Congregational Quarterly* observes: "A man of wide culture, familiar with the philosophies of the West as of the East, and writing with enviable lucidity and charm, no one is better equipped than Prof. Radhakrishnan to interpret to the West that new and purified Hinduism of which he is probably the most distinguished representative. This brilliant manifesto of modern Hinduism deserves the most careful study from all Christian thinkers". The *Expository Times* commented: "His faith is fortunate in its champion—a man alert, thoughtful, fair-minded, armed cap-a-pie in the matter of knowledge, and the master of a trenchant style full of the stab of arresting sentences". The *Guardian* called it "epoch-making". The *Daily News* had the following note under the caption "A Great Scholar": "The leading philosopher of India Prof. Radhakrishnan is in London. He has engagements to fulfil at Oxford, at the Institute of Philosophical Studies, London, at the Ethical Church, and at the Moral Sciences Club, Cambridge. Afterwards he is visiting the American Universities. One of the remarkable things about this Indian scholar is his command of the subtleties of the English

language. He will discourse in English for over an hour on some profound metaphysical subject without consulting a single note". Sir John Woodroffe, who attended the lectures, wrote in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for September, 1926, an illuminating note, and we can well quote portions of it here. Sir John observes:

Prof. Radhakrishnan of the Calcutta University has recently been doing good work by his lectures given in the West on Indian Philosophy. He came to Oxford after having addressed audiences both at Cambridge and London University. I was privileged to hear him at Oxford where he delivered four lectures in Manchester College under the presidency of its Principal Prof. Jacks, the well-known editor of the *Hibbert Journal*. The lectures were given under the Upton Foundation by the Professor who was the first Indian to lecture under that Trust. Although it was "Eights Week" with all its attractions the lecture room was yet filled to overflowing on each occasion and the Professor was answering queries in his room until late in the evening. To most if not all of these inquirers, the Indian philosophic case was probably being given for the first time. They dealt with some of the important philosophic concept of Hinduism and with the attitude of the latter towards other religions. The lectures were very fluently delivered and were admirably clear—Others also have done good service in explaining Hindu religion and philosophy—But taking together his books and his extended tour of lectures the statement of Dr. Jacks that no one had done more than the Professor in stating the Hindu case seems at the present day justified—to the great Believers and Sadhakas the first rank is accorded, but there is room and a great present demand for those who like Prof. Radhakrishnan can speak as philosophers to those Europeans who are themselves philosophers or for whom philosophy has an interest. For such the Professor has the advantage of possessing an Indian *Sanskara* which enables him to understand a knowledge of both Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy on the one hand and European Philosophy on the other presented in good clear English speech. This combination of knowledge and talent has awakened an attention which will be of benefit to those who it is hoped will follow him.

Prof. Radhakrishnan's Upton Lectures have since then been published in England in book-form under the title of "The Hindu View of Life", about the subject-matter of which we shall have occasion to say something later on, but the unstinted praise these evoked, which we have noted above, go to show beyond all doubt that he more than justified his selection to the high honour in all respects.

The same year the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy was held at the Harvard University in America in September, and Prof. Radhakrishnan was deputed by the University of Calcutta to represent it there. So he left the shores of England in July with all the good wishes of his friends and admirers there. As soon as it was

known in America that Prof. Radhakrishnan was coming, invitations to lecture before the leading Universities, etc., began to pour. And perhaps the offer of the University of Chicago to him to deliver lectures under the Haskell Trust was most noteworthy. These lectures were previously delivered by eminent men like J. H. Barrows, Cuthbert Hall, A. W. Jackson and Kenneth Saunders, not to mention others. In America also Prof. Radhakrishnan's lectures were a tremendous success as in England and evoked equally unstinted praise. In the absence of reports of all these lectures, we would better quote here the one at hand about his address in the Philosophical Congress. The *Boston Globe* of America for September 16, 1926, had the following comment:

No sooner had the prolonged applause of the audience (for Prof. Dewey) died down than a Hindu philosopher, Prof. Radhakrishnan, of the University of Calcutta, tall, dark-skinned and slender, with Oriental tunic and turban, continued in even more vigorous terms the criticism of a "fact-ridden" world. Speaking perfect English, without manuscript, Prof. Radhakrishnan went through all the institutions of modern man, from the family to international relations, and scathingly denounced them for their dependence on science without reflexion. Now making the great audience roar with laughter at a witty reference to the instability of marriage in the Western world, and then holding it so silently attentive that the creaking of a chair sounded large, Prof. Radhakrishnan called upon peoples everywhere to develop the capacity to draw aside from the whirl of events, periodically, and discover what they mean. Expressing pleasure at having heard Prof. Dewey, who, he said, looms in the Orient, as an important philosopher, and confessing his surprise that he could agree with what Prof. Dewey said, "sal". He said that it has penetrated India and upsetting traditions and standards without having formulated any others to take their place. Making the audience chuckle at his sarcastic reference to "philosophy as a discussion of essences and senses" and as "the doctrine of subsistence paraphrasing or repeating the very titles listed in the programme for discussion by various divisions of the Congress, Prof. Radhakrishnan stated with emphasis that it is not that kind of philosophy the world needs. Some in the audience were plainly dumbfounded at this casting of satirical darts at the nomenclature and classification used by Western philosophers. Prof. Radhakrishnan seemed to delight in it. Obviously extemporizing as he went along but with a quick and profound facility that brought expressions of amazement from members of the audience, he reacted instantly to the mood of the audience and with his hands stuck under his tunic and gave them one flashing criticism after another. With intense fervour in his strong voice, he insisted that what the world needs is a philosophy that will embrace "a whole spiritual outlook" for all peoples of the world. "The attitude of 'my religion is right, not yours; my race is greatest, not yours, my nation is the greatest, not

yours,' must be relinquished," he declared. With the utmost simplicity, he described the Hindu principle of the oneness and wholeness of this universe, and the Hindu practice of periodic retirement from the seething world—"not literally in body"—so that the mind can reflect upon life, looking it from the outside, and can establish a personal spiritual poise and strength. Urging the Hindu philosophy as a solution for the pressing problems of to-day, he concluded that the fulfilment of that philosophy requires "great discipline and self-sacrifice." Even greater applause than followed Prof. Dewey's address greeted Prof. Radhakrishnan. He half rose from his chair two or three times to acknowledge it. After the meeting there was a buzz of admiring comment about him.

Thus, with all the laurels of victory over him Prof. Radhakrishnan returned to India in the following December. And in this connexion the name of the illustrious Swami Vivekananda stands forth before us with all its glory. Those having no knowledge about the great Swami know with what a startling effect he addressed the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. Though there is no doubt that the address of the Swami on the above and other occasions, together with the writings of Sister Nivedita, his disciple and convert, produced a deep and lasting effect on the Western mind, yet, as Mr. Tuckwell says in an article on "Indian Philosophy" contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* (October, 1930), "something further, something rather different, is needed now. What we are asking of India at the present time is, not so much the missionary to convert, as the teacher to instruct us." And Prof. Radhakrishnan is perhaps the most brilliant and competent of these teachers that the new India has produced. After his return to this country it fell to the lot of the newly established Andhra University to honour him first with the title of D. Litt., at its second convocation held in November 1928, with the Governor of Madras, its Chancellor. Prof. Radhakrishnan belongs to the Andhradesh, so the University of his native place has done well to show this unique honour to one of the most distinguished sons of the soil.

The tremendous impression that Prof. Radhakrishnan produced in England, which was perhaps strengthened by the publication of the two large volumes of his "Indian Philosophy", did not all go in vain. A short time after his return to India, the Chair of Comparative Religions fell vacant at Manchester College, Oxford, owing to the retirement of Principal Estlin Carpenter, and this was offered to the learned Doctor. The late Lord Haldane was the chief man to take the initiative, though it was not known to anybody here, until Dr. Drummond, who came to India a couple of

years back, in the course of his lectures at the Calcutta University declared that the last thing which Lord Haldane did before he died was to propose the name of Prof. Radhakrishnan for the above post. Lord Haldane's was a great name in politics but he was also a philosopher of note, and he had a profound regard for what is best in Indian thought. In an article contributed to the pages of the *New Era* for October 1928, he remarks "The spirit in the East is different from that of the West but the task is to discover whether there is not a fundamental basis in common to the spirit in both cases". And he believed that such a basis exists. "However East and West have come to diverge over details, the essences of their final doctrines are not divergent. If this be so, it opens up a new avenue for hope in the quest after final truth". And for this he thought what was most called for at the present time was an increased amount of reciprocal interpretation. But this, we must say, was not a mere idea that he cherished in his mind but it was seeking for expression in action. And to give a practical shape to the desire, which must have been burning in his great mind, and which he thought would go a long way to the realisation of the desired end, he availed himself of the first opportunity that came his way of suggesting an Indian for the Manchester College post. Nothing could be better than giving a chance to an accomplished Indian scholar to interpret the fundamentals of Indian thought to the West, for, he says, "if we come by study to the highest quality in Indian thought, this must, when found, be given the first place, inasmuch as it is found to have influenced profoundly everything important that has come afterwards". (*Ibid*). And he thinks that though Indian reflexion in its various aspects has been studied in the West, yet the way in which accomplished Indian thinkers have mastered the idealism of the West thoroughly, is found wanting on the part of thinkers of the West to master equally thoroughly the idealism of the East. After Western scholars had done their best the need still remained that India should speak for herself. And that the choice to such a responsible post fell on Dr. Radhakrishnan shows in what a high esteem he was held by the greatest men in England. Though the post was offered permanently he could only accept it temporarily on account of his previous commitments in India. In this connexion Dr. Radhakrishnan was to have left for England in 1928, but pressure of work here prevented his going till the next

year, and the authorities at Oxford were good enough to accommodate him. So he left for England in September 1929, to join the post in the following October. This time also the news of his coming to England was known there long before he left India, and there was no dearth of invitations to lecture in various institutions. The most notable of these was the invitation of the Hibbert Trust. The Hibbert Trustees availed themselves of the opportunity of so distinguished a scholar's visit to England and invited him to give the world-famous Hibbert Lectures. He was the first Indian to deliver these lectures.

The editors of the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* were obliged to give a place for an article on Indian Philosophy in the latest edition, thanks to the work of scholars like Radhakrishnan, and requested him to contribute it.

Radhakrishnan's second visit to England met with perhaps greater success than the first. The enthusiasm and admiration of the people there for this great teacher in no way abated by the running of time. The way in which his Hibbert Lectures were received bears ample testimony to this. The honour shown to an Easterner was perhaps unique and unprecedented. Perhaps never before him was any lecturer so successful and able to stir the soul of a conservative people like the British, and this with the ancient message of the East. We hear that when he delivered the course of his Hibbert Lectures in the spacious hall of the University College, London, the hall used to be full to the overflowing on each occasion and when Radhakrishnan used to enter the place the whole audience would stand up to show their reverence and listen with all attention to his wonderful lectures. This he must have enjoyed tremendously as any other human being would. To show how wonderfully his Hibbert Lectures both at Manchester and London were received we can do no better than quote here some of the remarks that were made by distinguished men at the conclusion and comments on these that appeared in the press there. At the conclusion of his lectures at the Manchester University Prof. F. E. Weiss, ex-Vice-Chancellor, in proposing the vote of thanks remarked :

It gives me great pleasure as senior member of the Senate to express on my own behalf and on behalf of this large audience our warm thanks to Prof. Radhakrishnan for the wonderful series of lectures which he has just concluded. It is true as you said in your first lecture that we are assailed by religious and philosophic doubt, but you Prof. Radhakrishnan have shown how this can be overcome, and you have given us courage and hope for the future. I am glad to see that so many of our students have taken the opportunity of attending

these lectures. Their presence takes my mind back to the time forty years ago when as a science student at University College, I was privileged to hear Dr. Martineau, Prof. Estlin Carpenter and Mr. Wickstead lecture on topics similar to those you have been dealing with. I am deeply grateful to the Hibbert Trustees that they have enabled us and our students to hear your inspiring lectures. I am sure like myself all members of the audience will have marvelled not only at the skill and eloquence with which you have developed and presented a difficult subject, but also at the wonderful mastery you have shown of a language not your native tongue. We have looked in the past to the East for culture, for philosophy and religion, to Greece, to Palestine and to India, to-day we have sat again at the feet of a great Indian teacher, and we shall leave this lecture-room encouraged and strengthened by the words you have spoken and the views you have put before us. I have the greatest pleasure in proposing our warm thanks to Prof. Radhakrishnan for his inspiring and helpful lectures.

Dr. H. McLachlan, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, in seconding the vote of thanks said :

As a former Hibbert student it is perhaps appropriate that I should second the vote of thanks. In doing so I should like to express my thanks to the Hibbert Trustees for allowing Manchester to have the benefit of listening to the admirable course of lectures which Prof. Radhakrishnan has just concluded. We have had the privilege in the past of hearing something about Indian thought and religion from two former Professors of the University, Prof. Rhys Davids and Prof. Farquhar, to-day we have heard India herself speaking, through one of her most distinguished sons. It seems very appropriate to me that these Hibbert Lectures should be delivered in the Manchester University which possesses the only undenominational Faculty of Theology, and seeing the great interest they have evoked, I hope these splendid lectures will be the inauguration of many others which the Hibbert Trust may arrange for. I have great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

In a report of the University of Manchester appearing in the *Manchester Guardian* for December 21, 1929, at the end of the Winter Term we have the following paragraph :

One of the most interesting things of the present term was the course of four public lectures on 'An Idealist View of Life' by Prof. Radhakrishnan, who occupies the Chair of Mental and Moral Science in the University of Calcutta—Not only were the lectures brilliant and deeply interesting in themselves, but it was gratifying to the University authorities to find that there was so large an audience interested in lectures of a high quality which dealt with philosophical and religious ideas.

A course of four other lectures under the same Trust was also delivered by Dr. Radhakrishnan at the University College, London. Mr. C. E. M. Joad writing in the *Spectator* (February 15, 1930) about these says :

Prof. Radhakrishnan might have been specially cast for the role of interpreting the religious thought of the East to Western audiences, and the four lectures which he has delivered at University College, Gower Street, on "An Idealist View of life" have attracted the largest gathering which has been seen at any public lectures on a philosophical subject since the War. For the size of

the audience the personality of the lecturer is in part responsible. Prof. Radhakrishnan is a past master of the technique of lecturing. He is extremely fluent, and his lectures, delivered entirely without notes, flow in a stream of perfectly turned sentences, which would put most English speakers to shame. His style is vivid and arresting, made picturesque with apt illustration and metaphor, and crystallising into epigrammatic phrase which result not from a forced collocation of ideas, but from the drive of his thought seeking logical expression. "It takes centuries of history to make a little tradition" (I am quoting from memory); "it takes centuries of tradition to make a little thought", is a good example of his manner; and there was an excellent definition of the millennium at a time when "all the heads will be hard and all the pillows soft". The most noticeable fact about the audience, apart from the number of Indian students, was the large proportion of young people that it contained. The lectures formed no part of a recognised University course and attendance was entirely optional. Nevertheless young men and women, many of whom, to my knowledge, had been earning their living since half-past nine in the morning, while others had, I suppose, already attended a couple of lectures on the same day, were there in hundreds, listening to a profoundly religious man expounding to a generation which has largely lost its religion a profoundly religious view of life.

At the conclusion of his lectures the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, Sir William Collins, who was simply fascinated and was in raptures, burst out saying that he found no adequate words to express his deep sense of gratitude to, and feeling for the learned Doctor. "We always look to the East for our wise men," said Sir William, "and to-day we have had the privilege of sitting at the feet of a great Eastern teacher. I congratulate the Calcutta University on its Professor of Mental and Moral Science." Then, turning to the lecturer, he added "I wish I had had a professor like you, Sir, when forty years ago I studied mental and moral science in the University College, London."

In conclusion, the Chairman said that he had the privilege ten years ago, as Vice-Chancellor of the University, of presiding over the Hibbert Lectures delivered by M. Bergson, and his privilege and pleasure were no less on the present occasion in listening to a philosopher whose profundity of thought, brilliance of exposition, and richness of language were at once their envy, their admiration and their despair (Loud Cheers).

Dr. Radhakrishnan was also privileged to deliver another lecture carrying high honour, viz., the Jowett Lecture for 1930. The Jowett Lectureship was founded over thirty years ago in the Mary Ward Settlement and has a very distinguished committee. To quote the words of the original syllabus—"the primary object of the Lectures shall be to promote the study of the Bible and the history of Religion in the light of

the available results of criticism and research." Many extremely interesting courses of lectures or single lecture were delivered since then, by such eminent men as Prof. Sir George Adam Smith, Dr. Percy Gardner, Dr. P. H. Wickstead, Dr. C. G. Montefiore, Prof. F. G. Burkitt, Prof. Paul Sabatier, Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. J. Bethune-Baker. The subject of Prof. Radhakrishnan's lecture was "The East and the West in Religion."

Again, to show the high value and persuasive character of Prof. Radhakrishnan's lectures we cannot but here mention an incident which took place at the close of a lecture of his at Cambridge. The *Inquirer* for March 8, 1930, reports : "An elderly lady brought up in the bosom of orthodox Christianity of the 'Imperialistic' type, was expressing her appreciation of the lecture, and remarked : 'It has made me ashamed to think of many of the missionaries we have sent out to India'. The Unitarian to whom she spoke, replied : 'I have long been opposed to missionary enterprise for the propaganda of Christianity. True missionary work is getting a man like Radhakrishnan to come here to promote understanding and mutual respect, and for us to do likewise'. The old lady said : 'That is just what I now feel.'"

Prof. Radhakrishnan's short term of office at the Manchester College, Oxford, met with equal success. A report says : "At the end of the last lecture on the 5th, Thursday, to an audience which kept up marvellously for the three terms Principal Joads expressed deep thanks of the authorities of the college and the members of the audience for the 'vital, valuable and illuminating discourses' which helped to reveal the Eastern mind to the Western. He said :

Not only is Prof. Radhakrishnan a great living master of Eastern thought, but as you must have discovered a great living master of Western thought. His presence in the college has been of immense benefit to those who came into contact with him and he is a true representative of the coming vital synthesis of East and West. His charm of manners and his humanity have endeared him to us all. I venture to express the hope that these will not be the last occasion when he will be heard. In wishing him a safe and prosperous voyage to his native land may I request him to convey to his people our message of good-will and respect for the country which he has so considerably enhanced by his presence and discourses on this land.

Perhaps nothing could be a better certificate than this as to both his quality as a lecturer and man.

Thus Prof. Radhakrishnan reached the shores of India once again early in July, 1930, in all

glory. And only the other day in recognition of his great and unique achievements as a scholar and services abroad the authorities of the University of Calcutta on the eve of the expiry of his quinquennial term of office at the said University confirmed him for life, a fact which is unprecedented in its history. Great tributes were paid to him on that occasion.

In giving an account of his life we have so far described Radhakrishnan the scholar, but a few words about Radhakrishnan the man may not be inappropriate. Even in this respect also he is great. To speak of Radhakrishnan as a man we think it would be proper if we describe him as a 'gentleman', a truly cultured man with all that it implies. Matthew Arnold spoke of sweetness and light as the marks of culture, and we find these fully illustrated in this great scholar. In speaking of light perhaps the first and foremost thing that characterises it is humility. In the Hindu Shastras it has been said that knowledge or light produces humility, and this is eminently true of Prof. Radhakrishnan. We may say he is all humility. The high honour and position that he has gained would easily have turned the head of many another, which is especially true of our unfortunate land, but with him its effect has been the other way, instead of making him puffed up it has resulted in an engaging self-effacement. If people go to him and speak of his achievements he would feel shy and turn the conversation to other topics. This is really most characteristic of him. The way in which he mixes with people without making any distinction of rank or prestige perhaps best illustrates this quality in a practical way. He would never let anybody feel, whoever he may be, that he is in the company of a great man; none feels awkward in his presence, instead it often happens that one who does not know him at first but comes to discover who he is afterwards would rather be surprised at the humility of the man. His doors are wide open for anybody and everybody, and whoever goes to see him is never disappointed without a visit. Then, again, his utter simplicity in the mode of living, informal ways in mixing with people, devotion to friends and causes—are but other signs of true culture. He leads the life of a philosopher. The old motto: "Plain living and high thinking," finds a true illustration in him. He mixes with people as one of them. Friends find in him warm devotion and readiness to help in necessity. Right causes find in him a true and ready sponsor and spokesman. Radhakrishnan has got both the sweetness of the head and the heart. The sweetness of the heart

expresses itself in what we call sympathy. Sympathy with people does not lie in mere lip-deep words but in action. Mere lip-deep sympathy repels people, but sympathy in action attracts them. Perhaps this is the secret which draws so many people to his door. People in various walk of life flock to his doors for different kinds of help, for he is said to be so influential. And nobody is disappointed; even if he cannot help anybody materially he has at least this consolation that he found a response of the heart, which counts greatly. The sweetness of the heart also may be said to express itself in forgiveness. Friends he has many, and if anybody would ever do any wrong to him he pities him and is ever ready to forgive him. He would perhaps never have even an unkind word for him. What we call temper is perhaps conspicuous in him by its absence. One hears of it even from a menial at his place. The sweetness of both head and heart has perhaps found its best illustration in his family affairs. Even to an outsider the whole family seems to be happy and joyous, which is a sure indication of peace reigning there born of sweetness. The children must have found in him a sweet and dutiful father, the wife a sweet and dutiful husband and the guest a sweet host.

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WORLD EVENTS

BY

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

BARROWS LECTURES

THE coming to Madras during February of the Seventh Barrows Lecturer—Bishop Francis J. McConnell of New York—is an event of more than ordinary interest. Perhaps a word about the origin of the lectureship may be of interest to my readers.

The Barrows Lectureship was established in 1894 by Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell. It was really suggested by the Parliament of Religions which met at the World's Fair in Chicago, United States of America in 1893. The first course of lectures was delivered during the winter of 1896-7 by Dr. John Henry Barrows, in whose honour the lectureship was named. In her letter to President Harper proposing to establish the lectureship Mrs. Haskell said :

I take pleasure in offering to the University of Chicago the sum of twenty thousand dollars for the founding of a Lectureship on the Relations of Christianity and the other Religions. These lectures, six or more in number, are to be given in Calcutta, and, if deemed best in Bombay, Madras, or some other of the chief cities, where large numbers of the educated Hindus are familiar with the English language. In reading the proceedings of the Parliament of Religions, I have been struck with the many points of harmony between the different faiths, and by the possibility of so presenting Christianity to others as to win their favourable interest in its truths. If the committee shall decide to utilize this Lectureship still further in calling forth the views of scholarly representatives of non-Christian faiths, I authorize and shall approve such a decision. Only good will grow out of such a comparison of views. I cherish the expectation that the Barrows Lectures will prove, in the years that shall come, a golden bond between the East and West.

Former President Harry Pratt Judson has written: "Mrs. Haskell's idea in founding the Barrows Lectures in India was a noble one. With broad catholicity of spirit she recognised the essential truth which is common to all forms of religious thought, and realised that men are prone to quarrel about diversities rather than to rejoice in the elements of unity. With this view it seemed to her that the essential Christian doctrines might well be presented to the acute Eastern mind in so unpolemic and yet cogent a form

as to win appreciation of their beauty and power far more than is possible from the customary preaching of the gospel. The Indian is not a heathen, but is a man of deep religious life and profound philosophy. He is worthy to be approached by a similar mind."

Among the other Barrows Lecturers should be mentioned Dr. A. M. Fairbairn of Oxford, Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall of New York whose lectures created so much interest that he was appointed the Barrows Lecturer a second time, and Dr. Gilkey of Chicago.

THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

Russia is in the public eye again with another trial of plotters against the Soviet State. Whether it be the work of her agents in Europe, or China, or India, or in her own country, or the Five Years Plan, Russia has maintained a real focus of world attention for a number of years. Russia merits attention; she has a tremendous slice of Europe; all northern Asia in that great and promising territory of Siberia is under her control; her population of 150 millions contains many of the most thrifty and hard-working people on the face of the earth, and those sober-minded and practical men are trying out an experiment of national socialism which, although we cannot agree with much of their political philosophy and socialistic methods, nevertheless, as students of social movements we must study and follow closely what is taking place in that country, for a great country like Russia is bound to have an influence for good or ill on the rest of the world.

The organisation of Soviet Russia for administration purposes is similar in both political and economic spheres; it is distinctly on the decentralised principle. There are six republican States: Russian, White-Russian, Ukrainian, Trans-Caucasian, Uzbek, and Turcoman. These major States are independent; they manage their own

affairs, and have the right to secede; but in alliance they call themselves the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.) In theory the federated republics have independent rights of control in their own finances, industries, and trade; but actually the Union controls in practice the whole political and economic life of the Russian people. For instance, the Union controls all financial affairs, including the republican budgets, all foreign trade, all communications and commercial treaties; it controls labour and home industry and trade as well as all foreign relationships. In other words we have in Russia to-day the very antithesis of *laissez faire* in which the National Government controls and keeps a tight rein on all the activities of its people.

The method of administration in economic affairs is by Union Commissariats and by special Councils and Boards, which of course are the direct agents of the policy of the Union. The most important of these are: the Supreme Council of National Economy, the Council of Work and Defence, the State Planning Board, and the Trade Commissariat. The Supreme Council has to do with national production, to supervise the properties of the republican Councils, to audit the balances and accounts of the large industries and also to control their foreign trade; it also controls all imports, exports, and foreign credits. The State Planning Board for instance is an interesting body; its function with help from other Councils is to bring into harmony the economic projects of all the republics. Russia's present state of mind although ostensibly socialistic is in reality unsocial, except for propaganda purposes. Russia represents the great paradox of trying to demonstrate socialism from the standpoint of individualism; she does not yet know that we are all living in an internationalised world; but she is finding out from actual experience that to cut one's self off from the rest of people is absolutely no good to a modern state.

In financial matters Soviet Russia started off over ten years ago to do without a money currency and foreign capital. She has long since restored her money currency and she also now feels the need of foreign capital. But because the Soviet Government wishes to repudiate all past indebtedness creditor nations like the United States and Great Britain are not anxious to lend Russia money until she promises to pay up her old debts. With the opening of the State Bank in 1921 for the Russian Republic banking throughout the country has developed rapidly, and these reforms made it possible partially at least to stabilise the currency, that great achievement enabled the Union Government to balance its budget. These reforms in her financial organisation have helped greatly in Russia's economic recovery during the last five years. And now she is bending every effort on the 5 years' plan.

Russia has a vast State economic machine; some of its methods are decidedly harsh and unsatisfactory; it has changed considerably since it began its great experiment; it will change some more yet, but whether it will be able to eliminate all its bad features and demonstrate its utility as an economic system we shall have to wait and see.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICANISM

The change from former enemies of Great Britain to ardent supporters of continued co-operation with and members of the British Commonwealth of Nations is the political history of Botha, Smuts, and now General Hertzog. Fears were entertained that Hertzog when he came to power would further the republican ideal, and break away from the British connection; but those early fears have been swept away, for since his return from the Imperial Conference he has been making a series of remarkable speeches in which he has asked the Nationalist Party to cease their opposition to Great Britain, for the fight of 100 years has ended; South Africa has self-government, and

it will be to her lasting benefit to remain within the British Commonwealth.

In a speech at the Nationalist gathering at Pretoria General Hertzog continued the attack begun at Bloemfontein, and at the close received a remarkable ovation from an assembly representative of Transvaal Nationalism.

If after what I said at Bloemfontein, (he remarked) it should be said I am a deserter from the Nationalist cause—if that opinion be really held—then it is time there was a change in the leadership. If the Nationalist Party is not prepared to support me I am prepared immediately to relinquish the leadership.

The General went on to maintain that the fight which the Nationalists had been waging for a hundred years had now ended, and that the party was now entering on a new task—the unity of white South Africa. If they wanted the Nationalist Party to be a Republican party they had the right to get it, but he also had the right to make propaganda against them, and would use every ounce of his strength, every vestige of his influence, to counter this Republican propaganda and obviate disastrous consequences to South Africa. Both sides in this quarrel had made South Africa a hell long enough. In conclusion General Hertzog said:—

Now we have our freedom it is absurd to go on fighting, because we have nothing more to fight for.

BRITISH NATIONAL THRIFT

A really remarkable movement is going on in Great Britain for promoting thrift among the people. It began in 1916 when Her Majesty the Queen bought the first certificate. The King has recently accepted the one thousand million National Savings Certificate. The total amount now standing to the credit of holders is no less than £786,000,000, and there are some 30,000 savings associations at work throughout the country, many of which have been formed among school children. The movement aims at promoting "habits of wise spending and wise saving."

A note from THE BRITISH WEEKLY states that Mr. J. M. Keynes has recently given an important Monday evening talk over the radio on

unemployment in Britain and other parts of the world.

The great economist insisted on the extreme gravity of the present situation, and he fears that in matters of international finance the present year may be worse than the last. Business losses have been larger than at any time in the history of the world. The anxiety in millions of homes is extreme. Mr. Keynes estimates that in the three chief industrial countries, Britain, Germany and the United States, fully twelve million workers are unemployed. In some agricultural countries the pinch has been even more severely felt. The fall in wheat and wool has been catastrophic. Wheat has fallen below pre-War prices, and at Liverpool it is said to have been lower than at any time since the age of Charles II. How are farmers to live under such conditions?

ANOTHER AMERICAN GIFT TO OXFORD

THE LONDON TIMES reports that Mrs. Edward S. Harkness, of New York, wife of the founder of the Pilgrim Trust, has presented to Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, the sum of £35,000 for the erection of a new block of buildings of students' rooms. Members of the family of Mr. Edward Stephen Harkness, the American railway magnate and philanthropist, have made many handsome gifts to the United Kingdom. In 1927 the University of St. Andrews and the new Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon both benefited by Mr. Harkness's generosity; and in the following year Oxford received two gifts from him—one of £1,000 for the Oxford Preservation Trust, and the other of £5,000 towards the Quincentenary Fund for the erection of new buildings at Lincoln College.

Last September it was announced that he had placed in the hands of trustees some £2,000,000, to be spent for the benefit of Great Britain. To the universities of his own country he has also given sums amounting to many millions.

RETRENCHMENT

BY

MR. S. A. PANDE, M.A., LL.B.

WITH the initiation of the coming reforms and the expenditure incidental to them economy in the public expenditure on some of the superfluous items seems to be the only way out of a financial chaos. With the growth of travelling expenses of the Councillors, with the increase in the members of the Executive, with the consequent increase of their salaries also, Mahatma Gandhi's proposition of reduction of all public salaries beyond a particular limit seems to be the only way out of our difficulty. The working out of some of the suggestions made by the Inchcape Committee should be insisted upon by the Legislative Assembly to relieve the public expenditure; all the continental Governments are insisting on retrenchment, the need whereof is the greatest in the poorest agricultural country of India. Better amenities with cheaper cost will have to be the motto of the future Governments and people do bargain for such conditions in all democratic countries. Government after Government is heckled in England to remove some of the existing social evils and the demand of the public is always of the sort stated above. Efficiency at lower value than heretofore will have to be shown. Contract system of doing things in all public departments will have to be more in vogue and public salaries will have to be reduced. People in Gujerath and U. P. as well as certain parts of the Bombay Presidency require an immediate relief about land revenue the incidence whereof at present is unbearable. The emigration of many citizens from these provinces to others is a clear index of their hardships. Future Government will have to take up more social reforms than before without levying extra taxation; the dexterity would lie thus like the commercial companies to give the maximum of return with minimum of remuneration; done this the Government way will be smooth. Looked at

from many standpoints the need of the day seems to be the retrenchment in the public expenditure which can be achieved only by lowering both the salaries and the man power in the administration. Lord Inchcape is reported to have said in one place that India's is the only Government where probably two men are employed to do the work of one in many cases. To remove this defect the lines indicated above must be resorted to. Indians must learn to live on the Indian standard of life and get the Indian rate of wages, otherwise Indianization will have no meaning. Future Governments will have always critical and enlightened tax-payers who will insist on getting their taxes due. It is hoped, our political leaders, when they work out the details of the coming reforms will bear this cardinal principle in mind in shaping them.

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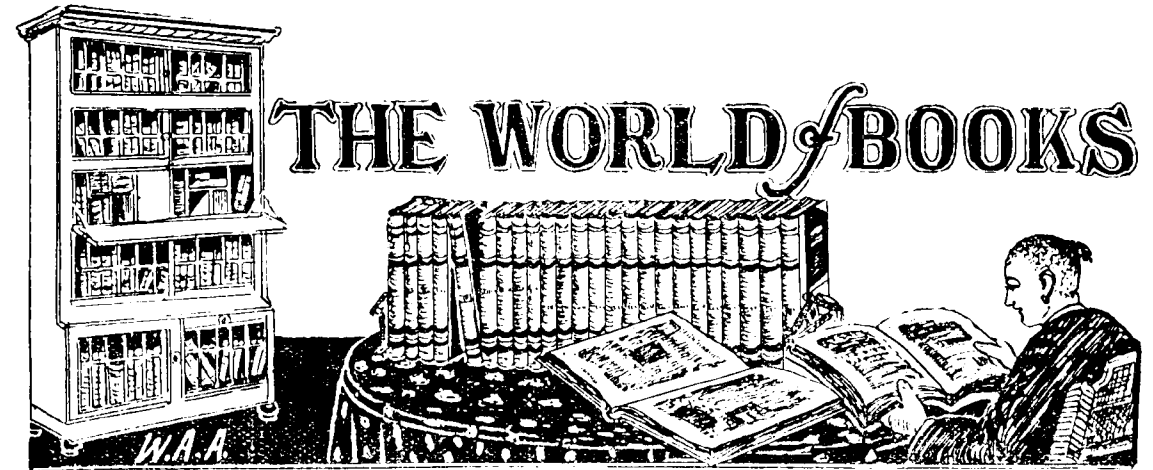
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E. Sept. '31.



KOWTOW. By Princess Derling. Chapman & Hall, London.

China is a subject of perennial interest. If ancient Cathay interested Europe by its mystery and old worldliness modern China arrests us by its republican revolution and Civil War. And this book of a genteel princess gives an intimate picture of an aspect of China that deserves to be better known. Princess Derling is the daughter of Lord Yu Keng who held distinguished posts under the Chinese Empress Tzu Hsi, popularly known as "Old Buddah". Lord Yu Keng was a provincial governor, a Cabinet officer and later Ambassador to Japan and France. He was a man of advanced views and gave his daughter sound education. His family was therefore unpopular in China and unpopularity developed to hatred when Princess Derling became Christian. But in spite of his unpopularity with his countrymen Lord Yu Keng enjoyed the confidence of Old Buddah till his death and Princess Derling became First Lady in Waiting to the Empress in 1903. In her book "Old Buddah" published in 1929, Princess Derling made a courageous attempt to vindicate the reputation of Empress Tzu Hsi and boldly challenged the estimate of Old Buddah based on bazar gossip and teashop scandals. In this her latest book Princess Derling recounts incidents of the official life of her father. In doing so she

vividly describes the customs and manners not merely of China, but of Japan, France, and other countries of the West which she had the opportunity to visit along with her father.

The book records the incidents of the Keng family from the time when Princess Derling was six years old to the time of Keng's death when she was 18 years old. Our only surprise is how Princess Derling is able to remember all the incidents of her father's official life which covered her girlhood.

Interesting though the book is, the title has been ill-chosen. Kowtow was a peculiar form of obeisance that obtained in pre-revolutionary China. The man who performed the Kowtow dropped his knees before the person to whom respect was due and touched his head most humbly to the floor. No doubt there are two important references to Kowtow in the book, namely, once when the First Secretary of Lord Keng was asked to Kowtow to Princess Derling in Paris for having slandered her on account of her participation in a drama, and secondly, when Prince Chun refused to Kowtow to the Kaiser in Berlin when he was called upon to do so for China's behaviour in the Boxer Rising. Excepting these two references to Kowtow the book is a mere record of the official life of Keng and we would therefore suggest a title like this, "Gleanings of Past Years."

The book is nicely got up and well illustrated.

BIOGRAPHY FOR BEGINNERS. Words by E. C. Bentley. Pictures by G. K. Chesterton. T. Werner Laurie. (Rs. 2-10. G. A. Natesan & Co.)

This is quite the briefest and funniest biography in English. Mr. Bentley and G. K. C. have touched the virtues and foibles, the fads and oddities of some forty leading men, with the delicate but unerring instinct of true humour. Alike the strong points and singularities of great men are brought out in clear relief. What can be more apposite than this of Bernard Shaw that he

Was just setting out for the war,
When he heard it was a dangerous trade,
And demonstrably underpaid.

Or of Hilaire Belloc whose all-round interests are hit off in

He seems to think nobody minds
His books being all of different kinds.

Four editions of the book having run out, the Publishers have brought out this handsome reprint; and doubtless

Mr. Werner Laurie
Is not at all sorry
He undertook the publication
Of this instructive compilation.

THE HOLY QURAN. Translation of the Holy Quran, Rs. 5. Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore.

Moulana Muhammad Ali, M.A., LL.B., President of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman, Lahore, had published in 1917 an English Translation of Holy Quran with Arabic text and exhaustive commentary which had very good reception at the hand of the public. He has now issued a popular edition of the translation with shorter notes and without Arabic text. He has also added a new Introduction which will be found very helpful in studying the holy book. The author has also reprinted in a pamphlet "The Islamic Institution of Prayer" that formed part of the Preface to the older edition of the Quran; and in another pamphlet, he has expounded the principles on which "Islam the Religion of Humanity" is based.

AMERICAN CRITICAL ESSAYS. Ed. By Norman Forester, Oxford University Press, London.

"Before we can have an American literature, we must have an American criticism" said Paul More in 1904 and undoubtedly the critical movement in the United States is the most significant movement during the last decade. The Oxford University Press have therefore done well in including some of the finest efforts of American criticism in their latest addition to the World's Classics. Here we have not only the old familiar writings of Poe and Lo Well, of Emerson and Whitman but some typical modern American criticism that can hold its own with the contemporary critical literature of England.

SAMKHYA AND MODERN THOUGHT. By J. Ghosh. Published by the Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta.

This volume aims at giving a popular presentation of the great and acute Indian system of thought known as the Samkhya System. The strength and the weakness of this school of thought lies in its straight appeal to *Reason* as distinct from *Revelation*. The author says that "the Samkhya is thus frankly pessimistic" and "that its object is practical or rather ethical" The Samkhya is great in its analysis and exposition of the categories of existence and in its clear affirmation of *soul*. But it is weak in its negation of God and in its non-affirmation of the nature of the soul as supreme positive bliss. It affirms the plurality of souls and explains the way of deliverance of soul from the bondage of matter. Its merit lies also in its clear affirmation of the separateness of soul from matter, and in its clear negation of the Buddhistic denial of the permanence of the soul. The great glory of the Vedanta is in its disproof of the Samkhya doctrine of Pradhana or Prakriti as being the cause of the universe and the author has given a rather general and discursive exposition of the Samkhya;

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

If the Victorian age was rich in poetry, it was richer still in criticism. Indeed there was such an abundance of interpretative literature that the poets were made quite popular with the people. And then the criticisms of Saintsbury and Stopford Brooke, of Edmond Gosse and Sidney Colvin were of such excellence that it is hardly possible to improve upon them. No wonder that nothing fresh could be said of the giants of the Victorian age like Tennyson and Browning; but these talks are an attempt to revive old memories. And Mr. Lucas's has done this task deftly. For to say anything stimulating on these poets without appearing to be commonplace is difficult enough. But Mr. Lucas's task is to induce the reader to go back to the poets themselves and not to be content with books about the poets. The reader must feel thankful for refreshing memories of Swinburn and Rossetti and Clough, and altogether the eight studies ending with Hardy are admirably handled.

ONE FAMILY. A dream of real things. By Owen Rutter, Elkin Mathews & Marrot, Ltd., London.

This book is adapted from the film of the same name. A little boy is taken in a dream to Buckingham Palace to supervise the making of the King's Christmas pudding. He is assisted by representatives of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, India, and the Irish Free State, who conduct him over their respective countries in search of the ingredients. No book has yet been published which gives so vivid and accurate a picture of the Empire. We are told that many of the photographs with which the book is profusely illustrated from the film were taken in Buckingham Palace by the gracious permission of H. M. The King.

A STUDY OF THE MAHAVASTU. By Bimala Churn Law. Thacker, Spink & Co., 1930.

Students of Buddhism should be grateful to Dr. Law for making available to them in this readable form the substance of the Mahavastu—one of the important books of Mahayana literature. Mahavastu means a big thing as it appropriately forms the title of an unwieldy chaos of Buddhist legends, stories and doctrines. And the language in which it is written presents as much difficulty as the subject matter. It is neither Sanskrit nor Pali nor Prakrit, but an unstable combination of all the three. Dr. Keitu who has contributed a note on the Mahavastu says that for lack of a better term it might be called mixed Sanskrit. Moreover it is not clear to which school the book exactly belongs. It claims to belong to Vinaya Pitaka according to the text of the Lokottaravadins. But it contains very little of the rules of the Vinaya. So in every way the Mahavastu is a tangled mass. And it is no small help that Dr. Law has rendered to students of Buddhism in the present book which gives us a fairly good idea of the contents of the original. His account is divided into two parts. The first part which contains two chapters deals with the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas including Goutama the Buddha. And the second part gives a number of stories or Jataka tales.

THE PATHOLOGY OF THE PRINCES. By Kanhayalal Gauba. The Times Publishing Company, Lahore (Rs. 7-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras).

The author of "Uncle Sham" has a style and a way of his own and in this book he expresses himself with equal vigour and lucidity. He has some incredible and amazing facts to work upon and he knows how best to do it. "The Pathology of the Princes" is a book of mordant satire and Mr. Kanhayalal is again at his desk, framing one the most staggering indictments ever published.

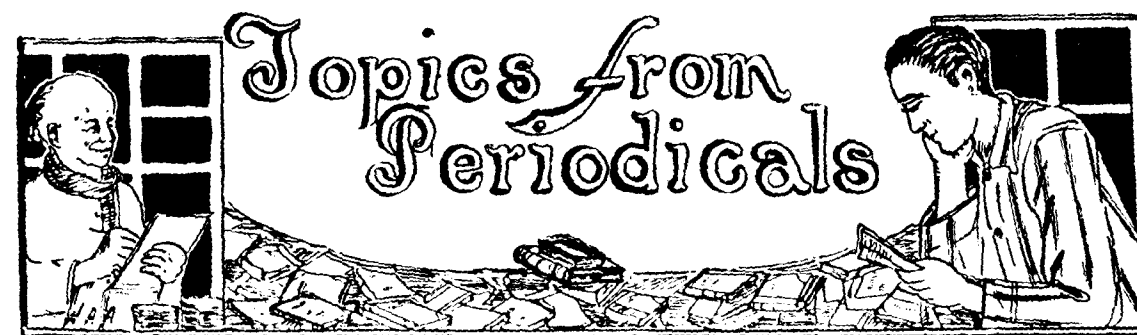
THE BHAGAVAD GITA (Student's Edition). The Text and Translation with Introduction and Notes. By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Published by the Current Thought Press, Madras. Rs. 2. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.)

For some years past, Mr. Sarma has been taking a good deal of interest in the religious education of our students. He has already written two books on the Gita and "A Primer of Hinduism," all intended for the young men in Colleges. We welcome this new effort on his part to supply a long felt need for a student's edition of the Gita.

In spite of the existence of some good translations—Sir Edwin Arnold's and Mrs. Besant's, for instance—no edition of the Gita till now has been furnished with a good introduction and notes, prepared specially with a view to clear the doubts of the beginner. This task has been undertaken with success by Mr. Sarma. The translation is in simple English and is generally free from sectarian bias. Here and there, in disputed passages, Mr. Sarma shows a preference for Sankara's interpretation, but he always takes care to point out the other views also in the notes. The introduction sums up excellently the teachings of the Gita and gives the author's own views on its place in our literary history, its relation to other systems of thought, etc. On points of detail one may have to differ from him, but this does not in any way affect the merit of the work. One suggestion only need be made here. Mr. Sarma might well have devoted some more space to the discussion of the Sankhya system, as beginners may feel some difficulty in understanding this portion of the introduction, as it stands. The notes are such as might show the attentive student the way to further thought and study. The value of the publication is enhanced by the two appendices—Mahatma Gandhi's article on "Ahimsa and the Gita" and an extract from Aurobindo Ghose on the caste-system.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- AFTER TWO THOUSAND YEARS. By G. Lowes Dickinson. George Allen & Unwin, London.
- THE INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY OF INDIA. By Dr. Rajani Kanta Das. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.
- RODERIC RANDOM. By Tobias Smollett. Oxford University Press.
- PAGES FROM A JOURNAL. By Mark Rutherford, Oxford University Press.
- THE RECKONING. By Joan Conquest. T. Werner Laurie, London.
- REVIEW OF THE TRADE OF INDIA 1929-30. Government of India Central Publication Branch.
- THE FALL OF CHRISTIANITY. By C. J. Heering. George Allen & Unwin, London.
- LAW OF EQUITABLE MORTGAGES IN INDIA. By Narotam Singh Bindra. The Student's Popular Depot, Lahore.
- EDUCATION FOR LIFE. By Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Gujarat Vidya Pith, Ahmedabad.
- THE MYSORE TRIBES & CASTES, VOL. III. By Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Government Press, Bangalore.
- HINDU WOMEN'S PROPERTY RIGHTS. By His Highness the Maharaja of Gaekwar, Government Press, Baroda.
- THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY. By B. Govind Rao, Coconada Printing Works, Coconada.
- THE RAMAYANA. By P. Gopala Menon. The Sanatana Printing Works, Ernakulam.
- CONFIDENTIAL TALKS TO YOUNGMEN. By Prof. Satyaverrata Siddhantankar, Atmaram & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore.
- PRINCESS KALYANI. By Mrs. S. Ghosal. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
- INDIRA DEVI. By A. Subrahmanyam. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
- SPIRITUAL LIFE. By A. H. Jaisinghani. Ganesh & Co., Madras.



THE AWAKENING OF INDIA

In the course of a thoughtful article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the Indian problem Sir Francis Younghusband describes in the following words the strivings of new life in India:—

"Life and more abundant life has come to her. She is being born again. As from the ancient land of Rome a young Italy has come to birth, so it is with India. Out of the old India a new India is arising. She, too, has been caught up in the more vigorous life which is pulsating throughout the whole world. With all the impetuosity of youth she is panting to express herself. They have to come out of her—all the new hopes, the high ideals, the ardent expectations, the eager straining after the heavenly visions. And she will not be restrained. She chafes at every delay and impediment. Her sons and daughters fear neither death nor imprisonment if only she can be free—be rid of the great burden of alien Government which is lying so heavily on her—India is united as never before. Young Muslims join with young Hindus, in devotion to the common mother land. The cities are thronged with processions singing and praying and bearing aloft the national flag. Even the imperturbable villages are stirred. They, too, feel the thrill of new life. India is in the full throes of budding nationhood."

In this connection a contemporary recalls the words of Swami Vivekananda who saw the vision of awakened India and expressed himself in the following inspiring words:—

"The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorest troubles seem to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awakening and a voice is coming to us. Like a breeze from the Himalayas, it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles, the lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see, or the perverted will not see, that she is awakening, this mother land of ours, from her deep long slumber... None can resist her any more; never she is going to sleep any more; no outward powers can hold her back any more; for the infinite giant is rising to her feet."

MR. GANDHI'S PRESENT OUTLOOK

Mr. Horace G. Alexander, Professor of International Relations at Selby Oak College, has a useful article on "Mr. Gandhi's Present Outlook," in the *Spectator*. He records the interview he had with him in gaol at Poona in the middle of September. In the course of this article, Mr. Alexander says: "Phrases like 'Dominion Status' and 'Federation' mean little to him. He wants to know what the functions and powers of a Dominion are to be, and who is to have effective control of the essential services in any federation. Unlike many of his fellow-countrymen, it is not the prestige of a higher status that he craves, but the power to wrestle with the problem of Indian poverty. There is surely nothing negative or destructive in such an aim, as so many of his British critics maintain, even though his method of securing it may seem strange."

THE MEANING OF LIBERTY

Mr. Aldous Huxley writes a thoughtful article on liberty in the December number of the *Fortnightly Review*. He quotes Lord Acton's saying that "medieval liberty differs from modern in this, that it depended on property" and proves that the difference is surely a difference in degree and not in kind.

All my legal liberties turn out in practice to be as closely dependent on property as were the liberties of my medieval ancestors. The rich can buy large quantities of freedom; the poor must do without it, even though, by law and theoretically, they have as good a right to just as much of it as have the rich.

A right is something which I have at the expense of other people. Even my right of not being murdered and not being made a slave is something which I have at the expense of those stronger than myself who could kill me or force me into servitude. There are no such things as "natural rights"; there are only adjustments of conflicting claims. What I have at your expense ought not to be more than what you have at my expense: that, whatever the practice may be, is the theory of Justice. * * *

Legally and theoretically, we are all free now; but the right to make use of these liberties must continue, under the present dispensation, to depend on property and the personal abilities which enable a man to acquire property easily. Some people, like tramps and certain artists, enjoy, it is true, a good deal of liberty without paying for it; but this is only because, unlike most human beings, they are not interested to stake out a claim among the things which can be paid for with money.

In what he calls the egalitarian state of the future all excessive accumulation of property will be abolished. But this implies apparently, the abolition of all excessive enjoyment of liberty. For "when everybody has three hundred a year, nobody will be less, but also nobody presumably will be more free." He has no belief in the future when everybody will have an equal share of the good things of life—for when that state is reached by legal or mechanical means, the "good" itself will cease to be worth striving after:

My own hopes are tempered, I must confess, with certain doubts. For there's a divinity, as I see, that misshapes as well as one that shapes our ends. Suitably enough (for like bad dogs, bad gods deserve bad names) this malignant deity is called the Law of Diminishing Returns. It was the economists who gave him the name and who first recognised and clearly described his unfriendly activities. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this demon confines himself solely to the economic sphere. The law of diminishing returns holds good in almost every part of our human universe.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES

Sir Brajendranath Seal writing on "British India and Indian States" in the *Modern Review* for January suggests an All-India Federation of British Indian Provinces and the Indian States.

I believe in a centralizing Federation (though not a unitary Government), in the first instance for the British Indian provinces, i.e., a Federation in which the provincial sphere is definitely circumscribed by enumeration of local matters, and which leaves a large measure of residuary jurisdiction to the Central Government this is what I could desire at the outset,—though I would move later on to a gradual decentralization, from the Federal to the Provincial, and from the latter to local self-government. The Central Government will, of course, have a Federal Executive Council, and a Supreme Court.

Next, as regards the integration of Indian States with the British Indian Government: For this what is necessary is an All-India Federation of a composite type.

The conditions are (1) that this Federation must be an organic Union, and not so loose in structure as a League of Nations, or even a Staatenbund or a Confederacy of States, (2) at the same time it must not be a centralizing or Unitary Federation such as their common history and tradition of the last hundred and fifty years indicate as the primary need of the British Indian provinces; a degree of cohesion and homogeneity which are wanting in the case of the Indian States.

All these conditions will be fulfilled, if at stated times in the year the Central British Indian Legislature holds joint session of both its Houses, to which delegates are sent from the Indian States, delegates who represent both their Governments and their peoples (the latter through their popular Houses, where there are such or by direct election), the numbers being in proportion to the population and calculated on the basis of the same quota as that accepted for British Indian representation, and the States being grouped together or otherwise organized as may be necessary for the purposes of the quota. The session will deal only with matters of All-India concern according to a scheduled list and such other matters as may be referred to it by the Governments concerned.

Sir Brajendranath does not contemplate a separate Federal Chamber for the Indian States, for they will, as individual states, be constituent members of this All-India Federation.

As on the one hand, the British Indian Federation becomes more and more decentralized, and on the other, the Indian States become more and more homogeneous and conformable in political structure to the Provincial Governments, they will become closely integrated into the one Central All-India Federation.

This the dynamic aspect, the principle of growth and evolution, latent in the above scheme,—otherwise called the logic of events, the dynamic of history.

ANCIENTS AND MODERNS

Professor Floyd Allport, of Syracuse University, writing in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, asks the following question:—In spite of our alleged enlightenment and our control over Nature, are we fundamentally any wiser or securer than our forefathers?

The terrors of our ancestors were more acute, he adds, but they were for the most part short-lived and occasional. The evils which threaten us to-day are more continually near us, an unrelenting source of strain and worry.

In pioneer days men feared the hostile savages about them; to-day we fear our civilised fellows and the contrivances which civilised men have made. Although wild beasts have ceased to harass us, the automobile takes an increasing toll in life and limb.

We no longer face starvation through an inhospitable or a fickle environment; but the stock market is even less reliable than the soil or climate, and there is the continual threat of depression and unemployment. The anxiety of the modern business-man lest he be unable to tide over a dull period or meet the competition of continually larger and more powerful organisations is a pitiful spectacle.

This fear has infected everyone from the manager down to the office boy. It has placed efficiency experts with stop watches in factories, made agitated machines out of office workers, and destroyed the older amenities of commerce.

Turning to the question of hygiene, we find that, while small-pox, typhoid, diphtheria, and other epidemic diseases have practically vanished, the maladies which require rest and mental rather than physical sanitation have not abated and may be increasing.

We must endure the nervous strain of working in roaring factories, and the hurry and congestion of modern urban life. And through it all runs our tense effort to keep up with the accelerating pace of living, with no assurance as to where the ceaseless struggle for new and grander luxuries is leading us.

In one important respect we are to-day in worse plight than were our less accomplished ancestors.

Their early visions of subduing their environment and directing natural forces to man's benefit were amply justified by the later course of events. And in those days all the human qualities we have prized, the courage, industry, and intelligence of the common man, could play their part.

Though not yet physically emancipated, men were free, at least, to struggle. They were travelling along the right road toward their goal.

But to-day the entire front of civilisation has changed. The problems by which men are faced are no longer primarily those of the natural environment, but of society. The new frontier, in Professor Dewey's phrase, is social rather than physical. The institutional habits which have made our material progress possible have themselves become our principal weakness and source of danger.

A FRIENDLESS GOVERNMENT

The *Nation* points out that the English Government in India has now hardly any supporters:

The first essential for a good Government is to have some body of opinion in its favor, but it is becoming increasingly clear that this dispute has become definitely racial, and that we cannot look for support either from those Indians who have entered Government service, nor from the business men and land-owners who might have been expected, on personal grounds, to have supported the existing Government. It has proved equally ineffectual to appeal from articulate India to the "voiceless millions" of villagers, upon whose "placid contentment" we have been taught to rely. During the last ten years they have shown few signs of that inherent loyalty which was supposed to stand in such marked contrast to the activities of the seditious educated minority. There are signs of a strong agrarian movement in various parts of India, a movement which is partly anti-landlord, but almost invariably anti-Government, and it is clear that Mr. Gandhi's teaching has come like a breath of fresh air into the stagnant village life of India. Finally, the Princes and their Ministers have shown themselves to be infected with the same Nationalist virus. To many British officials and soldiers of the old school, this defection has proved the unkindest cut of all. It seemed incredible to them that the Princes, whom they had patronized for so many years, and whose hospitality they had so often enjoyed should show such base ingratitude.

INDIA—A FEDERATION

The January number of the *EMPIRE REVIEW* gives the place of prominence to an article on the above caption by the Hon. Sir William P. Barton. Englishmen will welcome, says Sir William, the scheme of a Federation in India, as offering the best prospect of a stable and balanced Government in India. And the whole Empire will join with them in the fervent hope that the Round Table Conference may evolve the framework of such a Government that will appeal to Indians as a whole both in India and the States.

The Government of India under the system as proposed will have a hybrid character, since the same Legislature, and presumably the same Executive, will deal separately with British Indian questions. In this sphere the participation of the States will be excluded. This might, it may be thought, disturb the balance of the Legislature and probably of the Executive; there seems, however, to be no alternative except a separate Legislature. One way out of the difficulty has been suggested: that legislation in non-federal subjects should not apply in the provinces until approved by the Provincial Legislatures. This would permit of the whole Assembly joining in the legislation passed. It is understood that in the Assembly the States will be represented on a population basis; in the Council of State (the Upper House) the more important States, e.g. those represented in the Chamber of Princes, desire each to send a representative. This would mean one hundred or more members from the States which would make the Chamber unwieldy. Incidentally, it would mean that in some cases a small unprogressive State would have equal representation with Hyderabad, Mysore, or Baroda. This would seem hardly justifiable. A compromise appears necessary. The Princes are inclined to stand out for half the seats in the Upper House, a claim which is likely to meet with much opposition. At the same time, British India cannot expect Federation to be entirely democratic; some weightage must be allowed to the States. The suggestion has been made that the two Chambers shall hold joint sessions in the event of disagreement. The executive will be responsible to the Legislature except in the Crown subjects. The Crown will not be represented in either House except by officers concerned with the administration of the excluded subjects. This would mean two or three representatives at the outside. It is believed that some of the States delegates support a proposal to give the British Government a reasonable degree of representation in view of the tremendous responsibilities which still rest on its shoulders.

This can hardly be considered unreasonable, concludes the writer, in a scheme of Federation in which the British Government, *i.e.*, the British nation, is one of the predominant partners.

MODERNISED CHINA

The simplification of the Chinese language into a few score of letters instead of many hundreds has led to the translation of many famous books of the Western world into Chinese. Writing in the *London Mercury*, Mr. Hsieh Wen Tung says that translation has been the greatest medium by which China has been modernised. "In her bewilderment at the sudden awakening into a new world, the literature of the West, its product, has served her as a guide. It has initiated her into the mysteries of the modern spirit and shown her all the psychic problems that have confronted the West and now confront her; finally, it has endowed her with the technique attained through experience in dealing with them. Gradually the Chinese mind is adjusting itself to the new world-view, and is coming to the point where the experience of others leaves off, letting her shift hereafter for herself."

The number of works translated has reached three figures. It is neither possible nor desirable to list them here, but to mention the countries whose literature has been most favoured, and the authors whose works have been most translated, may serve to indicate in part what foreign influences have been dominating Chinese letters. "In the first category Russia ranks first, and in the second, Turgenev and Chekhov. Practically all the works of these two have been translated. Others well represented are Tolstoi, Gorky, Andreyev, Artzibushev and Dostoiyevsky.

The nation next to Russia is France, among whose writers these have appeared most in translation in this order: Maupassant, Anatole France, de Gourmont, Zola, Romain Rolland, Moliere and Flaubert. Still next comes England. Scott and Dickens have been introduced quite fully by Lin Chin Nan. It is now the turn of Wilde, Galsworthy, Shaw, Hardy, Lewis Carroll, K. Mansfield, and Fielding."

BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

The *CALCUTTA REVIEW* for December gives the place of honour to an article by Dr. Tara-kanath Das who, writing under the above heading, says that it is not true to say that "Great Britain secured control over India accidentally, and the sole purpose of the British Government's insistence to rule India is to serve the people and the cause of humanity and civilisation. It is needless to say that no honest Englishman and certainly no Indian—moderate, constitutionalist, nationalist or revolutionist—believes in Britain's mission of philanthropy in India."

He quotes the following candid statement of an ex-member of the British Cabinet to prove his case:

We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. *That is cant.* We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by sword, and by the sword we should hold it. (Shame.) Call shame if you like. I am stating facts. I am interested in missionary work in India and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for Indians. We hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular.

The whole article contains a wealth of extracts from important documents and despatches from ex-Governors to the India Office and responsible men of the British Parliament.

Subordination of the interests of the people of India to those of the British people, contends Mr. Das, remains to-day as a cardinal policy of British imperialism. Thus he says that in spite of all professions of reforms, the people of India are denied full control over the finances of the country.

Imperialism in India is to keep the people in subjection and exploit them for the benefit of the British people in general and British imperialists in particular. Further more the British Imperialists have designs of utilising Indian man-power, strategic position, raw materials and economic resources to further the British imperialist system. The present nationalist movement in India is an endeavour to change the existing system. An American observer on the present situation in India

writes:— It was Warren Hastings who first acted upon the assumption that Indians could not be entrusted with authority to handle revenues and to administer justice. This assumption has been the prevailing influence in England's conduct of the affairs of India ever since, and it is in protest against this assumption that the people of India have risen to a point of practically open rebellion against British domination.

The people of India are working to recover their birth-right of freedom: while the British imperialists, says the writer, are determined that the people of India should not even be accorded "Dominion Status," within the Empire.

MODERN PERSIA

Under the regime of Reza Shah Pahlevi, 'Progress' has become one of the watchwords of Modern Persia. For example, roads are being constructed with feverish rapidity all over Persia, from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, and from Iraq to the borders of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Motor transport is comparatively safe and rates of hire are reasonably economic," writes Dr. Linton, Bishop of Persia, in the *International Review of Missions*.

Aeroplanes carry passengers and mails between the most important cities, and Persian Air Mail links up at Bushire with the Imperial Airways. A letter posted in London may be delivered in Ispahan in five days.

In education, too, Progress is the watchword. The Persian Government is opening village schools on a wide scale throughout the whole country, and middle schools in all the larger towns.

The university in Teheran is probably less efficient in its own sphere than any other branch of the educational service. The Government sends a number of students every year to study in the universities of the West. Persia is determined to wipe out the stain of illiteracy among all classes.

National unity is another aim of the Shah.

Now, think of a country three times the size of France with such widely diverse elements as are found in Persia from the cultured, educated gentleman in the capital who speaks two or three European languages, to the nomadic tribespeople speaking their own dialects which few outside the tribe understand, though again, many of the young tribal chiefs have been educated in England or on the continent of Europe. Add to these the Kurds, Armenians and Syrians, each speaking their own tongue, and you will sympathise with the Shah in his insistence that all schools shall use the Persian language as the vehicle of instruction up to a certain school standard. How otherwise could he hope to attain to a national unity, with such a Babel of languages?

INDIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

Under the above heading Mr. Dewan Chaman Lal, M. L. A., contributes an article to the latest number of the *Indian Affairs*. Mr. Chaman Lal says that the Indian Labour problem is almost as ancient as known Indian History. For the "ARTHA SASTRA" draws up codes for labour regulation and legislation.

It deals with the earliest codes of its kind, dealing with the problems of labour which, at that period, must have been of singular importance, due not only to the shortage of skilled and unskilled labour, but also to the ever-increasing industrialization of India at a period when most of the historically known world was living a nomadic cave life, having hardly emerged from a state of utter barbarism. It is indeed not improbable that at that period our ancestors actively concerned themselves with the formation of guilds, problems of apprenticeship, regulation of wages and restriction of trade.

Indeed, the Indian labour problem must have been as ancient as the system of capitalism, but it is a different proposition with the Indian labour movement. There is nothing ancient about this movement. For, while other countries in the West

had marched ahead, not only in the development of socialistic theory, but equally in the development of class-conscious, proletarian organizations, the twenty million industrial workers of India had accumulated nothing except their age-long misery under a rapidly developing industrial system. Until the twentieth century they could not boast of a single organization. To this day they cannot boast of a single theorist who has added even a comma to the expressed thought of the world on problems that affect the lives and happiness of millions of wage-earners. Economists we have had in plenty, particularly of the graduated school of economics variety. But they have been compilers and not thought-givers.

Now what is the explanation of this infecundity? "I can sum up the answer briefly," writes Mr. Chaman Lal, "by saying that the problems are, firstly of wise leadership, secondly of education, thirdly of organisation, in order that the standard of life of the average worker should be raised—a standard of life which is a perpetual menace not only to him, not only to the nation, but equally to the rest of the industrial world. How far Socialism will play a part in the solution of these problems is an answer which the next ten years will give."

A LIVING WAGE

"I want to put this direct challenge to Christians: can we, with clean consciences, eat food, wear clothes, and enjoy comforts which have been produced by labour paid less than a living wage?" writes Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, M. P., in the *Congregational Quarterly*.

If we do, we are living at the expense of the life of others. None of us ought to rest content for a day whilst these unchristian economic conditions continue. It is manifestly wrong to kill a man in order to rifle his pocket. It is equally wrong to kill a man by degrees, by paying him a wage insufficient to keep him alive, and then to accept the results of his labour.

As a very young man, I was one of a small group of Socialists whom Mr. Bernard Shaw once addressed on the purpose of life. At the end of his talk I put this question to him: 'We are youngsters and we want to make something useful out of our lives. What is your advice to us?' He replied: "Try to find out what the Life-Force is making for, and make for it, too." The 'Life-Force'? Call it God, or the Eternal Spirit of Progress, or what you will. It does not seem to me to matter."

The essential thing is to realise that we are a part of a Great Life, that we can consciously give ourselves to its fulfilment, that we can lose ourselves in it and find ourselves in the realisation of its purposes.

Such is the challenge of World Problems to Christians—and to all men and women for whom life means something more than an idle passing.

THE ABIDING THINGS

The abiding things of all the centuries are not in buildings or in streets. They are in the sights and sounds of the fields, among birds and flowers. "On the way from Jerusalem to Nazareth we had stopped at Jacob's Well—one of the few certain sites in Palestine—and had drunk of its tepid water and walked in the garden", writes 'E.P.' in *Countryman*.

And in the garden there were goldfinches singing in the trees, and I thought of Francesca's 'Nativity' in the National Gallery, with its delicately painted birds and singing choir. But the flowers were the real link with the past. In the road dropping from Nazareth you can stand by the hedge-bank with the common plants, the speedwells and pennyworts and stitchworts, growing there as they have always grown, and you can climb up from the road to the little plots of ground, some of them wild, some cultivated, by the side of the hillpath.

There are carpets of flowers there, irises, cyclamens, grape hyacinths, scarlet anemones—the lilies of the field. Looking at these, watching a child gathering them, perhaps, you can travel back through time as you will, and can glance from the petals among the stones at your feet to the sky-line in cloud and shadow, miles away, of the unchanging hills."

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

A nation which is to develop self-government properly must be a homogeneous nation, with a common tradition which enables its members 'to agree to differ,' as members of contending and yet not irreconcilable parties, and to let their differences be decided amicably by the decision of the majority, writes Professor Ernest Barker in the *Contemporary Review*.

"Moreover, self-Government requires not only national homogeneity, but also individual disinterestedness—a willingness of representatives to serve the nation freely for the nation's sake, and not for the sake of locality, or connections, or family, or self. Such disinterestedness is not an easy acquisition.

I am not thinking of the disinterestedness—absolute, ardent, unswerving—which the tense martyr can show as a testimony to a struggling and militant cause. I am thinking of the disinterestedness—steady, daily, prosaic—which the citizen must show, in every office in which he 'bears the person' of the community, when the, heroic days of struggle, the Garibaldian days, are over, and the long trial of the ordinary days succeeds."

INDIA AT THE CROSS ROADS

Commenting on the proceedings of the Round Table Conference the *English Review* dryly remarks that one party to the Conference is occupied in talking about rights and another about the practical requirements of the hour. The Indian Princes may prove to be the arbiters in the long run, but any attempt to solve any constitutional problem on the basis of a right to govern is foredoomed to failure. The only question is the ability to govern. Government is a necessary evil and no nation to-day tries the unenviable and difficult task of governing other races for its own amusement. These situations spring from facts, and change as facts change. The only question

to which the spokesmen of British India have to address themselves is their ability to provide, under any given system of government which they wish to propose, the services which a central government in India has got to provide if it is to endure. Those services vary between countries according to the racial, religious, geographical and political facts of the case. In India they are infinitely more varied, more difficult and more extensive even than for ourselves with our vast colonial Empire. They are a thousand times more complex than the services which any of the Dominion Executives are called on to render to their nationals.

"INDIA UNDER THE LATHI"

In the course of an article entitled "India under the Lathi," in the *New Republic*, Mr. H. N. Brailsford wrote from Delhi:—

One loses count of the demonstrations broken up by the police, after a lathi charge on a peaceful crowd, which may end, like that in Bombay last week, in 200 arrests and 30 casualties that call for the surgeon's care. Trade is at a standstill and credit scarcely exists. Once in each week, and occasionally twice, a hartal is declared in these busy industrial towns. The mills close down, and in eight or nine shops in every ten the shutters go up.

Throughout India there are 60,000 persons in prison for political offences, and Bombay has more than its share. Most of them are in Class C—on a level, as to diet and conditions, with the lowest rank of criminals. In the big towns, under the eyes of European officials, some restraints are observed. In the villages among which I passed five days every scruple is forgotten, and in the areas which are resisting taxation peasants are beaten indiscriminately for no discoverable offence unless it be the wearing of the white Gandhi cap.

In spite of all this immeasurable volume of the suffering, danger, and loss the Hindu population in the Bombay Presidency is all but solid for the Congress. One needs no evidence save that of one's eyes.

No reasonable being would contend that a Government, when negotiations failed, could sit passive in face of open, if non-violent revolt. But for the brutality of this repression there is no excuse.

In the interests of order there is for a punitive dispersal of such crowds no reason or excuse whatever. Indians resent physical brutality more hotly than we do. Their physique, to begin with, is slender and frail, nor have they been through the rough discipline of the old-fashioned English school. Save in some regions, they may lack aggressive martial courage, but they show amazing toughness when they steel themselves deliberately to face pain.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

The *Prabuddha Bharata* for February contains a thoughtful article on Indian philosophy entitled "Reality and Appearance" by Dr. Mahendranath Sircar. Indian Philosophy comprises within its purview a wide range of subjects. Every system of Indian Philosophy, says the writer, is a complete system of logic, psychology, physics, ethics and metaphysics.

"In these days the student of Indian philosophy can hardly neglect the light that reaches him from the West," says Mr. Sircar, "and sometimes the acquaintance with the Western system of thought enables him to follow and appreciate better the trend of Indian philosophy. This comparative study cannot be expected to be useful unless we are quite acquainted with the concepts and imageries of Indian thought in their true meaning and significance."

The term philosophy has a unique significance in India, it means not only a reasoned-out system but it implies a profound sense of the intuition of the Truth. Mr. Sircar continues :—

Philosophy cannot neglect the higher experiences and mystical intuition if it is to fulfil its vocation and claim as the final arbiter of Truth. If the senses reveal to us the surface existence, intuition reveals to us an order not accessible to the senses. Philosophy must be defective if it ignores the vistas of supra-mental perception and merely confines itself to the task of systematisation of experience. The rational understanding of life will be defective if philosophy neglects the deeper currents of the soul which do not meet the 'senses.' This noble office which philosophy used to fulfil in the hands of the ancients has been neglected in the claims of intellectual analysis and rational understanding. The effect has been that philosophy has now the restricted connotation of systematic thinking and has the task of rearing up a conceptual construction. The modern tendency has been to dislodge philosophy even from the task of constructing conceptual systems and to engage itself to the analysis of perceptual facts and building up systems upon the facts of analysis. The conceptual logic has been displaced by the logic of use, by pragmatic and realistic logic. The effect has been that the scope of philosophy has been more and more limited. But the Indian teachers in their wider and deeper visions have extended the connotation of the term to cover apprehension. Except the Lokayata school no form of serious philosophy has denied the possibility of higher intuition and supra-logical revelation but in this anxiety for intuition of truth, the claims of reason and experience have not been neglected. Only they have been restricted to their proper sphere. And so long as reason is masterful, philosophy cannot rise

above experiences and conceptual construction and welcome truth in the wise passivity of the soul. Reason, therefore, suffers limitation in its task of positive understanding and the truth it worships cannot exceed the phenomenology of experience or at best the schemata of pure reason. The seers of Upanishads felt this and they condemned the doctrinaire spirit of reason regarding the final truth. Buddha has the right vision when he observes silence regarding the ultimate truth. The consciousness of the limitation of reason is the end of logical pursuit; this consciousness inspires new preparations and novel adjustment to welcome and receive truth and the history of Indian philosophy despite searching analysis of the teachers has been the history of types of thought generated by kinds of intuitions.

If the approach to the study of Indian philosophy is made with sympathetic insight into life and inspiration the key to its right appraisal and proper valuation will be immediately found. The thought construction, says the writer, follows the deeper appreciation of reality through intuition and if differences of construction are prominent they are only because the inspiration is not always drawn from the same plane of experience and the logical mind becomes anxious to build up a construction upon the phases of immediate experiences that may reveal themselves to the seekers. This truth is pressed home to us if we follow the conception of reality as set out in Indian philosophy.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Olive C. Cocks. [The Church Overseas, Jan. 1931.]

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS IN HINDUISM. By Dr. A. J. Saunders. [World Unity, Dec. 1930.]

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM. By Prof. Mahadeo Prasad Sharma, M.A. [Sanatana Dharma College Magazine, Dec. 1930.]

TOWARDS A GREATER INDIA. By the Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton, P.C., M.P. [The Fortnightly Review, Jan. 1931.]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TAMIL ACADEMIES. By Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L. [The Journal of Oriental Research, Dec. 1930.]

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN. By Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law. [Journal of Indian History, Dec. 1930.]

Questions of Importance

LORD IRWIN'S STATEMENT

The following is the statement issued by His Excellency the Governor-General on January 25 releasing the members of the Working Committee of the Congress :

In order to provide opportunity for consideration of the statement made by the Prime Minister on January 19, my Government, in consultation with Local Governments, have thought it right that members of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress should enjoy full liberty of discussion between themselves and with those who have acted as members of the Committee since January 1, 1930.

In accordance with this decision and with this object, and in order that there may be no legal bar to any meeting they may wish to hold, notifications declaring the Committee to be an unlawful association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, will be withdrawn by all Local Governments and action will be taken for the release of Mr. Gandhi and others who are now members, of the Committee, or who have acted as such since January 1, 1930.

My Government will impose no conditions on these releases, because we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions lies in discussions being conducted by those concerned under terms of unconditional liberty.

Our action has been taken in pursuance of a sincere desire to assist the creation of such peaceable conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Prime Minister that if civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, the Government would not be backward in response.

I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it and I am confident that they will recognise the importance of securing for those grave issues calm and dispassionate examination.

Following this Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee were released and they all assembled at Allahabad. The Working Committee met soon after but the decisions were suspended pending the arrival of Dr. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, and the Rt. Hon. Sastri. The three latter interviewed Mr. Gandhi in the second week.

Mr. Gandhi also sent a letter to the Viceroy through Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed Kidwai, ex-

M.L.A. seeking an interview with His Excellency at Delhi to discuss the political situation. The Viceroy having assented Mr. Gandhi left for Delhi on the 16th.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. Jayakar have also gone there. The Maharaja of Bikaner and the Nawab of Bhopal have also been summoned to Delhi.

R. T. C. DELEGATES' MANIFESTO

'The attainment by India of Dominion Status is no longer in dispute,' observe 26 delegates who returned from the Round Table Conference on February 6. They include the Maharajas of Bikaner and Alwar, Mr. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sir A. P. Patro and Sir Phiroze Sethna.

They emphasise that English opinion has undergone a remarkable change in India's favour. It has been explicitly recognised that the task of governing India should in future be entrusted to an Indian executive responsible to the Indian legislature.

On the question of safeguards, the manifesto says they will not affect the substance of the scheme which seeks to transfer political power into Indian hands. They are only intended for the period of transition and are subject to further examination.

As regards law and order, the manifesto says the Governor-General will not have power to interfere with day-to-day administration and will step in only to secure peace and security when it is seriously imperilled or when the interests of the minorities are seriously endangered.

The signatories express approval of the release of Congress leaders and hope they will come forward to make solid contribution to the completion of the scheme. They further express the hope that a suitable atmosphere will be created for the consideration of the several questions by the release of all political prisoners.

THE VICEROY ON NEW DELHI

The New Delhi Inauguration Week, began befittingly, on February 10 with the unveiling of the Dominion Columns. His Excellency the Viceroy addressing the large and distinguished gathering on the historic occasion said :—

"Nineteen years ago His Majesty the King Emperor proclaimed the decision to build a new Imperial Capital in Delhi. To-day, we meet to mark the formal completion of that work. In laying the first stones of the new Capital, His Majesty expressed the desire that the plan of the buildings to be erected should be considered with deliberation and care, so that the new creation might be in every way worthy of the historic character of its surroundings. Standing here, we can surely say that His Majesty's commands have been well and faithfully observed.

Those who first conceived the general design that has now taken concrete form aspired to make something that for dignity and beauty might stand alongside the architectural triumphs of centuries ago. Those who under skilled guidance have brought to completion a great idea have adorned it with the highest skill of Indian art and craftsmanship. To them, as to all who have shared in the fulfilment of the Royal purpose, is due the lasting gratitude of India.

The considerations, which led to the change of Capital have now moved beyond the sphere of practical debate. But after the passage of twenty years and in the light of the present-day experience, it is not without interest to recall that, when this project first took shape, Lord Hardinge and his colleagues foresaw a future when, with the growth of provincial self-government, it would become the more necessary to give the Central Government a separate and independent setting. To such courage and foresight we owe the birth of this new city on a ground, from times immemorial, the centre for dynasties and empires, of

whose past greatness many monuments are still silent spokesmen. A great responsibility will rest upon those who follow up to keep a close watch over the development of this place. A few years hence unless public opinion is forewarned, much may have happened which men, of that time, will find it difficult, if not impossible, to correct, and it would be nothing short of a tragedy, if through any lack of timely thought, the expanding city of New Delhi were to be disfigured by evils, which have elsewhere accompanied city growth.

The four columns, which are the immediate purpose of our meeting to-day are tokens of something wider than anything, which the past cities of Delhi represent. They are the gift of the four great Dominions of the Empire, to whose Governments I would offer, on behalf of India, an expression of deep gratitude for their generosity and for the good-will of which that generosity is evidence. For some, they will commemorate the days, when the Dominions fought shoulder to shoulder with India in the Great War, to others they will tell of the long history of devotion and self-sacrifice, which is our proud Imperial heritage. To all of us they enshrine a tradition of affection and loyalty to the person of the King-Emperor, which is the strongest tie between the several members of our Imperial Society. Other Empires there have been, whose ideal has been uniformity, of shaping their constituent elements to a common mould. Our aim has rather been that of a unity, which might join in a single whole the wide differences of race and clime and of which the bonds are those of freedom. Devoutly, then, let us pray that these four pillars of fellowship now given to India may for ever symbolise such an association, large in thought, undaunted in faith and powerful under Providence to work for the service of mankind." (Prolonged applause).

STATES SUBJECTS' DEMANDS

Mr. Kakalbhai Kothary, the Acting General Secretary of the Indian States' People's Conference, has issued a statement in the course of which he says :—

The people of the States demand that if the All India Federation is not meant for British India alone, if it is really meant to be democratic and for the whole Indian nation, then,

(1) There must be an authoritative declaration of rights for the citizens of All-India Federation including the States. These fundamental rights of the citizens of the Indian Federation must be held above every thing and shall be inviolable as an integral part of the Constitution.

(2) The same principles of the election and administration shall prevail in the States as in British India for the purposes of both central and provincial Legislatures under the Federal Constitution.

(3) The so called internal Sovereignty of States to be above interference, the Princes shall pledge that representative institutions and all the attributes of democratic form of Government would be the main features of their administration.

THE PRINCES AND THE R. T. C.

In the course of a speech at his capital the Maharajah of Bikaner explained the proud and patriotic part played by the Indian Princes at the Round Table Conference and especially their willing contribution to the scheme of federation.

The Maharajah stated that the proposed reforms opened a new chapter in Indian history by granting responsibility at the Centre, and expressed his belief that most of the States would join the federation, but on terms of absolute equality.

He denied that the Princes, in agreeing to enter the federation, were actuated by the evil motive of dominating British India, and appealed for a policy of trust and co-operation in working out the details of the constitution.

MAHARAJA OF PANNA'S BENEFACTION

During the Viceroy's recent visit to Bundelkhand their Excellencies Lord and Lady Irwin accompanied by the Hon. Col. and Mrs. Heale, Sir Charles and Lady Watson and staff numbering about 25 lunched with his Highness the Maharaja of Panna in Panna State territory on Dec. 6. To commemorate the Viceregal visit to the Panna State His Highness has been pleased to make the following announcement :—

(1) To found two Lady Irwin scholarships of Rs. 15 per month each for training in midwifery and nursing course tenable at Indore by candidates preferably from Bundelkhand.

(2) To build a vernacular middle school at Pawai to be called the 'Irwin Vernacular Middle School.'

(3) To start an agricultural demonstration farm at Panna to be named the 'Irwin Agricultural Demonstration Farm.'

BRITISH COURT AND INDIAN PRINCES

The Bombay High Court dismissed the suit in which a Bombay woman claimed Rs. 1,84,000 from Sir Tukoji Rao, ex-Maharaja of Indore, as damages for wrongful restraint and seizure of movable properties from her residence in Bombay.

The plaintiff's action related to events prior to Sir Tukoji Rao's abdication. She made various allegations which, however, were not considered by the Court as it decided first the issues whether the action complained of were acts of State and whether in such a case Sir Tukoji Rao was personally liable.

The Court found that the acts complained of were done by the defendant in his capacity as a Ruling Prince and, however wrongful, they did not furnish a cause of action against Sir Tukoji Rao's person or property.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The Viceroy's announcement that the Government of India have selected Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and that the right honourable gentleman has agreed to present India's case before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on East Africa will be widely welcomed. Few Indians have done so much for the cause of Indians overseas as Mr. Sastri, says the *Leader* of Allahabad. "His tour of the dominions which he undertook some years ago at the request of the Government in the interest of overseas Indians was a great success. His work in South Africa won the appreciation of such competent authorities on the subject as Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. F. Andrews. And not the least of his acquisitions has been his thorough and impartial study of the situation in East Africa. It will be remembered that he was sent in June 1929 by the Government of India to East Africa 'to help the Indian community to state their views to Sir Samuel Wilson on matters arising out of the Hilton Young Commission's report and to be at Sir Samuel Wilson's disposal if he wished to make use of him in dealing with Indian deputations. Mr. Sastri rendered most invaluable help to the Indian community in presenting their case, which was acknowledged by the East African Indian National Congress handsomely in a resolution expressing their gratitude to him. It is quite possible, continues the journal, that Mr. Sastri's appointment as the Government of India's spokesman may not be quite relished in circles not known to be friendly to Indian aspirations, but it will be widely welcomed by the Indian community here as well as in East Africa.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN CANADA

Captain Ian Mackenzie has been appointed Federal Minister of Immigration, Colonisation and Indian Affairs. Indian affairs had hitherto been administered by the Department of the Interior, which is about to be merged with other Departments.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPATRIATES

The report submitted to the Government of India by the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. Gray on the working of the special organization for dealing with emigrants from South Africa, is now published. Under the Cape Town Agreement, the Government of India undertook to see that assisted emigrants from South Africa found suitable occupations in this country. Only a very small number of returned emigrants could be assisted to settle in some occupation, the great majority being left to take care of themselves. The report contains some useful suggestions and it is hoped that steps will be taken to give effect to them.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. C. F. Andrews, interviewed by *Reuter*, stated that after carefully considering the South African situation on the spot the best course appeared to him to be to concentrate every effort on the postponement of the new Transvaal Asiatic Bill pending a revision of the Capetown Agreement at the end of the present year. Many circumstances combined to make this feasible if pressed home. The session of the legislature now beginning was already overloaded with difficult and pressing measures. The Capetown Agreement had only another year to run and the whole Transvaal question needed thorough consideration by both sides before any fresh legislation was enacted.

INDIAN COOLIES IN MALAYA

Drawing attention to the report that 25,000 coolies have left rubber estates in Malaya for India in a single month owing to the reduction in wages and increased hours Maurice Maude in a letter to *The Financial News*, as an anxious rubber shareholder, foresees labour difficulty when the price of rubber again goes up. He suggests that the wholesale exodus should be remedied by stopping work on Sundays.

INDIA'S POVERTY

"India has an ill-fed and short-lived population which badly needs a rise in its present low standard of living,"



SIR M. VISVESVARAYA

declared Sir M. Visvesvaraya presiding over the fifth College Day gathering of the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay on December 20. He estimated the figure of unemployed persons in India at 12 millions—a figure

larger than the total unemployed persons in Europe and America put together. He attributed this state of affairs to "work done piecemeal, work which an Imperial Government considers appropriate for a Dependency."

S. INDIA CHAMBER'S PROTEST

Mr. Jamal Mahomed Sahib, M.L.A., President of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, has forwarded to the Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras the following resolution passed unanimously by the Committee of the Chamber:—

"This Committee desires to express its sense of strong resentment on the use of violence by the police on Congressmen and peaceful picketers of foreign cloth shops and on unrestrained belabouring of other peaceful citizens by the free use of lathis and requests Government to put a stop forthwith to these brutal methods of the police."

Concluding, he says his Committee is very anxious "Government should give immediate attention to stopping these unlawful methods of the police and avoid further estrangement of the people and Government at the present stage of the constitutional parley and settlement."

THE VICEROY ON THE BOYCOTT

"The extent and the wide-spread nature of the present dislocation of trade is reflected in the very high figure of unemployment in different countries," said His Excellency Lord Irwin in the course of an address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta.

After analysing the causes for trade depression largely due to over-production, His Excellency said that in India the Civil Disobedience movement has been responsible for an intense boycott against foreign goods and the resultant losses to merchants.

While expressing Government's powerlessness, Lord Irwin said that a reduction in railway freight would go a long way in alleviating the economic distress in India.

Finally His Excellency foreshadowed some relief to the Indian sugar and jute industries in the near future.

INDIAN MERCHANTS' INDICTMENT

"An early conference should be called of the various interests connected with the Indian financial world so that there could be a frank exchange of views, and immediate inauguration of suitable remedial measures for the full diagnosis of the disease." This is the concluding portion of an important document forwarded by the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Calcutta to the Government of India discussing the present deplorable financial situation and the causes for it.

In the course of the statement, it is pointed out that the whole mischief started with the statutory entronement of the ratio at 18 pence a rupee, which has applied the monetary screw tightly to the financial market and has, consequently, adversely affected trade, commerce, industry and agriculture.

The policy of borrowing on Treasury Bills by Government at a high rate of interest is severely condemned and also the recurring loan operations.

AGRARIAN REFORM IN INDIA

Writing in the *Triceni* Mr. Ramadas Puntulu says that it is a mistake to suppose that the Agrarian problem in India will solve itself with the attainment of our political freedom or the transfer of power from the British to Indian hands. For it is essentially a domestic problem and full of intricacies. Mr. Puntulu writes:—

"The World Economic Conference which met recently at Geneva has clearly traced the connection between agricultural depression and industrial depression. These general economic principles must necessarily have their fullest operation in a country like India where 80 per cent. of the people pursue agriculture as an occupation and entirely depend on it for their subsistence. The state of our agriculture will naturally depend upon the efficiency of those to whose hands it is entrusted. It should, therefore, be the constant endeavour of those who are interested in schemes of nation-building to realise the effects of the systems of landholding in vogue in India on the well-being of her agricultural industry, and to strive to so modify the existing theory and practice as to create a self-reliant and prosperous body of peasant proprietors, on whose economic strength the happiness and efficiency of the nation largely depends."

Mr. Ramadas appeals to the Landlords to perceive the benefits of a more rational and equitable system of land-holding in this country, which will transform the existing weak, disorganised and disunited peasantry into a self-reliant, organised and prosperous community. He concludes:—

"The cultivators must be roused from their placid and pathetic contentment and fatalistic repose. Their rights should be fearlessly championed. In this re-adjustment of the relations between landlords and tenants, and reconstruction of rural economy on new foundations, the legislators and economists are bound to play a prominent role in the near future."

THE USE OF FERTILIZERS

India is greatly indebted to the commercial organisations which have rendered it possible to demonstrate on no mean scale the immense advantages which accrue to the cultivator by the use of fertilizers, writes Sir Alfred Chatterton in the columns of the *Capital*. Referring to a school of economists in India who regard the movement with distrust, as likely to assist in perpetuating the foreign economic dominance Sir Alfred says:

With their aspirations I am in entire sympathy but I am sure they have come to a wrong conclusion. It is only a question of time and the creation of a sufficiently large internal market to render it a perfectly feasible proposition to establish the manufacture of nitrates in the country. The Royal Commission examined the proposal and relegated it to a distant future mainly on the ground that the minimum manufacturing capacity of a commercial plant must be 150,000 tons of pure Nitrogen per annum or say roughly one million tons of Nitrate of Soda or three-fourths of a million tons of Ammonium Sulphate—quantities which they did not envisage as being used in India. But here I think they were in error, and lacked imagination. A maund of Ammonium Sulphate or its equivalent in other nitrogen yielding compounds per acre would be a by no means excessive supply for the crops of the country, yet it would involve the production of at least ten million tons of fertilizers. Again who is to say that the improvement of the technical process of the fixation of nitrogen will not render it practicable to work on a smaller scale than at present?

The potential resources of India in respect to the generation of hydro-electric energy are sufficient, and in fact for the country to go ahead and utilise them it is only necessary to create internal markets for the products which can be manufactured. Obviously those who are most anxious to enhance the industrial status of India should be keenest about creating markets which it is certain they can ultimately supply from internal resources.

PERIYAR IRRIGATION

The Madras Government have passed orders on the report of Mr. J. F. Hall, I.C.S., Collector of Madura, on the scheme relating to Periyar irrigation in the Madura district. The report and the orders thereon will be published for the benefit of the public shortly. The most important order of the Government appears to be the appointment of an irrigation advisory committee for the Kumbum valley.

RED CROSS AND WELFARE WORK

The need of a larger number of Indian women taking a more active interest than hitherto in the welfare work of the Red Cross in India was emphasized by Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, Chairman of the Managing Body of the Indian Red Cross Society. The occasion was the opening by the Viceroy of the Society's new headquarters at Delhi.

His Excellency the Viceroy in performing the ceremony said the formation of a child welfare bureau would mean economy in power and increase in efficiency. With the welfare of children, he declared, was bound up the well-being of the state. The work the Society would be doing would be of the greatest national importance.

MEDICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

'Is it conceivable that we should go back to our provinces and make no effort to prevent the discord and lawlessness among our people? I do beseech my brethren to make their powerful influence felt in the direction of discipline, loyalty and peace,' said Rai Bahadur Dr. U. N. Brahmachari at the concluding session of the general assembly of the Indian Provincial Medical Services Association in Calcutta. The speaker further said that there must be more research workers in the field of medicine in India than there are at present. The remedy for the dearth of research workers lay in the adoption of the policy of securing for them adequate pay, security of tenure and a reasonable chance that their distinguished services might be properly recognized.

DENTAL SERVICE FOR CHILDREN

Four million school children in Great Britain need yearly dental treatment, according to the annual report of Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, who estimates that a really complete dental service for schools would need 2,100 dentists, or 1,600 more than at present, at an additional annual cost of £680,000 rising to £1,400,000.

MECHANICAL DOCTOR

The latest craze in Paris is the treatment of patients by means of gramophone records. The records, made by an artist with just the right kind of soothing bedside voice, suggests to the patient that every second he is getting better and better.

The inventor is Dr. Vachet, who believes strongly in the healing power of suggestion. He has prepared a series of records suitable for all kinds of ailments. Sometimes the record contains music that is felt to be particularly suitable.

There is a proposal to extend the idea by making records containing talks on the symptoms and cure of all kinds of simple but common illnesses. The idea is that every household should possess a library to which its members can refer when they are feeling ill, but rather too hard up to afford a doctor.

It gently rubs
the Pain out!

No matter what the ache
or pain—Neuralgia, Head-
ache, Rheumatism, Lum-
bago, Sprains, Strains,
Chest Cold, Sore Throat.

LITTLE'S
ORIENTAL
BALM



just removes
the pain

India's First
and Best.

Sold at all
Chemists
and Stores

X-RAYS AND STEEL

"During the past ten years it has been possible to attempt the examination of metals by X-ray methods. The success which has crowned the efforts of workers in this direction is almost phenomenal," writes Mr. John Saynor, B.Sc., in *Chamber's Journal*.

"In 1917 it was possible to pass X-rays through a block of steel an inch thick, and to detect cracks or flaws in the interior. To-day, thanks to the untiring efforts of research workers in England and in America, it is possible by X-radiography to detect a crack in the inside of a piece of metal over four inches thick, and this although the surface of the metal appears perfect to the naked eye.

A little thought will make us realise how very useful this achievement may become. Suppose a number of metal castings have been made, and it is desired to know if they have any cracks or wholes in their interior. By the employment of X-rays every one of the castings can be examined, and passed or rejected with absolute certainty without the slightest damage to them in the process. One direction in which this fact can be taken advantage of is in the reduction of the size, and consequently the weight of a casting."

WATER POWER FOR ELECTRICITY

In 1900 the total installation of water-power in Canada for generating electric power amounted to 170,000 horse-power, comprising a few hydro-electric stations and a large number of water-power plants of relatively small capacity connected with industrial establishments. The installation had grown to 975,000 horse-power by the end of 1910 and to 2,508,000 horse-power by the end of 1920. Following this, an extensive period of development set in, with the result that nearly one million horse-power were added during the next four years. This rate of expansion has been maintained and the total installation at the end of 1929 reached 5,700,000 horse-power.

WRITING TELEPHONE

Telephones in Germany may soon be fitted with electric typewriters, which will enable subscribers to transmit and receive written as well as spoken messages.

One of the most useful features of the system will be the provision for the reception of type-written messages when the receiving subscriber is out. After the telephone of an absent subscriber has been ringing without reply for a period a switch will be put over automatically and the calling subscriber can then type out a message.

PROF. EINSTEIN'S NEW THEORY

Prof. Einstein has formed a new theory of cosmology. The audience at Mount Wilson Carnegie Institution gasped with astonishment when Prof. Einstein declared that "No matter what equations are used, space can never be anything similar to the old symmetrical spherical space of theory." In these few words he swept away his original concept of the Universe.



PROF. EINSTEIN

Prof. Einstein added that the foundation of the general principle of relativity was unsatisfactory and required further development.

DEAN INGE ON READING

Dr. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's, was the guest of honour at the thirty-first dinner of the National



DEAN INGE.

Liberal Club's Literary Circle when he was introduced to the company by the Chairman, Mr. J. A. Spender, as the "gadfly of the Athenians—the gadfly which stuns them into thought."

Dr. Inge speaking on the art of reading, said that the ancients did not read much but the Romans used to read aloud a great deal. Now some people read a great deal too much, just as some people talked too much. Rapid reading was a habit which one might fall into like the habit of drinking. The worst of it was that nothing stuck.

He recommended reading aloud, remarking that poetry, of course, was always meant to be read aloud. Another important maxim was to stop from time to time to think of what you had read. He was a great believer in taking notes. Some young men, he said, made the mistake of reading for too many hours a day. No one could do hard brain work for more than seven hours a day.

Speaking of reading newspapers, Dr. Inge said that the great advantage of newspapers was that people read them in trains and that prevented them from talking. "I wish carriages in railway trains were labelled, instead of 'smoking' and 'non-smoking' 'talking' and 'non-talking.'"

SYNONYMS FOR "JEW"

Uncomplimentary synonyms, given under the word "Jew" in "Roget's International Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases," have been omitted in a new edition published in America.

These were Roget's original synonyms for "Jew":—

Cunning	Harpy
Usurer	Schemer
Rich	Lick-penny
Extortioner	Pinch-fist
Heretic	Shylock
Deceiver	Chicanery
Imposter	Duplicity

Crafty.

The associate editor of "The American Hebrew," Walter Hart Blumenthal, is mainly responsible for the deletion of this part of Roget's work, and he has received congratulations from thousands of Jews.

Peter Mark Roget, an Englishman, of French descent, completed his work in 1852, "to facilitate the expression of ideas and assist in literary composition." His son, John Lewis Roget, enlarged and improved the "Thesaurus."

"Webster's New International Dictionary" defines "Jew" thus: "To overreach by sharp practice, cheating or trickery; to practise imposition or extortion."

THE "MAHRATTA" JUBILEE

The Mahratta and *The Kesari* of Poona, founded by the late Lokamanya Tilak have just completed fifty years of their existence and service to the country. The publishers have issued an Illustrated Golden Jubilee Number in commemoration of the event which, in fact, is a history in miniature of the political movement and the personalities connected therewith in Western India for the last half a century. We offer our congratulations to the publishers on the success that has attended their efforts and wish them many more years of useful service.

AN EDUCATIONAL MAGNA CHARTA

The First All-Asia Educational Conference, held at Benares on December 26—30, last, adopted some striking resolutions with regard to character-training and moral and religious education. They



BABU BHAGAVAN DAS.

were drafted under the inspiring guidance of Dr. Bhagavan Das of Benares. Mr. G. N. Gokhale, Principal of the Engineering College of Karachi, was Secretary for that Section of the Conference which dealt with those matters. The resolutions call for consideration not only by teachers and others directly concerned with educational institutions, but also by all who realize the supreme importance of Education for the Nation's advance. The substance of the resolutions is as follows:

"It is essential to lay greater stress on the formation of character in our system of education. The ideal character of the good citizen, which

Education has to form, may well be summed up in the Imperial Rescript on Education in Japan, which, with some modifications, embodies the essence of the moral code of all the Scriptures of Asia:

Be filial to your parents: affectionate to your brothers and sisters: as husbands and wives be harmonious: as friends true: bear yourself in modesty and moderation: extend your benevolence to all: pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers: further more, advance public good and promote common interests: always respect the constitution and laws which are in accord with public conscience: and should an emergency arise, offer yourself courageously in the cause of the Nation, when it is not in conflict with the cause of Humanism."

EDUCATION IN N. W. F. P.

The story of the progress of education in the North-West Frontier is contained in the Chief Commissioner's Review on the annual report on Public Instruction for the year 1929-30. The year under review was the third of the five-year period of expansion, which began in 1927-28.

This programme of expansion provided for a larger number of schools to be opened in the first than in the succeeding years of the quinquennium. For this year the total number of pupils receiving instruction went up from 82,152 to 84,123. The number of recognised institutions increased by 27 and the number of pupils enrolled therein by 3,396. The increase in the number of girls attending recognised schools was 836, or about 10 per cent. This is very satisfactory in a province, where until quite recently females were looked down upon as a sort of inferior beings and female education with grave suspicion.

The percentage of male scholars to the total male population rose slightly from 5.9 to 6, the girl pupils also increasing in proportion to the female population from 8 to 9 per cent.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CONVICTIONS

According to a statement given in the Assembly by Sir James Crerar, the total number of convictions since the inception of the movement and up to the end of December was 54,049, while those undergoing imprisonment at the end of December were 23,503. The Provincial figures were as follows:

PROVINCES	TOTAL NO. CONVICTED	TOTAL IN PRISON AT THE END OF DEC.
Madras	3,998	2,110
Bombay	9,732	3,803
Bengal	11,463	2,973
U. P.	7,606	4,555
Panjab	3,561	1,349
Bihar and Orissa	10,899	4,980
C. P.	3,861	2,139
Assam	1,089	291
N. W. Frontier	761	337
Coorg	6	4
Delhi	1,073	953

The casualties among the public during April, May, June and July due to police firing were 101 killed and 427 wounded. [The figures for the subsequent months should be equally heavy.]

POLICE ACTION IN MADRAS

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. G. A. Natesan (members of the Council of State), Mr. Rangachariar, M.L.A., Dr. P. Subbarayan, and Messrs. Arogyasami Mudaliar, and A. Ranganatha Mudaliar (ex-Ministers), Messrs. Yakub Hasan, Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, K. R. Venkatramier, Abdul Hamid Khan, Srinivasa Iyengar, (M. L. C's.), and Messrs. T. R. Ramachandrier, and T. R. Venkatrama Sastri (Advocates), have sent the following telegram to the Premier, Mr. Benn and the Viceroy:—

Having seen Mr. Bhashyam, Advocate, High Court and perused authentic accounts in *The Hindu* newspaper, we opine police assault on Congress workers severe, high-handed, unjustified. This and similar daily incidents, brutal treatment here, elsewhere, producing atmosphere unfavourable, calm consideration, great problems, facing country. Calculated nullify effects not only labours Round Table but also intentions sincere statesmen like Premier, Sankey, Benn. Exasperation already seen legislative condemnation police action by large majority twice this week Madras. We feel duty lodge emphatic protest continuance policy so futile, mischievous.

MR. SADANAND'S ACQUITTAL

Mr. S. Sadanand, Editor of the *Free Press Journal*, who was sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment and Rs. 225 fine on the charge of assisting the operations of the Bombay "War Council" an unlawful association was acquitted on Feb. 5, by the Chief Justice, Mr. Beaumont and Justice Murphy, on the appellate side of the Bombay High Court. Their Lordships held that the prosecution had failed to prove that the *Congress bulletin*, from which the extracts were reproduced in the paper of the accused, was of the "War Council" while articles complained of were mere statements of fact and merely reproducing them did not amount to assisting in the operations of an unlawful association as provided in Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

ILLEGAL POLICE ORDERS

The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mallik have held that the order of the Commissioner of Police Calcutta, passed on April 21 banning all processions and public assemblies in the city and suburbs indefinitely, is illegal and altogether bad. Their Lordships are of opinion that the Commissioner can only ban a particular procession upon a particular occasion which he may think it necessary to prohibit for the preservation of public peace or public safety.

RAID OF "YOUNG INDIA" OFFICE

On information received two Sub-Inspectors of Police, with some constables, raided the house of one Lalshanker, at Ahmedabad on February 4 under a warrant from the City First Class Magistrate. The police, it is alleged, found Lalshanker and a few others operating a cyclostyle machine on which supplements to the *Young India* were being printed. The police stopped the operations and seized a large number of copies of the printed *Young India* and also took away the cyclostyle machine.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL

Mr. Churchill, in a letter addressed to Mr. Baldwin on 27th January, said, "Now that our



THE RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL

divergence of views on Indian policy has become public I feel that I should not any longer attend meetings of your Business Committee."

Mr. Churchill added that he would give Mr. Baldwin the utmost assistance to secure the defeat of the Socialist Government.

Mr. Baldwin replied on 28th January saying that, much as he regretted Mr. Churchill's decision not to attend the meetings of his old colleagues, he was convinced that decision was correct in the circumstances. Mr. Baldwin agreed with Mr. Churchill that there was nothing in the difference of opinion on a single policy to prevent close and loyal co-operation in doing their utmost to turn out the present Government.

Mr. Churchill's withdrawal from the Business Committee confirms the suspicion in political quarters that he is to be excluded from Mr. Baldwin's next Cabinet.

MR. M. A. JINNAH

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who attended the Round Table Conference, interviewed by *Reuter*, said that he had decided to remain in England indefinitely. He will take up practice before the Privy Council but the main reason for his remaining there is "to fight India's battle in England." Mr. Jinnah considers that he can be of more use to India in England than in India, for which reason he hopes to enter Parliament.

THE NEW HIGH COMMISSIONER

The Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India in Council, is pleased to appoint Sir Bhupendranath



SIR B. N. MITRA

Mitra, formerly a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, as High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom in succession to Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee when the latter vacates that office on the 1st July.

MAHATMA GANDHI ON THE SITUATION

"I am a man of peace. But circumstances have made my life one of struggle. I shall, however, leave no stone unturned to attain peace. It is no joy to me to subvert thousands who have childlike faith in me to suffering," declared Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his conversation with a representative of the *Pioneer* soon after his release on the 26th January.

Asked about the Premier's declaration, he said that he resolutely refrained from coming to conclusions, but if Mr. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar would explain to him satisfactorily that the declaration conveys something beyond what he had been able to make out on a cursory reading and in the light of his eleven points, a settlement is possible, he would advise the calling off of the Satyagraha movement.

Mahatma Gandhi made specific grievance of confiscations in Gujarat and Bengal. He said that the sufferers may have been guilty of non-payment of taxes, but if property worth about fifty lakhs has been appropriated for dues worth say about a lakh, it must be restored.

Referring to the release of political prisoners, Gandhiji said "I know they will be released. But I have difficulties which though not insuperable, are facing me. Some of our people are already perturbed at my conciliatory statements, But when I am convinced, I should call off the movement. I also hope to convince them."

Referring to the Round Table Conference, Mahatmaji said "If our co-operation is wanted, it will not do to tell us to adhere to the consideration of unsettled questions. We must have freedom to reopen discussions in the so-called 'safeguards.'"

Referring to the Indian States, Mahatma Gandhi said:—

"There seemed to be no protection for the people of the Indian States and I cannot bring myself to believe that Mr. MacDonald would deny

in his dealings in the matter, all the teachings of a lifetime."

Concluding, Gandhiji said that he was doing everything to terminate the Civil Disobedience movement, provided full restoration was made, the prisoners were released and impartial enquiry into Police excesses was held and certain preliminaries were observed.

MADRAS LIBERALS' RESOLUTION

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Madras Liberal League held on February 6, the following resolutions, among others were passed:—

This Council welcomes the declaration of His Majesty's Government that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such transitional safeguards as may be found necessary.

This Council is of opinion that the Premier's speech and the speech delivered by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons open up avenues for useful negotiations in India designed to bring about a settlement of the Indian problem consistent with national interests, and self-respect of India.

This Council is further of opinion that the nature and scope of the transitional safeguards outlined must be carefully defined so as to be acceptable to the country and so as not to hamper the growth of responsibility in the transitional period and that every effort should be made not to whittle down the principle of the transfer of responsibility for the administration of India from Parliament to the Indian Legislatures by safeguards which are unnecessary and subversive of the aforesaid principle; and also trusts that every effort will be made to make the period of transition certain and definite and to make it possible for the authorities to have recourse to the constitutional safeguards in normal conditions.

This Council is of opinion that in the further negotiations and in the drafting of the constitutional special attention should be paid to the immediate attainment by India of real and effective fiscal freedom with full powers to regulate India's commerce, exchange, currency, finance and industries.

This Council is of opinion that any constitution that is framed now should be capable of automatic development and lead to the attainment by India at a definite point of time of the same status as other Dominions in the British Commonwealth without any further legislation by Parliament in England.

This Council is of opinion that in the interest of India and England the Government should adopt immediately a conciliatory attitude and issue general instructions for the suspension of repressive measures and extraordinary executive action and also appeals to the Indian National Congress to suspend immediately the Civil Disobedience movement and allied forms of action.

Resolutions were also passed appealing to all parties to co-operate with the Government to restore normal conditions and emphatically disapproving Police excesses all over the country.

THE SCHNEIDER TROPHY

Following the reiteration in the House of Commons by the Air Minister of Government's decision not to assist in any way in the defence of the Schneider Trophy, forty-two Conservative M.P.'s gave notice of a motion urging that the decision should be re-examined.

Sir Philip Sassoon says that the Royal Aero Club offered to find £80,000 to finance the race provided that Government assisted by lending pilots and high speed machines for training. The machines sought were those which participated in last year's race, but the offer was refused. Apparently the question of finance is not the only bar. In Government's estimation there were also reasons of policy and principle, declared Mr. F. Montague in the Commons in his second explanation of Government's attitude. This is quite new, replied Commandar Kenworthy voicing general surprise. Mr. Montague explained that the question of principle involved consideration of whether it was desirable for Government to undertake responsibility for what should be purely a sporting contest.

Italy and France this year are contributing their full Air Force service teams.

CRICKET IN AMERICA

We understand a team of British bowlers have left for America to take part in the U. S. Open National Championships, at St. Petersburg Florida. The team also competes for the American Cup a trophy presented four years ago for competition between America and Great Britain. Four previous annual contests have been held and each time the Americans have won. This will be the first occasion on which an organised team has competed for the American Championships. The three test matches for the American Cup are St. Petersburg, Orlando, and Lakeland, Florida, and the party will return by March 10.

TRAINING FOR THE OLYMPIC

The Indian is born with a natural quickness, he has, however, specially to acquire the practice of competitive sports, says a writer in the *Illustrated News* of Bombay. It is not enough to toe the line of the 100 metre race and to run at the word of command, but each run must be accomplished with particular concentration; it is necessary from the beginning to do the run in the shortest possible time. At first small and short paces should be taken, but then after 30 yards the paces (steps) must grow longer. Towards the end all energies have to be concentrated for a last effort in order to perhaps gain still a couple of centimeters over a competitor. While training, begin with starting exercises which are very important. The first point to be remembered is, no runner is allowed to start before the sign or word of command. The starter should if possible between "get-set", and the gunshot, or the "go" make a pause of at least two seconds. Only thus can a good start be made. The body up to the start must be held perfectly relaxed, then with a sudden jerk the start begins.

To be equipped for other distances, requires very hard training. It is a rule while training not to run the same distance as in the final contest but somewhat less. Instead the distance is run in short periods with 5 to 10 minutes' pause between. Training three times a week should suffice, but each time the weariness must be fought with utmost energy.

WORLD CHESS CHAMPION

What is claimed as a world chess record was made by Capablanca on February 12, when he played 50 chess games with four men at each board, making a total of 200 opponents, drawn from leading American chess clubs, universities and newspapers.

The contest, we are informed, ended in 28 teams being defeated, 16 draws and 6 wins against Capablanca.

ALL-ASIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Delegates from ten Asiatic countries and visitors from three other continents were present when the All-Asia Women's Conference was opened at Lahore on January 12 by the Rani of Mandi on behalf of the Maharani of Kapurthala. The Rani of Mandi said that this was the first gathering of its kind in Asia to meet to promote cultural unity among the women of Asia, to place at the service of humanity these qualities which are peculiar to our Oriental civilisation, to stamp out those evils which crept into our civilisation, to pick out and adopt those qualities of civilisation and culture which elevated the West to the high pinnacle of social and material prosperity and to benefit ourselves by the exchange of experience in our respective countries.

Concluding she said, 'let us discard customs and traditions which have been strangling our domestic lives.'

The secretary read messages from prominent women organisations throughout the world.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Minister of Agriculture, welcomed the Conference on behalf of the Punjab. He said that this Conference showed a new dawn breaking in the East with a promise of renewed life, a refreshment and glory.

The Conference concluded its eight days' session after passing many resolutions concerning education, religion, culture, equality of status, etc. Two of the resolutions deserve special mention. One says that in order to promote a spirit of religious tolerance, love and harmony amongst different communities, the lives and teachings of the great religious leaders should be taught in schools and a comparative study of the great religions of the world be included in the curriculum of colleges. Another resolution demanded full responsible government in India.

MR. GANDHI ON REPRESSION

Interviewed by a Free Press representative, soon after his release Mahatma Gandhi said:

I have no message to give to the country. I can only emphasise what I have been saying that the continuing repression about which evidences are daily accumulating makes it well nigh impossible to contemplate peace. From all over the country I am getting reports that the authorities are said to have been devoid of all decency and on the top of their frightfulness they do not hesitate to deny the truth of the allegations made on behalf of the suffering public. The most painful part of the whole affair is that the political department at the top defends the conduct of the police and wilfully—that is the only expression that I can use—shut their eyes to everything said on behalf of the public no matter how well supported the allegations may be. I have not a shadow of doubt in my mind that allegations of unchivalrous and cruel conduct of the police in respect of women's processions in Borsad are true and yet the Director of Public Information has made what reads like an oracular statement incapable of being contradicted. * * I know that I am using strong language. But anything less strong will be untruthful on my part and I would like to be proved wrong in having believed reports I have received, in which case I should tender my apologies to the officials concerned.



PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI, M.A.

who has been elected to lead the Indian Delegation to the World Conference of Educational Associations to be held at Denver, U.S.A. in July this year.

Diary of the Month

- Jan. 19. Premier makes his statement on India.
 Jan. 20. The Rani of Mandi opens the All-Asian Women's Conference at Lahore.
 Jan. 21. Labour Government sustains a defeat on an amendment to the Education Bill.
 Jan. 22. Mr. Jamnadoss Dwarkadoss is arrested.
 Jan. 23. Martial Law is withdrawn in Peshawar.
 Jan. 24. British Electoral Reform Bill is introduced in the House of Commons.
 Jan. 25. Lord and Lady Willingdon arrive in England from Canada.



M. K. GANDHI.

- Jan. 26. Mr. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini and 25 others are released.
 Jan. 27. The accused in the Lahore Shooting Case is sentenced to death.
 Jan. 28. Mr. Gandhi publishes his terms for Peace.
 Jan. 29. Calcutta Corporation adjourns protesting against the conviction of its Mayor.
 Jan. 30. Mr. Churchill resigns from the Business Committee of the Conservative Party.
 Jan. 31. Congress leaders meet in Allahabad.
 Feb. 1. A. I. C. C. meets in Allahabad.
 Feb. 2. Sardar Vallabhai Patel is elected President of the Karachi Congress.
 Feb. 3. Assembly rejects Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill.
 Feb. 4. House of Commons passes the 2nd reading of the Electoral Reform Bill.
 Feb. 5. Bombay War Council members are arrested for renewing Salt Satyagraha.

- Feb. 6. Pt. Motilal Nehru is dead.
 Feb. 7. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru meets Mr. Gandhi.
 Feb. 8. Mass meeting at Allahabad pays eloquent tribute to Motilal Nehru.
 Feb. 9. Assembly adjourns in memory of Motilal Nehru.
 Feb. 10. H. E. Lord Irwin opens the Dominions Columns of the New Delhi.
 Feb. 11. House of Commons defeats Tory vote of censure on the Labour Government by 310 to 235 votes.
 Feb. 12. Bengal Government sustains a defeat on the motion for special grant for new jails.
 Feb. 13. Sir D. F. Mulla attends Privy Council meeting presided over by H. M. the King.
 Feb. 14. Sapru-Sastri-Gandhi Conference ends.
 Feb. 15. German Reichstag passes a motion for enquiry into causes of world war.



LORD IRWIN.

- Feb. 16. Lord Irwin agrees to meet Mr. Gandhi for an interview.
 Feb. 17. Mr. Gandhi meets Lord Irwin.
 Feb. 18. Irwin-Gandhi talks end pending the former's consultation with White Hall.

BUILDING BETTER BRAINS

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

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



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

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A 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."

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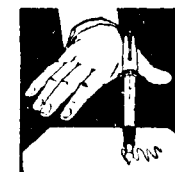
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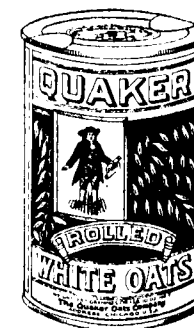


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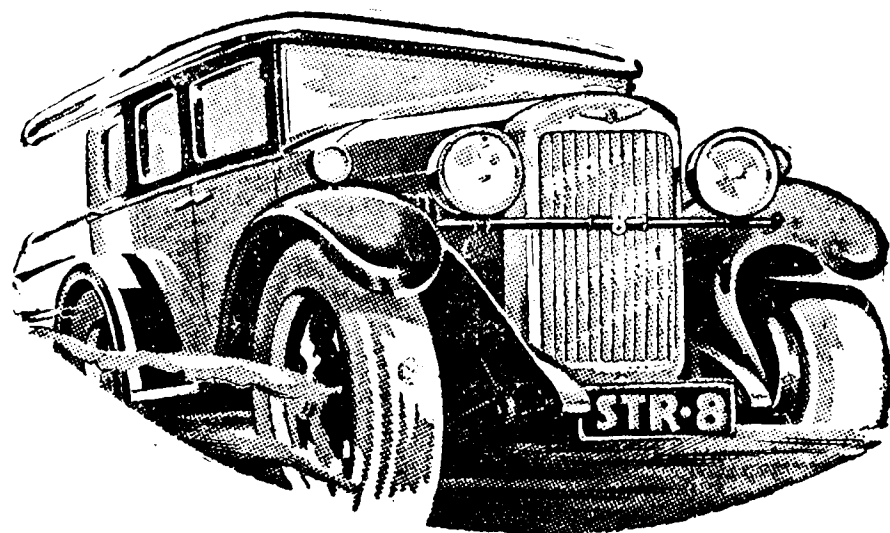


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BY

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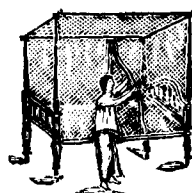
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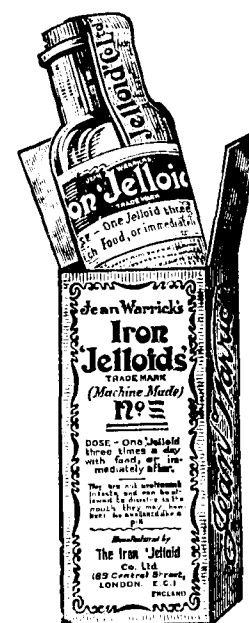
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E. Feb. '31. P.P.8.

Summons in Summary Suit on Negotiable Instrument.

(Order 37, Rule 2, C. P. C.)

In the Court of L. RAM KANWAR, B.A., LL.B., P.C.S., Senior Subordinate Judge at Delhi.

Firm Chhanga Mal Gudan, Kirana Merchant, through
Lakhmi Chand partner of the said firm, Katra Tambaku,
Delhi. } *Plaintiff.*

Versus

1. Makhan Lal, 2. Deep Chand, 3. Debi Shankar and 4.
Dharmasi sons of Deep Chand of Tiptoor Dist., Mysore, proprietors } *Defendants.*
of the firm known as Magan Lal—Deep Chand of Tiptoor.

Date of hearing }
18-4-1931. }

CLAIM. For Rs. 4,679 on account of principal and interest due on two hundis.

To 1. Makhan Lal, 2. Debi Shankar sons of Deep Chand of Tiptoor,
Dist. Mysore, proprietors of the firm known as Magan Lal—Deep
Chand of Tiptoor District, Mysore.

WHEREAS the above named plaintiff, has instituted a suit against you under Order XXXVII of the Code of Civil Procedure 1908, for Rs. 4,679, balance of principal and interest due to him on the basis of two hundis, you are hereby summoned to obtain leave from the court within ten days from the service hereof to appear and defend the suit, and within such time to cause an appearance to be entered for you. In default whereof the plaintiff will be entitled at any time after the expiration of such ten days to obtain a decree for any sum not exceeding the sum of Rs. 4,679 and the sum of Rs. 548-8 for costs.

Leave to appear may be obtained on an application to the court supported by an affidavit or declaration showing that there is a defence to the suit on the merits, or that it is reasonable that you should be allowed to appear in the suit.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the court, this 17th day of February, 1931.

(Sd.) RAM KANWAR,

Senior Sub-Judge,

Delhi.

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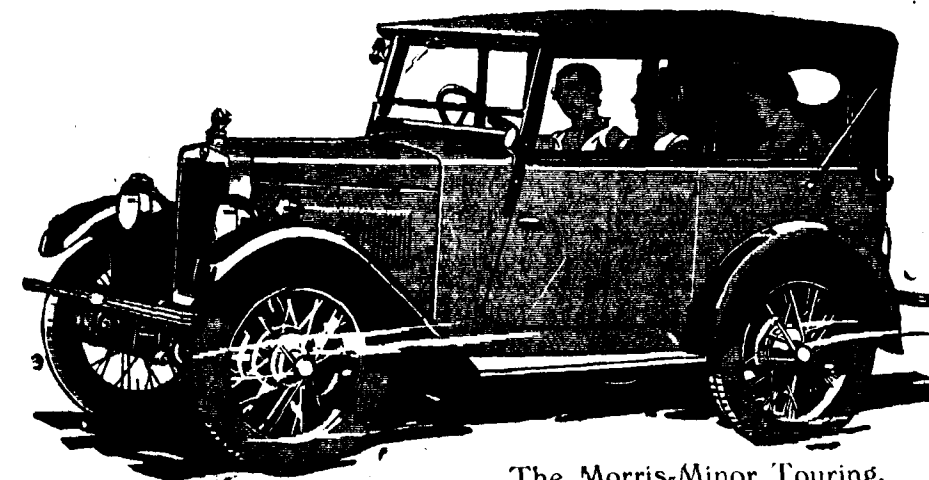
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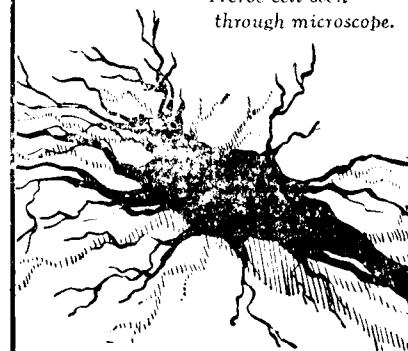
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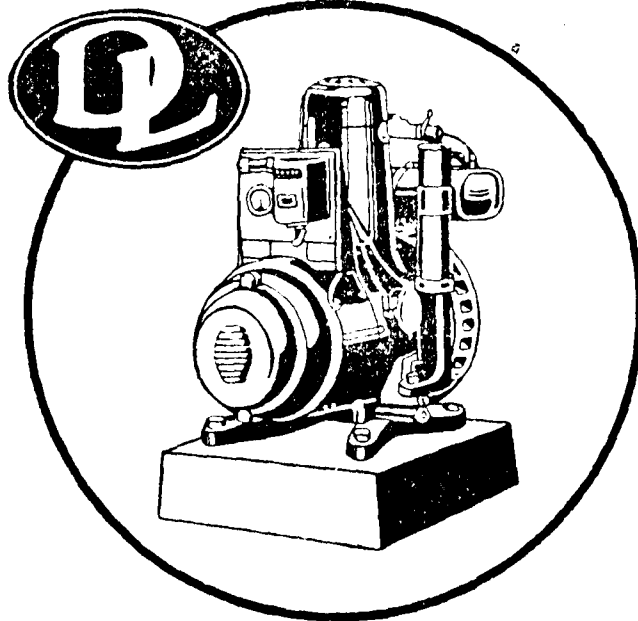
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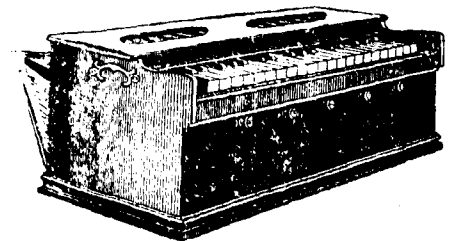
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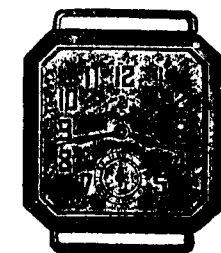
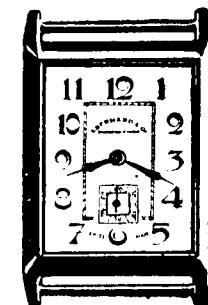
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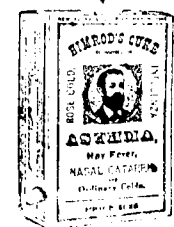
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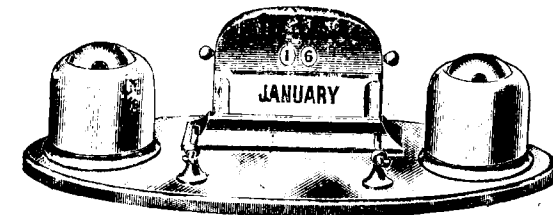
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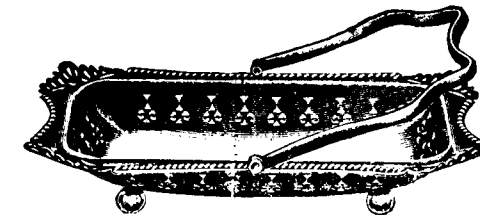


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" " "Macedonia" (x)	11,120	14th " "	" " "Macedonia" (x)	11,126	11th " "
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" " "Morvada"	8,231	14th Mar. "	18th " "	
" " "Mulbera"	9,100	28th " "	1st April "	
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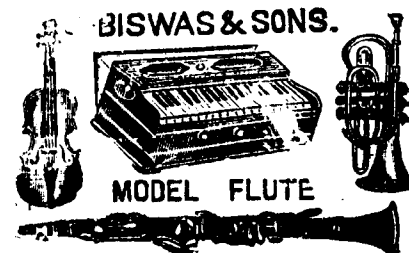
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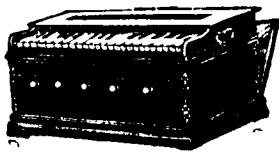
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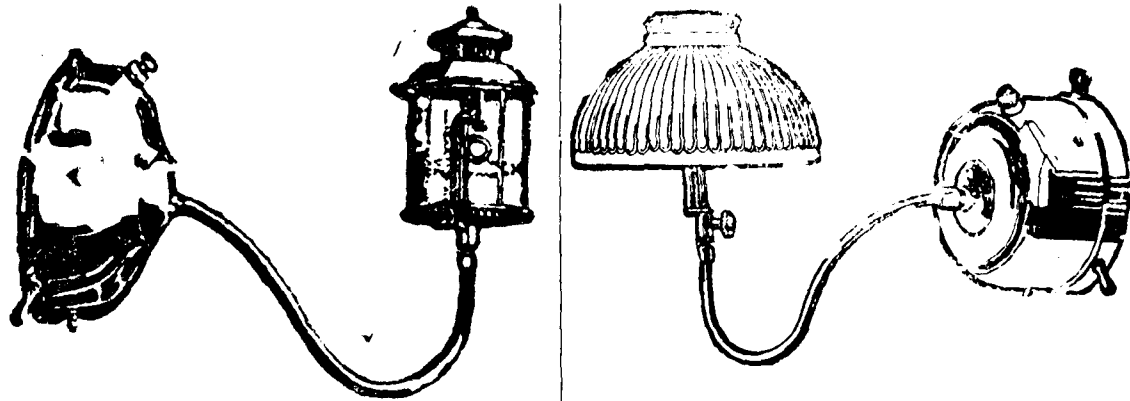
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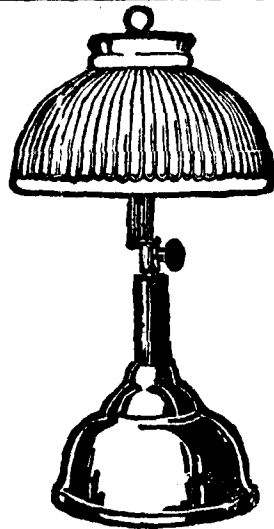
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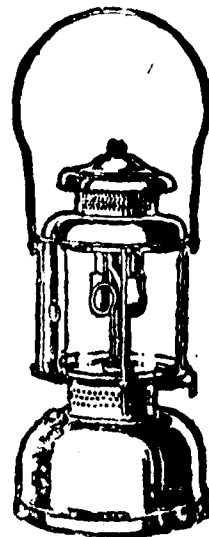
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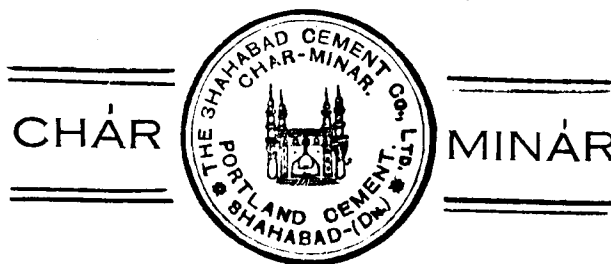
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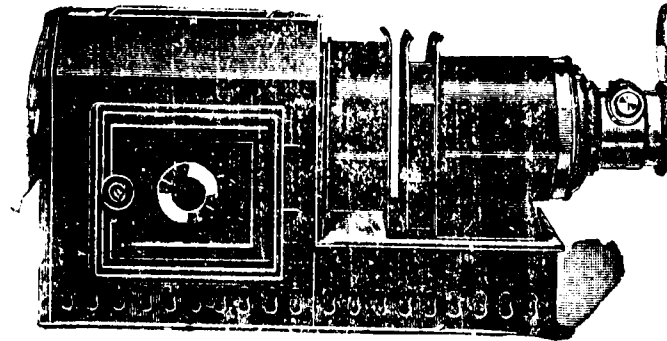
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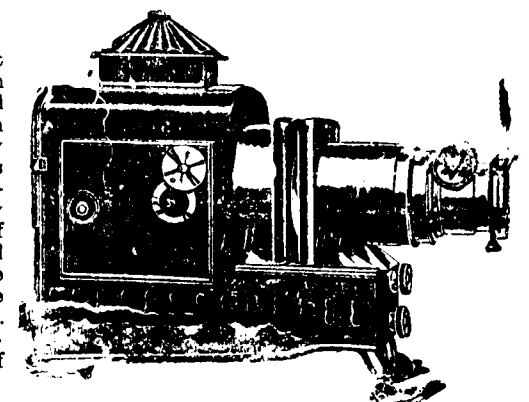
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The Round Table Conference and "Safeguards"

BY THE HON'BLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA KT., O.B.E.

IT is now more than five weeks since the British Indian Delegates to the Round Table Conference have returned to India. Their work, it appears, has been appreciated throughout the country, but much criticism has been levelled against the safeguards they agreed to. It would seem that we live in an age of short memories for until two years ago all shades of political opinion in this country including the Congress clamoured for Dominion Status with Safeguards during the transitional period. It was only after the resolution that the Congress passed at their last sessions in January 1930 that that party wanted to go much further. The Delegates who proceeded to London were determined to put up as strong a fight as they possibly could for Dominion Status with safeguards, but in their heart of hearts they had grave doubts if they would succeed. As results go, Dominion Status has been assured; why then blame the Delegates if they have agreed to the safeguards such as have been proposed and when it was contemplated that there were bound to be safeguards for some years at least? Have they not done what was practically expected all along? The Indian public must remember that unless these safeguards were agreed to at the Round Table Conference neither the Liberal nor the Conservative Party in England would have accorded their support as they have done. As recently as yesterday (March the 12th) Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons when speaking on the subject of the rumours that the Conservative Party were back on what they had promised observed as follows:—

The Conservative Party must judge how far it is possible to achieve a Federal India without surrendering essential safeguards.

It is quite clear therefore that even in the further discussions that will be carried on not only the Conservatives but the Liberals will insist on proper safeguards.

It has been said that these safeguards are but a "smoke-screen" and one more instance of professing to give without really giving or giving with one hand and taking back with the other. We cannot blame the Indian public for entertaining such an idea because of past experience, but the Delegates who worked at the Conference for eleven weeks and who during that time came in close and immediate contact with the British Delegates, are convinced that there is now a real "change of heart". Let there also be a similar "change of heart" on our side. Let us take them at their word and trust them and on our part let us satisfy the British public that we have no desire or intention to go out of our way to harm their legitimate interests in this country. The Prime Minister in the speech which he made on the last day of the Conference, 19th January, referred to safeguards as follows:—

Safeguarding—I do not like the word. To you especially, it is an ugly word; it is a word which quite naturally rouses great suspicions in your hearts. It is a word the aspects and the meanings and the connotations and the associations of which are rather forbidding. Let us apply common-sense to it.....And, my Indian Colleagues, you can twist and you can turn, you can turn a blind eye to this and a blind eye to that, you can draft with care and you can hide up what really is the substance of your draft, but if you were drafting your own constitution, without any outside assistance or consultation, you could not draft a constitution without embodying safeguards of that kind in it.

It is contended that emergency powers have been given both to the Governor-General as also



MAHATMA GANDHI

"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 FROM THE VICEEROY'S SPEECH AT LIVER BANQUET."



H. E. LORD IRWIN

to the Governors of Provinces which should have been avoided. That is not a fair suggestion to make. Such powers have always existed and they have been exercised sparingly in the past. There is every reason to believe that they will be exercised still more sparingly because the Governor-General and the Governors will no longer be influenced by the British Members of the Indian Civil Service around them, but by Indian Ministers and he or they will think not twice but oftener before resorting to methods which will alienate the support of their Cabinets.

It is argued that according to the proposed safeguards the legislature will have control over a very small portion of the revenues. In some statements issued by those who professed to speak with authority on the subject it was said that 80 per cent. of the revenues would be outside the control of the Legislature. Later statements have brought down this figure to 54 per cent. This is nearer the mark, but at the same time such a percentage is bound to be reduced as time goes on because the services will be gradually Indianized and the sums spent on pensions, etc., and the so called home charges will be gradually reduced. More than that when the Army is under our control the difference will be yet greater. Why should we object to such safeguards in the matter of pay and pensions etc., when even the British Parliament has no control over guarantees given to the Public Services for their pay and pensions, for the interest on their national debt etc? That is the case everywhere and it follows that it should be likewise with us in any new constitution that is framed for this country.

I am aware that Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State endeavoured to sound the views of those members of the Delegation who are business-men in regard to financial matters and I know that such delegates impressed upon Mr. Benn the absolute necessity of transferring the control of finance, for without such transfer

no reforms would prove acceptable to India. The Secretary of State who is beyond doubt very sympathetic to Indian aspirations entertained grave doubts for he pointed out that the City, by which is of course meant the Commercial community in England, would never agree to such transfer and if such a transfer were proposed by Government the City would influence the Liberal and Conservative delegates to oppose the idea. Now we are aware of the power which the City can exercise in Parliamentary matters and it must therefore be regarded as a great achievement that ultimately financial control has also been assured, again of course with certain safeguards. I repeat that without such safeguards, we would never have had financial control which is the crux of the whole reform scheme.

It was not all plain sailing at the Conference. There were many occasions when it looked as if it would break up for want of agreement and one such occasion was right at the end when in the Minorities Committee the question of no discrimination between Europeans and Indians in matters of trade and commerce came up for discussion. It was with great difficulty that we arrived at the formula as follows:—

At the instance of the British commercial community the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies, trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights.

The Indian Delegates could not ignore and go past what is stated in very clear and emphatic terms in the Nehru Report that there will be no discrimination whatsoever between the Britisher and the Indian in matters of trade and commerce. How then could we do any better than accept the above formula? It was clearly pointed out however by the Indian Delegates who had a hand in the settling of the formula that there would be occasions when it would become necessary to give preference in certain matters to the Na-

tionals of the country. Attempts were made to define specifically such instances, but it was found difficult to do so. It was suggested that the words "key industries" be introduced in the formula for which Nationals might get preference. It was again difficult to define key industries and any specific mention had to be dropped. It was therefore resolved to say that an "appropriate convention" be entered into and when that convention is prepared it will be the time to specifically mention the subjects in which the nationals might get preference.

Now that the Indian National Congress, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and His Excellency the

Viceroy, has decided to come in, it will be perfectly open to the Members of the Conference to revise any points which in the opinion of the majority do need revision. It will therefore be for the Congress and others who think that the safeguards be considerably reduced to urge their case and convince the Conference as a whole that they should do so, always remembering the words of the Declaration that it will be a primary "concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government."

A PLEA FOR CO-OPERATION

By BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ

'THERE is a story in our Bible that the wise men came from the East. I see many of them sitting round this table, but I know full well that there are many wise men still in India, whose opinion and whose assistance are necessary to complete this Conference and to start the future Government of India on proper and on safe lines,' said Lord Sankey when presenting the Report of the Federal Structure Committee. To-day my heart rejoices that those wise men who remained in India have joined hands with those who went to England, and I feel sure that together they will be able to build up for our motherland, a constitution worthy of her great traditions. I congratulate His Excellency Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi on their wise decision of co-operation and clasping the hand of friendship which both extended to each other in mutual trust and goodwill. As I said in my last speech at the conclusion of the Round Table Conference, 'to-day we indeed stand before the dawn of a new era—an era which will be remembered for having united England and India in an everlasting link of friendship.' I can see before me a glorious

vision of India of the future, governed by the people and for the people in which Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees and all sections, Men and Women work together for the good of their common motherland and for the benefit of humanity at large. I see a happy and contented India in which peace and prosperity reign and lead to the re-awakening of all her ancient culture and arts till she becomes again the home of a new civilization and the giver of a higher culture to the world.

What we have asked for the women at the Round Table Conference is this, that sex should be no disqualification for them to serve their country in any and every capacity. They should be represented in all Legislatures, both Provincial and Central, through open elections as well as through co-option for the next three elections; after that we hope to stand on our own in a fair field with no favours.

I appeal to my sisters, all the women of my country, to come forward and be ready to help in nation-building in every possible way. Men and women working hand in hand will achieve the zenith of progress for their motherland.

The Peace Pact and After

BY SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIVAR, K.C.I.E.

THE debates that have taken place in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State on the Round Table Conference, have demonstrated firstly that the general sentiment in the country is in favour of the line adopted by the delegates to that conference, as to the expediency of a Federal Scheme as a condition *sine qua non* of responsibility at the centre, secondly, that there is widespread disappointment over the failure to achieve communal concord, thirdly, that every party welcomes the participation of the Congress, and lastly, that it is on all hands agreed that in London only the rough outlines of the picture have been drawn and that it is up to us to complete the picture, and fill in the details.

The disciplined organisation and the regimented energy of the Congress will be of paramount importance in the framing and the working of the constitution.

This was recognised by most of those, who attended the London meetings, whether Indian or British; and with this consciousness was it that Lord Irwin initiated those *pourparlers*, which, thanks to the mediation of the three peace-makers, and the insight and farsightedness of Mahatma Gandhi, have culminated successfully and brought about an atmosphere of harmony conducive to the dispassionate analysis of the problem of India's political future. It is the bare truth to assert that the conclusion is a testimony, as much to Gandhiji's conviction of the essential *bona fides* of the great Christian Viceroy, as to the overmastering desire of the Governments of Britain and India to secure popular support to their proceedings and eliminate all disturbing emotions.

At this juncture, comes a rumble on the horizon, but I make bold to say that not even Churchill will thoughtlessly wreck a structure

that has been so patiently built up; and my acquaintance with Mr. Baldwin leads me to the belief that he will not be stampeded into deserting a cause and a person, which have hitherto commanded his support.

All that has happened is, however, preliminary and introductory, for the Mahatma's task will be now to harness the idealism and the patience of his followers to the chariot of conciliation and constitution building.

It is abundantly clear that no scheme of federation, and no system of responsible self-government can be a reality, unless the minorities are cheerful collaborators, and every nerve has to be strained by all parties to adjust those differences, which I honestly believe will be found as we approach close to them to be less formidable than at a distance. Indeed, the Hindu-Muhammadian impasse was at the point of being resolved in London, but a malign fate prevented success. I may, however, venture to express the warning that it is essential that while the majority community should be ready to give up a great deal and to think of their duties rather than of their rights, yet it would be disastrous if the foundation of an imposing Palace of Peace are laid on shifting sands of temporary expediency. Politics is mostly the acquisition of the second-best, but it is a dangerous doctrine to accept what may for the time being be welcomed, but which will infallibly lead to deadlocks in the future.

The next work will be the careful examination of the so-called safeguards as to finances, defence and vested interests, and commitments with a view to arrive at a decision, which will be conducive alike to the reputation and the stability of India. These must be judged primarily from the point of view of Indian interests, although other considerations may have their place, when a great bargain of national significance takes place.

In all these tasks, much preliminary consultation is essential before India's representatives are able to present their unified demands to the British Government and British people.

The main contribution of the London Conference was a desire for unity and for a peaceful solution and it is the hope and prayer of all the lovers of the country, that we shall be able to count upon the maintenance of that attitude in the difficult and complicated negotiations that are ahead of us.

India and the Federal Idea

BY MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, M.A., (OXON).

CAREFUL students of politics had for some time past realised that the only solution of the problem of Indian self-government lay in Federation. The existence of a large number of States whose perpetuity was guaranteed to them by treaties and engagements made any other solution impossible. If the whole of India was a British possession, a unitary form of government would have been practicable, though its desirability might have been open to question. But the fact that besides the British Indian provinces there are in India over 108 States which are officially recognised as being internally sovereign and over 500 others which are outside the regular British jurisdiction makes any attempt to establish a unitary Government for the whole of India altogether impossible.

The promise of Responsible Government contained in the Parliamentary declaration of August 1917 was applicable on the face of it, only to British India. Obviously the responsibility of the Indian Government to the British Indian legislature could only be for the affairs of British India and not of India as a whole including the States. Even a casual examination of the subjects dealt with by the Government of India would show that in many of the most important matters like Railways, Customs, Post & Telegraphs, Currency and Exchange British India is not the only party concerned. They are properly speaking All-India matters and to make the executive in charge of the administration of these subjects responsible solely to the elected representatives of one part of India would have been unjust even if it were legally possible. In fact a critical study of the nature of the Central Government in India would disclose the fact that in essence it is federal even now. The Government of India exercise the powers necessary for defence, for the conduct of foreign policy and for the coercion of

recalcitrant States. These powers are now exercised in virtue of their surrender by the Indian States. The Central authority in India, so far as it attracts the States is created by agreement and its authority is rigidly limited. The States continue to exercise all other powers which have not been expressly surrendered. The essentials of federalism are clearly visible in the constitution to-day. True, this is federalism only in its embryonic stage. There are no appropriate institutions under the Government of India by which these federal principles are applied. The States are not represented in the Government of India, though the paramount power has always claimed that its paramountcy implies an obligation to safeguard in every manner the rights of the States. More than even this claim of paramountcy the development of the Federal idea was rendered difficult by the absence of a Supreme Court to adjudicate between the Government of India and the States in matters at issue between them. A Government of India responsible to a purely British Indian legislature could not exercise these federal functions which are now being exercised in the name of paramountcy. This was the main and outstanding difficulty in the way of the immediate establishment of responsibility in the Central Government of India.

The Statutory Commission recognised this difficulty. They appreciated the fact that there was a fundamental difference between All-India subjects and All-British India subjects. Authority in All-India subjects could not be entrusted to a purely British Indian legislature. Therefore they emphasised that the condition precedent to the establishment of responsible government in British India was the creation of appropriate All-India institutions deriving their authority not only from the people of British India but from the Sovereign Rulers of the States. What Sir John Simon and his

colleagues did not realise was that the Princes were themselves insistently demanding the creation of such institutions in order to enable them to share effectively in the determination, control and execution of common policies. It is true that the Princes have not been specifically demanding the transformation of the Central Government into a federal union. What they have been asking for—and that in no uncertain terms—was the creation, in association with them, of suitable institutions through which matters which affect the States jointly with British India—subjects which are truly federal—could be administered.

The work of the Round Table Conference has two main aspects: one is the acceptance of the federal principle and the other is the establishment of responsibility at the centre. The proposals concerning federation are in my opinion nothing more than the formal acceptance through appropriate institutions of a position already existing. The list of federal subjects which was tentatively fixed at the Conference would show that for the most part it is confined to those subjects which are now administered or the policy of which is now determined by the Government of India, as matters of all-India concern. All that has been done is to recognise the right of the States as parts of India to a voice in the shaping of policy and in the control of administration of those subjects which affect them. The proposed federal union therefore is no more than the formal ratification of existing conditions, accompanied by the creation of necessary institutions.

The history of Federalism in every country would go to show that a federal union is either the culmination of a union already in being or the legalisation of powers already exercised. In America the Confederation which was organised during the rebellion was merely strengthened and embodied in the formal constitution of 1787. In Germany, even the political ambition of Rulers and States was not able to suppress the unity of the German

people which had found expression through centuries in the Holy Roman Empire and after its dissolution, in the loose federalism of the constitution of 1815. What Bismark did in 1867 and in 1870 was to reconstitute it in the interests of Prussia. The union of the Indian States and British India into one political whole has been the undoubted tendency of the period after the Mutiny. When Lord Canning claimed that as a result of the transfer to the Crown India had 'become one single charge', he was giving unconscious expression to the fact that economic and political forces were fast binding the States and British India into one unit. That union had gone too long and had so vitally affected every aspect of the political and economic life of the Indian Empire that it was impossible to divide India again into water tight compartments. Formal federation was therefore not merely inevitable but necessary if British India had to be entrusted with increased political power.

The responsibility of the executive to the legislature in the Central Government will therefore be seen to be dependent on the acceptance of the Federal principle. The Round Table Conference realised this from the beginning. The importance of the official declaration of the Indian States delegation in favour of federation lies in this fact. It made responsible government in the centre an immediate possibility. Sir John Simon and others had said that Indian self-government was impossible without Federation which they visualised as a distant ideal. The answer of the Princes to this was an open declaration of willingness to effect the federation here and now. The obstacles which legal theorists had raised to the grant of responsible government vanished with this declaration.

What are the federal institutions proposed? A federal India would necessarily involve a federal executive, a federal legislature and a federal judiciary. If the executive and legislature continue

to be exclusively British Indian as at present, it will lead to a perpetuation of the subordination of the States which they would and could never accept. Both the executive and the legislature of India must therefore be reconstituted on a federal basis. No doubt this raises numerous questions of importance, such as for example, the proportion of the representatives of the States in the legislature, the method by which these representatives are to be chosen, their share in executive government, etc. All these are, however, questions of detail and with goodwill and sympathy they could easily be adjusted.

On the question of a federal judiciary there can be no difference of opinion. A written constitution which rigidly defines the powers of the Central Government and guarantees the sovereignty of the Constituent States clearly implies a judicial authority invested with the right of enforcing the constitution and upholding the lines of demarcation between the central and the local governments. At the present times so far as the provinces are concerned, these questions do not arise, as all the authority of the local governments is purely derivative. Subject to the orders of the Secretary of State the Governor-General-in-Council is the sole authority charged with the responsibility of governing India. Therefore there can be no strictly justiciable issue between a province and the Government of India. In regard to the States this certainly is not the case. There are numerous questions in which the sovereign authority of the States conflicts with the claims of the Government of India. There are again controversies between States among themselves. All such issues though in every sense justiciable, are at the present time decided by the executive orders of the Government of India. No such semi-judicial authority could exist in a federal executive and it is obvious that a judicial machinery has to be created which would be charged with the duty of upholding the rights

of the constitution—the rights alike of the federal Government as of the constituent States. It should be remembered that under the new constitution, the provinces would cease to be local governments deriving their authority from the Governor-General-in-Council. They would become autonomous units with complete powers within defined spheres, which would also require adequate protection from the encroachments of the federal government. These duties can be fulfilled only by a Federal Court.

The federal union contemplated in the proposals which have merged from the Round Table Conference has certain obvious and very important limitations. The first and most important of these is in regard to the jurisdiction of the federal executive over what has been called the Central subjects. The legislative and political unity of British India is a fact on which much stress was naturally laid by its representatives at the Conference. However liberally the list of subjects over which the provincial governments will have complete and final authority may be drawn up, there will still remain a residue of important subjects which will have to be dealt with by a central authority for the whole of British India: such for example as Civil and Criminal law. These could not be made federal subjects because the States are not willing to surrender this essential part of their sovereignty to the federal government. Unless it is proposed to create a separate British Indian Central Government—and presumably British Indian Legislatures—these subjects would have to be dealt with by the federal executive through the medium of the federal legislature. Obviously this is an anomaly because both the federal executive and the legislature would contain representatives of the States and consequently the States would be participating in the administration of purely British Indian subjects. One solution which was proposed and which met with considerable support was that the central

British Indian subjects should be the concern of a Committee of the House analogous to the Scottish Committee of the House of Commons. It was also suggested that it may be established by convention that the Indian States representatives should not vote on purely British Indian questions. Whatever be the solution arrived at, there can be no doubt that this combination of purely British Indian with federal subjects would be one of the serious difficulties of the future federal government.

A second feature to which attention may be drawn is that the States will be under a dual relationship. In matters which are defined as coming within the obligations of paramountcy their present relationship with the Crown will continue. Matters affecting the dynasty and persons of Rulers will be reserved to the Crown. In regard to the States therefore it cannot be presumed that all authority which is not assigned to the federal government will continue to be with the States. The qualification required would be that all authority which is not assigned to the federal government or surrendered to the Crown will continue to be with the States and their Rulers. This limitation is an important and avoidable feature of any scheme of constitutional reform for India.

There is only one further point to which attention may be directed; that is the method of bringing into existence the federal union of India. It is clear that a constitution binding British India and the States could not be enacted by the British Parliament as it has no authority over the Indian States. The federal union can only be effected by the formal consent of the States embodied in some treaty, convention or agreement. Conventions of a uniform character with necessary alterations to safeguard special interests may be signed by the representatives of the Crown, British India and each State willing to enter the federation. Before this could be done a

parliamentary Act establishing the forms of federal government and authorising the government so established to enter into negotiations with the States would probably be necessary. The procedure however is a matter for constitutional lawyers and once the principles are agreed upon there will be no difficulty in finding the appropriate procedure for giving effect to them.

The decision of the Conference to accept and give effect to the federal idea has had one very far reaching result. It has created a united India. The division of India into British India and Indian States will of course continue and the treaty map of India will in no way be altered. But a third entity above and beyond British India and the States would come into existence whose authority would extend through the length and breadth of India in defined matters. That, every one will agree, is not merely a great gain but one for which we should be happy to make any sacrifice. India would cease to be a mere geographical expression, an area divided into numerous political units. It would become a single country and a great ideal which the Mughals never achieved and the Marathas never contemplated would have been finally consummated.

It is not denied that the federal union as at present proposed is of a limited character, or to use Lord Sankey's metaphor, it is a frail plant. But a great idea has been born and it is impossible that we can now go back on it. It would need careful tending before it can grow up to its full stature but who can deny that the acceptance of the federal idea, involving as it does great sacrifices on the part of the Princes and commendable foresight and wisdom on the part of British India, is itself a great and noble achievement? It has made the union of India possible: it has made the aspiration of centuries a reality. More, it has united the prince and the peasant in a desire to work for the greatness of their common motherland.

The Truce and its Lessons

BY

DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

TO those that had expected a scheme of Independence to emerge from the Delhi Conversations, we can only say that they are like the disputants in a Partition suit who expect to embody the award in the Agreement. How can that be? The fight for Swaraj is ahead. We have paved the way for it. Indeed when we were invited in November 1929 to the London Conference things were all the other way about. Lord Irwin was still thinking of the Conference as a body of Rapporteurs instead of as Judges. Even the latter position would have had its own drawbacks. But when a Viceroy repeatedly says that "the object of the London Conference was to explore the largest measure of Unity amongst the various parties and interests in India for proposals which it would later be the duty of the Cabinet to place before the Parliament," there was neither the chance of self-determination nor even of a final decision. We had only to collect a volume of useful material that might help in the development of a Constitution for India. And if we may anticipate matters, was that not exactly the resolution passed by the Round Table Conference on the 20th January 1931? Even after the Civil Disobedience movement had begun and when the Viceroy made his announcement of the 9th July 1930, he was repeating another formula which was no better than the first,—namely that "It will be my earnest desire, as I trust, that of the Cabinet and the Parliament, that we shall do all that lies in our respective spheres, to make over to Indians as large a measure of the management of Indian affairs as may be shown to be compatible with the making of provision for the administration of those subjects in respect of which India is not in a position to take over the management

now". This was repeated several times, but it gave no solace to the Congress. Amidst cavil, abuse and misrepresentation the Congress had carried on its own movement of Civil Disobedience,—we now know, with what results. It is some little gratification to find that those who would not touch it with a pair of tongs then, now congratulate the Congress on its achievement, but are still at a loss to know what it is that the Congress gains by agreeing to join the Round Table Conference, now as against in November last. This is a pertinent enquiry and must be answered.

If in November last the Congress had joined the Conference, it would have been browbeaten as the members were in London on several points. Take the Burma question, turn up the pages relating to its discussion. On the very first day the problem of separation was debated, it was decided and the Chairman made it a matter of ruling. Men like Mr. Chintamani felt helpless in the matter. Then came the plenary sitting of the committee where matters did not improve. A fond hope was expressed that in the plenary session of the Conference the very principle might be attacked, but here speeches were taken as read and members were lost in wonderment. They had no sanction behind them. Their so-called constitutional methods could not bear better results and there was no reserve force which they could fall back upon. If the Congress had joined then, it would have added a dozen more to the ninety-two already assembled at the St. James' Palace with no better experience. Now it may look forward to participation in a spirit of manly self-reliance and with a certain reserve strength behind it which will be a source of

inspiration to itself and a source of fear to the British. Well may we ask how such a far reaching result could have been secured in less than a year. The time-honoured programme of petition, prayer and protest has been found wanting. The alternative of force and violence, apart from sowing the seeds of internal chaos is found equally wanting, when judged even from the milder standpoint of expediency. The results even if they were helpful would in no way be accounted commensurate with the sacrifices involved. It requires not much of an argument to elaborate this aspect of the problem. Accordingly Gandhi, feeling that he was caught up between the two mill-stones of violence, —one of Government's with its barbarous methods of rule and the other of the younger generation with its impatient advocacy of force, recognized the urgency of evolving a formula which would embody a nation-wide programme of action divorced from the mendicancy of the older and the militancy of the younger generations. Civil Disobedience which invited suffering on itself, not inflicted any on others, was bound not merely to stay the hands of men like Wilson of Bombay, Cunningham of Madras and Tegart of Calcutta, but melt their hearts and change their convictions. Whether these minor dignitaries of the Police have been chastened or not, there is little doubt that men like Emerson, the Home Secretary and Irwin the Viceroy have turned a new leaf in the book of their Repression and character. To-day there are no better friends than Gandhi and Emerson or Gandhi and Irwin. It would be interesting to examine how these mighty warriors have become friends. The key is in the Premier's speech. Repression of a whole nation—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—especially of women and children is found impossible, and more so when it was backed, as was stated by Capt. Wedgwood Benn, by the commercial and the moneyed classes. And when setting aside all considerations of prestige, Gandhi offered to see the

Viceroy, all barriers in the way of a settlement were broken. Indeed even if it were a question of prestige, we had no blame to bear, for had not the Viceroy and the Premier made their gesture at first, calling the accursed Congress, the "great Congress movement", praising the high spiritual character of Gandhi and inviting the Congress to the Conference? The personal contacts established between Gandhi and Irwin helped to dispel all doubts in the matter and when mind began to act on mind from day to day it became easy to arrive at an understanding. Thus has Gandhi been able to show that he is not a mere visionary but has a firm grasp of the realities of the situation. If we took up the terms of the settlement seriatim, we could prove this statement but it is unnecessary for the purpose of this article. Gandhi is an idealist, it is true, but one with a clear knowledge of actualities. He had dealt in the past with men like General Smuts and has dealt in the present with men like Lord Irwin. They are so much impressed with his reasonableness that they have to concede his point or hang their heads low. They are overborne by his correctness of reasoning, readiness to give and take and a clear knowledge of essentials and non-essentials. To Gandhi, Patels and prisoners were nothing, but an admission of necessity to enquire into Police excesses was everything. He got the latter but would not humiliate the people with whom he is about to strike a friendship. He has exhibited the forgiveness which only a strong man can do. He has proved to the world that he is not making experiments in Truth at the expense of society but that his experiments are all well proved by the hardest tests to which they could have been put. It may yet be hoped that in the coming months his achievements will prove greater than those in the past and will bring peace and happiness not only to India but to mankind.

THE FINANCE OF OUR FOREIGN TRADE

BY MR. N. SANKARA AIYER, M.A., C.A.I.B.

I think it is just as well that I start with giving an idea of the magnitude of the task in the conditions of to-day. Allowing for the heavy fall in our foreign trade during the last two years due as much to the general world depression and the non-co-operation movement, the average foreign trade for the last decade, has been around 350 crores of exports and 250 crores of imports. The remaining 100 crores in our favour is generally offset by the remittances of Government about 40 crores for interest and other "home charges" and the "invisible imports" like freight, profits of foreign firms and other incomes of foreigners residing in India. The balance still remaining, about 30 crores, is imported in the form of silver or gold.

Our trade is principally with England in the matter of imports (120 crores) but we have good business with other countries such as Japan (18) Java (15) Germany (13) and United States (15). Among our best importers are England (80) United States (40) Japan (60) Germany (30) and France (25). Consequently we have in our country not only the British Banks like the Chartered, National, Mercantile, who entered the field first and who have to a large extent developed it, but also the representatives of the other important customers. There is the National City Bank for American interests, the Comptoir National for French and Italian interests, the Yokohama Specie Bank and two others for Japan and the two Dutch banks to look after the interests of Java as much as those of Germany. While generally ready to handle bills on any country in the world, these banks have specially valuable facilities in their own spheres and thus enjoy more or less monopoly in handling the trade of those areas. They do a good deal of propaganda work for their own nationals and are the missionaries for their country's products and manufactures as also agents for stimulating the

movements of our produce to their countries to the extent they want.

Without entering into the details of the mechanism of the handling of foreign trade, I may mention that exports from our country are paid for in the foreign country about three months after arrival of the goods there. In the interval, if the exporter here wants his money, he may sell his future right in other countries to the banks who are willing to buy it or he may obtain an advance from them against it. Similarly, imports into this country are generally paid for two months after arrival here and the "Exchange banks" sell to importers the amounts of the foreign currency mentioned in the "bill" covering the goods. The banks which finance these imports and exports in the interval before payment is made, recompense themselves by deducting interest from the amount payable. The main difference between our exporters and our importers is that while the exporters have almost always to allow the buyer to take delivery of the goods against acceptance of the "bill", our importers can only obtain control over the goods after making payment. The first class of bills known as D/A bills are in use between most countries, while, in the case of India, the second class of bills known as D/P bills are quite the rule. The explanation seems to be that the exchange banks have never thought of fighting for the interests of the Indian importers in the same manner as banks in other countries have done for their nationals.

In financing the import bills, the exchange banks make use of their Indian deposits which amount to about 70 crores. While it would appear that such an amount is really not necessary for this business, it would be hard to show cause why Indian depositors should not keep their money where they like, unless it can be proved that they are thereby doing a disservice to the country.

There has been a persistent complaint from Indian bankers and economists that Indian banks have had their growth hampered by the progress of the exchange banks. It may be conceded that the latter do not offer any better terms than Indian banks and, in fact, offer somewhat lower rates of interest. But the fact remains that money which might have been used by the Indian banks to make profits which would remain inside the country, is diverted to other hands which make larger profits and export them out of India. The total drain from India through the exchange banks would amount to nearly a crore of rupees. In addition we should take into account the profits of "allied" industries such as insurance companies, foreigners dealing in import and export trade and the brokers who mediate between the banks and the clients. The question may then be properly asked whether the depositors with the exchange banks are not doing something which is against the national interests.

While in most countries, the banks as a general rule would gladly discount the export bills or advance about 80 to 90 per cent. of the bills, such facilities are not common in India as far as Indian exporters are concerned. When the foreign importer has arranged for a special Credit or power to pay for the bills, our exporters can obtain payment but otherwise, the documents will only be taken for collection. In other words, they will have to wait not only till payment is made in the foreign country, but will have to wait till advice is received that it has been made. It could be explained that the exchange banks have to depend in such cases on the reliability of the Indian exporter and that these latter do not have proper accounts and do not conform to the principles adopted by the other exporters. But it would appear that no serious attempt has been made by the exchange banks to have such salutary change effected—an attempt which any Indian exchange bank would

certainly have made. It would also appear that the European officials of these banks mix more freely with their own men and have intimate knowledge of the moral responsibility of such people, while such intimate intercourse is almost non-existent in the case of Indian clients. In this regard, it is a misfortune that there is no Indian Bank that has made exchange banking a speciality to the extent necessary in the interests of Indian exporters and importers.

The result of such lack of facility is shown in the comparatively small volume of this business handled by Indians. Various authorities have tried to compute the share of Indians but no reliable statistics are so far available. But the lowest estimate, of a reliable Indian Chamber, puts it at 15 per cent. and the highest is about 50 per cent. though the latter estimate would be modified by two considerations. The first is that the Indians generally appear as importers though the commission and other profits are earned by the European agents who put through the transactions and arrange for the bills to be drawn on their clients. Secondly such an estimate would naturally be based on an idea of the number of Indians dealing in foreign trade, but the average European would do about ten times the business of the average Indian.

That the complaint about the lack of an Indian Exchange bank is not unjustified would be clear from the fact that no country with any appreciable amount of foreign trade has left it in the hands of foreign banks alone. Where a separate bank was not formed as in Japan by State assistance, the domestic banks have joined together and created such institutions as the Deutsche Asiatische Bank of Germany and the Asia Banking Corporation of New York, not to mention the banks like the Comptoir National of Paris and the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York which have grown with the business. The starting of the Yokohama Specie Bank is of particular interest

to us as it has stimulated an amazing growth in the Japanese participation in the foreign trade of that country. In 1880 the Japanese participation was 13·6 per cent. of exports and 2·6 per cent. of imports while in 1929 it was 70 per cent. and 90 per cent. respectively.

There is another important difference between the importers in other countries and in India. It is usually said that bills on India and bills from India are both drawn in sterling because London is the cheapest market for financing the bills as money is generally available there at lower rates than elsewhere. But, while our exporters have their bills financed on the basis of the London discount rate, which is about 2 per cent. at present, our importers have to pay interest at 6 per cent. whatever may be the rate in London. It would seem that this rate is somewhat related to the bank rate in India as sometimes Indian importers have to pay 7 and even 8 per cent. It is possible that, as the exchange banks use only Indian money for this purpose, they could be content with charging a lower rate, but when money in India is generally about 6 to 7 per cent. it would be unreasonable to demand that foreign trade alone should benefit. It should, however, be pointed out that, if our financial organisation had not been practically at the mercy of the exchange banks for the last forty years, we would have had by this time, a properly developed discount market which would have absorbed these bills at a much lower rate.

One cannot help feeling that the exchange banks have not adopted the proper attitude in the matter of the organisation of the Indian money Market. Even as early as 1900 when the consolidation of the Presidency Banks was mooted, their opposition shelved the proposal. Before the Chamberlain Commission also their attitude was the same. Before the Babington Committee, as Mr. Baster points out in his book "The Imperial Banks", they were more imperial than anyone

and Mr. Nicolls of the National Bank of India averred that the exchange banks would never look to a Reserve Bank in India as a resort for themselves. In fact, it was the proposal of the Lloyds Bank to purchase the National Bank of India that made the Presidency Banks amalgamate. The Lloyds Bank bought up Cox and Kings Agency after a period of five years.

Indian insurance business is in its infant stages, though it is far sturdier than such institutions elsewhere. Yet, instead of fostering them or at least adopting a neutral attitude towards them, the exchange banks are believed to have more or less discouraged them. If we remember that nearly 330 crores of products leave India every year and that the insurance premium is more than 40 lakhs and after allowing for all expenses there is a net saving of 30 lakhs per year. Indian Insurance Companies have been unable to have their policies accepted by the exchange banks as it is contended that the matter of insurance is one that should be left to the discretion of the parties to be protected. In no other country would such a system of foreign monopoly of the insurance business be tolerated. Indian Companies have been unable to have their grievance remedied through any agency, though they have made several appeals.

In passing, it may be worth while to point out the attitude of the exchange banks to Indian employees. In spite of about 70 years of life in India, they have not yet found one solitary Indian whom they could trust with any responsible work. No opportunities exist for Indians to learn anything about the operations of the exchange market and their position has been merely that of a worker in the Detroit Factory who is employed in turning out numberless screws of the specification known as screw No. 1,743. What it is for and what part it plays in the final assembling of the car he does not know. Instances would not be difficult to find of men who have started like

the famous John Smith of Stephen Leacock and ended like him passing through various grades of promotion ranging from Rs. 40 to Rs. 75 and then backward to Rs. 40 and a decent dismissal. On the other hand, it would be hard indeed to find one man whose career has been such as to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Indians entering the line. The result is that to-day it is possible to raise the plea that Indians cannot produce one man who could command confidence as an exchange operator from promoters of banks.

When, therefore, one hears of safeguards for European interests, one is inclined to insist that there shall be safeguards on behalf of India, that no bank shall be allowed to have an office in India unless it has a certain number of superior Indian officers. It may be objected that the shareholders of these banks should have full option to determine the personnel of their staff. This is a matter with which we have no concern. Our nationals have a right to participate in the foreign trade of the country and in the handling and financing of it. And, if the shareholders of these banks do not like the idea, it would appear that they do not know which side of the bread is buttered. If they do not like it, the way is very clear. They could leave India to her fate or leave the business to be handled by her own banks as best they could. I have pointed out that the exchange banks are here for serving the interests of their countries and, if incidentally, they have to abide by certain regulations here, they should do so.

In the same spirit, it is justifiable to call for another safeguard, that they shall not trespass on the field of domestic banking. One has only to look at the restrictions, moral and legal, which prevent the intrusion of foreign banks into the interior in such countries as the United States, Japan, Australia, and Canada. The Allahabad Bank is an example of what could happen to Indian banks if such penetration was not prohib-

ed. It was bought up by the P. and O. Banking Corporation, which in return has been bought by the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China (which as shown above cannot enter Australia)! The danger which other Indian banks run of passing off into foreign hands will also be seen from the acquisition of Grindlay and Co. by the National Provincial Bank. In fact, unless vigorous safeguards are insisted on, Indian Banking will lose its identity and become an affiliation to Lombard Street interests, a danger also indicated in the suggestion that the Reserve Bank of India should work under instructions from the Bank of England—a suggestion which has emanated from no less a body than the Government of India.

Some of the disabilities of Indian traders may be removed by an organisation on the lines of the Export Credits Scheme in operation in England. The Government there has constituted a Board which insures the banks against any loss consequent on their discounting bills on certain countries provided the exports are of British manufacture. In India, if a similar guarantee were forthcoming, the exchange banks would have no excuse for refusing to discount bills of Indian traders. Like the British Board, the Indian Board, which should be constituted in each Presidency town, should protect itself by taking a suitable deposit of cash or security. Thus while conducting the activities of the Board as a strictly business proposition, a good deal of strength can be given to Indian traders.

One more constructive suggestion would be the formation of a purely Indian bank to deal primarily in exchange operations and competing with inland and domestic banks only in the matter of attracting deposits. Such a bank should be financed by Government to some extent so as to make it popular and raise its prestige both with Indian depositors and with Indian clients. One of the difficulties of Indian banks has been the impossibility of selling the sterling which they buy from the exporters to genuine importers. They have had to sell to foreign banks and thus lose any profit they might otherwise have made. Government could help the new exchange bank with a decent share of its remittance business, provided, of course, it would sell at the same rate as the other banks.

MEMORIES OF MOTILAL

BY DR. ABDULLA SUHRAWARDY, M.L.A.

I readily respond to the request of my old friend, the Editor of the *Indian Review* to recount briefly my reminiscences of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru.

I welcome this opportunity of paying my respectful homage and humble tribute to the memory of the great man for whom I cherish the highest esteem and regard. Although some of my friends and relations were closely associated with Panditji, like many of my generation interested in law and politics, I had seen and admired him only from a distance. It was only about 10 or 11 years ago, as a junior Counsel to the late lamented Deshbandhu (Mr. C. R. Das) in the famous Dumraon-Raj case at Arrah, that I first came into personal contact with him. Mr. C. R. Das was the leading Counsel for the Maharaja of Dumraon, while Panditji with a band of legal luminaries from various parts of India appeared on the other side. A great controversy raged over the correct reading of a particular word in a Persian document. Eminent Persian scholars from all parts of India were examined as witnesses on behalf of both the parties and the realm of Persian Literature, Grammar and Philology were thoroughly explored and ransacked in search of authorities to support the contention of one side or the other. It was then that during the skilful cross-examination of eminent scholars by Panditji that his wealth of Persian learning revealed itself to me. Sometimes after Court hours Deshbandhu used to visit Panditji at his residence accompanied by some of us when the serious problems of contemporary politics used to be discussed, interspersed with the lighter topic of poetry and the sparkling native wit and humour of Panditji. Many of the beautiful Persian lines recited by him on these occasions still stick to my memory and I have the pleasantest recollections of these visits. Later when the Swarajya Party came into exist-

ence I met Panditji frequently in Calcutta during the life time of Deshbandhu. After the death of Deshbandhu when the question of selecting a candidate for the Presidentship of the Bengal Council had considerably exercised the political parties in Bengal and the claims of rival candidates were pressed by their friends and champions, Panditji undertook a journey to Calcutta to decide the question on the spot and his choice fell on me. I retain the warmest feelings of gratitude for his kindness in doing me this signal honour and considering me worthy of the office. Shortly after, unforeseen events resulting from my candidature for the chair compelled me to drift apart. I, however, always entertained for Panditji feelings of reverence and respect which he reciprocated by his uniform kindness and courtesy. I met him for the last time at the Railway Station at Howrah when he was returning home after a brief visit to Calcutta to settle the dispute and make peace between the champions of *Liberty and Advance*. It is a source of eternal regret to me that since then unavoidable circumstances prevented my having a glimpse of Panditji during his last visit to Calcutta.

When barely a month ago we mourned the untimely death of Moulana Mohamed Ali, little did I imagine that a few weeks later we shall have to lament the loss of yet another illustrious son of India who, like Mohamed Ali, may well be described as "a great Patriot, a great Indian, and a great prophet of humanity" who deliberately laid down his life in the service of his motherland.

Indeed I believe that the distinguished son of Mother India whose untimely death all Asia mourns to-day will go down to posterity as one of the greatest political world-figures of modern times, I need not dwell on the qualities of his head and heart. His intellectual supremacy acknowledged on all hands and his social gifts, charming personality, polished and winning

manners, sweet disposition and sparkling wit endeared him to all who knew him. Above all he was every inch a born gentleman.

As a leader of men he occupied a unique and unrivalled position. A Brahmin of Brahmins, he combined in his person the culture and refinement of Islam with that of Brahmanism and he alone amongst the political leaders of India, was able to win and retain the confidence and allegiance of Hindus and Muslims alike. At the height of his professional success he made the supreme sacrifice of his wealth and position, at the call of duty, and with his whole family, plunged headlong into the non-co-operation movement.

He abandoned a magnificent practice at the Bar and preferred the loneliness of the Prison-Cell to the allurements of his Palace of Pleasure and up to the last moment of his life "scorned delights and lived laborious days."

In a memorable speech in the Assembly he had referred to the foundation of the edifice of Swaraj over his bones. Replying to the attacks of the *New Statesman* which had written that with the withdrawal of the British, "the Nehrus will disappear in impotent obscurity", in an impassioned oration which will do him eternal honour he had said "As to myself and other members of my party sinking into obscurity—well that is a matter, that is a thing—which we shall never regret. In fact that is a fate which we covet. Our ambition, our highest ambition is and let me say it in all humility—our highest ambition is to be buried in the foundation of a free India, and then sink into obscurity to be thought of no more. Who can thwart that ambition, I ask? Can all the mechanised forces of the Empire thwart it? No, Sir, the ambition to work for the independence of one's country and to die for it can not be thwarted by any human agency. We shall work on the foundations. We shall continue to work on those foundations until we drop down dead, and be

buried in them. But I shall assure you that we shall drop down dead in the supreme satisfaction that the noble edifice of the freedom of India shall in the fulness of time rise on our bones." (Assembly Debates, Vol II pp. 1683 dated 17 March 1928.)

The voice of levity which attempted to interrupt him and substitute "ashes" for "bones" and 'burnt' for 'buried' was awed into silence and died unuttered, choked by the solemnity of his tone and the earnestness of his speech. Notwithstanding this noble utterance, embodying as it did the ideals of sacrifice and service of a great patriot, many of us had hoped to see Panditji return triumphant and victorious at the head of his legions and take his rightful place in the Assembly. But Alas! this dream passes into the land of unrealised hopes and unfulfilled desires. 'Ay basa arzoo ki Khuk Shuda' (Alas for many a hope that lies shattered, and the desires that have crumbled to dust.) Panditji is no more and his bones are cold ashes, but his words have proved almost prophetic in their fulfilment. Over his bones, slowly but surely the noble edifice—edifice of Swaraj is rising. The valiant warrior dies in the hour of victory. But before his eyes closed on the gloom and vanities of this world, his dying gaze caught the faint glimmerings of the dawn of victory for the great cause for which he fought and bled and laid down his life.

Let us hope that the mingled tears of Hindus and Muslims shed over the grave of Mohamed Ali and the ashes of Motilalji would help to wash away all traces of communal bitterness and herald a truce to all strife. Let us hope that the genuine sorrow and regret of friends and foes, of his followers and opponents, would build a bridge of Reconciliation leading to the Temple of Peace and Goodwill within which alone can be seen enthroned and enshrined the goddess of Swaraj whose vision had haunted the old warrior, and within the toils and tangles of whose lovely locks lie enmeshed and enchained the captive hearts of countless youths of Mother India.

Income-tax—Past and Present

BY

PROF. K. S. SRIKANTIAN, M.A., F.R., Econ. S. (Lond).

INCOME-TAX to-day has practically become the barometer of national prosperity. It is the easiest instrument in the hands of Finance Ministers for balancing budgets. Every year sees an increase in the rate of income-tax and the super tax and the danger to-day is that this excessive rate may 'dissuade the economic goose—the tax payer—from laying his golden eggs.' One need not, however, be surprised at this extraordinary popularity of the Income-tax. Productive to the state, simple and convenient to the taxpayer and equitable to society, the tax has got a right to its fame. "We are now so wedded to income conception," says Sir Josia Stamp,

that even those capital taxes we possess, such as, death duties and expenditure taxes, taxes on tea and sugar, we endeavour to express in terms of a tax upon income.

This extraordinary popularity of the income-tax in the twentieth century should not blind us to the fact that it has had a very chequered history behind. The popularity is only recent; a time there was when the Finance Ministers were as afraid of resorting to it as the modern Finance Ministers are of using capital levy or excess profits duty as a source of revenue. In 1830 the *Liverpool Journal* denounced it as

the very wickedest and the most vexatious of taxes which the ingenuity of man could devise. The tax was said to penalise business man for his virtues of which the chief was the accumulation of wealth.

As late as 1861, John Stuart Mill said

the theory of graduated income-tax is an entirely unjust mode of taxation and in fact a graduated robbery.

The history of income-tax carries us back to thousands of years. In crude forms income-tax appears to have existed in India (Kantilya's ARTHASASTRA), Egypt, Greece and Rome long ago. Nearly 2,000 years ago, China imposed a graduated income-tax varying from 1 to 10 per cent. on merchants and certain other industrial classes. Income continued to be the basis of taxation in

many of the States in medieval Europe. After the French Revolution, a system of business taxes was established which adjusted the tax according to the income of the tax-payer. The Prussian classified poll tax soon developed into a classified income-tax. Still later, we find many of the other American colonies resorting to crude taxes on types of income. We thus find the existence of some form of income-tax in almost all the cultured nations from very early times.

The late appearance of the modern type of income-tax in the financial history of Great Britain is due to the fact that so great an economist as Adam Smith—the very father of Political Economy, was against such a tax. He was practically a dictator in 'Economics' for a century. It was given to Pitt to experiment for the first time with the income-tax of the modern kind. But Pitt himself was a keen student of the WEALTH OF NATIONS and naturally was not in entire sympathy with an income-tax. But he had to meet the needs of the war. We can say that the modern income-tax begins with the British Triple Assessment of 1798. Pitt recommended that the assessed taxes be increased and graduated—dividing at the same time the tax-payers into three classes. The following year Pitt recommended a tax on all the leading branches of income. The tax was annually reimposed at a higher rate. The remarkable feature about the income-tax introduced by Pitt is the fact that he recognised the importance of abatements in respect of children and life assurance premiums. He granted exemptions also to small incomes. The tax was levied at the rate of 2s. in the pound and yielded an average of £6,000,000 in 1799, 1800 and 1801. But income-tax was resorted to by Pitt only as an emergency measure. As a permanent tax, he would not tolerate it. Accordingly in the year 1802, during the brief Peace of

Amiens it was abolished. Certain in yield and easy of collection the temptation to levy an income-tax again could not be resisted. It was, therefore reimposed by Addington in 1803. Now the rate was reduced to 1s. in the pound. But the yield was nearly as great, for Addington had the wisdom to get the tax deducted at the sources. This constancy of the amount, in spite of the reduction in the rate of the tax made it all the more popular. In 1806 the general rate was again raised to 2s. in the £. In the year 1815 the yield of the income-tax was £ 15,000,000. But the income-tax could not be continued long. It was always considered as an emergency measure and when the emergency was over there was a clamour for withdrawal. In the year 1816, the income-tax was abolished with the malt tax which was an agricultural offset to the incometax.

The abolition of incometax in 1816 was a misguided policy. Its abolition was certainly not necessary for the restoration of the Industries (Fay C.R.). As a result of the abolition the Government had to continue its borrowing policy and the revenue system was overloaded with other indirect taxes.

After 1816, we do not hear of the income-tax till 1842 when Sir Robert Peel became the First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Jenson in his PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC FINANCE thinks that the first income-tax of the present type must be said to have been levied by Sir Robert Peel in 1842. However it is only from 1842, income-tax is having a continuous history. 'Sir Robert Peel was determined not to cut the sorry figure of his predecessor' seated on an empty chest by the pool of the bottomless deficiency, fishing for a budget. He demanded immediately the reimposition of the income-tax and the Parliament granted it at the rate of 7d. per £ for 3 years. Here we notice again how the prejudice against income-tax died slowly. The income-tax now brought in about £5,000,000. In 1846, Sir Robert Peel got the tax a renewed lease

of life and thus was able to continue his downward revision of the tariff. In fact the development of Free Trade in the 19th century owes a great deal to the ingenious scheme of income-tax. As early as 1829, Parnell rightly observed that financial reformers of all creeds, in suggesting remedies have made income-tax part of them. In 1798 the Nation had swallowed Pitt's income-tax to beat France and in 1842 and 1845, the pill was again swallowed, because it was sugar coated as it were, by the remissions of other taxes.

After Sir Robert Peel, we come to William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) whose genius in finance is comparable only to Napoleon's genius in military operations. But Gladstone's place in the history of income-tax is rather strange. Eminent financier as he was, yet he was hostile to the income-tax. He wanted to use it only occasionally. It is known to all that between direct taxation and indirect taxation, Gladstone refused to make a choice. In the budget speech of 1861, he compared them to two attractive sisters whose favours he courted with equal regard. In spite of this statement, he had such a strong prejudice against income-tax that he made repeated efforts to abolish it.

In the year 1848, the income-tax was renewed for a term of three years. In 1851 and 1852 the tax was again renewed. In 1853 Gladstone secured its renewal for seven years on a plan which provided for its gradual reduction from 7d. to nil. But Gladstone did not foresee the Crimean War. As a consequence, at the end of the war, the rate stood at 9d. instead of being nil as he expected. But Gladstone was determined to abolish it. In his first premiership he made a second effort to abolish it. By 1874 it had been reduced to 3d. But he could not abolish it entirely. The tax was stronger than his determination. On the other hand, Gladstone improved the tax by giving abatements and exemptions for small incomes.

In 1853, Gladstone had promised extinction of the income-tax and he wanted to keep to his word. As C. R. Fay puts it, he was a Don Quixote in finance and religion. He saw with regret the gradual mounting of the national expenditure from £55,000,000 to £91,000,000 in 1893. The paradox about Gladstone's financial policy is the fact that he who wanted to abolish the tax entirely was the very person who improved and settled the tax securely on the 'Tax Payers' shoulders.

It was in 1862 that the United States of America adopted its first income-tax in the stress of the Civil War. But as in England before 1913, income-tax was adopted only as a temporary measure. France adopted her first modern income-tax law in 1914. Thus England was the first to appreciate the merits of the tax.

After Gladstone, the income-tax in England did not suffer from so many vicissitudes as before. It had practically come to stay and had become the most elastic source of revenue. To-day the rates are very high compared to the rates of the 19th century. Since 1886, 6d. in the £ has been the lowest rate, 8d. or 1s. being much more common until 1914. In 1903 the Boer War was responsible for an increase in the rate to 1s. 3d. in the £ and has not since been lower than 1s. In 1907 the principle of differentiation between earned and unearned income was introduced in England and in 1910 the principle of gradation by means of a surtax was introduced.

The Great War caused a tremendous increase in the rate of the income-tax. In Great Britain the rate was as high as 6s. in the £. In 1923-24 the major portion of revenue was raised from three groups of taxes—income-tax and supertax yielded £379 millions, customs and excise £275 and estate duties £57. Thus these three gave £711 millions out of a total of £752 millions.

Taxes always go up, but never down, says Hilare Belloc in a recent issue of the *Fort-*

nightly Review. He argues that as soon as the rate of taxation is increased, there is often a tendency for the total amount to fall down comparatively, because some people evade the tax by giving up certain slices of the income or the consumption of the commodities on which the taxes are levied. As a consequence the finance ministers may fail to get the expected return. The result is he will still further increase the rate to meet the deficit.

The recent budget of Mr. Philip Snowden is no exception to this. In his hands taxation is not the art of plucking the goose with little squealing. The financial year for England closed with a deficit of £14,523,000 instead of an estimated surplus of £40,960,000. The income-tax yield was £237,500,000, which was again £2,000,000 less than the estimate. To meet the deficit, among other proposals, Mr. Snowden has proposed an increase of 6d. in the £ in rate of income-tax. As a compensation for this increase, he has promised a revision of the existing gradation so as to protect the small incomes. Instead of following the previous course of giving relief of 2s. 3d. in the first £225 taxed, he gives a relief of 2s. 6d. on the first £250. He proposes an additional increment of surtax. The increase in the initial rate will be 9d. to 1s. in the £ and on incomes in excess of £50,000 from 6s. to 7s. 6d. This will yield £12,500,000 in a full year.

The budgets everywhere have become budgets of burdens and there is no knowing as to what will be the ultimate rate of taxation. The income-tax rate has increased from 3d. in the £ to nearly 50d. in the £ and the yield has arisen from £ 5 millions to £ 237 millions. It is hoped that in future, finance ministers, while enhancing the rate, will remember that it is mad to burn the house to roast a pig. Higher rates will only drive the capital out of the country and paralyse industry and commerce.

WITH the Indian problem looming so large and engrossing world attention, we are liable to overlook little Ceylon. Ceylon did not demand Dominion Status or Swaraj as a right. She only asked for responsible government as a boon, and the Earl of Donoughmore and his fellow-Commissioners—the late Sir Geoffrey Butler, Dr. Drummond Shiels and Sir Matthew Nathan—came to Colombo and travelled through the country, recorded copious evidence, had a good time and some months later produced a constitution the life of which had never seen the light of day. It is a strange fabric with its admixture of progressive provisions and careful hedging. It has brought adult suffrage for both sexes, for example, and done away with communal representation. But it gives at the same time great powers to officers of state—apart from that anachronism, the Governor's power of veto—and the Chief Ministers—the Lieutenant-Governor (not, of course, under that designation) and the Ministers of Justice and Finance, who will always be European officials—are in a position to overwhelm and even overawe the four other ministers. Each minister, moreover, is to work with a Committee, and Ceylon has had a bad experience of Committees. How the change from the leisurely meandering Select Committees to Committees that must function expeditiously will work remains to be seen. But that can be said of the entire constitution itself. It is quite candidly an experiment and experiments are interesting to everybody except to the creature on which they are practised.

AN UNPOPULAR CONSTITUTION

Good and bad were so mingled in the Reforms that they met with opposition in unexpected quarters and were warmly supported by others whom one would have thought they could only antagonise. If a plebiscite

on the basis of adult suffrage were taken to-day for and against the new constitution, however, there is little doubt that the "noes" would have it. How narrowly its acceptance was ratified by the Legislative Council—one vote in a poll of 35—is recent history. But now that the country must work the scheme willy nilly everyone is willing to give it a fair run for the considerable amount of money it is going to cost. That is really the prevailing temper in Politics in Ceylon to-day. Some are disappointed, others are optimistic and confident, still others are eagerly curious.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

The fact that most people are actively interested is an augury of a very lively General Election in the summer. The legislative Council continues to eke out its existence because there must be no hiatus. Nobody otherwise regards it seriously, but its members who are more concerned in re-wooing old constituencies or frantically making love to new ones continue to grace its board lest absence or loss of interest should weigh against them on the day of reckoning. It must be admitted also that the Council Chamber is a fine platform for electioneering purposes and since the Press, with a diligence worthy of a better cause, devotes its columns all but exclusively to reports of Council when it is in session, an opportunist utterance in the Chamber secures no-price publicity. These are among the humours of the fray.

IN THE PROVINCES

It is by about the middle of April, however, that enthusiasm will reach white heat in the provinces. Adult suffrage at one stroke from a 4 per cent electorate is a phenomenal development. The present Council was elected in 1924 on a roll of 204,997 voters. No fewer than

1,576,076 electors have registered for the first General Election to the State Council—an electorate seven times as large and representing not 4 per cent. but 25 per cent. of the population. Very nearly 600,000 of these voters will be women and in more than a few of the constituencies they will have a very great weight on the winning side. The first poll of such a bloated electorate must cause some anxiety. As anywhere else there are people who would sell their vote, as they would sell their souls. There is also the hooligan element in the towns eager to make capital of a novel situation. This class—consisting mainly of daily-paid labour in the mill and dockland areas—acknowledges no leader. It plays the fool of demagogues and transfers its affections for a song. In constituencies where such voters predominate law and order will be maintained only with the utmost rigour. In contrast the polling in planting districts, where tea and rubber-garden labour will probably go solid in each instance for a particular candidate the days of the General Election—it is likely to continue on three—will have an air of carnival. It is pleasant to have to record in this connection that the artificial agitation connected with the Indian franchise in Ceylon has died a natural death.

THE FUTURE

What the future will write in the new chapter opening in Ceylon it would be impossible to foretell. The case for responsible Government was urged without anticipation of the developments in India. And now when responsibility without power is being substituted for power without responsibility in this island, British statesmen of All-Parties are agreeing to give India the genuine article. The time may come for the Ceylonese politicians and the Ceylon Congress to upbraid themselves on the possession of narrow and short-sighted vision. But if there are to be no keenly demarcated Parties in the State Council there will be two distinct wings. There are labels flying about—Unionist,

Labour, Congress and even Capital, for that matter—but the voting will go largely on personalities. But in the State Council itself those who opposed the reforms and yet stood for election under them will endeavour—the honest and sincere among them—to remove the defects and make the constitution a success, or if its faults are irremediable show its impracticability and strive to end it. There are sincere and honest men in the other category too who believe in the new constitution, and they will do their best to justify their belief to the public. But honesty and sincerity are not virtues frequently met with in politics. Under the circumstances some constituencies will have the misfortune to be represented by carpet baggers and self-seeking opportunists. It will be interesting to see how these groups function through the cumbersome mechanism of a committee to transact public business. Watch Ceylon!

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MADRAS.



The Meaning of the Koran

BY

MR. YAKUB HASAN

BEING myself engaged in compiling the verses of the Koran under different subject heads, I have had occasions of making a minute study of the various translations of the holy book both in English and Urdu, I am therefore by my own experience and personal observations prompted to agree with Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall in his simple and unequivocal assertion that "the Koran cannot be translated." At any rate there can be no translation of the Koran in any language that can pass as the Koran of that language and that can be accepted as the exact replica of the original archetype in Arabic in the same sense as the versions of the Pentateuch and the Gospels in different languages occupy the same position in the literature of those languages as the original Hebrew and the Judæo Greek versions. There is no reason why it should not be so, for the language of the present Hebrew Pentateuch itself is not what Moses spoke, nor was any of the current Gospels either compiled by Christ himself or in the language which Christ spoke and preached in. There can, therefore, be hardly any distinction between the so-called original text and its translation as far as the Bible is concerned. Besides, the Gospels are nothing but records by uninspired men of the life and teachings of the Great Prophet Christ, and the five Books of Moses are simple narration of historical facts and description of rituals said to have been written by Moses in the last days of his life, but as a matter of fact these books were re-compiled by a number of writers in different times. They are not revealed books in the same sense as the Koran is, for the Koran contains nothing but the verses that were revealed to Prophet Mohammed directly from God, and which were reduced to writing by one of the literate companions as soon as the peculiar

trance in which they were revealed was over. The verses were moreover committed to memory by many people and recited in prayers. The Prophet himself arranged the verses in 114 chapters and the chapters were subsequently embodied in a book by a committee under the authority of the third Khalifa Usman.

Arabs were proud of the classicality of their language so much so that they claimed to be the only articulating people, and they dubbed all non-Arabs as *ajmee* or dumb. Among the tribes that branch of the Kureish to which Prophet Mohammed belonged was specially distinguished for the purity and elegance of the language they spoke. The Arabic, therefore, of the Koran is of very high order.

It was said of the Judæo-Greek, the original dialect of the New Testament, that it was "Hebrew thought in Greek clothing," and the Gospels had to be interpreted by the translators in the light of the language of the Old Testament, the connecting link being found in the Septuagint, i.e. the Greek version executed for the Jews of Alexandria by seventy translators employed by the King of Egypt. On the same analogy the dialect of the Koran can be appropriately described as "the Arabic thought in Arabic clothing of the Seventh Century A. C." and not only the translators but also the people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue have to interpret the Koran according to how they understand it in the light of the advance in knowledge and intelligence that the people have made generation after generation.

The Koran is a very simple book which even the most ignorant Arabs, who were the immediate addressees of the Prophet could understand and be profoundly impressed with. Several words,

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however, have more than one meaning and the different interpretations put on a word have sometimes created different articles of faith and in some cases even different schools of religion also. For example the word *ayaet* means a sign, a verse of scripture and a miracle. The verse of the Koran that prophets were given *ayaat* would be taken by me to mean that God gave Scriptures to the prophets, but almost all the commentators have made it an article of faith that the performance of miracles is the necessary attribute of a prophet.

The word *sama* means heaven as well as cloud and translators have been taken to task for interpreting the Koran in the light of modern science rather than according to the preconceived notions of the "learned" men who believe in the solid crystal canopy of heaven resting on the flat disc of the earth.

A translation or commentary of the Koran can, therefore, be regarded as only a presentation of the book in accordance with the faith of the writer and, therefore, strictly speaking, no compilation can be uniformly acceptable to all sections of Mussalmans as the "authorized" version of the Bible is generally to Christians of all denominations. The points which form the subject of controversy are, however, very few in the Koran and if these are satisfactorily explained and the various interpretations that have been put on the verses or words in question are pointed out in the footnotes, a translation made by a fair-minded Mussalman of sound learning is sure to command the confidence of the bulk of the educated Mussalmans.

There are several translations of the Koran in the English language, but the writer of none of them possessed all the qualifications that were necessary in a writer of a perfect translation. If a translator was a good English scholar his knowledge of Arabic was of indifferent kind; while one who had the mastery over the latter did

not possess that insight into the religion of Islam that is necessary for the correct understanding of its Scripture. All of them without exception far from believing in the truth of the book, were, if not its adverse critics, by no means its great admirers. On the other hand the Muslim translators have rendered the translation in a language which is not at all worthy of the Holy Scripture. It is a great misfortune for Islam that the translation undertaken in his old age by the late Moulvi Mohamed Husain Bilgrami, Nawab Imadul Mulk—the man of great erudition who was as much at home in the English literature as he was well versed in Arabic—was not destined to be completed by him before his death.

Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall is the first English Muslim, a man of letters, who has learnt Arabic and acquired first-hand acquaintance with the religion of Islam as a Mussalman, and whose long residence among Muslim peoples has given him rare insight into the Oriental mind. "The meaning of the glorious Koran—an Explanatory Translation"* is the happy result of his great scholarship, vast knowledge and sincere faith. The language of the book has all the sublimity of the Biblical English and the translation is as literal, idiomatic and faithful as could be possible in the complex nature of the task.

It is evident that Mr. Pickthall has taken great pains in the execution of his work, and he also had recourse to the greatest living authority on the subject in Egypt whenever difficulties were encountered by him. I have scrutinized some of the chapters word by word and I found very few renderings to which I could demur. This is the only English translation of the Koran that I found real pleasure in reading, no passage in which ever caused me resentment or disgust as has frequently been the case in reading other translations.

* THE MEANING OF THE GLORIOUS KORAN—An Explanatory Translation—by Marmaduke Pickthall. 693pp. 18s. Alfred A. Knopf, London. G. A. Natesan & Co., Rs. 13-8.

The Highest Mountain in the World

BY

MR. SATYA BHUSAN SEN

REUTER has announced that Dr. Joseph Rock, Director of the National Geographical Society of America has discovered a mountain peak in the Himalaya Ranges which is higher than Mt. Everest. So long Mt. Everest had been enjoying the enviable reputation of being the highest mountain in the world. So the announcement by Reuter must have proved a startle to many. In this connection it will perhaps prove interesting to put up a little previous record on the subject. Though it was not generally known to the public yet there were indications pointing to the fact that among the Himalayas within the boundary of Tibet there are one or two mountain peaks which are higher than Everest.

Dr. Graham was a Himalayan explorer of some repute. In 1883 he ascended to the top of one of the peaks of the Kanchenjunga group; and from this peak on the midday of October 8, 1883 Graham was pointing to his friend and companion Boss—Everest, the highest mountain in the world, standing towards the north-west within 70 miles. To Boss this was the first sight of Everest; he observed that this could never be for those two peaks yonder are higher still—pointing to mountain peaks standing over the remoter ranges of mountains to the North of Everest. Graham was naturally surprised at this but on observation all agreed that these two peaks really looked higher than Everest. Of course they depended on eye estimation alone but eye estimation was not likely to be misleading here, for from such a height all peaks are likely to be seen in their correct proportions. It is in Graham's account that from their point of observation all mountain peaks of known heights appeared in their correct proportions in spite of closest scrutiny—not even one showed any aberration. But they

could not get any clue as to the identity of these two peaks hitherto unknown; of these two peaks one showed a composition of rock, the other was a snow peak.

Major Waddel was a Professor in the Calcutta Medical College. He used to employ his leisure time in excursions in the Himalayas. Once when he reached Faloot, a place on the range of the mountains facing the city of Darjeeling, a Tibetan pointed out to him the peak of Everest. This man was a native of Khumbu in the north-east of Nepal lying to the South of Everest; so some reliance may be placed on him as a local man. This man introduced the Everest group by the name of Lap-chi-kang and called the main peak by the name of Jomo-kang-kar. He further expressed that this group before them was in fact the Lower Lap-chi-kang and the one that he named upper Lap-chi-Kang was just to the north of Everest—in Tibet. So this latter was of course higher than Everest but a sight of it is not available from Khumbu or any place in Nepal.

This man's statement has some confirmation in collateral evidence also. Waddel has stated in his book that he had seen mentioned in Tibetan books that Upper Lap-chi-kang is a very high mountain and that Lower Lap-chi-kang is situated in the Nepal Frontier. There are some topographical accounts of these places in the Tibetan language which were partly translated by the famous Bengali explorer the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das; therein Jomo-kang-kar (which is the Tibetan name for Everest) is found to have the second place in the list of the highest mountain peaks.

So that the existence of mountain peaks higher than Everest is known among the inhabitants near about Everest and is also mentioned in the

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Tibetan literature. It is not known with certainty whether or not the Tibetans have ascertained the heights of these mountain peaks by eye estimation alone. Among the European explorers it is in the account of Graham alone that a direct evidence of it and a positive sight of the peaks is found and mentioned. Tibet is to all intents and purposes a forbidden tract, even Nepal is not perhaps wholly accessible to foreigners; so mountains higher and remoter than Everest are out of question, even Mount Everest has been approached by only a limited number of Europeans. Lately there has been some attempts to climb to the top of Mount Everest and perhaps some day in the near future the topmost pinnacle of it will be trodden by man; but in their account no mention is found of any mountain higher than Everest.

With a view to get further information on the point I made a reference to Dr. Sven Hedin of Sweden; he informed me in reply that there are certainly no mountains higher than Everest. Dr. Hedin is of course a famous explorer and the explorations he made on the Himalayas are also extensive; but yet Dr. Hedin is only an individual. To get a still further and an authoritative information about it I made a reference to the Royal Geographical Society of London and the Geographical Society of America. From America they gave me the reply that to know anything with authority one must refer to the Royal Geographical Society of London who have made a special study of the Himalaya mountains. In reply to my reference to the Royal Geographical Society of London they gave me definitely to know that they have no reason at all to believe that there is any mountain in the world higher than Mount Everest. But it will be seen that even this authoritative declaration of the Royal Geographical Society of London does not repudiate the indications in the account of Graham or the evidences in the topographical accounts of the Tibetans. In fact in a further communication to

me the Royal Geographical Society expressed that it is useless to maintain that an impression of Graham's can be of any value in comparison with the definite results of survey north of Mount Everest and that it is quite certain that there is no such mountain anywhere in the neighbourhood.

Now over this doubt and dispute and the vagueness and remote possibilities comes the announcement by Reuter which illumines the whole field as it were. The matter is not only startling in itself but proves all the more interesting when we bear in mind that the discovery has been made by one of them who in all humility acknowledged the Royal Geographical Society of London as the Referee; while the Royal Geographical Society considered it useless to maintain that such a discovery could even be possible. It now remains for Dr. Joseph Rock and also possibly the National Geographical Society of America to enlighten the public with details of Dr. Rock's achievements in this great discovery.



HEAD OFFICE :—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

E. Sept. '31.

The Budget for 1931-1932

IN the Assembly, on Saturday the 28th February, Sir George Schuster, introduced the



THE HON. SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER

general budget for 1931-32. At about the same time, the Hon. Sir Arthur McWaters expounded the budget in the Council of State :

	BUDGET AT A GLANCE		
	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.
	Actuals.	Revised Estimates.	Budget Estimates.
	in lakhs.	in lakhs.	in lakhs.
Revenue	1,32,68.55	1,23,43.61	1,35,87.64
Expenditure	1,32,41.71	1,36,12.03	1,35,56.58
Surplus or Deficit	+ 26.84	- 12,68.42	+ 31.06

The net effect of the changes in taxation announced is an addition to the revenue of Rs. 88 lakhs in the revised estimate for 1930-31 and of Rs. 14,82 lakhs in the Budget estimate for 1931-32. But for these, the estimates would have shown deficits of Rs. 13,56 lakhs and Rs. 14,51 lakhs respectively, instead of the deficit of Rs. 12,68.42 lakhs and surplus of Rs. 31.06 lakhs now shown.

THE NEW TAXATION

The plan for new taxation is all confined under the heads Customs and Taxes on Income and comprises the following :—

Silver.—Import duty is to be increased from 4 annas to 6 annas per ounce. Additional yield expected is Rs. 75 lakhs. Export duty to be likewise increased. Expected yield—Rs. 7 lakhs.

Sugar.—Increase in duty of Rs. 1-4-0 per cwt. Expected yield—Rs. 1.16 lakhs.

Liquor.—Duty on beer to be increased by about 66 per cent and that on wines and spirits by between 30 and 40 per cent. Expected yield Rs. 61 lakhs.

Spices.—Duty enhanced from 15 per cent. *ad valorem* to 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. Expected yield—Rs. 8 lakhs.

Cinematograph Films (exposed).—From 15 per cent. *ad valorem* to 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. Expected yield—Rs. 3 lakhs.

Betelnuts.—From 15 per cent. *ad valorem* to 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. Expected yield—Rs. 23 lakhs.

Kerosene.—Increase in import duty from 2 annas 3 pies per gallon to 3 annas per gallon. Expected yield—Rs. 43 lakhs.

Increase in excise duty from 2 annas 3 pies per gallon to 3 annas. Expected yield—Rs. 52 lakhs.

Motor Spirit.—Import duty increased from 6 annas per gallon to 8 annas per gallon. Expected yield—Rs. 7 lakhs. Excise duty increased by 2 annas likewise. Expected yield—Rs. 83 lakhs.

Cigarettes.—Increase in duty of Rs. 1-8-0 per thousand. This, together with the enhanced duties on cigars etc., is expected to bring in Rs. 15 lakhs extra.

Motor Cars.—From 20 per cent *ad valorem* to 30 per cent *ad valorem*. Expected yield—Rs. 30 lakhs.

COTTON PIECE GOODS

Whereas the present duty is 15 per cent. and 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, with minimum of 3½ annas per lb. in certain cases, the figures for the rates of the *ad valorem* duties will hereafter be deemed to be increased by 5 in each case. Expected yield is Rs. 90 lakhs.

ANTICIPATED RESULTS FROM NEW TAXATION
Additional taxes are expected to yield results as follows :

	Lakhs.
Ale, spirits and wines	61
Sugar Duty	116
Silver bullion import duty	75
Bullion excise	7
Spices, cinematograph films and betel nuts	34
Cigars, cigarettes and tobacco	15
Kerosene import duty	43
Kerosene excise	52
Motor cars	30
2½ per cent. surcharge on 10 per cent. duties	12
5 per cent. surcharge on 15 per cent. duties	263
5 per cent. surcharge on 30 per cent. duties	30
Galvanised sheets additional protective duty	50
Miscellaneous increases	10

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THE BUDGET FOR 1931-1932

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INCOME-TAX

The taxable minimum income for income-tax—Rs. 2,000—will not be lowered. The rate of tax on the lowest zone, up to Rs. 4,999 will be raised by 4 pies. The rates on higher grades up to Rs. 39,999 will be raised in some cases by 5 pies, in some cases by 6 pies, and in the highest of the grades by 7 pies. At present the highest rate is reached at Rs. 40,000. It is now 19 pies. A rate of 25 pies is now to be levied on incomes from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 99,999 and a maximum rate of 26 pies on incomes of Rs. 1 lakh and over. Net estimated yield is Rs. 454 lakhs.

The following table explains the existing rate and the increased rates of Income-Tax :

PRESENT.		PROPOSED.		
Income.	Rate per rupee.	Tax.	Rate per rupee.	Tax.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Rs.	Pies.	Rs. a.	Pies.	Rs. a.
2,000	5	52 1	9	93 12
5,000	6	156 4	11	286 7
10,000	9	468 12	14	729 3
15,000	10	781 4	16	1,250 0
20,000	13	1,354 3	19	1,979 3
30,000	16	2,500 0	23	3,593 12

In regard to the income-tax proposals, which will yield 5 crores, a man with an income of Rs. 15,000 will pay Rs. 468 more tax per annum, a Secretary to Government on Rs. 4,000 a month will pay Rs. 2,500 more a year, and a member of the Executive Council about Rs. 4,000 more a year.

SUPER-TAX

Super-tax now begins over Rs. 50,000 but will hereafter begin over Rs. 30,000.

PRESENT.		PROPOSED.		
Income.	Rate per rupee.	Tax.	Rate per rupee.	Tax.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Rs.	Pies.	Rs. a.	Pies.	Rs. a.
35,000	16	2,916 11	23	4,427 1
40,000	19	3,958 5	25	5,677 1
50,000	19	4,947 15	25	7,447 14
1,00,000	19	13,281 5	26	18,385 6
2,50,000	19	23,177 3	26	30,625 2

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
2,00,000	19	34,635 8	26	44,426 15
1,50,000	19	47,656 6	26	59,791 7
3,00,000	19	62,239 13	26	76,718 9
3,50,000	19	78,385 11	26	95,203 4
4,00,000	19	96,094 0	26	1,15,260 1
4,50,000	19	1,15,364 14	26	1,36,874 10
5,00,000	19	1,36,198 5	26	1,60,051 10
5,50,000	19	1,58,594 4	26	1,84,791 1
6,00,000	19	1,82,552 5	26	2,11,092 14

Higher rates in Super-tax are expected to yield Rs. 46 lakhs.

THE INCOME-TAX PROPOSALS

In regard to the income-tax proposals the Finance Member made it clear that the Government regarded these as measures designed to meet the present emergency but not necessarily permanently required, though certain features such as adjustments in the grading of income-tax and reduction of the super-tax level might be permanently retained. The proposals represented a sacrifice to be imposed in order to meet the present emergency on all the monied classes of the country, and falling especially with unerring aim and full weight on the whole class of Government officials. Before giving effect to his proposals of last year to set off against business the profits and losses incurred in preceding years, the revenue position must show signs of improvement and the Government must be assured that public opinion, after fully appreciating all the implications, was definitely in favour of such action. The Government, however, intended to introduce legislation this session for the taxation of income on foreign investments on the lines of the law now prevailing in the United Kingdom. It would produce some additional revenue which had not been taken into account in the estimate, but the primary purpose was to remove the incentive towards the export of capital which was extremely detrimental to Indian interests.

ECONOMIES

Towards the conclusion of his speech the Finance Member foreshadowed the appointment of (1) a Retrenchment Committee for the Central

Government (2) a Special Committee for Posts and Telegraphs (3) Investigation of Expenditure on the Railways and (4) a Committee to study the possibilities of a tobacco monopoly.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE

Turning to military expenditure the Finance Member mentioned a cut of Rs. 175 lakhs, made up of Rs. 170 lakhs in the stabilized budget and Rs. 5 lakhs in the Territorial Force grant. He said :—

"Here obviously no substantial economies would be possible without changes in the composition and strength of the forces in India, which would raise issues, military and constitutional, of vital importance. A study of this subject cannot be undertaken independently of the constitutional issue. It is a subject which has already received special consideration at the Round-Table Conference."

CURRENCY POLICY

In the course of a brief summary of the Government's currency policy, Sir George emphasized that: "The contraction effected by the Government has been an essential sequel to the fall in world price and has not been carried to an excessive extent."

Turning to the ratio Sir George declared: "There is no question now of choosing between 1s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. It is a choice between a stable currency and complete instability. If once the country, having adopted stability and accepted statutory obligation, repudiates that obligation in order to meet difficulties of the moment, what confidence can any one have in the future that such a step will not be taken again? You could not thereafter maintain stability."

"MADNESS TO CHANGE"

"Do the Indian public really want a completely unstable currency? I am certain they do not. I am certain that, if that choice was made clear to them, they would reject it, and I am certain that

they would be right in doing so. In any case, it would be madness to risk a change amidst all the present uncertainties, when the old foundations on which the present India has been built up are to be withdrawn, and when the economic crisis is unsettling the whole world. It would be nothing less than the breaking away of the ship from its anchorage and letting it drift all unprepared into the storm."

CONCLUSION

In conclusion the Finance Member stressed the necessity for co-operation. "We are," he said, "in a sense in the position of managers of a business for which a change of management is under discussion. We must co-operate during the period of preparation. I have tried in these proposals to measure the needs fairly and to meet them fully, guided above all things by the purpose of handing over a sound business to my successor".

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E. April '31.

Import of Artificial Silk

BY MR. M. P. GANDHI, M.A.,

Secretary, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

THE question of the desirability or otherwise of imposing a ban on the imports of artificial silk yarn from foreign countries has been engaging the attention of the public for sometime past.

I propose to set out in brief in the course of this article the reasons against the imports of such yarn and piecegoods in India. A glance at the statistics of the imports of artificial silk yarn during the last three years reveals the fact that about 75 lakhs lbs. of artificial silk yarn were imported into India annually during all these years. The value, however, of the imports has been decreasing steadily. This shows that the price of artificial silk yarn has been falling. During the year 1927-28 the value of the imports amounted to 149 lakhs of rupees and during the year 1928-29 to 135 lakhs of rupees and during the year 1929-30, to 99 lakhs of rupees.

The imports of piecegoods of cotton and artificial silk during the year 1929-30 amounted to 56 million yards valued at 315 lakhs of rupees as compared with 49 million yards valued at 330 lakhs of rupees in 1928-29. This also shows that the value of these goods has been falling. It would be of interest to observe that amongst the suppliers of piecegoods or artificial silk and of cotton the country supplying the largest quantity was Japan. Imports from Japan during the year 1929-30 amounted to the enormous figure of 25 million yards or nearly 44 per cent. of the total imports, valued at 140 lakhs of rupees as compared with 3 million yards only valued at 30 lakhs of rupees in the year 1928-29. Within the course of a year Japan increased her exports to India of these goods by 800 per cent.

USE OF ARTIFICIAL SILK YARN IN INDIA

We may now consider how these imports of artificial silk yarn are used in India. From the

records compiled by several importing firms like Courtaulds, based on information received by them from the handloom weaving centres of India, it is estimated that the consumption of artificial silk yarn by the handlooms is varying from 60 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the total imports. An official in close touch with the Cotton Mill Industry of Bombay is of the belief that 60 per cent. of the quantity of artificial silk and mercerized cotton yarn imported in Bombay and 80 per cent. of the quantity imported in India is used by the Handloom Weaving Industry. The Collector of Customs, Bombay, puts the figure of the consumption of these yarns by the handlooms as high as 95 per cent. While there may not be any agreement in regard to the exact percentage, it is certain that a very large proportion of the imported mercerized and artificial silk yarn is used by the handlooms in the production of finer fabrics. Artificial silk yarn has come into general use due largely to the fact that it is possible to impart attractiveness and gloss to the cloth by the use of such yarn, and to the fact that the cloth turned out looks just like silk. The mills also have been using the yarns for turning out cloth which would stand in competition with similar cloth imported from Japan, Italy and other countries.

We may now consider here whether there is any necessity of the imports of artificial silk yarn inside the country. That the tendency to use artificial silk yarn is increasing admits of no doubt. No one will maintain, however, that the use of such artificial silk yarn is necessary in India from the point of view of the climate, etc. It is also certain that if the use of imported artificial silk yarn and of imported piecegoods of cotton and artificial silk is allowed to grow unchecked, it would offer in course of time a fresh obstacle in making India self-sufficient in regard

to the requirements of cloth from within the country. The question of the possibility of producing artificial silk yarn in India had been examined once or twice during the last decade and it was found that it was not possible, at least in the near future, for India, to produce artificial silk yarn. That being so and there being no artificial silk yarn industry to protect within the country, several persons do not agree with the Indian National Congress that a ban should be placed on the imports of such yarn. The argument is also advanced that it will be doing a great disservice to the handloom weavers in India if the import of artificial silk yarn is stopped as it will lead to a dislocation of several of the weavers, who are accustomed to use such yarn in the cloth produced by them. This argument cannot carry much weight, especially in view of the fact that the people in the country have pledged themselves to the use of *Swadeshi* articles and they will not therefore purchase cloth which is made from this artificial silk yarn which is imported from foreign countries. They are pledged to the use of *Swadeshi* cloth, that is, cloth made inside the country from yarn produced inside the country. Unless, therefore, the cloth made from imported artificial silk yarn is to be exported out of India, the use of such yarn will have to be stopped absolutely in the near future both by the handlooms and by the Indian mills. Several mills in India have not yet accepted the condition of the Congress in regard to the abstention of the use of artificial silk yarn in their products and are therefore on the boycott list of the Congress. These mills do not see any objection to the use of artificial silk yarn in India, on the ground mentioned above, namely, that the use of such yarn does not hinder the progress of a similar industry in India. Those who advocate this argument have evidently not considered the question of the Sericulture Industry of India. If the artificial silk yarn, or piecegoods of artificial

silk or of cotton mixed up with artificial silk, are allowed to be imported and no ban placed upon them by the country, there is no doubt that such imports will mount up considerably in quantity, and in the event of this happening there is no doubt that the Indian Sericulture Industry will be hard hit. The cheapness of the imported artificial silk yarn has already affected the Sericulture Industry of India and there is the danger of Indian Sericulture Industry going almost out of existence if the imports of artificial silk yarn are permitted to be imported by the Congress. I am sure that several responsible persons who do not see any objection in importing artificial silk yarn in India for the production of beautiful cloth, will be converted to the view of the Indian National Congress if they were appointed as the members of a Tariff Board entrusted with the enquiry of considering whether the Sericulture Industry of India wanted protection. Looking at the problem aesthetically, it can be argued that the imports of artificial silk yarn which is capable of producing more beautiful cloth, should not be banned. Considering from the point of view of protection to the Indian Sericulture Industry, there is no doubt that the import of artificial silk yarn and of piecegoods should be discouraged. Further it is but certain that the imports of artificial silk yarn and of piecegoods will greatly increase in quantity, and substitute the present imports of cotton yarn and piecegoods. Unless therefore, the country is prepared to entertain, in course of time, the menace of the imported artificial silk yarn and piecegoods in place of the present menace of the cotton yarn and cotton piecegoods, it ought to beware and endorse the action of the Indian National Congress in putting a ban on such imports. I would suggest that in addition to the voluntary resolve of the people not to use cloth made in India from foreign artificial silk yarn and foreign artificial silk piecegoods, the Government should levy a high tariff duty on both

of these in order to discourage their importation. The persons interested in the Indian Cotton Industry have already approached the Government with the suggestion that the duty on imported artificial silk piecegoods should be increased from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. or a little more, but that is on another ground. Their contention is that the difference at present between the duty on artificial silk yarn which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the duty on artificial silk piecegoods which is 15 per cent. does not give sufficient protection to the Indian Industry. For the reasons urged above, I would advocate that the duty on both the artificial silk yarn as well as piecegoods, should be increased to a figure which would discourage their importation into India, thus saving the Sericulture Industry in India from extinction and averting the menace to the artificial silk yarn and piecegoods

in place of the present cotton yarn and cotton piecegoods which the country is trying to eliminate as quickly as possible.

I had the advantage of consulting Mahatma Gandhi on this point only recently and Mahatmaji expressed the opinion that "Imports of artificial yarn and piecegoods deserve to be banned." I cherish the hope that in view of the several cogent reasons mentioned here, the people will give up the use of cloth made out of artificial silk yarn either on the handlooms or in our mills and of imported piecegoods of artificial silk or of cotton mixed with it. I also trust that the few mills which have not accepted the condition of the Congress in regard to the abstention of the use of artificial silk yarn in their products, will now comply with it, and thus be classed as *Swadeshi* mills.

What is Education?

BY MR. THOMAS JESSE JONES,

Educational Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York.

CONSCIOUSNESS of community is the key to the synthesis of knowledge for educational purposes; and it is the key to the fundamental elements of civilization. Teacher and taught must be aware of the essentials of community life, if they are to be effective in service to individual and society. Such a consciousness of community on the part of educators seems destined to be of extraordinary value in the elimination of the present widespread confusion with regard to the methods, organization and objectives of education. The futility of the method of accretion—the adding on of subjects, departments and specialists—will be

replaced by the synthesis of knowledge and training into activities humanized on the basis of community life. The artificialities and uniformities of mass education and factory processes of schools and colleges will be differentiated and adapted not only to the capacities of pupils but also to their health, their economic possibilities, their neighbourly relations, their home life and heritage and to their needs for re-creation—physical, mental and spiritual. "What is Education?" will thus be answered so that school organizations from the kindergarten to the university may adapt their services to the old and to the new needs of modern civilization.

Irwin-Gandhi Agreement

[The Irwin-Gandhi Agreement signed at the Viceroy's House on March 5, marks the termination of twelve months' protracted struggle, entailing great sufferings to the people and is hailed with relief all over the country and abroad. It is the result of a fortnight's heart to heart talk between Mahatma Gandhi and H. E. Lord Irwin. The immediate fruit of the settlement is the calling off of civil disobedience on the one hand and the stoppage of repression and the release of prisoners on the other. Universal rejoicing is expressed at the satisfactory settlement. The truce is in fact a victory for both sides: and we find in its terms ample expression of the spirit of give and take and an attitude of conciliation and compromise. The will to succeed was there on either side and the two distinguished participants showed a tact and courtesy and mutual goodwill that made the settlement possible. Mr. Gandhi himself paid a well deserved tribute to the Viceroy when he said that "this settlement, such as it is, would have been impossible without the Viceroy's inexhaustible patience and equally inexhaustible industry and unfailing courtesy. I am aware that I must have, though quite unconsciously, given him cause for irritation. I must have also tried his patience, but I cannot recall any occasion when he allowed himself to be betrayed into irritation or impatience. I must add that he was frank throughout these very delicate negotiations, and I believe he was determined on it, if it was at all possible, to have a settlement." As for himself "I have pledged my word to Lord Irwin that in making good the terms of settlement, in so far as they bind Congress, I shall devote myself heart and soul to the task. I ask for a settlement not in order to break it to pieces at the very first opportunity, but in order to strain every nerve to make absolutely final what to-day is provisional, and to make it a precursor of the goal to attain which Congress exists." The provisions of the truce are set forth in the following terms and the agreement marks the triumph of mutual understanding and statesmanship. Explaining the purport of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement to a group of journalists, Gandhiji said:—"It is open to both parties to work along their own lines. The Congress seeks to make federation, responsibility, safeguards and reservations such as would promote the real growth of the country along political, social, economic and moral lines. If the Congress succeeds in making this position acceptable to the Conference, then I claim that the fruit of that effort will be complete independence. The Congress can either use a new opportunity to make the scheme worth looking at or by lack of self-confidence and want of courage fritter away the opportunity. But I know that Congressmen will require the aid of other parties, the great Princes and Englishmen. The Congress has now launched on a period of co-operation."]

CONSEQUENT on the conversations that have taken place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, it has been arranged that the civil disobedience movement be discontinued and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, certain action be taken by the Government of India and Local Governments.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

(2) As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, Federation is an essential part; so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for

such matters as, for instance, Defence; External Affairs; the position of minorities; the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations.

(3) In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in his Announcement of the 19th of January 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the further discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional reform.

(4) The Settlement relates to activities directly connected with the civil disobedience movement.

CALLING OFF OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(5) Civil disobedience will be effectively discontinued and reciprocal action will be taken by the Government. The effective discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement means the effective discontinuance of all activities in

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IRWIN-GANDHI AGREEMENT

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furtherance thereof, by whatever methods pursued and in particular, the following:—

(1) The organised defiance of the provisions of any law.

(2) The movement for the non-payment of land revenue and other legal dues.

(3) The publication of news-sheets in support of the civil disobedience movement.

(4) Attempts to influence civil and military servants or village officials against Government or to persuade them to resign their posts.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

(6) As regards the boycott of foreign goods, there are two issues involved, firstly, the character of the boycott and secondly, the methods employed in giving effect to it. The position of Government is as follows. They approve of the encouragement of Indian industries as part of the economic and industrial movement designed to improve the material condition of India, and they have no desire to discourage methods of propaganda, persuasion or advertisement pursued with this object in view, which do not interfere with the freedom of action of individuals, or are not prejudicial to the maintenance of Law and Order. But the boycott of Non-Indian goods (except of cloth which has been applied to all foreign cloth) has been directed during the civil disobedience movement chiefly, if not exclusively, against British goods, and in regard to these it has been admittedly employed in order to exert pressure for political ends.

It is accepted that a boycott of this character, and organised for this purpose, will not be consistent with the participation of representatives of the Congress in a frank and friendly discussion of constitutional questions between representatives of British India, of the Indian States and of His Majesty's Government and political parties in England, which the settlement is intended to secure. It is, therefore, agreed that the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement con-

notes the definite discontinuance of the employment of the boycott of British commodities as a political weapon and that, in consequence, those who have given up, during a time of political excitement, the sale or purchase of British goods must be left free without any form of restraint to change their attitude if they so desire.

PICKETING

(7) In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods, or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs, resort will not be had to methods coming within the category of picketing, except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public, or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE

(8) Mr. Gandhi has drawn the attention of Government to specific allegations against the conduct of the police, and represented the desirability of a public enquiry into them. In present circumstances, Government see great difficulty in this course and feel that it must inevitably lead to charges and counter-charges, and so militate against the re-establishment of peace. Having regard to these considerations, Mr. Gandhi agreed not to press the matter.

CALLING OFF REPRESSION

(9) The action that Government will take on the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement is stated in the following paragraphs.

(10) Ordinances promulgated in connection with the civil disobedience movement will be withdrawn.

Ordinance No. 1 of 1931 relating to the terrorist movement does not come within the scope of the provision.

(11) Notifications declaring associations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 will be withdrawn, provided that the notifications were made in connection with the civil disobedience movement.

The notifications recently issued by the Burma Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act do not come within the scope of this provision.

(12) (i) Pending prosecutions will be withdrawn if they have been filed in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement and relate to offences which do not involve violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence.

(ii) The same principles will apply to proceedings under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(iii) Where a local Government has moved any High Court or has initiated proceedings under the legal practitioners' Act in regard to the conduct of legal practitioners in connection with the civil disobedience movement, it will make application to the Court concerned for permission to withdraw such proceedings, provided that the alleged conduct of the persons concerned does not relate to violence, or incitement to violence.

(iv) Prosecutions, if any, against soldiers and police involving disobedience of orders will not come within the scope of this provision.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

(13) (i) Those prisoners will be released who are undergoing imprisonment in connection with the civil disobedience movement for offences which did not involve violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence.

(ii) If any prisoner who comes within the scope of (i) above has been also sentenced for a jail offence, not involving violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence, the latter sentence also will be remitted, or if a prosecution relating to an offence of this

character is pending against such a prisoner, it will be withdrawn.

(iii) Soldiers and police convicted of offences involving disobedience of orders—in the very few cases that have occurred—will not come within the scope of the amnesty.

(14) Fines which have not been realised will be remitted. Where an order for the forfeiture of security has been made under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the security, has not been realised, it will be similarly remitted.

Fines which have been realised and securities forfeited and realised under any law will not be returned.

(15) Additional police imposed in connection with the civil disobedience movement at the expense of the inhabitants of a particular area will be withdrawn at the discretion of Local Governments. Local Governments will not refund any money, not in excess of the actual cost, that has been realised, but they will remit any sum that has not been realised.

RETURN OF MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

(16) (a) Movable property, which is not an illegal possession, and which has been seized in connection with the civil disobedience movement, under the Ordinances or the provisions of the Criminal Law, will be returned, if it is still in the possession of Government.

(b) Movable property, forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned, unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period, special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulters, while willing to pay, genuinely require time for the purpose, and if necessary, the revenue will be

suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Compensation will not be given for deterioration.

(d) Where movable property has been sold or otherwise finally disposed of by Government, compensation will not be given and the sale proceeds will not be returned, except in so far as they are in excess of the legal dues for which the property may have been sold.

(e) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the attachment or seizure of property was not in accordance with the law.

(17) (a) Immovable property of which possession has been taken under Ordinance IX of 1930 will be returned in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance.

(b) Land and other immovable property in the possession of Government, which has been forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned unless the Collector of the district has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulter, while willing to pay, genuinely requires time for the purpose, and, if necessary the revenues will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Where immovable property has been sold to third parties, the transaction must be regarded as final, so far as Government are concerned.

Note.—Mr. Gandhi has represented to Government that according to his information and belief some, at least, of these sales have been unlawful and unjust. Government, on the information before them, cannot accept this contention.

(d) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that

the seizure or attachment of property was not in accordance with the law.

(18) Government believe that there have been very few cases in which the realization of dues has not been made in accordance with the provisions of the law. In order to meet such cases, if any, local Governments will issue instructions to District Officers to have prompt enquiry made into any specific complaint of this nature, and to give redress without delay if illegality is established.

POSTS OF INCUMBENTS WHO HAVE RESIGNED

(19) Where the posts rendered vacant by resignations have been permanently filled, Government will not be able to reinstate the late incumbents. Other cases of resignation will be considered on their merits by the local Governments who will pursue a liberal policy in regard to the re-appointment of Government servants and village officials who apply for reinstatement.

MANUFACTURE OF SALT

(20) Government are unable to condone breaches of the existing law relating to the salt administration, nor are they able, in the present financial conditions of the country, to make substantial modifications in the Salt Acts.

For the sake, however, of giving relief to certain of the poorer classes, they are prepared to extend their administrative provisions, on lines already prevailing in certain places, in order to permit local residents in villages, immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made, to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale within such villages, but not for sale to, or trading with, individuals living outside them.

21. In the event of the Congress failing to give full effect to the obligations of this settlement, Government will take such action as may, in consequence, become necessary for the protection of the public and individuals and the due observance of Law and Order.

WORLD EVENTS

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

THE TRADE DEPRESSION

AS one takes stock of economic conditions in the world to-day he is faced with a situation both serious and challenging. Since 1929 we have been on the downgrade; prices in some commodities have fallen 50 points, and are still falling; unemployment is still mounting in such countries as the United States, Germany and Britain lessening purchasing power and closing markets, and over all is brooding the sinister evil spirit of pessimism. It would be the climax of a serious situation if we gave in to a fatalistic attitude; that we shall not allow.

In diagnosing the disease we shall find certain well defined causes which will help us to understand the trade depression. There is first of all under-consumption due to the lack of employment. Mr. J. M. Keynes of Cambridge estimates that in the three chief industrial countries, Britain, Germany, and the United States, fully twelve million workers are unemployed this winter; add to that fact the continued civil war in China, the boycott of foreign goods in India, the political unrest in several of the South American republics, and the financial depression in Australia all of which lessen considerably the purchasing power and the demand of these erstwhile good customers. There is also the serious loss of overseas markets due to the nationalist movement and the policy of protection in several important countries. Industrial countries like Britain and Germany are feeling keenly the loss of markets due to the policy now being followed by China, India and Australia of manufacturing for themselves certain important lines which formerly they had imported. We are just at the beginning of this movement, and it is bound to grow. These facts of the loss of markets, diminished purchasing power, and unemployment are producing a situation of under-consumption.

The other side of the same condition which adds further to our confusion and difficulties is over-production. America in the midst of plenty and prosperity is feeling this condition more than any other nation to-day. America has boasted of her large scale production methods and her use of machinery; her people are living in a machine age, but facts are pointing to the possibility that unless the machine is controlled it will strangle the worker. Investigators have recently reported that during the past eight years the man power in American large-scale production has decreased by 7 per cent. while at the same time the output in production has increased by 20 per cent. and the output per man has increased by 30 per cent. In other words as the high-power and more efficient machine comes into the factory many of the workers are forced out to swell the numbers of the unemployed. For that increased production America must find overseas markets, but her fiscal policy of high protection works against the extension of export business with the result that since the adoption of higher tariffs a year ago United States exports have considerably fallen off. The net result from these two causes of machine power and high tariffs and loss of markets is overproduction which is America's pressing problem to-day. The machine age has not developed so far in Britain and Germany yet, but they are on the way, and if they are wise they will learn from the experience of the United States.

Some economists are strongly of the opinion that our present trade depression has a monetary origin. America and France have absorbed and hold about 60 per cent. of the world's gold supply; there is in consequence not enough money and credit to carry on the world's work which has produced a financial crisis. On the other hand silver is plentiful and cheap, but unwanted

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except in China and India. If an international bimetalism could be introduced with a definite ratio between gold and silver that could be maintained it would certainly help our present economic condition.

So much for analysing the causes, but the really difficult thing is to find and apply the remedy. I will say first we have come to the point where we must rationalise our methods of production and relate our output to demand. We are suffering now from overproduction, because we have not done it. Cost of production in America and Britain has outrun the purchasing power of many people in Europe and Asia; the remedy is to rationalise costs, and to observe a relationship between workmen and machines and output to demand. Purchasing power and consequently demand will appreciably improve as soon as China, India, and the South American republics decide to follow the ways of peace. We may expect some improvement this year along those lines. The monetary solution is more difficult. The time has come for an International Monetary Conference to consider the urgent questions of the gold supply, credit facilities, and war indebtedness.

The reality and extent of the world depression is reflected in the 1930 record of bank failures and bankruptcies. The Bank of the United States in New York City is only one of over 3,000 banks that closed their doors last year in America. The world's bankruptcies are much worse. The year 1930 was a sad record as concerns bankruptcies, writes a Hamburg correspondent:

In no year has the bankruptcy figure been as high as in 1930. In 12 countries, Great Britain, America, Italy, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, Finland, Poland, Hungary the total bankruptcy figure in 1927 was 66,125; 1928, 69,376; 1929, 72,720 and in 1930, 83,759. America had 26,000, Italy 15,000, Germany 12,000, France 9,000, Great Britain 8,000, Czechoslovakia 5,000 bankruptcies. Besides this approx. 62,000 private arrangements had been made necessary by which the creditors got from 30 to 75 per cent. This number is 50 per cent. more than in 1929. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway have lower figures. 4,140 in 1928, 3,876 in 1929 and 3,541 in 1930, Canada and Newfound-

land had also less, but in Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and the Latin American Republics together, the bankruptcy figure rose from a total of 21,610 in 1929, to 28,800 in 1930. These figures are a true mirror of the world depression.

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

Liberia is one of the West African Negro Republics; it is politically independent and is a member of the League of Nations. It is a sad commentary on independence and native administration that Negro officials against their own people should tolerate "conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave-raiding and slave-trading." It was at the instigation of the United States and authorised by the President of the Republic, Mr. C.D.B. King, that the League of Nations set up a commission to inquiry into the charges of slavery. The commission consisted of an Englishman Dr. Christy nominated by the League of Nations as President, Dr. Johnson an American nominated by the United States, and Mr. Barclay, an ex-President of Liberia nominated by the Liberian Government; the Commission has recently reported its findings. It exposes a maladministration so cruel and so corrupt and an exploitation of native workers by their Negro masters so callous and so shameless that the civilized world will not be satisfied until effective measures have been taken to substitute a system of justice for a reign of brute force and to establish decent conditions of labour.

A London *Times* note says:

The findings of this Commission, stated briefly, are that, although slavery as associated with the idea of slave markets and slave dealers no longer exists in Liberia, slavery as defined by the Anti-Slavery Convention does exist in the form of inter and intra tribal domestic slavery. The pawning of human beings is also recognized in the social economy of the Republic. The Government is shown to have discouraged domestic slavery, and the courts have given freedom to domestic slave upon evidence of ill-treatment. While there is no evidence of leading citizens having taken part in domestic slavery, the Commission finds proof that some Americo-Liberians have taken natives as pawns.

As regards forced labour the Commission finds that it has been used chiefly for road construction, for building civil compounds and military barracks, and for portage, and that this labour has been wastefully recruited and used frequently under conditions involving systematic intimidation and ill-treatment on the part of

Government officials, messengers, and Frontier Force soldiers. In the special case of "contract labour" in Fernando Po and the Gabun it was found that a "large proportion" of such labour had been recruited under "conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave-raiding and slave-trading and frequently by misrepresenting the destination."

On receiving the findings of the Commission the American Government addressed a strong note of disapproval to the Liberian President with the result that he at once resigned from office, and his Government made the following declaration :

The Government of the Liberian Republic accepts in principle the recommendations made by the International Commission of Inquiry in its report on slavery and forced labour in Liberia, and adopts the recommendations as a basis for regulating any improvement that may be made in the social policy of the Republic to the whole extent of its resources.

GERMANY'S PROSPECTS

Indications seem to point to the possibility that Germany may have an active and interesting time in politics this year. In its message to the President and the people at the opening of the New Year the German Government called attention to three important problems that will call for consideration during the year. They do not deal with merely domestic politics, but will be of international moment. They are : a reconsideration of the Young Plan relating to reparations, the question of Minorities, and the need and means of Disarmament. The present financial and economic depression in which Germany suffers with the rest of the world has raised the question whether the German people are capable of meeting the reparation payments imposed by the Young Plan. It is a question of ability to pay, and as things are now Germany feels that she will not be able to meet her debt charges. A related question is — If Germany fails Britain, can America expect Britain to discharge her indebtedness? If the trade depression continues it would seem as though a modification and sealing down of the funding arrangements concerning the repayment of War debts beginning with the United States is inevitable.

The liberation of occupied territory which was the result of the acceptance of the Young Plan

has raised the larger question of the treatment of German minorities beyond the frontiers of the German Reich, and also the further question of the former German colonies. The German Government evidently intend to pay more attention this year to safeguard and even further the interests of German units of population domiciled beyond the frontiers, such as Austria, Upper Silesia, and the possible former German colonies.

The question of Disarmament is of real significance to the German Reich. Germany has a grievance in that she believes that other nations have not disarmed to the extent to which she has, and consequently her security has been threatened. The German Government therefore feels it necessary to appeal for the adoption of the principle of equal security for all the nations. If all or any one of these matters are urged by Germany this year we can expect that European politics will be of considerable interest during the year.

LIFE

By Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU

Children, ye have not lived, to you it seems
Life is a lovely stalactite of dreams.
Of carnival of careless joys that leap
About your hearts like billows on the deep
In flames of amber and of amethyst.

Children, ye have not lived, ye but exist
Till some resistless hour shall rise and move
Your hearts to wake and hunger after love
And thirst with passionate longing for the things

That burn your brows with blood-red sufferings

Till ye have battled with great griefs and fears

And borne the conflict of dream-shattering years,

Wounded with fierce desire and worn with strife,

Children, ye have not lived : for this is life.

The Release and After

IN harmony with the Prime Minister's declaration at the concluding session of the Round Table Conference "that steps would be taken to enlist the services of Congressmen if they wished to co-operate on the lines of the Declaration" H. E. Lord Irwin issued a statement on Jan. 25 releasing Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee unconditionally. The legal bar against their meeting and the notifications declaring the Committee unlawful were all withdrawn at once and His Excellency added :

My Government will impose no conditions on these releases, because we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions lies in discussions being conducted by those concerned under terms of unconditional liberty.

Our action has been taken in pursuance of a sincere desire to assist the creation of such peaceable conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Prime Minister that if civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, the Government would not be backward in response.

I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it and I am confident that they will recognise the importance of securing for those grave issues calm and dispassionate examination.

Much to his own surprise Mr. Gandhi was released on the morrow of this declaration.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

In an exclusive interview with the Associated Press correspondent while waiting on the platform of the Chinchwad station to board the train for

Bombay, Mr. Gandhi gave the following message to the Indian peoples :—

I have come out of jail with an absolutely open mind, unfettered by enmity, unbiassed in argument and prepared to study the whole situation from every point of view and discuss the Premier's statement with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other delegates on their return. I make this statement in deference to the urgent wish expressed in a cable sent to me from London by some of the delegates.

Speaking to a group of journalists at Bombay, Mr. Gandhi further defined his position with regard to the proposal that an amnesty should be announced. He reiterated his well-known eleven points which, he declared, must be met before a satisfactory settlement was possible. Referring to the amnesty proposal, he observed :

I personally feel that the mere release of members of the Congress Working Committee makes a difficult situation, infinitely more difficult, and makes any action on the part of the members almost, if not altogether, impossible. The authorities evidently have not perceived that the movement has so much affected the

mass mind that leaders, however prominent, will be utterly unable to dictate to them a particular course of action.

He then went on to insist on the right of picketing and the manufacture of salt :

What I am anxious to clear is that even if after consultation with friends who are coming from the Round Table Conference it is found that the Premier's statement affords sufficient ground for the Congress to tender co-operation, the right of picketing cannot be given up nor the right of the starving millions to manufacture salt.

If these elementary rights are recognised, most of the Ordinances will naturally have to be withdrawn. It is



therefore highly necessary for the public, also the Government, to understand the fundamental Congress position. The manufacture of salt and the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor are not intended to register the resistance of the nation to the existing misrule, but intended to achieve three ends for all time.

No amount of goodwill especially between Great Britain and India, so far as I can see, will reconcile the public to the drink evil, foreign cloth evil or prohibition of the manufacture of salt.

Speaking for myself, I am hankering after peace if it can be had with honour, but even if I stood alone I can be no party to any peace which does not satisfactorily solve the three questions I have mentioned. I should therefore judge the Round Table Conference true by its fruit.

I have given three tests that are in operation, but as the public know, there are eight more points I want. Substance of Independence not shadow and even as the doctor names the disease after proper diagnosis, so also I will name the tree of the Round Table Conference after I have examined the fruit in the light of the eleven points which are conceived in the terms of the man in the street.

Mr. Gandhi then left for Allahabad where Pandit Motilal Nehru was lying ill. The Working Committee met soon after and the decisions were suspended publication pending the arrival of Dr. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, and the Rt. Hon. Sastri. The trend of the discussions revealed that the Congress was prepared to conduct negotiations for peace on four conditions:—

1. A general amnesty for political prisoners.
2. Permission for peaceful picketing.
3. Permission to break the salt law.
4. All repressive measures withdrawn.

The civil disobedience movement is to continue unless and until the Working Committee decides otherwise.

FACE TO FACE WITH REALITIES

Now by this time Mr. Gandhi was thoroughly upprised of the situation in the country and the tragic sequel to the various phases of civic resistance. So in response to a request from the *News Chronicle* Mr. Gandhi cabled back to say that he was unable to pronounce a final opinion on the Round Table Conference.

But, what worries me is the look of things here. If the Conference really offered freedom to India, the reaction should have been felt here. On the contrary, I find that black repression continues unabated. Unprovoked assaults on innocent citizens still continue. Respectable people are being summarily and without apparent reason deprived of their immovable and movable property by

mere executive action. A procession of women was forcibly dispersed. They were seized by the hair and kicked with boots. The continuance of such repressions would make the Congress co-operation impossible even if other difficulties were got over.

The *News Chronicle* commenting on Mr. Gandhi's cable, said it was both hopeful and helpful, and in no way closed the door on the hopes aroused by the Round Table Conference.

To a correspondent in Allahabad he went so far as to declare that he would not expiate by calling off the movement even if there was a recrudescence of violence by Congressmen.

It is the Working Committee which is responsible for the campaign now and it alone can interfere with or shape its conduct. This, however, should not be taken to mean that I disown my moral responsibility for the violence done by a single Congressman and if some violence is done by Congressmen it produces such a sore on my system that I cannot bear it. I cannot say what I shall then do, for in all such things I am not guided by reason but by instinct or, in other words, by the inner voice and one never knows where that voice would lead you to.

"I am a man of peace, but circumstances have made my life one of struggle. I shall however leave no stone unturned to attain peace. It is no joy to me to submit thousands who have a child-like faith in me to suffering" declared Gandhiji in the course of a conversation with the special representative of the *Pioneer*.

THE PASSING OF PANDIT MOTILAL

It was at this time that Pandit Motilal Nehru passed away after a hard struggle. All his colleagues and members of the Congress were gathered at Ananda Bhavan and Jawaharlal and Mahatmaji were at his side. "Decide India's fate in the Swaraj Bhavan" the good Pandit is said to have told Dr. Satyapal.

Decide it in my presence and let me be a party to that final honourable settlement of the fate of my motherland. Let me die, if die I must, in the lap of a Free India. Let me sleep my last sleep not in a subject country, but in a free one.

Oh that he had lived to witness the Irwin-Gandhi settlement! The death at such a time was a rude shock to the country but it was particularly poignant to Mr. Gandhi who said in a message to *Liberty*:—

My position is worse than a widow's. By a faithful life she can appropriate the merits of her husband. I can appropriate nothing. What I have lost through Motilalji's death is a loss for ever. Rock of Ages cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee.

Pundit Jawaharlal gave fitting expression to the solace and inspiration of Mahatmaji's companionship when he exclaimed:

And to him, our beloved friend and leader, what words of mine can convey our feelings. Carrying the burden of a nation's suffering and longing for freedom, but still ever ready to share and lighten the burdens of others, he has been to us a solace and inspiration, and has given us strength and courage when the blow came and darkened our horizon.

LETTER TO LORD IRWIN

It was at this time too that Mr. Gandhi also sent a letter to the Viceroy through Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad Kidwai, ex-M.L.A. seeking an interview with H. E. at Delhi to discuss the political situation. It would appear that Mr. Gandhi sought the interview with a view to have a peace talk with Lord Irwin the man, rather than H. E. the Viceroy. Now Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy was a fairly lengthy one. Addressing Lord Irwin as "My dear friend" Gandhiji urged His Excellency to appoint an enquiry committee to go into the alleged police excesses. In such instances, Gandhiji included the Borsad affair, the Calcutta incident on the Independence Day, the beating of Mr. Bhashyam and others in Madras while picketing foreign cloth shops, and the Bihar shooting incident. Gandhiji's object in writing to the Viceroy was to find out whether there was really a change of heart on the part of the Government.

Lord Irwin having assented, Mr. Gandhi left for Delhi on the 16th February. In the meanwhile the Viceroy was in frequent consultation with the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar who were as it were the intermediaries who arranged for the interview.

While the Viceroy was in constant touch with his Council and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, Mr. Gandhi had also summoned all the members of the Working Committee and some of

his friends to Dr. Ansari's place in Delhi where they were in constant session. The Working Committee had given Mr. Gandhi a clear mandate and invested him with full authority to negotiate in the name of the Congress.

Mr. Gandhi's six points, which were the absolute minimum for peace negotiations to begin, were, (1) general amnesty; (2) immediate cessation of repression; (3) restitution of all confiscated property; (4) reinstatement of all Government servants punished on political grounds; (5) liberty to manufacture salt and picket liquor and foreign cloth shops; and (6) enquiry into police excesses.

GANDHI-IRWIN TALKS

Mr. Gandhi motored to the Viceregal House on the afternoon of Feb. 17, 1931. Gandhiji's arrival created quite a stir in the Secretariat and the Viceroy's House, where the employees were waiting for hours for *darshan*. The Gandhi-Irwin talks began at 2-30 P. M. and continued till 6-10. The talks were resumed the next day and continued the day after. Interviewed by the Associated Press at the Viceroy's House he said humorously:

The issues are hanging up in the clouds. I am not coming to morrow. That is definite. Beyond that I can't say.

The conversations were then suspended for a week. Apparently the Viceroy had cabled to Whitehall and was awaiting instructions from the authorities at Home. The following *communique* was issued from the Viceroy's House on the subject on the 19th:—

His Excellency the Viceroy granted a further interview to Mr. Gandhi to-day. It is understood that various matters emerging from the discussions are now under examination, and it is possible that some days may elapse before a further stage of discussions is reached.

SPEECH AT THE QUEEN'S GARDENS

While the Gandhi-Irwin talks were suspended for a few days pending instructions from Whitehall Mr. Gandhi addressed a mammoth gathering of over a lakh of people in the Queen's Garden on Feb. 20. After referring to the death of

Moulana Mahomed Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru he said :—

I know you are all anxious to hear something from me of the talks I am having with the Viceroy. I am afraid I may not take the public into my confidence about what happened between His Excellency and me. For one thing I am pledged not to do so, and, secondly, it is not going to help us. But I may say this much that these talks have been conducted in a most friendly manner and with much sweetness. What will be the result I cannot say. The result is in the hands of God. It is His Will that will prevail.

He went on to say that when the history of this movement comes to be written, the sacrifices made by the women of India will occupy a foremost place.

And just as with women, so also with children. Their wonderful awakening has fortified me in my faith that God is with us in this struggle. These young folk were never organised for such work, or were they trained for it. How they have come to achieve all this I have not been able to guess, nor has any one else whom I have consulted has been able to enlighten as to who guided them. Only God could have done so. But remember that in the sacred battle whatever sacrifices you have made are trifling. Let them not puff you up with pride.

After referring to the great sacrifices of the poor he warned the people against excesses in picketing but added ominously a word to foreign cloth dealers :

Do not deceive yourselves or the country by thinking that you have done your duty by refraining from selling foreign cloth for a few months. This foreign cloth trade must stop for ever, because it is only by this means that we can promote the well-being of millions of our countrymen. I will respectfully submit to foreign cloth dealers, that a complete boycott of foreign cloth is their dharma. Sacrifices they will have to make. But what are these sacrifices as compared with the greater sacrifices that are being made by the other sections of the citizens of Delhi?

GANDHI & THE MUSLIM COUNCIL

On the morning of the 22nd Gandhiji addressed also the meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League. Sir Mahomed Shafi on behalf of the League thanked Gandhiji for accepting their invitation and invited him to address the House. Moulvi Mahomed Yakub said that the coming of Gandhiji meant the coming of 21 crores of Indians, and he held it a happy augury for India, because it might lead to the solution of the Hindu-Moslem tangle. Gandhiji said :—

Moulvi Mahomed Yakub had remarked that my coming meant the coming of 21 crores of Indians. Brethren, I am a Bania, and there is no limit to my greed. It has always been my dream and heart's desire to speak not only for 21 crores but for the 30 crores of India. To-day you may not accept that position of mine. But I may assure you that my early upbringing and training in my childhood and youth have been to strive for Hindu-Moslem Unity, and none to-day may dismiss it merely as a craze of my old age. My heart is, however, confident that God will grant me that position when I may speak for the whole of India, and if I may have to die striving for that ideal, I shall achieve the peace of my heart. I do not know what will be the result of my talks with H. E. the Viceroy, but if God wishes the Congress to participate in the Conference, and if there is a settlement between the Government and the Congress, the question of Hindu-Moslem unity will be one which will engage our first attention. And I give you all the assurance at my command that we will do what lies in our power to solve the Hindu-Moslem question. Rest assured that it is not a matter of loaves and fishes but of trust and love. If Hindus and Mussalmans are the two eyes of India as Sir Syed Ahmed said there should be no occasion for quarrel or distrust. No one can say that one eye is better than the other. It is quite conceivable that two brothers may have different faiths and yet both may live in harmony and peace. As for myself, if you slightly let apart the window of your heart I will quietly slip in, for I believe there can be no freedom for this country without Hindu-Moslem settlement. I do hope you will continue to invite me to such Conferences and I assure you that you will not repent.

GANDHI-IRWIN TALK RESUMED

Mr. Gandhi was called again on the 27th and 28th and the talk at one time threatened to break up. The Congress Working Committee having rejected the Viceroy's counter-proposals, Congress circles were very pessimistic about the outcome. The country at this time was swayed alternately between hopes and fears when Gandhi saw the Viceroy again on the 1st March. The prolonged interview was due to the examination of a fresh alternative submitted by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress Working Committee in answer to the official note sent to Mr. Gandhi the previous day. Difficulties of negotiation were very obvious in spite of best intentions on the part of the leaders on either side. Apart from intransigents in the Departments and Services, irresponsible men like Mr. Churchill at Home added considerably to the complexity of the situation by their ignorance and bluster. To Mr. Churchill for instance it was "alarming

and nauseating" to see Mr. Gandhi, an "Inner Temple lawyer, now a seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor." But what could Churchill or any one know of Gandhi, at a distance! As Mr. Jain Laing truly observed :

Nobody who has ever had personal contact, however casual, with Mr. Gandhi, can escape his charm, or ever forget it; never were asceticism, religious zeal and fixity of purpose more disarmingly seconded by kindness, homely shrewdness and sly, chuckling humour.

Now to take up the thread of the narrative. The Working Committee was strong and unanimous, and though listening with respect to the authority of Gandhi, was in no mood to water down the conditions of the truce. It was at this time that the services of Dr. Sapru and Mr. Sastri became invaluable. Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar had earlier impressed on Lord Irwin the imperative need of the Government agreeing to the principle of the Congress demand for an independent and impartial tribunal to go into police excesses. On the other side, Mr. Sastri had passionately pleaded before Gandhiji and other members of the Congress Working Committee not to be too exacting over the details if the principle of an impartial tribunal was conceded by the Government. Mr. Sastri pleaded his case in which he laid stress on the importance of a second Round Table Conference with so much warmth that he was at one stage (we are told) overpowered with emotion, and slightly fainted and Eau-de-Cologne had to be applied.

The sincerity of Mr. Sastri's pleas had its effect, so that the Congress Working Committee altered their draft formulae in certain respects without affecting the principle of their terms for truce.

Mr. Gandhi saw the Viceroy again at midnight on the 2nd March for further exchange of notes on the points raised by the Working Committee. And the situation that appeared so gloomy had slightly

improved, and the conversations became more frequent. Mr. Gandhi also saw Sir George Schuster the Finance Member, on the 3rd March with whom a general agreement was arrived at by which people on the sea coast could pick, manufacture and sell salt thereby using nature's gift. The Gandhi-Schuster Agreement on the principle thus overcame another important obstacle and cleared the path for the settlement of Congress participation in the Round Table Conference.

With reference to the solution of the principal outstanding point namely, restoration of confiscated lands the Government were willing to concede restoration provided the payment of arrears of Land Revenue was made but this proposal apparently met with opposition from certain members of the Congress Executive. The Viceroy's Executive Council met again in the evening.

THE GANDHI-IRWIN AGREEMENT

Gandhiji and Lord Irwin worked together at a settlement practically the whole of the day and a truce was agreed on late in the night according to which

the people on the sea coast have been conceded the right of picking up, manufacturing and selling salt. The punitive police posted in Bihar and other places will be withdrawn, and punitive tax so far unpaid will be remitted. All political prisoners not guilty of violence will be released forthwith. Peaceful picketing of foreign cloth shops and liquor shops will be allowed, and lastly confiscated and auctioned property will be returned.

In view of the fact that charges and counter-charges in an open enquiry into police conduct will not be conducive to a dispassionate discussion on constitutional questions, Gandhiji has agreed not to press it further.

By far the most important part of the agreement was that which laid down that the scope of future discussions shall be further consideration of the Round Table Conference conclusions, namely, federation, central responsibility and safeguards.

The conversations were resumed in the night and ended at 1-30 on the morning of the 5th when complete agreement was reached. At 12 noon the agreement was signed by Lord Irwin and Gandhiji

at "Viceroy's House," similar to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of sixteen years ago.

The agreement was the result of fifteen days' negotiations in which Gandhiji is said to have visited the 'Viceroy's House' eight times, and spent altogether twenty-four hours besides undergoing the strain of discussing the terms of the negotiations with the Congress Executive from time to time for longer hours than he spent with the Viceroy. A correspondent rightly pointed out that Gandhiji has by general agreement broken all the world's endurance records, and that when his own health was none too good.

News of the agreement spread like wild fire in the city at dawn. Sir Tej Bahadur exclaimed: "I rejoice at it. I give my heartfelt congratulations to Lord Irwin, Gandhiji and the country." *The Statesman* (New Delhi) gave a lead in a strikingly refreshing article welcoming the agreement as one of the greatest happenings in the second quarter of the 20th century, possibly as decisive for the world as November 11, 1918. The paper said that:—

The debt is great both to the Viceroy and Gandhiji who unperturbed by outside criticism have conducted negotiations in a serene spirit which is beyond all praise.

It paid a tribute to Lord Irwin for having banked on a miracle and now given a lead to Europe and Asia. "As for Gandhiji," it said, "that he plays no double game."

If he decides to come in, he comes in, and he may be counted on to bring his great influence to bear on the activities of the Second Round-Table Conference, which would open another era of construction and lead to the gradual obliteration of the memories of the struggle.

The Statement by the Governor-General-in-Council, embodying the fact was published on the evening of the 5th March and immediately the Congress Working Committee also passed the following resolution:—

The Working Committee having considered the terms of the provisional settlement arrived at between the Government of India and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress endorses them and directs all Congress Committees to take immediate action in accordance with them.

The Committee hopes that the country will carry out the terms agreed to in so far as they relate to various Congress activities and is of opinion that on a strict fulfilment of the obligations undertaken on behalf of the Congress, will depend the advance of India towards Purna Swaraj.

Telegrams were accordingly despatched to all Provincial Congress Committees while Gandhiji in a speech to the Journalists appealed to the country to implement the provisional settlement and thereby give irresistible prestige to the Congress. He urged the anarchists to suspend their movement and give him a chance to attain the goal non-violently and promised thereafter the release of all politicals including even those condemned to the gallows but warned them against false hopes.

This happy consummation was hailed all over the country with a sigh of relief though the Churchills and Wintertons and Odwyers waxed eloquent against the "Irwin surrenders." Doubtless there were those who thought that Mr. Gandhi had scored while others held that it was the Viceroy who had won in essentials. But after the twelve months' protracted struggle and a fortnight's negotiations which threatened to break up at any moment, peace was welcome like the dawn. And it was peace with honour on either side—the triumph of goodwill and mutual understanding which have to play such a decisive part in the constructive programme that lies ahead. The Irwin-Gandhi pact is in a word the triumph of true statesmanship, or the triumph of truth and non-violence, as Mahatma Gandhi would have it, and marks a new era in the history of British relations with India.

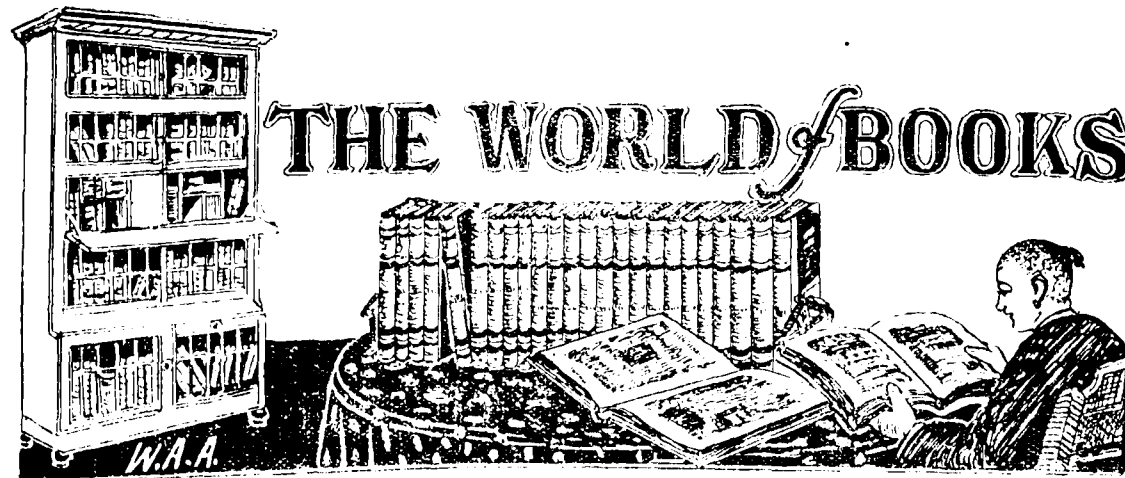
Gandhi Literature

Mahatma Gandhi: the Man and his Mission. An enlarged and up-to-date Edition of his life and teachings with an account of his activities in South Africa and India down to his great March in connection with "Salt Satyagraha". Price Re. one. To Subscribers of the Indian Review As. 12.

M. K. Gandhi. By Rev. J. Duke. With introduction, by Lord Amptill. Re. 1. To Subs. of "I. R." As. 12.

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. By Gandhi. New Pocket Edition As. 8. To Subs. of "I. R." As. 6.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.



THE RECKONING. By Joan Conquest. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

Joan Conquest is very well-known as the author of—certain remarkable if also morbidly analytical—books like "Chastity" and "Desert Love". In the "Reckoning" the author has daringly attempted to portray the life history of a child born in the laboratory. A beautiful egoist, Lady Wean, anxious to avoid physical disfiguration however temporary, lends herself to an experiment by which without physical contact, a child can be brought into being and nurtured. The child so "born in a bottle" develops the worst aspects of the selfish mother and the unseen peasant father who was chosen as the auxiliary of the experiment merely for his physical perfections.

The novel is a history of a self-centered being intent on indulgence and careless of the feelings of all around her. Absolute obliviousness to moral considerations leads Crystal to one tragedy after another, domestic and marital, until the inevitable end comes in a locust storm in North Africa. No person can, however, be so heartless as Crystal who, on the eve of marriage, dared to be unfaithful to her betrothed and to give herself to a bull-fighter. The aim of the book is evidently to emphasise that the nine months' sorrow and the pangs preceding the birth of the child are more than off-set by that communion of soul and heart which enable the child to inherit the human

qualities of the parents. It is also a phillipic against the modern methods of contraception. While it may be valuable as a latter-day sermon, it still is robbed of its full effect by its over-emphasis.

With all her undeniable qualities of style and manner Joan Conquest lacks the human touch which made Shakespeare endow even his villains with some glimpse of feeling and of virtue. In five, the book is powerful but does not produce the illusion of truth without which no work of literature can live.

SANE JANE. By Rosemary Rees. Chapman and Hall, Ltd. London. 7/6.

This is a very entertaining story of a New Zealand girl stranded in London, penniless, going away to America as Secretary to a blind man of riches and consequence, and finally, finding happiness after toil and storm. The narration is speedy and delightful, while the dialogues have a nice sense of proportion in regard to length. The author undoubtedly has understood the reader's view point regarding the distinction between essentials and non-essentials in the making of true fiction; because we have of late begun to feel that reading modern fiction has become tiresome and the true fiction-writer only gives the right stuff to the reading public. Sane Jane would soon become popular with the fiction-readers of the world.

LIFE MOVEMENTS IN PLANTS. By Sir J. C. Bose, Longmans, Green & Co., London.

This is the sixth volume of the Transactions of the Bose Research Institute and contains the accounts of researches recently carried out in the Institute by Sir J. C. Bose himself, the Staff, and the Scholars. They relate chiefly to the problems in plant-physiology to the elucidation of which Sir J. C. Bose has already so largely contributed—The Ascent of Sap—Rhythmic Pulsation—Transmission of Impulse. There are also some chemical papers on the Proteolytic Enzymes of Plants.

PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY. By C. A. Dunlop. L. N. Fowler & Co., 7, Imperial Arcade, Ludgate Circus, London.

"God is Spirit or Divine mind. Light of the mind is the Light of God. Let there be Light" with this motto is written a very thoughtful work on mind and its wonders. To those who are acquainted with the "Shaddarsanas" (six systems) there may not be anything new in it. But there are suggestions that are practicable. Mr. Dunlop like all great teachers epitomises his message in the simple but sublime statement that "the real Cathedral is within."

ONE HUNDRED POEMS OF TAYUMANAVAR. By Mr. N. R. Subramanya Pillai, Coimbatore. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co. Re. 1-8.)

Tayumanavar was a great poet saint of South India just as Thukaram was of the Maharashtra. It is a pity that no adequate translation of the Songs of this mystic philosopher has yet appeared in English though they are the common property of the learned and unlearned in the Tamil country and Mr. Subramanya Pillai has therefore done an excellent service to the literature in venturing to present these "pearls from the pool of wisdom" in easy and elegant English. The translations are prefixed with a scholarly foreword from the pen of Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

CONFIDENTIAL TALKS TO YOUNG MEN. By Prof. Satyavarta Siddhantalankar. Second edition. Atma Ram & Sons, Lahore.

No doubt the wisdom of teaching to young people sexual science has ceased to be questioned. But as the author has pointed out great caution is necessary in teaching the subject. The young man who sees a burglary scene in a cinema may forget the punishment which the burglar suffers in the last scene and become attracted to the 'art of burglary'. Likewise in teaching sexual science a teacher cannot help illustrating a side of morbid sexual life for the purpose of pointing to the undesirable consequences that follow such a life. The young reader who reads it may be so excited as to develop for the first time a morbid imagination and the author's purpose in writing the book would not only be lost but he would have however innocently done incalculable mischief. Prof. Satyavarta has handled a delicate subject with admirable caution and tact. There is nothing in it to feed the morbid mind but there is much which will help the young man to model his life properly and avoid the many pitfalls which occur on the road to manhood.

THE RAMAYANA. By P. Gopala Menon, B.A. LL.B., Sanatana Dharma Printing works, Ernakulam.

Mr. Gopala Menon has told the story of Ramayana in simple words and within a short compass. As Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon in his introduction points out, young men are nowadays prone to spend their time reading shilling shockers and smoking cheap cigarettes. There is a danger of this epic being altogether forgotten. In the few houses where the book of Ramayana is found it is kept for worship along with family idols but is rarely read. It is the duty of the educationists of this country to revive the study of our ancient epics.

BOMBAY: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. Edited by Clifford Manshardt. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is a collection of addresses delivered in Bombay during the cold weather season of 1929-30 for the purpose of "revealing the strength and weakness of our common life with the hope that practical suggestions might be made for properly capitalising the potential elements of strength and reconstructing or in some places completely eradicating the elements of weakness." It is hoped that this attempt will promote mutual understanding "an understanding which might lead to increased co-operating without which no city can attain to greatness." The lectures are highly stimulating and are prefaced with an introductory note from the pen of H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes, the Governor of Bombay. Altogether the book has some fine lessons for other cities as well which might try to emulate Bombay in their attempt at "building a better city."

MAHATMA GANDHI: HIS OWN STORY. Edited by C. F. Andrews. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

Mahatma Gandhi is unquestionably the most dominating figure in Indian affairs. The publishers are quite right in saying that he is a personality difficult for the Western mind to comprehend: "a revolutionary force yet by temperament conservative, the apostle of non-violence leading a nation to rebellion, he presents the most mysterious personality of modern times." Mr. Andrews who edits the volume is a friend and admirer of the Mahatma and he naturally brings to the interpretation of his life and teachings, understanding and sympathy of no mean order. The autobiography sheds a vivid light on different aspects of the Mahatma's life and genius and clarifies issues which are paramount among the problems of the present day.

THE SANKHYA CONCEPTION OF PERSONALITY. By Abhay Kumar Majumdar, M.A. Edited by J. K. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D., University Press, Calcutta.

The work, though professing to deal with only the Sankhya conception of personality, discusses practically all the problems raised in the system. But the account it gives is in essential matters different from the one now current, and there are several points in it which will strike the reader familiar with classical Sankhya as quite strange. For instance the doctrine is described here as theistic and idealistic, while it has been known to be neither ever since the time of Badarayana. Again *kaivalya* is explained here not as aloofness from Prakriti but only as 'complete relief from the three kinds of pain' (page 128). It is not difficult to see what has prompted the author to give this 'new interpretation' as he describes it in the sub-title of the work. The Sankhya, in its commonly accepted form, is marked by some grave defects. It conceives of change, for example, as teleological but Prakriti which changes is described as altogether inert and unconscious; Purusha is regarded as multiple but the multiplicity is only what characterises it in the embodied condition and has been illegitimately transferred to the true self. The system is in brief a philosophy of Nature into which has been unwarrantably introduced the idea of spirit. It is this internal discrepancy of the doctrine that has suggested the need for reconstructing it; and the reconstruction, whatever we may think of its historical accuracy, frees it from all its inconsistencies and transforms it into a doctrine as coherent as any can be expected to be. It also shows by the way, as observed by Prof. Radhakrishnan who contributes a Foreword to the work, that 'there are amongst us some who have the freedom of mind and boldness of thought to re-think ancient theories and develop them to new conclusions.'

THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES. VOL. III.

By the late H. V. Nanjundayya and L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer—Published by the Mysore University.

Ethnographic surveys for India as a whole and for the provinces and more prominent Indian States have appeared from time to time in the course of the last three decades and more, having been rendered scientific as well as interesting by the skill of Sir Herbert Risley, Edgar Thurston, R. V. Russel, Hira Lal and other well-known workers. Cochin and Travancore closely followed on the heels of Madras in the publication of their ethnographic surveys; and the services of Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer who edited *The Cochin Castes and Tribes* and is now lecturer in Anthropology in the Calcutta University, have been utilised by the Mysore Government in the editing of the material collected by the late Mr. Nanjundayya.

This volume treats of the Mysore tribes and castes whose initial letters range from C. to K. and includes Indian Christians, Jains, Holeyas, Iraligas and Komatis among others. The treatment, particularly as to the social customs, marriage and funeral ceremonies are full and profusely illustrated. The historical origin and growth of Christianity and of the Jain faith which came into Mysore as early as the age of Chandragupta Maurya has been given; and the migrations of tribes from one part of the country to another which is a prominent feature of the Indian population have also been noticed. The affinities of the Holeyas to the Adi-Dravidas of the Tamil country and of the Idigas to the Ezhuvans of the west coast are interesting problems of study. Jain antiquities at Sravana Belagola and elsewhere in the state have been described. Such accounts as are contained in the book should prove useful alike to the student, the administrator and the publicist.

BOOKS RECEIVED

FATE AND FREEWILL. By A. S. Wadia, M.A. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

THE CARPETS OF PERSIA. By Creassey Tattersall. Luzac & Co., London.

PERSIAN ART. Ed. by E. Denison Ross. Luzac Co., London.

THE SPEAKER'S ART. By William Shakespeare, Putnam's Sons Ltd., London.

IN THE HAG'S HANDS. By Cecil Champain Lewis. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

THE MAGIC STORY. By Fred. Van Reusselaer Day. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

ROMAN HOLIDAY. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie, London.

THE STRUCTURE OF THOUGHT. By Ludwig Fischer. G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

DERMOLTS RAMPANT. By Stephen McKenna, Chapman & Hall., London.

THE RIDDLE OF THE FOREST. By Basil Tozer. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

THE SCHOOL IDEA. Ancient and Modern. By Valentine Davis. G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

SONG OF IRHA. By Deva Yan Upson. Can be had of Laluvian Saraswati Library, Mandalay.

SECRETS OF SUCCESS. By Ernest Wood. Indian Book Shop, c/o Theosophical Society, Benares.

THE MOTOR BOAT MANUAL. By The Staff of the "Motor Boat". Temple Press Ltd, London.

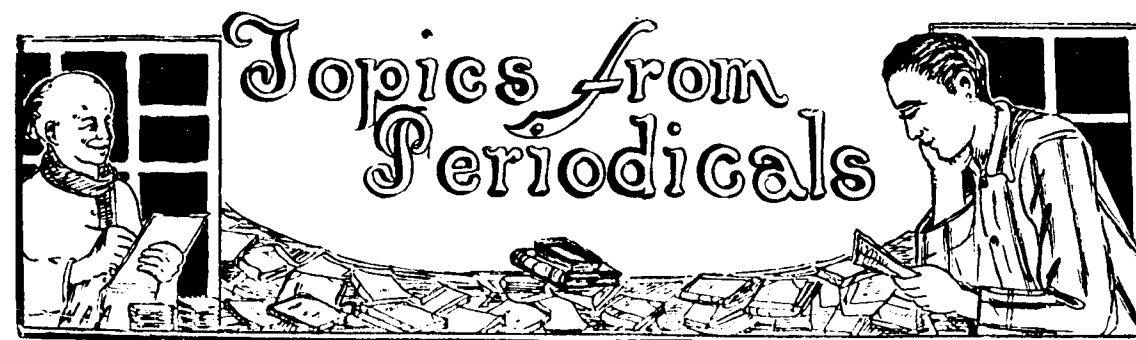
THE EUSTACE DIAMONDS. By Anthony Throlope. Oxford University Press, London.

RAAZ. (The Secret) By K. M. Yusufuddin, Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London.

CHRIST AND SATYAGRAHA. By H. V. Elwin, Poona 5.

SVARA SASTRA OR THE HINDU SCIENCE OF BREATH. By Dr. A. R. S. Sundaram Bishak, Yogasrama, Royapettah, Madras.

EUROPE'S DEBT TO ISLAM. By Syed M. H. Zaidi, Calcutta.



THE CONFERENCE AND AFTER

The Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton in his article in the February *Fortnightly* elaborates in some detail the advantages of a Federated All-India. It is right and timely, he says, that the ideal of the Greater Federation once projected, must continue to occupy the chief place on the stage of Indian politics.

The "Independent India" of the Extremists, difficult enough to achieve in any event, would be a complete impossibility with the Indian States still owing allegiance to the British Crown. Equally, the immediate "Dominion Status" of the "Moderates," or, as perhaps I should say, the "More Moderate Extremists," is difficult to visualise with the Indian States excluded, because of the acute difficulties which would arise over such matters as railways, customs, and ports. The problems which arise from these matters are not easy of adjustment now, if British India had complete control of her own internal affairs, and the Indian States the control of their affairs which they exercise at present, chaos would ensue without some form of federation. The much-abused political department of the Government of India would have no power to approach the Department of Commerce as it does now when fiscal or commercial questions which affect the two Indias arise.

In the past, the Secretary of State has often had to decide the issue where conflicting claims have arisen between British India and the States. Not in all such cases has he had to issue orders; it may happen that the Government of India, through the Viceroy, asks for guidance and advice. The Secretary of State, with the assistance of his official advisers and his Council, tenders that guidance and advice; thus he acts as an impartial arbitral authority. But there is a sentimental as well as a psychological objection to this rule from above. But it is evident

that a bureaucracy, largely alien, however efficient and honest, will never satisfy an India thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the times: that Western superiority is no longer a doctrine which is generally accepted in the East: that more and more Indians are becoming Nationalist, even if in a vague and general way: that with memories of the War and self-determination still retained, the governance of India from London, even in the very modified degree of to-day, compared with twenty years ago, must be increasingly difficult.

If you are going to alter the edifice by removing the cement that at present holds the vast structure together, you must put something in its place, or India will become as fragmented as is the land of her peasants. "The only possible ultimate solution lies in Federalism for All-India once the supervisory control of Britain is, for effective purposes, removed."

Earl Winterton then examines the report of the Sub-Committees and discusses the implications of a federation (of British Provinces and the Indian States) on the one hand and responsibility with safeguards on the other. In conclusion he reverts to the eternal question of minorities in general, and Hindu-Moslem relations in particular and says that "if agreement does come, that agreement will still have to be authorised by the spokesmen of the two communities in India who were not present at the Conference." Failing agreement among Indians themselves, the duty of the British Government, he says, is clear: "They must make up their minds what is best in the interests of India and her position as an integral part of the Empire, and, in due course, must produce a Bill for the amendment of the Government of India Act."

NAVAL WARFARE IN ANCIENT INDIA

The history of Indian Shipping and maritime activities goes back probably to the early times of Rig Veda, says Prof. Prithwis Chandra Chakravarti, M. A. writing in the pages of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The Jatakas, the Greek and Roman writers, the early Tamil poems and a number of ancient records prove that long before the birth of Christ the Hindus had acquired a fair knowledge of the art of navigation and that they plied their boats on the high seas.

There were ports and harbours all along the coast-line such as Tamralipti, Kaviri-pattanam, Bharukaccha and Surparaka; and it was practicable to attain to any of them starting from up the Ganges, not only from Campa (Bhagalpur) but even from Benares. The Samudda-vantja Jataka (iv, 159) relates how a settlement of wood-workers, failing to carry out the orders for which pre-payment had been made, made a 'mighty ship' secretly, and emigrated with their families, shipping down the Ganges, by night, and so out to the sea, till they reached a fertile island. The Mahajanaka Jataka (vi, 84) tells us that prince Mahajanaka set out for Suvannabhumi from Campa. And according to the Vinaya (iii, 338) Mahinda travelled by water from Patna to Tamalitti, and to Ceylon. Not only were coasting voyages round India frequent, but distant over-sea journeys were also carried out with equal boldness and alacrity.

Sanskrit and Pali literature contains innumerable allusions to vessels wrecked on the high seas so much so that we seem to hear across the ages the piteous wailings of souls lost in the ocean. But nothing could daunt the people into passivity. Love of adventure and wealth stimulated them to defy death; and in storm and tempest these early navigators and their comrades learned the art and craft of the sea. India established commercial relations not only with Burma and the islands of Indian Archipelago on the east but also in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Phoenicia and Egypt on the West. Ceylon was colonised before the 3rd century B.C. and Burma and Siam not much later. Thus the colonial movement which went on apace by the 2nd century A.D. resulted in Hindu sovereignty and the domination of Hindu culture in the Indian Archipelago. All will go to prove the naval supremacy of ancient India.

TAGORE AND GANDHI

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, writing in the *Spectator*, (before the Irwin-Gandhi Agreement was signed) "hesitates to doubt the wisdom" of Mr. Gandhi in declining to participate in the Round Table Conference but expresses his own views in terms of certain broad considerations from which he has approached the question.

The invitation to a Round Table Conference accorded to the representatives of a people who can with perfect impunity be throttled into silence or trampled into a pulp, is in itself a sign of a time undreamt of even half a century ago. Mahatma Gandhi may not believe in the success of its obvious purpose, but he must acknowledge that it represents the same moral principle which he himself invokes on behalf of his countrymen in their endeavour after Self-Government. The real importance of this Conference is not in the opportunity it may offer of a co-operation with the British politicians, but with the soul-force of the whole world. We must know that this Conference is going to hold its sittings before the world-tribunal whose approbation it is eager to win.

I believe that it would have been worthy of Mahatma Gandhi if he could have accepted unhesitatingly the seat offered to him, even though the conditions were not fully acceptable to himself. To come there without any absolute assurance of political success would all the more enhance the significance of his moral mission.

And yet the poet is by no means convinced of the error of the Mahatma's ways. His has been the power and the inspiration behind the great national upheaval that is surging up, and the poet feels that he must be a bold man who could challenge the Mahatma's right to prescribe the course of action most fit for the occasion. For has not the poet himself witnessed, time and anon his own opinions disproved by facts and the Mahatma's justified by results?

It was the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi which inspired this courage, under persecutions frankly brutal or cowardly insidious, into the heart of the dumb multitude of India, suffering for ages from the diffidence of their own human power. I myself have too often doubted the possibility of such a sudden quickening of life in a country whose mind has remained parched under a long drought of education. But a miracle has happened through the magical touch of the Mahatma's own indomitable spirit and his courageous faith in human nature. And after this experience of mine I hesitate to doubt his wisdom when he holds himself aloof from the invitation that seems to offer the opportunity for at least the beginning of an endeavour which, through the usual path of diplomacy, with its tortuous bends and sudden pitfalls of reactions, may at last lead us to our goal. Let me believe in his firmness of attitude, and not in my doubts.

VIOLENCE

Mr. Nagendranath Gupta, writing in the March number of the *Modern Review*, points out the danger of large armies and navies that still oppress the world. The League of Nations, he says, can do nothing unless the nations abjure the creed of violence and renounce territorial ambition. There must be no further conquests and annexations.

Disarmament must be real and substantial. The constant haggling that now goes on in regard to the reduction of armies and navies is due to the deep-seated distrust which pervades the nations of Europe. Not one of them believes wholly the professions of sincerity made by its neighbour.

The fact is it is difficult to get rid of habits of the mind formed and hardened for hundreds of years. The mere possession of a large army and navy is a menace to peace and a constant incentive to war:

The possession of a large armed force produces a spirit of swagger; it creates a consciousness of strength and the disposition to use it. A king or emperor who constantly reviews his army and insists upon maintaining it in a state of high efficiency wants to see it in action and will seize upon the slightest pretext to declare war. Manœuvres and mimic warfare do not give much satisfaction; the army itself seeks an opportunity to prove its prowess upon another army. It is an incubus upon national well-being, it is an idle monster devouring the largest share of the resources of the State.

If Europe is really desirous of lasting peace, violence and war will have to be effectively banned. There is the lesson of history writ large for every one to read. No nation that has pursued a course of territorial aggrandizement has survived very long. Destruction is the Nemesis that has followed and overtaken every empire in the world.

Quite recently, before our own eyes empire after empire has perished and disappeared. The will and the authority of the people have asserted themselves all over the world. All the greater reason, therefore, that large armies and navies should be reduced and the panoply of war should not be flaunted in the face of the world. Science should no longer be permitted to invent new infernal machines of death and destruction. Some of these now in use should be banned and destroyed. Such fiendish devices as the torpedo, the submarine, the mine and the bomb dropped from the air must never again be seen in use and all stocks of them must be broken up and scrapped.

Even now when the League of Nations is supposed to be functioning, bombing planes are used against tribes and clans who do not possess these machines, without a word of protest from any one. What is the use of such nations being members of the League of Nations?

They would be the first to cry out against the abuse of the usages of war when they themselves are affected, but no feeling of compunction troubles them when they use the same methods against others who cannot retaliate with the same weapons.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

An interesting *Apologia pro vita sua* is contributed to *The Congregational Quarterly*, by Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, the courageous young socialist M. P., who was for some years editor of *The Labour Leader*, the organ of the Independent Labour Party.

"Although I am not now a member of a Church," he writes, "Christian influences have contributed largely to my thoughts. My father and my grandfather were on the staff of the London Missionary Society, I went to the School for the sons of Missionaries, where the religious atmosphere was strong. My first journalistic post was on *The Examiner*, the old organ of the Congregational denomination, with Dr. Selbie as editor. In my teens my outlook was largely directed by Rev. R. J. Campbell, then at the City Temple, and my social enthusiasms were deepened by Rev. C. Silvester Horne, at Whitefields. . . . I remember as a young man discussing with Rev. Dr. Burford Hooke (a tower of help to many young men) the necessity of participation in Christian devotions if one is to maintain service of an ideal. I told him that I did not feel the need of it; that I found inspiration in other ways. He replied that I was living on the spiritual wealth of previous generations and of my home. It may be so; I do not know. But certainly this is a factor which cannot be overlooked in considering the influence of the Church, even upon those who are now outside its fold. I have a deep reverence for the person and teaching of Jesus."

BACK TO THE VILLAGES

"Whether again in England we shall see the re-marriage of soul and soil, none can determine as yet; it is a race between the widening of enlightenment and the momentum of the baser commercial forces," writes Mr. W. J. Blyton, in the *Dublin Review*.

"The Prime Minister expresses the grave fear that, in neglecting her countryside, England has for over a century been dangerously 'cutting her roots' for the sake of a specialised and lop-sided industrial development. It is now seen that the towns have long since passed saturation-point. And at the same time, never was life in the country so attractive in its conditions with village institutes, extra education with grants, libraries, wireless, constant coach services, and better-housing."

RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

"We are breeding a race of State-maintained unemployed, who, whilst they can 'scrounge' some sort of a livelihood, have no incentive to get work," writes "Trade Unionist" in the *English Review*.

"There are so many ways whereby they can earn a pound or so without the knowledge of the Exchange officials, and still draw State benefit."

"I know of a young couple who have been in receipt of State benefit and guardians' relief ever since they married three years ago. They now have three children . . . ! Now, I have not the slightest doubt that this man would accept work, if it were found for him, but is the State to continue to maintain him and whatever children he brings into the world, without compelling him to genuinely seek work, until the unemployment problem is solved?"

"Then there are cases of men in the fifties whose children are grown up and are holding fairly good positions. The money mother receives from them enables her to carry on, and whilst the father can draw twenty-six shillings benefit, which

keeps him in beer and 'bacca, well, he's not going to bother a great deal unless and until someone finds him a job.

"It is right that the guardians of the poor should render adequate assistance to those in real distress. But it is not good for the State, the individual or for future generations that people should be allowed to pass years of their lives on some sort of public charity, without being obliged to prove that they are 'genuinely seeking work.'"

WHAT IS A GOOD EDUCATION?

Professor J. Graham Kerr, writing in *To-day and To-morrow*, explains what is true education. He writes:—

"A good education is one that succeeds in making the average individual a good citizen who will play successfully the role allotted to him as a constituent member of that complicated organism, the civilised community.

It is one which ensures that the heritage of 'biological capital,—in the form of health and strength and capacity, physical, mental, and moral—received by each individual from his parents, shall be increased in amount and shall be coined into a type of currency (such has specialised skill of one kind or another) readily negotiable in the particular individual.

It will ensure that the individual member of the crowded community of Western civilisation shall realise that he owes not merely his comfort and prosperity but his continued existence to the community in which he lives, and that this debt has to be repaid by industry and efficiency in his particular profession or trade, by loyalty to the community and devotion to its smooth working, and by personal subjection to its discipline.

It will develop the power of rapid and accurate observation and of rapid drawing correct conclusions therefrom.

It will develop the habit of using commonsense in the ordinary affairs of life and discourage the habit of mere unthinking absorption of what is heard or read."

WHAT IS SWADESHI?

The Young Builder for February contains a thoughtful article on Swadeshi by Mrs. Hilda Wood. The work of Swadeshi is not only the boycott of foreign cloth, but has the much more permanent constructive side of fostering home products. And this work, says the writer, is a slow, steady education of the people in the economic benefit of giving support to their country's industries.

England buys from India what she cannot possibly produce more cheaply herself. This is as it should be. But India goes on buying from abroad things which she could produce more cheaply herself. England moreover, buys goods made from a low paid peasantry, while India buys goods from a relatively high paid people. So India is kept poor. There is a very unequal distribution of the products of labour, though the margin of loss to India may seem small in money. Actually the yearly drain from British India of commercial products, for which there is no commercial return, is put at upwards of £ 30,000,000 a year. But you cannot measure the goods in terms of money, you can only measure poverty in goods.

India was once the greatest manufacturing country in the world and it is perfectly obvious that she can be so again if she supports her Swadeshi industries and puts them on an economic basis.

Unfortunately, those who are thinking of this matter forget the difference between a financial basis and an economic basis. It may be good finance to pay the worker as little as possible, but it is extremely bad economics. The only way to promote Indian industries is to create consumers. This means that the vast working population must also be a purchasing population. With all the natural resources and labour capacities of India, it is quite possible for everybody to have a nice house with all simple instruments of culture and refinement.

In the programme of Swadeshi, khaddar is the chief factor now. According to Mrs. Wood it is only a political move to urge all people to spin and weave in their leisure hours at home and is not a permanent basis for the trade.

I know it is said that if the price of khaddar is not brought to the level of the common man's pocket there is no future for khaddar. But when he, the common man is paid a living wage, he will be in a position to buy it. What an ironical thing it would be if they who, for the sake of their country, had taken to the beautiful art of making khaddi, had to resort to the purchase of mill cloth! Again people say this industry was meant by Mahatma Gandhi to be a village industry and a spare time work, a secondary means of earning a little

extra. If by village industry is meant that the peasant should spin, weave and wear the cloth he makes, I heartily endorse that idea.

The writer concludes by saying that Indians must live as Indians and not half Indian and half European. We quote below her appeal.

The country is full of starving artists in weaving, carving, painting and other industries that made India famous in the past. They have not lost their skill, but they lack encouragement, while politicians turn their attention to factories for soap, shaving cream and copy the Western world. The mind of India has become some what of a slave mentality, they have an inferiority complex, may be on account of foreign domination, but when once this is recognised the danger of this to the nation is passed and the people can stand up as men and say "Indian am I in thought, word and deed" and then the world will rejoice, for she is still appreciative of the unique work that India can offer again as she has done in the past.

THE FUTURE OF AIR SHIPS

There has naturally been endless discussion over the R. 101 airship disaster and the report of Sir John Simon's enquiry will provide yet more scope for discussion as to the cause of the disaster. A writer in the *Quarterly Review*, however, deals with the question of the future of the airship—Independently of the findings as to the loss of this particular airship—and lays down the following considerations:—

(a) Airships have already indicated their potentialities for luxury or emergency passenger and light cargo transport on trans-oceanic routes; aeroplanes have not yet reached a stage when they can carry useful loads for anything like the same distance.

(b) With the materials now known to man, there is a point beyond which the aeroplane cannot be developed to do increased work, because beyond that point the less is the disposable lift it can carry, and therefore the less the distance it can fly. But so far as can be foreseen, there are no insuperable difficulties to building and flying an airship double the size of R-101, and in the case of lighter-than-air craft lift improves directly with increase of cubic capacity.

(c) Failure of an aeroplane's engines means a forced landing; over the sea this must result in disaster. No flying boat yet constructed could land in a normal sea in mid-Atlantic and take off again; while in anything approaching bad weather it would speedily capsize or drown, even if it escaped immediate destruction. The airship usually has plenty of reserve of engine power, and may be able to effect repairs in the air.

(d) The proportion of the load-carrying capacity taken up by fuel is less in an airship than in an aeroplane; this, combined with the greater size of the former, makes it possible to provide much more spacious passenger quarters.

COURAGE AND PRUDENCE

The *Nation and Atheneum* of London, in the course of an article on the futility of the "strong hand" in India, quotes appropriately the following passage from Mr. Austen Chamberlain's speech on the Irish Free State agreement, regretting his earlier vote against the South African settlement. Mr. Chamberlain said :

I voted against them (the proposals for conferring Self-Government on South Africa). I thought it a rash and wicked thing to do. If we could have seen further into the future, if I could have voted in that division with the knowledge I have to-day, I should have known that that great act of faith was not, as I thought it, the destruction of our policy, but its completion and fulfilment. That is a vote I would undo if I could undo a vote once given. That great act, that daring act of faith, led directly to the reconciliation of the races in South Africa; it led to the Union of South Africa; it brought South Africa into the War with us; added German East Africa and German South-West Africa to British territory. Now and again, in the affairs of men, there comes a moment when courage is safer than prudence, when some great act of faith, touching the hearts and stirring the emotions of men, achieves the miracle that no arts of statesmanship can compass. Such a moment may be passing before our eyes now as we meet here.

INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

It would be advisable for British industrialists and financiers to look in future upon India, not primarily as a country to which they desire to export, but as one the natural industries of which it is their duty and their interest to develop to the fullest extent possible in wholehearted co-operation with Indian interests, writes Mr. John de La Valette in the *Asiatic Review*. He continues :—

If we refrain from assisting Indians in the aim which, with the full support of the British Indian Government as well as of the Rulers and Governments in the Indian States, they have set themselves—namely, to develop those industries which enjoy natural advantages in India—they will apply to others, less short-sighted than we. Those others would reap according to their sowing. So should we. Our assistance in building up Indian industries would speed up development in India. But our abstention would not prevent the inevitable growth of such industries. For the loss of goodwill and friendly co-operation which the latter course would entail, the slight retardation in the progress of India's industrialization would be scanty compensation.

It is of the highest importance that the process of building up India's future as a producing country should be so shaped, contends the writer,

as to consolidate rather than to weaken the strong ties which link India with Britain, not only in the interest of both countries, but of the British Empire as a whole. That is why Britain should foster India's industrialization.

Even without such assistance Indians will achieve their object. They have the example of Japan before their eyes, and they start with greater advantages; with a much more highly trained personnel; with an ampler supply of raw materials; with an existing nucleus of several industries which need only be expanded to assume substantial proportions; and, not the least, with a home market of 320 million people. We may then conclude by saying that India can greatly benefit by our aid in developing her industries, if that aid is promptly forthcoming. But even without it she will advance towards her goal.

GLEANINGS FROM RAJASEKHARA

Mr. Dasharatha Sharma, writing in the *Journal of Indian History*, stresses on the importance of the works of Rajasekhara, the court-poet of the Pratihara rulers of Kanauj, for the 9th and 10th centuries. They supplement the accounts left by the Arab travellers of the period and contain the valuable observations of the man on the spot. We know from him that even in the 10th century there was a loss of moral balance as well as growing superstition. The Kaula system which raises pleasure and sensuality to a ritualistic plane is described in detail in the *KARPURAMANJARI*; while all classes were bound down by gross superstition; astrology and magic were respected professions; and internecine warfare and religious disunion were rampant. In the *KAVYAMIMAMSA* Rajasekhara supplements the account given in his *KARPURAMANJARI* of the ornaments and dress of the women of the age and about their position and accomplishments. Polygamy and Purdah existed in an intense form perhaps; but women seem to have been educated and accomplished; and some of them were poets and writers on rhetoric and other sciences. Rajasekhara gives an account of the fairs and festivals of the age, of the prevalence of child marriage etc. and proves the falsity of the Agnikula myth so far as the Pratiharas are concerned.

OUR INSTITUTIONAL HABITS

There is a thoughtful article on "Our Institutional Habits" in the January number of *HARPER'S MAGAZINE* in which Mr. Floyd H. Allport observes that our habits of organisation, instead of helping us, have actually become a menace to our progress. Indeed it cannot be denied that our habit of organized industry have conferred substantial benefits upon the race.

They have placed us in a position where most of the drudgery, fatigue, and unpleasantness of work may soon be abolished. Many of the sufferings and terrors of disease are being eliminated and the span of life increased. At the same time new facilities for travel and communication have greatly enriched the experience of the average person. Scientific knowledge of the universe can now become the possession of the common man. We have a social organization and machinery which protect us from hazards and provide for our wants even before they arise. Food, clothing, and many of the niceties of life are laid at our doors without our having, personally, to plan or produce them. Institutional habits have organized us against the impotent scattering of our efforts, and have made us masters rather than slaves of our physical environment.

So far it is perfectly true. With such advantages we ought, in short, to be free. But are we? Has organization really liberated us for complete and happy living?

It seems to me that while our economic habits have given us, upon the one hand, the power of subduing our outer environment, they have created, upon the other new and perplexing difficulties of their own. We still have poverty, unfair distribution of the wealth of industry, hardships due to unemployment, bitter industrial struggles, racial conflicts, and international warfare. There is the monotony of machine labor and the pressure exerted upon all to maintain a rising standard of living; while the possibility of leisure time and the means of profiting by leisure when we have it seem increasingly remote.

In one important respect we are to-day in worse plight than were our less accomplished ancestors. Their early visions of subduing their environment and directing natural forces to man's benefit were amply justified by the later course of events. All the human qualities we prize—courage, industry and intelligence—could play their part. Men were at least free to struggle. But to-day the entire front of civilization has changed. The problems by which men are faced are no longer primarily those of the natural environment, but of society.

The institutional habits which have made our material progress possible have themselves become our principal weakness and source of danger. Yet disregarding the need of examining our own lives, we continue headlong in our construction of machines and organisations to Subdue nature. Instead of progressing, we are now travelling in circles, each material advancement leading only to a new social peril. We are upon the wrong track. Nor can the hardly virtues of an earlier day assist us. Integrity, fortitude, ingenuity, and pride in achievement—such traits to-day have little meaning for biological or social adjustment. An environment of institutional habits and machines offers no vantage point for human personality. Individuals have lost their freedom even to struggle. In placing man, as a race, in ascendance over nature we have subjugated men. This is a paradox for which I can find no answer.

But the writer's faith in the ultimate destiny of man is unshaken. Men and women will yet turn to a reconsideration of their manner of living. They will question whether that control over nature is worth while which is gained through the loss of control over themselves.

They will ask for a better guide than a system which, in building a colossal civilization, carries with it the power of thwarting and destroying life. In that day we may turn once more to the philosophy of the individual—not the present individualism of the entrepreneur, which is merely a license to exploit our business practices, but the ideal of self-realization for every human being. Institutions, no longer invoked as from above, will then be seen for what they are, the habits of men and women. The goal of a "great organic Society," whose members are but parts of human beings, will be rejected as a grim and monstrous illusion. The well-being of individuals will become the ultimate standard of life.

A VISION OF ADYAR

Dr. Kunhan Raja, writing in the current number of the *Theosophist*, visualises an Adyar of modern science and industrial civilization that will arise from the present site in the days that are ahead.

My idea of Adyar is that it should be, in all details, as much of an approximation to the heaven conditions as may be possible, having regard to the limitations of the physical world, so that any soul reporting from Adyar must be entitled to free admission to heaven, in consideration of the life that he lived in this world at Adyar. What I mean is that Adyar must have in it a very happy assimilation of the high spirituality of ancient religions with the material prosperity of modern science. Being a student of Hindu religion and ancient Indian civilization, and being also a rather ardent admirer of the achievements of modern science, I cannot get away from the conviction that we cannot make much headway in spiritual matters unless we make a corresponding advance in material affairs also. I think that there is some such idea latent in the very start of the T. S. in that H. P. B., the messenger of the White Lodge, started the T. S. in America representing modern science, and that later it was firmly established in India, the fountain of spirituality for the whole world.

BLOOD PRESSURE

Sir W. Arbuthnot, writing in the February number of *New Health* on "What is high blood pressure", traces the causes of this malady. He says that high blood pressure may come as a result of over-eating, over-drinking, over-working, self-poisoning from a stagnant colon, defective kidneys or focal infection in teeth, nose or throat. An increased pressure may result also from prolonged emotional disturbances—chiefly worry, anxiety, and hidden fears. He continues:—

There is a natural tendency for the blood-pressure to rise as old age approaches. This is due to the diminishing elasticity and gradual thickening of the arteries, which necessitates the heart beating more forcibly to overcome the increased resistance to the blood flow. Up to a point this rise is beneficial; but should the arteries become markedly hard and thick, the blood-pressure may rise to a dangerous degree. In consequences, the tension within the arteries may be so increased that they are unable to withstand the strain, and rupture; when, if such a happening takes place in the brain, a 'stroke' or an 'apoplexy' results.

The other risk is that the heart muscle, being unable to meet the excessive demands made upon it, weakens and fails. However, a moderately high blood-pressure in the elderly is no great cause for concern, as the mode of life is generally restricted at this time of life; but a high pressure in middle age due to premature hardening of the arterioles calls for urgent attention. Most frequently the cause of this affection is the neglect of the elemental laws of health.

THE POVERTY OF INDIA

India is poor because it adheres to a mediæval system of agriculture and the prime necessity is to secure a greatly increased return from the cultivation of its soil. Sir Alfred Chatterton, writing in the *Capital*, says that a demand for more strenuous efforts to rejuvenate the soil instead of frittering away resources on the creation of industries behind artificial barriers will come as a result of the imminent reforms and a greatly extended franchise.

"When it is realised that the productive capacity of the soil could be increased by at least 50 per cent., it is not impossible that adequate measures may be demanded to bring about so desirable an improvement. The Report of the Royal Commission has indicated in broad outline the reforms necessary and the policy which should

be pursued. It is for those who have to carry out its recommendations to decide on their relative importance and the prospects of introducing them on a large scale without engendering friction. The ultimate aim is to increase the fertility of the soil and that can only be accomplished by restoring to it the essential elements that are lacking. Much can be done by the introduction of improved cultural methods and by the conservation of local resources, but reforms are only likely to be slowly adopted and even then when they are fully accepted there will be huge deficiencies in the available supplies of plant food, which can only be made good by the extensive application of mineral and synthetic fertilizers."

The more rapidly they are brought into use, concludes the writer, the easier will it be to provide funds to carry out the recommendations contained in the Commission's Report as necessary to place India's future on a stable basis.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

CULTIVATION IN ANCIENT INDIA. By R. Ganguli, M.A. [The Indian Historical Quarterly, December 1930].

THE ARMY IN INDIA AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. By F. M. Sir Cland W. Jacob, [The Empire Review, February 1931].

INDIA AFTER THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. By Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. [The English Review, February 1931].

THE STUDY OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY. By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. [The Journal of the Madras University, December 1930].

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA. By Sir Verney Lovett. [The Asiatic Review, January 1931].

THE PATRIOT WHO GAVE HIS ALL TO INDIA. By St. Nihal Singh. [The Modern Review, March 1931].

Indian States

STATES SUBJECTS' REPRESENTATIONS

Representatives of the States people meeting at Madras and Calcutta have issued a statement in which they press on the Congress Working Committee to demand the rights and privileges of the States accorded too in case they open negotiations with proof of merit.

Dewan representing the demands the principal ones are Legislative representation of States subjects in the Central Legislature, through popular elections, their eligibility in all Federal Services on same terms as the people of British India, without lowering the dignity of the rulers of the States. Congress should take up the cause of the States people as their own and fight for their rights and liberties in the Federal constitution. The States should have access to the Supreme Court set up for the whole country. In conclusion the States should declare that for a stable and united Federation the advancement of the States also is most necessary.

LORD HARDINGE ON BIKANER

Speaking at a banquet given by the Maharaja Kumar of Bikaner, Lord Hardinge said:—

Speaking of my viceroyalty the Maharajah took action on two occasions which I always regarded as two episodes of supreme importance. Firstly, as a proof of his progressive views he gave his State a Legislative Assembly, as to the wisdom of which I had some doubt at the time, but in which events proved that I was entirely wrong. And secondly his decisive action in placing at the outbreak of the War in 1914 all the resources of his State at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor and himself leading and commanding in the field in Egypt his splendid and famous camel corps, where he and his command greatly distinguished themselves. These actions themselves were only proofs of the progressive views of His Highness and his extreme loyalty to the King-Emperor.

In returning to the State after 15 years' absence, I should indeed be blind if I failed to recognise the progress that appears to have been made during the interval on every side under the fostering care of the Maharajah. The continued prosperity of the State can be shown by the rise in the revenue to over one crore, the spread of the railways to 760 miles and the opening of the Gang canal. There are evidences of prosperity which cannot fail to be recognised and there will be a further advance if the Bhakra Dam scheme matures in the near future, as I trust it will, both in the interests of the State of Bikaner and of the Punjab.

MAHARAJA SIR KISHEN PERSHAD

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has been pleased to extend the term of office of



MAHARAJA SIR KRISHEN PERSHAD

Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, G. C. I. E., President of the Executive Council of Hyderabad for six months with effect from December last.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. U. M. Shelat, Journalist and press representative of several Indian newspapers in South Africa, has returned to India after residing there for 26 years.

In an interview, he said "South Africa will be lost to the Indians if the people of India and the Indian Government ignore the critical situation that has arisen in there through the revolutionary policy of frightfulness adopted by the Hertzog Government. With the exception of few imperialist papers, all the press in the Union of South Africa is advocating the elimination of the Indian population, and the Government has instituted a policy which will either compel them to return to India or face starvation and unemployment in South Africa through the lack of business, all avenues to earn their living being closed by the rough policy of the Union Government."

Mr. Shelat also pointed out that the English influence is waning in South Africa, and to the utter disappointment of the British people in Great Britain, their countrymen in South Africa are losing ground and suffering under an inferiority complex and Mr. Shelat holds that complete secession is only a question of time.

Mr. Shelat continued that all the political parties in the Union are agreed that the Indians should be driven off from the country lock, stock and barrel. The Cape Town Agreement, although very defective from the Indian standpoint and advantageous to the Union Government's policy of the reduction of the Indian population has been thrown into the waste-paper basket, and an extraordinarily iniquitous Bill known as the 'Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill' is placed before the Parliament with every possible hope of its passage without opposition of any political party.

Transvaal, added Mr. Shelat, is undoubtedly the centre of the enormous anti-Indian activity, but this venomous propaganda is not limited to

that particular Province. Natal has again started anti-Indian propaganda and Dr. Malan's speech of the best courses to get rid of the Indian from the country has given a fresh impetus to the movement which will surely and very soon succeed in restricting the property rights of the Indian in Natal.

The position is very serious undoubtedly, concluded Mr. Shelat and the key position is presently in Transvaal. If the Government of India did not succeed in its effort to the withdrawal of the Asiatic Tenure Bill, the death-knell will be sounded of the Indian existence in the Transvaal particularly and South Africa generally.

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

The Agent to the Government of India in Malaya has reported that the educated middle class Indians now in Malaya find it difficult to get employment there. Intending emigrants of this class are, therefore, warned that it is inadvisable for them to proceed to Malaya at present unless they are provided with an order of appointment or previous engagement of service.

EAST AFRICAN ASIATICS

Giving evidence before the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on East Africa, Sir Hilton Young urged the closer union of the three colonies and the establishment of central authority on the spot to hold the balance between communities of differing interests. He expressed the opinion that Asiatics in East Africa would be squeezed out by the Natives.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS IN CAPE TOWN

Mr. C. F. Andrews who was invited to visit the Stellenbosch University in Cape Town and speak on "India and South Africa" was accorded an enthusiastic welcome. The students have asked him to pay a second visit and lecture on "Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Tagore."

REVIEW OF INDIA'S COTTON TRADE

THE TOLL OF THE INDIAN BOYCOTT

A section of the review of certain main items of trade during the year 1930, issued by the Government of India, deals with India's Cotton Trade. The statistics show that during that period imports of all classes of cotton goods declined to a considerable extent while the production of Indian mills increased.

IMPORTS OF COTTON GOODS

The total value of the imports of cotton manufactures (piece-goods including twist and yarn) in 1930 amounted to Rs. 33,60 lakhs as against Rs. 57,99 lakhs in the preceding year, a decline of Rs. 24,39 lakhs or 42 per cent. Imports of cotton twist and yarn amounted to 32 million lbs. valued at Rs. 3,67 lakhs in 1930 as against 47 million lbs. valued at Rs. 6,54 lakhs in 1929, the decline in quantity being 32 per cent. and in value 44 per cent. Imports of piece-goods in the year under review were 1,254 million yards in quantity and Rs. 29,93 lakhs in value as compared with 1,910 million yards and Rs. 51,45 lakhs in the preceding year, showing a decrease of 34 per cent. in quantity and 42 per cent. in value. These figures show the enormous fall both in quantity and value of the imports of cotton manufactures.

The table shows that the decline in the imports is mainly in the quantity imported from the United Kingdom. In 1929 the United Kingdom sent 22 million lbs. of yarn whereas in 1930 it sent only 12 million lbs. a drop of 10 millions lbs. or 45 per cent. On the other hand the drop in the case of Japan as well as in the case of the other countries is of considerably less magnitude. Japan sent 11 million lbs. in 1929 and the other countries 13½ million lbs. In 1930 imports from Japan amounted to 8 million lbs., while those from other countries amounted to 12¼ million lbs.

The total decline in the quantity of imports of piece-goods amounts to 656 million yards.

GREY AND COLOURED GOODS

The imports of grey goods from the United Kingdom were 532 million yards in 1929. In 1930 they had fallen to 291 million yards, a decline of 241 million yards or a little over 45 per cent. Imports from Japan for the same period declined from 374 million yards to 265 million yards, a decrease of 109 million yards, or 29 per cent. Thus it will be seen that imports from the United Kingdom were much more affected than imports from Japan. As regards white goods the decline in the case of the United Kingdom was from 446 million yards in 1929 to 305 million yards in 1930, a decline of 141 million yards or 31½ per cent. On the other hand imports from Japan increased from 9 million yards to 26 million yards, an increase of 17 million yards. Under coloured goods, imports from the United Kingdom declined from 285 million yards in 1929 to 197 million yards, a decline of 88 million yards or 31 per cent. Imports from Japan under this head declined almost to the same extent as the United Kingdom.

PRODUCTION OF INDIAN MILLS

The production of the Indian mills in 1930 of cotton piece-goods increased considerably as compared with the preceding year.

The production of Indian mills for the eleven months of 1930, for which figures are available, was 2,283 million yards. The production for the corresponding period of 1929 was 2,119 million yards. Thus the production for the eleven months of 1930 showed an increase of 164,000,000 yards. The production of cotton yarn by the Indian mills also increased. The total production of yarn during the eleven months of 1930, for which figures are available, amounted to 788 million lbs. as compared with 729 million lbs. for the corresponding period of 1929.

BETTER METHODS OF CULTIVATION

It is time we recognised that the improvement of agriculture is essential to the success of efforts to create in the country that degree of industrialization which is required to absorb the energies of a progressive community, says Sir Alfred Chatterton writing in the *Capital of Calcutta*. "This wide-spread unemployment prevalent among ex-university students affords ample evidence of unbalanced development consequent upon inability to establish in India industrial enterprises on a modern scale. The reason for this is primarily the weakness of internal markets consequent upon the poverty of the mass of the population. For this the relative low standard of agricultural production is responsible and it is a matter of vital importance that efforts should be made to raise it. The extension of irrigation has hitherto been the chief direction in which an increased and less precarious yield has been effected by State agency, whilst private enterprise by the development of jute growing and the introduction of planting industries has done much to enable something more than a bare living to be obtained. Unfortunately this has been accompanied by a rapid growth in the population which has in consequence remained at a low level of material comfort. There is every reason to believe that a more intelligent use of the resources now available would lead to further progress, and it is to secure this very desirable result that the energies of Agricultural Departments are directed."

But all their work will be of little avail, concludes Sir Alfred, without new sources of supply of the essential constituents of plant food. "The complete conservation of all local resources in this direction would go far to achieve the desired end but there is little hope that the Indian cultivator will adopt on a wholesale scale the meticulous methods of the Far East and there is not the

slightest doubt that the chief hope for the immediate future lies in the extensive use of chemical fertilizers. Even in Egypt which enjoys the benefits due to the silt-laden waters of the Nile floods which have maintained its fertility since the dawn of history, it is now found profitable to import annually no less than 200,000 tons of nitrate of soda, and similarly the progressive cultivators of China and Japan are supplementing their already fully utilised local supplies by large importations of modern fertilizers. Obviously India must do the same. What is now wanted is an exhaustive enquiry into the matter to determine the value of the results obtained, to expose the obstacles to further progress and to formulate proposals for overcoming them."

PEASANT ORGANISATION

Owing to the unprecedented fall in the prices of agricultural products, a number of peasants' Conferences have recently been held to appeal to Government to remit land revenue this year substantially if not wholly. It is believed, says the *Bombay Chronicle*, that Provincial Governments are duly impressed by this universal clamour for remission and are contemplating measures to relieve rural distress in a variety of ways. "It is up to the peasants to make organised representations to Government stating their pressing needs. Congress leaders can do a good deal of constructive work by helping the peasants to organise themselves. It is reported that the peasants of Belgaum district have succeeded in getting remission of land revenue of over a lakh. Peasants' Conferences are being held in the other parts of the presidency and their example deserves to be widely emulated. It is remarkable that when most of the legitimate leaders of the country are in jail peasants in many places have themselves taken the initiative in organising themselves for the redress of their grievances."

ROCKFELLER FELLOWSHIPS

The Government of India have invited applications for nominations of suitable Indian candidates for fellowships of the Rockefeller Foundation this year. The applications will be considered by the Scientific Advisory Board of the Indian Research Fund Association. The selected candidates will receive a monthly stipend of £120 a month, if single, and of £182 if married, in addition to tuition and travelling expenses to and from the United States. During a period of residence in a hospital or other institution in the United States, which provides living accommodation, the stipend is £40 a month for a single and £100 a month for a married fellow.

Fellowships granted by the International Health Board are designed to meet definite needs in the public health service. They are granted only to persons carefully selected for the work that needs to be done and with the understanding that the persons receiving them will, on the completion of their training, be appointed to important positions in the official health services of their own country or in schools of hygiene.

AFTER-EFFECTS OF FEVER

Modern science has been described as "organised common-sense" and Sir Ronald Ross himself has attributed the conquest of Malaria not so much to scientific brilliance as to close attention to detail. The treatment of the after-effects of fever must be tackled in the same painstaking way. Quick-cure drugs and alcoholic stimulants leave no lasting benefit. The system must be fed scientifically and regularly with a true tonic food.

One such "builder" of excellent repute is Sanatogen. Essentially a food and not a medicine, Sanatogen, feeds the nerve cells with the two vital elements phosphorus and albumin, in exactly the right scientific proportions.

It is easily digested, we are told, and wholly absorbed by the starved nerve cells.

CURE FOR DELINQUENCY

Mr. N. P. Neilson of the California department of education maintains in an article in the *Journal of Juvenile Research* that mental and physical health have a direct relationship to juvenile delinquency.

Under modern social and economic conditions the amount of leisure time of the whole population has increased considerably and it is during this leisure time that boys and girls learn bad habits and activities are directed into wholesome channels, workers with delinquent children have found.

Public recreation leaders believe that the solution to this problem is the provision of an adequate number of playgrounds, baseball diamonds, football and soccer fields, tennis courts, swimming pools, indoor and outdoor centres in every community under trained leadership every day in the year.

Oh, what
a Relief!

For aching heads and
throbbing nerves

LITTLE'S
ORIENTAL
BALM



brings soothing
relief.

Made in India
Since 1885.

Sold at all
Chemists
and Stores

SIR C. V. RAMAN ON RESEARCH

"Provided facilities are forthcoming I would devote the rest of my life for the transformation of agricultural India to an Industrial one and apply



SIR C. V. RAMAN

scientific knowledge for the advancement and welfare of millions of my countrymen. With a budget of Rs. 10 lakhs for a National Laboratory, which I visualise, I pledge to make India industrially self-sufficient", said Sir C. V. Raman, replying to a congratulatory address presented to him on behalf of the South India Club on March 7, at Galstaun Park before a large and distinguished gathering, representing the cultured circles of Calcutta. In the course of his acknowledgment of the congratulations, he pleaded for greater help from our legislators and himself volunteered to conduct a research laboratory "on half the salary he was getting from the Calcutta University at present."

HARNESSING THE VOLCANO

Now that we are harnessing the tides and the waterfalls, there is no reason why the volcanoes should be exempt. So, according to the *Morning Post*, the observatory buildings at Etna are now steamheated from the crater, the supply being regulated "by a complicated system of valve and stop-cock." But isn't it something of a come-down for a volcano?

WIRELESS IN FRENCH TRAINS

Several trains on the French State Railways have been experimentally fitted with wireless receiving apparatus for the entertainment of passengers, and the experiment has been so successful that this equipment is likely to be extended to other railway systems in the future. Boat trains on the Paris-Havre and Paris-Chenbourg lines are now regularly equipped. The apparatus consists of a seven-valve set in which are incorporated two gramophone attachments, a frame aerial, and headpieces for the passengers. The receiving set is mounted in a box, which can be laid across the seats of an ordinary compartment which is reserved for the use of the wireless operators. Auxiliary apparatus is stowed under the seats, and the frame aerial is suspended from the roof. A portable loudspeaker is carried, and this is hung from the window during long stops at stations. Sockets are mounted in all the compartments, one for each passenger, and headpieces are distributed in paper bags. Each passenger, hires his own headpiece at a charge of five francs for the journey, and does not hear the broadcast unless he plugs his own headpiece into the socket. The most difficult problem is that of interference from the electric signalling circuits between rails, but this has been overcome by specially designed condensers which are fixed under the coaches. Each headpiece is sterilised before being issued to another passenger. Gramophone records and broadcast programmes are well produced, the only defects being fading out in tunnels, and a certain distraction which afflicts the listener when the rhythm of the train wheels on the rail joints is out of tune with the rhythm of the music.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION

The Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education will give 4 Scholarships of Rs. 50 and 4 scholarships of Rs. 25 each and 20 half fare passages to England.

BUSINESS ENGLISH

"Q", has written with considerable candour of the absurd jargon of what is known as official English, that is to say the vocabulary of the front benchers and even of those who write the reports of the Departments. But the jargon that is called business English has been exercising correspondents of *The Times*, one of whom urges that the Minister of Education and the N.U.T. should form an alliance to rid our business letters of the ridiculous word "Same." It is alleged, and widely believed, that the commercial schools in America instruct their students to begin every letter with one beautiful formula: "Yours to hand, and contents noted. In reply to same, would say—." Our schools and technical institutes are on the whole making towards a tolerable kind of letter-writing, says a contemporary. "But the idiotic verbiage has a dreadful power of survival. A direct and intelligent use of English must be a main part of our school education. And the failure to achieve that in more than a small percentage of the population is the sign of a great failure in English schools."

MR. SINCLAIR LEWIS

Mr. Sinclair Lewis, in his speech at Stockholm on receiving the Nobel Prize, said some severe things about America:—

"We still mostly revere writers for the popular magazines who, in a hearty and edifying chorus, chant that the America of 120,000,000 population is still as simple and pastoral as it was when it had but 40,000,000; that in an industrial plant with 10,000 employees the relationship between the workers and manager still is as neighbourly and uncomplex as in a factory of 1840 with five employees; that the relationships between father and son and between husband and wife are precisely the same in an apartment in a thirty-story palace to-day, with three motor-cars awaiting the family below, five books on the library shelves, and a divorce imminent in the family next week,

as were those relationships in the rose-veiled five-room cottage of 1880; that, in fine, America has gone through a revolutionary change from a rustic colony to a world empire without having in the least changed the bucolic, puritanic simplicity of Uncle Sam.

"I want to close this dirge with a very lively sound of optimism. I have, for the future of American literature, every hope and every eager belief.

"We are coming out, I believe, of the stuffiness of safe and sane incredulity and dull provincialism. There are young Americans doing such passionate and authentic work that it makes me sick to see I am a little too old to be one of them."

A TALKING NEWSPAPER.

What might be described as the first talking newspaper has just been created by an enterprising French woman, Mme. Paul Dupuy, who owns two great French journals, the *Petit Parisien* and *Excelsior*. It is claimed that the system invented by her enables the public to receive the latest news at any time during the day or night. All that one needs to do to attain this end is to ring up Provence 90'00 on the telephone. A moment later, the enquirer hears a man's voice reading a summary of un-to-the-minute news. After three minutes, one is automatically cut off. But one can ring up again at any time one feels inclined to do so. And this unique service is entirely free—except, of course, for the telephone charge. Countless plugs are connected with loudspeakers in the room of this talking newspaper, which is in the office of the *Petit Parisien*. Relays of men recite the latest news of the world to the countless inquirers who are taking advantage of this novelty, throughout the twenty-four hours.

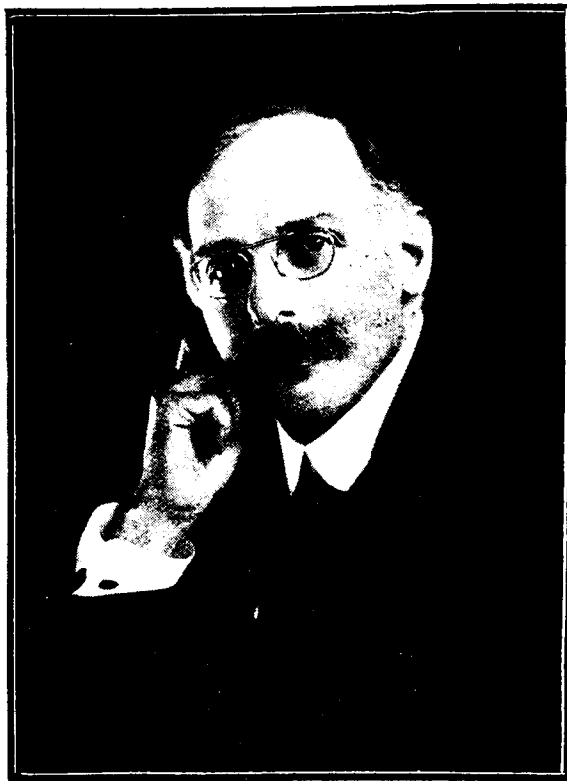
"YOUNG INDIA" AND "NAVAJIVAN."

Mahatma Gandhi has resumed the Editorship of *Young India*, and *Navajivan* from the 5th of this month. He has promised to contribute his articles regularly to both these journals.

INDIAN EDUCATION

SIR PHILIP HARTOG'S VIEWS

The organisation of primary education so as to provide educated electorates will constitute one of the greatest tasks confronting New India, declared



SIR PHILIP HARTOG

Sir Philip Hartog in an address before the East India Association, London, on February 17. He was of the opinion that it would be necessary for the new regime to overhaul the whole educational agency. Sir Philip advocated in this connection in the provinces the strengthening of the headquarters staff, one of the most important members of which should be the Directress of Girls' Education, increased inspectorate and central supervision of educational work of District Boards. He also adhered to the

view of his Auxiliary Committee that the Central Government should not be entirely relieved of the responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. He advocated the establishment of a Bureau of Education as the centre of educational information and the means of co-ordinating the educational experience of the Provinces.

Dr. Paranjpye presiding agreed that the central Government should have a voice in directing and co-ordinating the progress of education but the main responsibility should rest with the Provinces. He suggested that it might be possible in the new Government of India Act to make the progress of education as a binding duty on the Provincial Governments as the maintenance of Law and Order.

INDIAN VILLAGES WITHOUT SCHOOLS

A Central Provinces publication gives the following figures for Indian villages:—

Indian Provinces and States	Indian Villages	Indian Schools
Madras ...	52,198	44,492
Bombay ...	26,528	12,738
Bengal ...	84,981	42,539
U. P. ...	104,347	19,500
Punjab ...	34,199	11,200
Behar ...	84,814	28,787
C. P. ...	39,024	4,642
Assam ...	30,957	4,750
Hyderabad ...	20,151	4,365
Mysore ...	19,568	7,839
Travancore ...	3,885	2,418
Kashmere ...	8,865	379
Baroda ...	2,902	2,836
Gwalior ...	9,538	797
Total (Incomplete) ...	521,957	187,289

Despite several gaps in this list it is clear nearly two-thirds of Indian villages have no school.

A NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR

Professor Radhakrishnan of Calcutta has been elected Vice-Chancellor by the Senate of the Andhra University in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. C. R. Reddi.

PESHAWAR EXECUTION

By 56 against 42 votes, the Assembly carried the adjournment motion of Dr. Ziauddin censuring the Government for the summary trial and execution of Habib Nur who was sentenced to death for the attempted murder of Capt. Barnes, Assistant Commissioner, Charsaddha, as an act of revenge. Dr. Ziauddin was anxious to prevent the repetition of such miscarriage of justice.

Sir Hari Singh Gour pointed out that with the growth of responsiveness, if not responsibility, in the executive government, it was necessary that the repressive laws should be humanised and made subservient to the primary principles of justice.

Sir James Crerar quoted from the judgment of the sessions judge to show that on the accused's own admission it was a fanatical crime. The accused was unanimously held by the assessors to have been guilty and was sentenced to death and executed according to law. The Home Member concluded by saying that officers on the frontier carried their lives in their hands and there was no class of officers to whom he would more willingly pay homage than to the frontier officials. Let not the house take a decision which would be interpreted as countenancing murderous outrages.

Sir Abdur Rahim, speaking with life-long judicial experience, characterised it as a mockery of trial which had opened his eyes to the state of affairs in the frontier. The execution was unparalleled in the history of many barbarous nations.

MR. K. F. NARIMAN'S SANAD

Mr. K. F. Nariman replying to the Bar Council's letter for his explanation why the Sanad should not be cancelled for alleged misconduct says:— "Though I feel even if all the facts alleged were admitted they do not constitute professional and moral misconduct. Without meaning the slightest disrespect towards the Tribunal, I have decided neither to appear personally nor tender explanation before the said Tribunal."

A JUDGE ON THE POLICE

In the course of the charge to the jury in the case in which the retrial of Hansraj Saigal was ordered Mr. Justice Costello at the Criminal Sessions of the Calcutta High Court, said: "One of the most lamentable features which occur in the course of the administration of justice in this country is that in 99 cases out of 100, if not a higher percentage, the defence takes it upon themselves to cast aspersions upon the police and to suggest that the whole case for the prosecution has been maliciously, wantonly and improperly manufactured by the police. It is lamentable in my view that the people should regard the police as a fundamentally dishonest body and enemies of the public whereas they ought to be regarded as the servants of the public, protectors of the public and guardians of law and order."



MR. B. DUBE, THE FIRST INDIAN K. C.

At the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Lord Macmillan congratulated Mr. Bhugwandin Dube on his appointment as King's Counsel and said that he thought Mr. Dube was the first Indian practising as a Barrister to become King's Counsel.

THE LATE SIR J. JEJEEBHROY

We regret to announce the death from heart failure of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy at Mazagon Castle, Bombay, on the 6th February.

He was the fifth Baronet of his name and was the acknowledged leader of the Parsi community. This office of leadership carried great responsibilities and he discharged them according to the best traditions of his house.

The name of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy is respected throughout the country for with it is associated great philanthropy and public spirit. His uncle who was the third Baronet died without an issue and the Baronetcy devolved upon his father whom he succeeded at an early age.

He entered public life soon after the assumption of his great responsibilities and made a mark when he presided over the public meeting convened in the Town Hall of Bombay to protest against the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa. He took a keen interest in the problems connected with Indians in South Africa and continued to fight for the removal of the disabilities imposed on Indians in that Colony.

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY

A "New Party" has been formally launched by Sir Oswald Mosley. In a statement which declares that sufficient support has already been assured in Parliament and the country he appeals for voluntary workers and financial assistance, the aim being to run 400 candidates at the next election. The party aims at a system of Protection for all sections, the maintenance of a stage market and a high standard of life, and a definite plan of reorganisation.

A meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party has expelled Sir Oswald Mosley from the party on the ground of gross disloyalty. The Committee has also resolved that adhesion to Sir Oswald Mosley's proposed "new party" is incompatible with membership of the Labour Party.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Apropos of Gandhiji's visit to the Viceroy's House, the Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* mentions one phase which is said to have struck several people there. When the Mahatma was going to and returning from the Viceroy's House, "there was hardly a Secretariat man or an employee in the Viceroy's House who had not turned out to see him or had not waited abnormal hours to have another look at him." "That showed," says the correspondent, "that just where the Government authority was enshrined in all its glory, there too throbbed hearts as responsive to the spiritual message of Mahatma Gandhi as anywhere else." A most natural thing!



DR. CHITAMBAR

Dr. J. R. Chitambar, Principal, Lucknow Christian College, has been elected bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church by the Central Conference which met at Cawnpore. His election on the second ballot was received with great enthusiasm. He will reside in Jubbulpore.

R. T. C. AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE

An animated debate followed the speech of Sir Sankaran Nair when in moving in the Council of State that the recommendations of the Round Table Conference be placed on the table, he spoke sneeringly of the efforts of the R. T. C. and of Mahatma Gandhi. Sir Pheroze Sethna and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar put up a spirited defence while Mr. Natesan deplored that Sir Sankaran was giving a wrong lead to the House. The Conference, said Mr. Natesan, had restored the confidence of India in the good faith of Britain. And this good faith had been further cemented by Lord Irwin, who through his negotiations with the truth and peace-loving Gandhi ensured the participation of the Congress. Let there be no sneering talk of Mr. Gandhi, he added, when the energies of all were bent in the direction of forgetting the past and writing on a clean slate for placing India on Dominion Status.

RETRENCHMENT

The Legislative Assembly passed by 69 votes to 35 a token cut of Rs. 100 in the Executive Council grant, moved to demonstrate the House's insistence on retrenchment.

The leader of the Nationalist Party who moved the cut attacked Government on the ground of extravagance. His party, he declared, refused to accept Government's proposals for a retrenchment committee.

The motion was supported by several other members, including the English non-official group, whose leader, Sir Hugh Cocke, emphasised that its members were not satisfied that everything possible had been done.

The Finance Member in reply regretted that the House seemed disinclined to join in an investigation. He offered to set up an inquiry of a different kind in the place of the Retrenchment Committee but the Nationalists refused to withdraw the motion which was carried by a large majority.

INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY

The Council of State discussed on February 25 a non-official resolution relating to the Indianisation of the Army. The mover Saiyid Husain Imam recommended the formation of a Committee of Experts and members of the Central Legislature to frame a scheme. The mover and the speakers who followed referred to the recommendations of the Skeen Committee and previous efforts at Indianisation.

Mr. G. A. Natesan did not attach much importance to the Skeen Committee's report because that Committee did not have before it the reports of the Military Requirements Committee and the report on Indianisation of the Indian Army Committee of 1921 and 1922, respectively. Both these two Committees had at that time prepared a cut and dried scheme recommending complete Indianisation of the Indian Army within 28 years without affecting the efficiency of the Army. For some reason or other, both these reports were kept back from the Skeen Committee. In fact, but for the patriotism of some Indian members, and also the candour of Mr. Thomas, these two documents, he said, would not have been available to the Defence Sub-Committee of the London Conference. The only question, now, was how to give effect to the recommendations of the Defence Sub-Committee of the Conference.

Replying to the debate the Commander-in-Chief announced that the Government had accepted the principle of more rapid Indianisation and the creation of an Indian Sandhurst. He also announced the appointment of a Committee to advise the Government on the subject.

THE C. P. MINISTERS

In the C. P. Council Mr. Kolhe's motion for a cut of Rs. 42,000 from ministers' salaries was accepted by the Leader of the Democratic Party. As a result of this reduction Ministers will now draw Rs. 2,250 instead of Rs. 4,000 per mensem.

LORD HARRIS ON CRICKET

Lord Harris, speaking at the annual meeting of the Kent County Cricket Club, said that Kent and England themselves were greatly in need of bowlers, and, so far as the county were concerned, a close eye was being kept upon young talent. He was not at all impressed by the display of the England team in South Africa.

"Cricketers," said His Lordship "seem to break down much more easily than they used to do. I went to Australia in 1878-79 with twelve companions, and not a single man broke down. We certainly did not play so much cricket, but one cannot but notice the vast difference in the capacity of the present-day men to carry on."

Remarking that he felt very apprehensive as to the future, Lord Harris said: "We must give up calling upon our batsmen for brighter cricket."

He instanced several cases in Test matches last season when, in response to clamourings from spectators, a batsman, when well set, "had a go" and lost his wicket.

"This demand from the public to 'have a go' had a big effect on our play in the Test matches."

WOMEN AND THE BOXING RING

The Hindu woman, most conservative of all her Eastern sisters, has surprised and deeply shocked her critics, says a *Times of India* correspondent. She has invaded the boxing ring, the most exclusive preserve of man in the realm of sport.

This unprecedented event occurred on the 14th night in the White City Carnival, Madras. Suitably attired for the fray Kamala Bai of Malabar and Sita Bai of Tanjore entered the ring and engaged in a three-round contest.

They sparred out the first two rounds, perhaps not in the best style, but made the most of every opportunity. They warmed up to the fight in the third round and heartily slammed each other. There was nothing much to choose between the two and the fight was declared a draw at the conclusion by Mr. Bracksten, the referee.

WOMEN AS SPORTSMEN

There was a time when the ideal woman friend, the most desirable wife and the best mother, was she who added a little sweet, timid inconsequence to her feminine charm, and to whom all things were forgiving. Even falling short of the man-made code of "playing the game" was allowed in small things, anyway, so long as she was pretty and could hold her muff daintily.

That picture, however, is as out of date now as last year's fashion plates. Husbands, lovers, children, women themselves, are demanding something quite as different from that as the knee-high frock from the crinoline. "They all want to meet the women who are as good sportsmen as themselves."

M. C. C. TENNIS SURPRISE

Seventeen matches were played last month in the M. C. C. Tennis Tournament, Madras, eight in Men's Singles, two in Ladies' Singles, five in Men's Doubles and two in Mixed Doubles.

Three outstanding matches were played, the unfinished Doubles match between Hughes and Baker and Stroud and Johnstone, resulting in favour of the former evoking some brilliant rallies.



MR. BALAGOPAL

Baker gave a tough fight to Balagopal who won by sheer courtrcraft, all the strong drives of Baker unavailing. Though the match was decided in two sets, Balagopal had to play 25 games.

The surprise of the day was Mullen's defeat at the hands of K. Ramaswami Iyer, the Trichy champion.

MILITARY EXTRAVAGANCE

The Legislative Assembly carried a cut motion by 66 votes to 43 on the Army Secretariat estimates, as a censure on the Government's inability to control military expenditure. As military expenditure is non-votable in the Budget, the Assembly is compelled to raise the question of economy on the expenditure of the Army Secretariat. Mr. Moore, the spokesman for the non-official European members, admitted that India was not getting her full value for the money spent on the Army. By a greater use of aeroplanes, he believed it would be possible to reduce expenditure to 40 crores of rupees from the present level of 54 crores. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar raised the question of the capitation rate, which was arbitrarily raised from £11-8-0 per head in 1908 to £25-13-0 after the War. The Inchcape Committee on Retrenchment pointed out in 1922 the gross unfairness to India involved in this high rate, but the War Office has so far resisted any suggestion for a lower rate. The revision of the capitation rate, we are told, will at once be undertaken and have retrospective effect for the past five years. An Indian Sandhurst will also be established next year. Finally, Military expenditure will come under the scrutiny of the new Retrenchment Committee about to be appointed.

CONGRESS INSTRUCTIONS TO PROVINCE

Dr. Syed Mahmud, General Secretary of the Congress, has wired to all Provincial Congress Committees as follows:—

"In view of the provisional settlement arrived at between the Working Committee on behalf of the Congress and the Government of India I request you to take immediate steps to inform all Congress Committees in your province to act in accordance with it. Civil disobedience and the no-tax campaigns are to be discontinued, and there should be no further defiance of laws or regulations. The boycott of British goods as

such is to be discontinued and complete freedom regarding them given, but the boycott of intoxicating drinks and drugs and of all foreign cloth and liquor shops is permitted and should be continued wherever necessary. Such picketing should not be aggressive and should not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public or any offence under the ordinary law. If these conditions are not satisfied in any area picketing is to be suspended there. Insistence on Swadeshi goods in preference to all foreign goods is also to be continued. There should be no organised disobedience of the Salt Laws and no raids, but villagers residing in the area where salt is collected or made are permitted to continue to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale in the neighbourhood, but there should be no sale or trading outside. Unauthorised news-sheets should be stopped. Tax-payers should prepare for payment of land revenue and return to the villages where vacated in cases of economic distress or inability of payment. Other methods for remission or suspension should be adopted."

GOVERNMENT'S LOAN POLICY

In the Council of State, Syed Hasan Imam moved a resolution proposing a small Committee of seven members of the Indian legislature to advise the Government on loan operations. The mover made it clear that the object of his resolution was to create public confidence in the actions of the Government. It is well known, he pointed out, that the Government's loan policy has been widely criticised and the Congress talk of re-examination of public debts indicates the absence of confidence in Government's loan policy. Sir M. B. Dadabhoy opposed the resolution. One of the grounds advanced by him was that Government could not, in the public interest disclose when and where a loan was to be floated. The Council of State rejected the resolution.

Diary of the Month

Feb. 19. Mr. Gandhi interviews the Viceroy for half an hour on an urgent call.

Feb. 20. Mr. Gandhi addresses a mammoth meeting in Delhi on the present situation.

Feb. 21. The Maharajah of Jeypore is dead.

Feb. 22. Congress Working Committee agrees to stand by Mr. Gandhi.

Feb. 23. Mr. Gandhi addresses the Council of the Muslim League.

Feb. 24. Assembly carries adjournment motion *re* Peshawar execution.

Feb. 25. France agrees to adhere to the London Naval Pact.

Feb. 26. His Majesty confers an Earldom on Lord Willingdon.

Feb. 27. Mr. Gandhi meets Lord Irwin again.

Feb. 28. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya is released after her full term of imprisonment.

March 1. Gandhiji resumes negotiations with the Viceroy late in the night.

March 2. Labour Government withdraws Trades Dispute Bill.

March 3. Irwin-Gandhi Agreement is reached.

March 4. Congress Working Committee ratifies Irwin-Gandhi Agreement.

March 5. Mr. Gandhi assumes editorship of the *Young India* and *Navajivan*.

March 6. Civil Disobedience is called off and the Government of India repeals all the Ordinances of 1930.

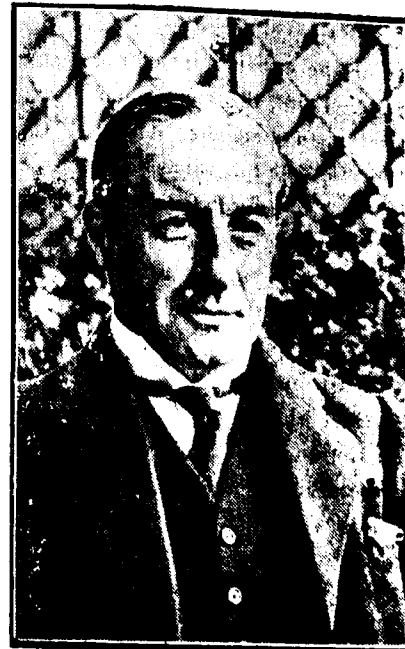
March 7. France and Italy conclude a secret treaty.

March 8. Mr. Vallabhai Patel addresses a big meeting in Bombay in support of Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

March 9. The House of Commons ratifies the British signature to the General Act for peaceful settlement of International disputes.

March 10. Mr. Gandhi enters Ahmedabad and receives a purse of Rs. 70,000, a gold takli and 10 mds. of handspun yarn.

March 11. Conservatives decide not to attend the 2nd Round Table Conference in India.



MR. STANLEY BALDWIN

March 12. India debate in the House of Commons: Mr. Baldwin makes a challenging speech and blesses Irwin-Gandhi Agreement: Mr. MacDonald announces the meeting of Federal Committee in London.

March 13. Viceroy promulgates Burma Rebellion (Trials) Ordinance.

March 14. Mr. Vernon Hartshorn is dead.

March 15. Mr. Henry Snell is appointed Under-Secretary for India.

March 16. Viceroy opens the sessions of Princes' Chamber.

March 17. Bombay gives a rousing reception to Mahatma Gandhi.

March 18. Turkey and Soviet Russia conclude a treaty of Trade.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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."

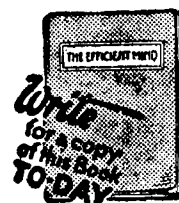
A NURSE writes: It has given me an aim in life, and has shown me how I can carry it out. It has made the world seem a much more interesting place to live in, and I feel more Self-Confident, with a more reliable Memory."

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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Readers who can call at the Institute will be cordially welcomed.

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Please send me, gratis and post-free, a copy of 'THE EFFICIENT MIND,' with full particulars showing how I can enrol for revised Pelman Course on the most convenient terms.	
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E. Mar. '31.

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E. Dec. '31. G.A.R.



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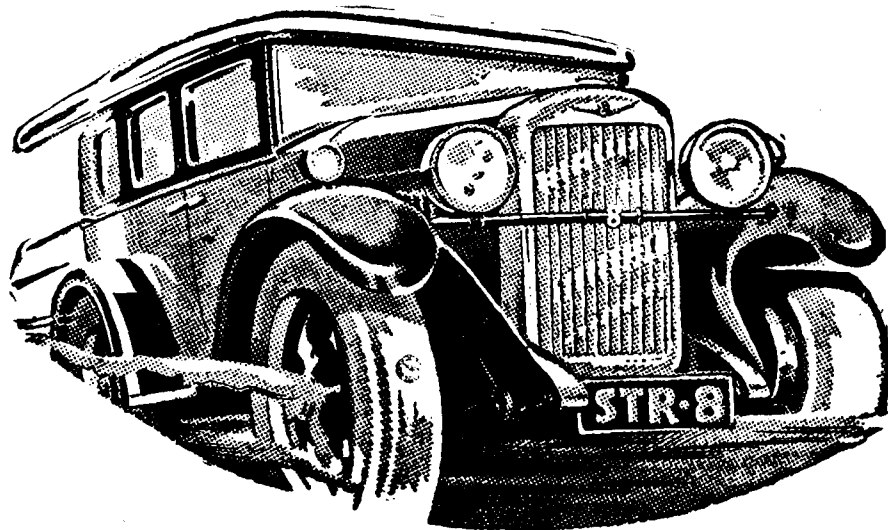


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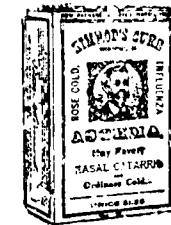
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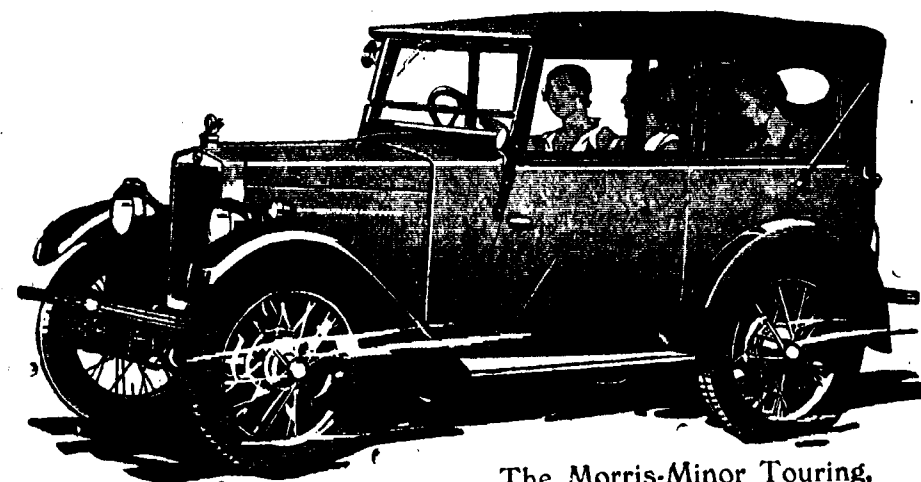
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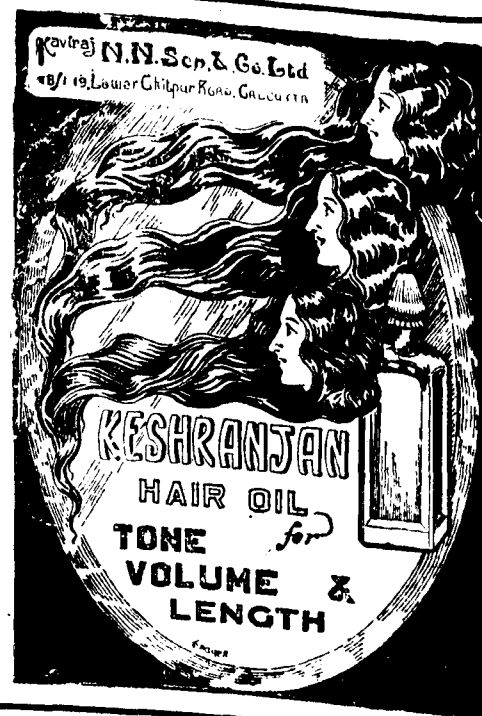
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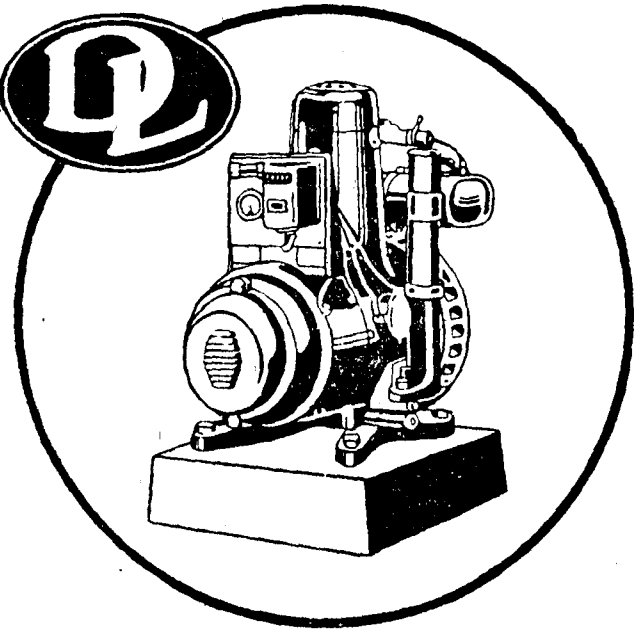
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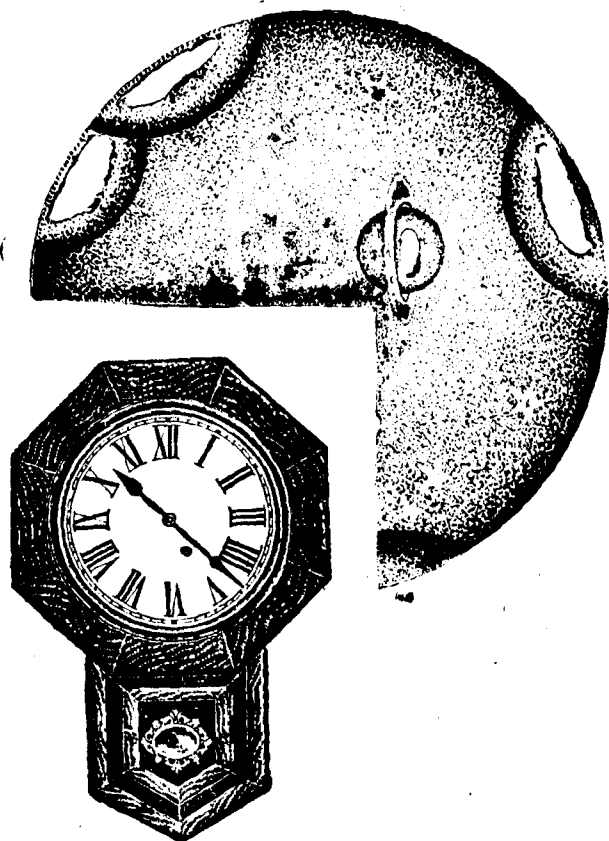
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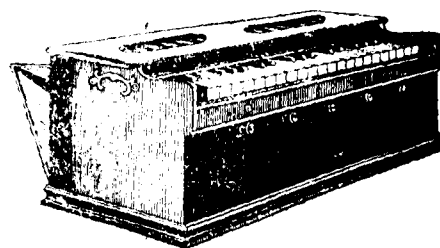
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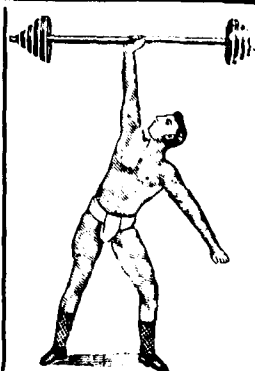
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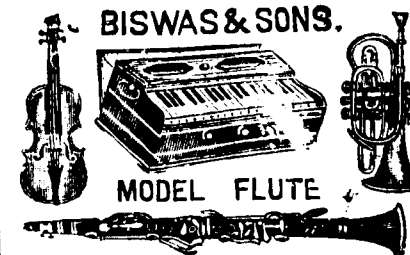
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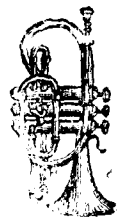
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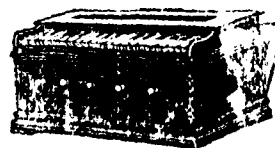
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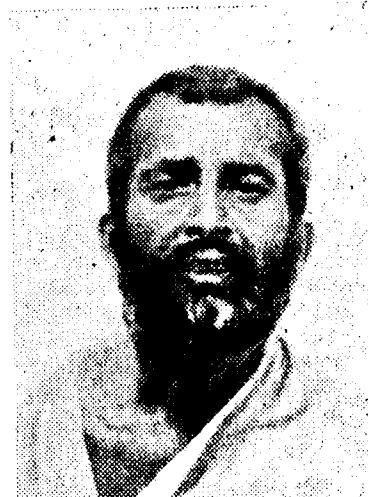
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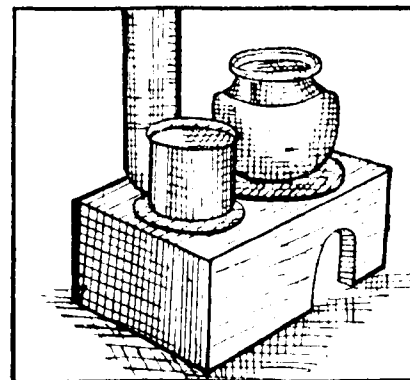
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