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[No.

THE UPHILL WAY

By SIR JAGADISH CHUNDER BOSE

CONSIDER the parable of the tree, which is not a mere collection of unrelated



parts but an organised unity. The tree persists because it is rooted deeply in the soil, which is the place of its birth. It is its own soil that provides for its proper nourishment and endows it with strength in struggling against

the waves of change and disaster, that have passed over it. The shocks from outside have never been able to overpower it, but have served only to awaken its nascent powers. The decaying and the effete have been cast off as worn leaves, and changing times have called forth its power of readjustment.

Whence did the tree derive its strength? Is it from the strength derived from the place of its birth, from its perception and quick adjustment to change and from its inherited memory of the past. The efflorescence of life is the supreme gift of the place and its association and patriotism is the response to the call of the country. Who could be so base as to be deaf to that supreme call?

Is there any strength for the constant renewal of our national life? Is the tradition of the past dead and forgotten, or is there a latent power of national memory which is to be awakened once more in a new and vivified impulse? To-day it is the ideality, the high character and achievements of our people that will prove to be the greatest constructive force. It will not be through transient emotion but through persistent efforts that they will succeed in building the Greater India yet to be. They will realise that for nation

ance it is ignorance that divides, and knowledge that unites the multiple forces constituted by the different peoples who have made India their home and their motherland. It is not by passivity but by active struggle that the world can be served in nobler ways. The weakling who has refused the conflict, having acquired nothing, has nothing to give in renounce. He alone who has striven and won can enrich the world by giving away the fruits of his victorious experience. It was action and not passivity, that was glorified in the heroic India of the past. There can be no happiness for any of us unless it has been

won for all. When a great call is echoing through the land, who can lead a life of ignoble ease or even seek personal salvation?

Opportunities are never given, but man has the divine power to create; he can, if he wills it, create the necessary condition and determine his destiny. Go out then with trust and hope in life's great adventure: the more difficult the task, the greater is the challenge! When we have gained the vision of a purpose to which we must dedicate ourselves wholly, then the closed door will open, and the seemingly impossible will become fully attainable.

THE NEW YEAR

BY

DR. H. W. B. MORENO.

Dreary and dull, drags the old year,
Footfalls grown weary, days in the sere,
Hour by hour, draws lengthily on,
Unnoticed, unnoting, wan and forlorn.

When hark! upon the air the clang,
Of midnight bells, as oft they rang,
Tolling aloud, a milestone past,
Of Life's long journey to the last.

Hail! thou young and wakening child!
Youth and age now reconciled,
Breathless yet the race pursued,
With hopes afresh and joys anew.

The past is gone, the world wheels on,
Cheeks are flushed and darts the eye,
Bid us on and never cease,
The prize to pluck—the palm of Peace.



TAKING MEDICINE

BY MR. J. C. MOLONY, I.C.S. (RETD.)

"GOD," said a cynic, made man healthy: then the Devil invented Doctors." Even so late as the present century one Mr. Dowie, who ranked as "a prophet" in America, wrote pleasantly of medical schools that "pollution, damnation, and hell hold high carnival there." I have been pursuing my researches into witchcraft, and in a vast and formless work entitled "Devils, Drugs, and Doctors," I have found a rich store of entertainment and information. For example, we all speak quite casually of "antimony"; but how many of us know what the name implies? An old-time physician, noticing or thinking that he noticed that pigs stay their hunger on the stuff, prescribed it for a community of fasting monks. The poor monks all died; and the good doctor noted the substance down as "antagonistic to monks," which is the literal meaning of "antimony." Why did my nurse afflict me in childhood with brimstone and treacle? Because thousands of years ago Mithridates, a mythical king of Pontus, invented a medicine to cure everything, and called it "theriac." The old wives of England mixed up "theriac" with "treacle," and added the brimstone, I suppose, to make the mixture beastly. For, there has always been in mankind a belief that the more revolting a medicine is, the more good it will do. Boyle, who emended the British pharmacopœia, recommended for dysentery, "the shoe of a man that walketh much" (to be taken internally of course); and sufferers from toothache in the 18th century were advised to try their own urine as a mouthwash!

We are all really rather alike, whatever the colour of our skins, and in nothing are we more alike than in our follies about the care of our own bodies. The simple Indian considers the barber to be a surgeon, the potter a bone-setter. In

England learning flourished at the time of Queen Anne; but just then the leading oculist was a tailor. And a chief physician in the days of George II was a dry-salter: he numbered Gibbon the historian, Fielding the novelist, and the polite Lord Chesterfield among the dry-salter's patients. Lord Chesterfield "gave him a chit," and a very good one. Tailors are proverbially timid, and I have not heard that dry-salters are especially brave. But really the old-time doctor needed courage. The chief doctor of the time of William and Mary refused to attend the Queen in her last illness: he said dryly that he "had heard before of pardons for physicians". It was not uncommon for the relatives of the patient to call upon the doctor to foot the bill with his skin. The friends of a deceased Pope flayed the doctor who had attended him, and the King of Bohemia drowned two oculists who failed to cure him of blindness!

The Indian vaidyan uses strange drugs, "crocodile's bile" among them. But does he ever enjoy the pharmacological ecstasy of the doctors who attended Charles II in his last illness? These learned men started with an emetic and a purgative. Then they tried an enema containing antimony, sacred bitters, rock salt, violets, beet-root, linseed, cinnamon, and a dozen other unlikely things. Then they shaved and blistered the King's head, and put Burgundy pitch and pigeon's dung to his feet. They gave him a "sneezing powder of hellebore," and powder of cowslips "to strengthen his brain". They next exhibited melon seeds, manna, slippery elm, nutmegs, and quinine; and as the monarch did not respond to this treatment, they gave him "forty drops of extract of human skull." "Alas!", writes the chief physician, "after an ill-fated night his serene Majesty's strength seemed exhausted, and

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Dissection every medical student now accepts as an everyday incident of his training. When the surgeons of the Renaissance period dissected (they called it "making an anatomy") they made an occasion of it. They chose a convicted prisoner, and the priests sang a special service over him. Then the executioner strangled him, and the Faculty sent out invitations to "the leading citizens" to attend the spectacle. There were

I fear that my study of witchcraft is leading me to the belief that there have been, are, and always will be, a very large number of fools in the world.

Sold at all
Chemists
and Stores

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Therefore, it is certainly not perfect. We have got the United States type. We have the type which has been used in Japan and which is of very great interest especially in some of its aspects, if not in all. We have the type such as was used in Germany before the war. We have got French methods and so on, and in order we may have all the world experience of the working of legislatures elected in different ways and composed in different ways, we shall study those.

There is, for instance, the place of the States in the Federation and the provision which must be made, that the States in everything which they are not agreed, to hand over to the Federal authority, owe direct contact to the Crown (Cheers). There is the composition of legislatures and the

executives and some problems regarding practical working. There are problems of communities and various details of safeguarding. Now I think I am right that so much work has been done upon this that the time has come for us to begin to try and draft something, because it is only when you begin to draft that you discover what you have overlooked and what you have not properly considered. Now this work must not be left to the bureaucracy in either country (Cheers), but must be conducted on the direct responsibility of the politician aided and guided by those admirably equipped servants of the States which both our Civil Services contain (Cheers). I hope, for instance, that in the further negotiations and explorations we are going to have the great pleasure of continuing the parliamentary unity which has been maintained with so much good feeling during the last ten weeks in the work of this Conference (Cheers).

PERSONAL CONTACTS

There is another important thing, one of the secrets of our success, in fact, I am not at all sure it is not the main secret of success thus far, is the personal contacts that we have been able to establish and keep going (Cheers). I have had a good deal of experience of these conferences. One week of conference produces more good than six months of diplomatic correspondence. Let us get down face to face; let us sit round the Table; let each of us state our claims, state our hopes, state our fears, state our expectations. Let each of us be candid, one to another and sitting face to face, there is an enormously better chance of understanding and agreement than under other circumstances (Cheers). I wish to continue that condition. There are practical difficulties, as you know. Much work has still to be done in India of an educational and explanatory character.

At this minute, after all the heavy work we have had to undertake without remission during the whole day and very often far into the night,

you will understand me, when I say that I am not in a position at this moment to tell you precisely the plan by which those personal contacts are to be maintained. I mention that, because I know that some of my friends place great store upon those points, and I want to assure you before you go home that I thoroughly agree with you regarding them. I propose to confer at once with the new Viceroy, who is arriving here in a few days and tell him what has been done—my colleagues and myself and I hope in this that I may include my Parliamentary colleagues, as well as my Governmental colleagues, and agree to a plan which will satisfy the requirements which I have just stated.

GOVERNMENT'S DECLARATION

At this point, I will read to you the Declaration which I am authorised to make by my colleagues of Government.

"The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, central and provincial, with such provision as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances and also with such guarantees as are required by the Minorities to protect their political liberties and rights. (Cheers).

In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, 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. (Applause).

His Majesty's Government, whilst making this Declaration, is aware that some of the conditions which are essential to the working of such a Constitution, as is contemplated, have not been finally settled. But it believes that, as a result of

the work done here, they have been brought to a point which encourages the hope that further negotiations after this Declaration will be successful.

THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE

His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis, accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a federation of All-India, embracing both Indian States and British India in a bi-Cameral Legislature. The precise form and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and representatives of British India. The range of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion, because the Federal Government will have authority only in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their Rulers in the agreement made by them on entering into Federation (Cheers).

The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation, their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy (Cheers).

With the Legislature constituted on Federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature.

Under the existing conditions, the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects.

Moreover, as the Governor-General must, as the last resort, be able in emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of Minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

FINANCE

As regards Finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions, as will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance, unimpaired, of the financial stability and credit of India.

The Report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject, including a Reserve Bank, the service of loans and exchange policy which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for somehow in the new Constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions to maintain financial confidence.

Subject to these provisions, the Indian Government would have full Financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for control of expenditure on non-Reserved services. This will mean that under the existing conditions the Central Legislature and Executive will have some features of Dualism, which will have to be fitted into the Constitutional structure.

Provision of Reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances, and some such reservation has, indeed, been incidental to the development of most free constitutions. But every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which will necessitate their use (Hear, Hear).

It is, for instance, undesirable that Ministers should trust to the special powers of the Governor-General as a means of avoiding responsibilities, which are properly their own, thus defeating the development of Responsible Government by bringing into use, powers meant to lie in reserve and the background. Let there be no mistake about that.

THE PROVINCES

The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature, and

will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of Self-Government. The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to the provisions required to secure its administration of the Federal subjects and to discharge its responsibility for the subjects defined in the Constitution as of All-India concern.

There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in exceptional circumstances, the preservation of tranquillity and guarantee of maintenance of the rights, provided by statute, for the public services and minorities.

Finally, His Majesty's Government considers that the institution in the provinces of Responsible Government requires that both the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based on a more liberal franchise. In framing the Constitution, His Majesty's Government considers that it will be its duty to insert the provisions guaranteeing to the various Minorities, in addition to political representation, that the differences of religion, race, sect or caste shall not, in themselves, constitute civic disabilities.

SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATIONS

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government, it is the duty of the communities to come to an agreement amongst themselves on the points raised there. During the continuing negotiations, such agreement will continue to render what good offices it can to help to secure that end, as it is anxious not only that no delay should take place in putting the new Constitution into operation, but that it should start with the goodwill and confidence of all the communities concerned.

I must convey to you all, on behalf of the Government its hearty appreciation of the services you have rendered not only to India, but to this country by coming here and engaging in these personal negotiations. Personal contact is the

best way of removing these unfortunate differences and misunderstandings which too many people on both sides have been engendering between us in recent years. A mutual understanding of the intention and difficulty gained under such conditions as have prevailed here, is by far the best way for discovering ways and means of settling differences and satisfying claims.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

His Majesty's Government will strive to secure such amount of agreement, as will enable the new Constitution to be passed through British Parliament and to be put into operation with the active goodwill of the people of both countries (Applause.) * * *

Finally, I hope and I trust and I pray that, by our labours together, India will possess the only thing which she now lacks—to give her the status of a Dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations—what she now lacks for that, the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties but the pride and the honour of Responsible Self-Government (Loud applause).

A NEW YEAR MESSAGE

BY

THE RT. HON. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

IN sending my best of good wishes to friends who are readers of the INDIAN REVIEW, I do so in the hope that the coming year will see India and Britain working hand in hand in a co-operative manner for the service of each other, and that all causes of misunderstanding and everything which keeps us apart, will be swept away. Goodwill and confidence in each other ought to enable us to straighten out the difficult situation which just now—when I am writing,—surrounds us.

Economic Relations of India and Great Britain

BY MR. HERBERT G. WILLIAMS, M.SC., A.M.I.C.E.,

Late Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.

IN a previous article that I wrote for THE INDIAN REVIEW* I urged the desirability of the establishment of preferential trading arrangements between the United Kingdom and India, and I have no hesitation in presenting further aspects of the same problem. At the moment there is naturally more consideration of the political relationship between the two countries, but after all in the long run it must be remembered that the main purpose of good government is to provide those conditions under which people may enjoy the best possible standard of living which the science and art of production and distribution permit at the time; and, accordingly, in this article I am devoting my thoughts to economic rather than political considerations, though of course I realise that the economic changes which I desire will require for their fulfilment political acts both in the United Kingdom and in India.

Writing as one whose knowledge of India is not based on personal experience, it seems clear to me that the general movement of thought in India is in the direction of the adoption of a general protectionist system, and whatever the future political developments may be in other directions in this matter the Government of India now for nearly ten years has been free to act independently of any views that may be expressed from London. The late Mr. E. S. Montagu, when Secretary of State for India in 1921 said:

The Government of India has the right to consider the interests of India first, just as we, without any complaint from any other parts of the Empire, and the other parts of the Empire without any complaint from us, have always chosen the tariff arrangements which they think best fitted for their needs, thinking of their own citizens first.

It is only a few months ago since in connection with the revision of the cotton duties we had an

"INDIA'S TRADE WITH BRITAIN," November 1928.

example of the truth of the constitutional doctrine declared by Mr. Montagu nine years ago. India has, in fact, emphasized since 1921 her fiscal freedom to an extent which, in my opinion, is undesirable both in her own interests and in the interests of the United Kingdom, because with a few exceptions for which there are special reasons, she has done less to develop the principle of inter-Imperial preferential trade than any other Empire country and, as a matter of fact, her preferences only apply to two articles of British manufacture, namely, certain classes of iron and steel goods and to cotton piece-goods.

While it is true that sentiment played a very powerful part in the initiation of the preference policy which was inaugurated by Canada in 1897, an example followed during the next eleven years by Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, the preferences which have been so far given to the United Kingdom and the preferences which have been given by the United Kingdom (all of which are on a unilateral basis,) were nevertheless, realised to be advantageous to the countries which gave the preferences, because in all cases they have had the effect of stimulating the prosperity of countries which are the best customers of the grantors of the preferences.

More recently, however, the view has been strongly expressed that preferences should be developed on a reciprocal basis by means of definite Trade Agreements, and Canada once again has led the way, because she has entered into quite a number of Trade Agreements with other Empire countries.

On the other hand, it is felt that in negotiating inter-Imperial Trade Agreements the object is to achieve a mutually beneficial result, but at the same time without attempting to balance with undue precision the two sides of the account,

Quite recently the Prime Minister of South Africa, General Hertzog, has expressed a strong view on the subject of reciprocal preferences when he said that the policy of his Government is

to give tariff preference to some of Britain's manufactures provided Great Britain extends a similar preference to South African products If the British Government does decide to drop the principle of preferences it will undoubtedly be necessary to make considerable changes in the tariff policy of South Africa and presumably also the other Dominions will find a similar necessity.

At the moment the United Kingdom is still a "free trade" country and accordingly her scale of preferences is much smaller than those of the Dominions. It must be remembered, however, that she provides various forms of preference of a less obvious kind. Tax-payers in Great Britain contribute something over £110 millions annually towards the cost of defence, much of which would be borne elsewhere if each Empire country had to provide separately for its defence, or had to contribute a proportionate sum to the joint fund.

The Empire Marketing Board has been established in Great Britain, with a grant of £1 million per annum, in the place of certain preferences which had been discussed at the Imperial Conference of 1923, but which were not put into operation, owing to political circumstances in Great Britain. It does valuable work in making known the products of the Dominions and India to consumers in Britain.

A further type of non-tariff preference is provided by the operation of a British Act of 1900 which enables the Governments of India and the Dominions and Colonies to raise money for development more cheaply than if they were compelled to resort to the open market. Their loans are ranked with those selected British securities in which trustees are empowered by law to invest trust funds. Accordingly, there is created a special demand for such securities and as a result the rate of interest payable is less than it would otherwise be.

I should, however, be disposed to agree with General Hertzog in his protest against any proposal in Great Britain to drop the principle of preference to Dominion and Indian products. I am, myself, prepared to go a good deal further than that for I should like to see a considerable extension in the range of products which are dutiable if imported from foreign countries, and duty free if imported from the Empire.

Great Britain is the most valuable market for foodstuffs and raw materials in the world. Her imports in 1928 in the categories "food, drink and tobacco" and "articles mainly unmanufactured" amounted to £770 million, but over the major part of these commodities she imports indiscriminately from all countries where supplies are available, so that while £260 million was imported from Empire countries, £510 million was imported from foreign countries. After making every allowance for the import of large quantities of petroleum, timber, and a few other commodities from foreign countries, which must almost necessarily continue, there is a very large import which could be diverted to countries within the British Empire by a wise tariff policy.

Let us look at some of the commodities in which India is especially interested as a producer. The figures of imports into the United Kingdom given below in table form relate to the year 1928, which is the last for which the complete detailed figures are available.

Commodity.	India.	Other British Countries	Foreign Countries.
	£	£	£
Rice and Rice Meal	1,696,000	15,000	2,077,000
Wheat	941,000	28,270,000	28,422,000
Barley	211,000	1,038,000	5,436,000
Peas & Beans (not fresh)	450,000	250,000	2,197,000
Oil Seeds	3,601,000	1,023,000	8,071,420
Jute Piece Goods	448,000	27,000	320,000

The list could be extended without difficulty, but these items may be taken as typical. Each of these commodities could be imported into the United Kingdom wholly or almost wholly from countries within the British Empire. The differ-

ence in price between the articles so imported already and the corresponding articles imported from foreign countries is in many cases trifling, and the increased production consequent upon protection in the English market should enable the prices of the protected products to be lowered eventually. In my opinion, therefore, Great Britain should impose duties on the above and similar products when imported from foreign countries, and admit them free of duty from India and other producing countries among the Dominions or Colonies.

The United Kingdom is at present worth something like Rs. 80,00,00,000 annually to India as a market, and by far her greatest market. Such a policy as I have indicated would enable a very considerable expansion in India's volume of trade to take place. Moreover, if the policy of reciprocal preferences were to extend to other countries in the British Empire it would comprehend a market which is already 41 per cent. of India's total world market. Such a policy is, therefore, on a much larger scale than any other conceivable economic policy.

India, as her part of some such reciprocal agreement as I have indicated, might be prepared to extend the tariff preferences, which she already grants, over a much wider field, thus bringing her into line with the Dominions.

I hardly need to emphasize, after what has been said earlier about the "fiscal autonomy convention" that this would imply no attempt to interfere with India's right to establish whatever duties she likes to protect her own industries. But where duties are imposed for other than purely protective purposes, the preferential system would provide for higher duties on foreign than on British imports. The greater part of India's tariffs are levied for revenue purposes. Out of a total estimated annual revenue of 132 crores of rupees, India raised in the last fiscal year 57 crores from customs and salt duties. There would,

I think, be no insuperable difficulty in arranging for Imperial preference within the revenue tariff, as the principal Dominions, though not all the Colonies already do. I make this suggestion with the full realisation that India's fiscal system is in some respects peculiar to herself and not fully comparable with the Dominions.

I have already said that an exact equivalence of benefits in such a trading arrangement which lies open on the lines I have indicated would be neither possible nor desirable. But the arrangement would be made between the Government of India and the Government of Great Britain with a view to promoting in a friendly spirit of agreement the economic interests of each nation.

I think that I should be correct in saying that India has not previously adopted a policy of Imperial Preference because she has felt that such adoption might be used to weaken her fiscal autonomy. Until full fiscal autonomy was established there may have been ground for the fear, but the convention has now been explicitly accepted. Imperial Preference involves no interference with self-determination in tariff matters.

As the Indian Fiscal Commission which reported in 1922 pointed out:

Many regard Imperial Preference as meaning a unified tariff policy of the whole Empire, dictated if not by the Mother Country, at least by binding resolutions passed at periodical Imperial Conferences. This is a complete misunderstanding of the real principles which underlie Imperial Preference. We have shown above that Imperial Preference implies no kind of interference in the tariff policy which the various Dominions have chosen for themselves.

Most of the Dominions have negotiated trade agreements among themselves, although none has so far been negotiated with the United Kingdom. There are trade agreements between Australia and New Zealand, between New Zealand and South Africa, between South Africa and Canada, Canada and Australia and so on.

I hope to see both Britain and India brought within this scheme of mutual preferences. I am convinced that it would give a tremendous fillip to the economic prosperity of both. And upon their economic prosperity their political and spiritual welfare ultimately depend.

KAUTILYA AND MACHIAVELLI

BY PROF. NARENDRAKRISHNA SINHA, M.A.,

Midnapur College, Midnapur.

IN a comparative study of Kautilya and Machiavelli, the first relevant point is the respective methods of the two writers. Kautilya's work is to a certain extent professedly a summary of the work of the previous writers on political science. "Learning from many he became the disciple of none and was thoroughly independent." His quotations are made in order to present all possible views, on a problem subject to differences of opinion. He ably refutes the views of his predecessors in most cases and advances his own, with reasons adduced. His method, however, is philosophical rather than historical. But he is not ignorant of the historical method. In some cases, his empiricism is supported by references to history.

Machiavelli relies much more on the historical than on the philosophical method. Apparently, therefore, he appears more scientific than Kautilya, but his method also is none the less, empirical. As Dunning says, 'his conclusions were reached empirically and were then supported by references to history.' Moreover, his picking and choosing of facts from past history was very much disjointed. As one writer has said, "His was not the valuation of a historian. He rather prized an event as a chemist prizes his acid or his salt for the reactions he could obtain by projecting it into the elements of a particular combination in politics at which he seemed to be working."

Machiavelli wants to see Italy unified under one supreme ruler much like an 'Avatar' whereas Kautilya writes for the guidance of one who is already established as a supreme ruler of an unified country. As such, Machiavelli writes with all the ardour of a passionate patriot. His objectivity was overshadowed by his subjectivity. In the case of Kautilya, we have no such fiery

enthusiasm, no sentimental background. In Machiavelli, we have both heat and light, in Kautilya only light.

Machiavelli's theory of the state is very different from that of Kautilya. He relieved the state from the dominion of the church. In his theory of the state even the individual and the society do not count. 'He delivers men over to the political power as helpless, almost imbecile slaves'. His state is the all-embracing Leviathan whose highest duty is to assert itself and whose most contemptible sin is weakness. Machiavelli's state is an end not a means. Its chief foundations according to Machiavelli are laws and arms and not so much laws as arms. He inculcates the doctrine that it is much safer for the state to be feared than loved, when of the two either must be dispensed with. His state also is a combination of the fox and the lion. It has no beauty or grace. 'It is a fearsome thing ruling by intrigue and by ruse * * *. There is no limit to the state thinking—undeterred by any fear except the fear of physical punishment.'

But in Kautilya's book there are definite bounds on the state. It is going too far to assert that the chief duties of the state described by Kautilya 'were the punishment of crime and the filling of the king's treasuries and it maintained only the irreducible minimum of political organisation—caste, custom and religion squeezing the state into a very small corner of Indian public life'. Caste, custom and society were certainly alive; but that does not necessarily mean that the state was only half-alive. 'There is always a continual interaction between the state and the society.' 'The ideal aim is that the two should be commensurate and that every living social force should find a place in the constituted order of

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KAUTILYA AND MACHIAVELLI

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things. The state of Kautilya strives to realize this ideal so far as it is realizable.

Machiavelli is not alive to this problem, of the relations between the state and the society and its importance. The state is kept confined in its proper sphere by Kautilya. It is not to be the dreary and appalling Sparta, but at the same time there is to be no *imperium in imperio*. Whatever may be said to be the position of the Brahmins in ancient India, in Kautilya's book they do not have an exaggerated importance politically in spite of their immunities. The functions of Kautilya's state include internal and external protection, the promulgation of laws, maintenance of judicial tribunals, maintenance of the Varnashrama dharma. It gives relief in times of famine, relief to the poor even in normal times, spends munificently in public works and charities and patronises learned men. It collects taxes for all these purposes. Such a state cannot certainly be described as half-alive.

In fact as Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has shown the most pre-eminent characteristic of the Mouryya state as we find in Kautilya—is centralisation. 'Justice had become royal, even law tended to be royal. The village came under the royal officer. All ships were owned by the state. Virtues alone did not come under the focus of the crown. Also vices were brought under the imperial vigilance. Prostitutes were placed under a royal department, gambling was centralised in government buildings, or in buildings licensed by the government. Hotels and wine-shops were placed under imperial departments. Mines were monopolised. * * * Centralisation was against the genius of the race and it failed.'

What are to be the relations between the government and the governed? What is to be the end of governments? On this point, we should note first how the two writers desire their Kings to prepare for their task. Kautilya wants his King to have Vidya Samarthya (i. e. to read Puranas,

Itivritta, Akshyaika, Udaharana, Dharmasastra, Arthasastra, Itibasa etc). 'He is to give up lascivious tendencies if any, and anger, greed, vanity and overjoy. He is to restrain the organs of sense, acquire wisdom, see through spies, establish safety and security by being over-active, exercise authority, keep up his personal discipline and endear himself.

Machiavelli wants his Prince to have 'no other aim or thought, nor select anything else for his study than war and its rules and discipline, for this is the sole art that belongs to him who rules. In peace, he should addict himself more to its exercise than in war. For this, he is to keep men well organised and drilled, to follow incessantly the chase and to read histories.'

Thus it is quite apparent that Machiavelli takes the end of government less seriously than Kautilya. Unlike Kautilya he does not regard his Prince's calling as a sacred one. He is so much taken up with the question of the safety of the state that the welfare of the governed, the end of the state does not keep him engrossed at all. But as Kautilya regards the calling of his Prince to be sacred, he recommends elaborate preparations for the task.

Kautilya very distinctly lays down that the end of government is the welfare of the governed. 'In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare, whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good but whatever pleases his subjects.'

As against this strong assertion of Kautilya, we have a bold statement by Machiavelli. The motive of Machiavelli's Prince is mere enlightened self-interest and he is to do good to his people 'as he can never secure himself against a hostile people because of their being too many'—A Prince ought to show himself a patron of ability and honour, the proficient in every art. At the same time, he should encourage the citizens to

practise their callings peacefully both in commerce and agriculture.'

Machiavelli brushes away all idealism in his statement "how one lives is so far distant from how one ought to live." He lays more emphasis on the 'show' than on the fact itself. Herein he compares unfavourably with Kautilya. The Indian was certainly far from an idealist. But so far as the aim of the state is concerned, Kautilya had glimpsed enough of idealism to make him cognisant of the fact that the best way to convince the people, that their Prince loves them is really to love them.

Machiavelli is certainly clear-sighted but 'clearness is not necessarily the only or the most important aspect of a truth.' Most probably he had the same opinion as Trietscke later. 'The question of the material condition of the subjects is secondary from the political point of view and the essence of the state is power directed both inward and outwards.'

In view of all these facts the following accusation does not seem unjustified. 'Machiavelli was clear-sighted but not far-sighted. He never saw things as they might be, he saw them as they were and hence missing possibilities he missed statesmanship. He understood cunning for the craft of the statesman in the largest sense of the term.' His doctrine of power for its own sake stands self-convicted.

In their treatment of the art of government, Kautilya and Machiavelli are much alike, but within the limited perspective, the Italian surpasses the Indian. Kautilya reserves his questionable methods for extreme cases. But so much has been said of bad measures, and in this Machiavelli is more guilty than Kautilya, that it is a wonder if good measures would at all be adopted. The 'Gresham's law' is operative no less in politics than in economics.

Kautilya speaks at length about the institute of espionage, of the different kinds of spies and how

it is necessary to examine the character of the ministers by different allurements, religious, military, love and fear. Even the queen is not above suspicion and the sons of the King, are not to be free from the attention of spies. In reading through the pages of Kautilya we are pretty often reminded of Aurangzeb who once wrote to one of his sons that a monarch should fear even his own shadow. In the case of royal officers, we have the same policy of mistrust. 'Just as it is impossible not to taste the honey or the poison that finds itself at the tip of the tongue, so it is impossible for a government servant not to eat up at least a bit of King's revenue.'

'When in concert, they eat up
When in disunion they mar the work.'

'Without bringing to the Knowledge of their master they shall undertake nothing but remedial measures against imminent danger.' Kautilya recommends that the heads of different departments shall at first be temporary. Then when their fidelity had been tested by different allurements should they be made permanent. But he recommends handsome remuneration knowing it full well that wealth is the best means of ensuring loyalty. According to him about one fourth of the total revenues should be set apart for maintaining the servants though recommending a spirit of suspicion, Kautilya is not oblivious of the fact that this alone will not do to make a good ruler. 'A single wheel can never move.' He must have a few very trusted ministers. Suspicion is not thus carried to such an extent as to make government an impossibility.

Machiavelli is of opinion that the qualifications essential for success in the art of government are 'combinations of audacity with diplomatic prudence, adroit use of cruelty and fraud, self-reliance, avoidance of half measures, employment of native troops and firm administration in the conquered provinces. He recommends that in order to do great things Princes should hold

faith of little account, they should have the qualities of the fox and the lion, should appear merciful, faithful, humane, religious and upright, but should know and be always ready if necessary to turn opposite. 'Everyone sees what you appear to be, few know what you really are.' Princes cannot avoid hatred altogether, but they should avoid being hated by everyone and should in particular avoid the hatred of the most powerful. A wise prince should also foster some animosity against himself so that crushing it he may increase his reputation. Like Kautilya, Machiavelli says that a prince ought always to take counsel, but the Italian is of opinion that the prince should take such counsel only when he wishes and not when others wish.

Both Machiavelli and Kautilya have very low opinion about human nature. Kautilya opines that men are naturally fickle-minded and like horses at work exhibit constant changes in their temper. Machiavelli makes a like assertion. 'Men are ungrateful, fickle, false, cowards and covetous, and only as long as you succeed, they are yours entirely.' Elsewhere he says, 'men will always prove untrue to you unless they are kept honest by constraint.' Both hold the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature. The unblest gospel taught by both Machiavelli and Kautilya is that 'whatever policy demands justice will allow'. The squareness which imagination looks for in eminent men receives a rude shock when we go through the pages of Machiavelli and Kautilya. The unremitting craft of Kautilya's King and Machiavelli's Prince seems inconsistent with upright conduct even under normal circumstances. In spite of his ultimate failure, Caesar Borgia was chosen by Machiavelli as the ideal ruler who tried ably to carry out the principles of the art of government inculcated by Machiavelli. But that man was nothing but a devil with all the arts of devilry. His talent was 'to slay fellow citizens, to deceive friends, to be without faith, without mercy, without

religion!' In spite of his reservation of doubtful measures for extreme cases, the environment of Kautilya's state, in its gloom is surpassed only by that of Machiavelli.

CONCLUSION

We do not assert that the strictest morality of the Sermon on the Mount should have been recommended by Kautilya and Machiavelli. But that does not necessarily mean that the alternative is the policy that 'the end justifies the means.'

The differences between Kautilya and Machiavelli are considerable. The Italian is apparently more scientific but not really so. He is certainly more ardent. He excels Kautilya in his treatment of the art of government, though that excellence is limited in its range to that aspect of policy specifically known as Machiavellian. But the Indian is certainly superior, in dealing with foreign policy. There is, however, a world of difference between the two so far as the aim of the government is concerned. Machiavelli is not interested in the problem at all. The art of government engages too much of his attention. He forgets that the state exists for the sake of good life. What has been said of Trietscke is also true of Machiavelli. 'The dreary and appalling Sparta was, to be imposed upon the world, not the culture of artistic and scientific world. * * * This would reduce the world from the comparative civilisation, it has reached to the level of the ocean, where mighty sharks and gigantic devil fishes struggle with each other for survival—the human refinement in the warfare would be found in the astuteness of the spies and the mendacious representatives.'

To the credit of Kautilya, however, we must admit that with all his defects, he does not after all, present the picture of a dreary and a desolate Sparta. The atmosphere may not be pure, clear and sunny but certainly his world is not without vegetation.

Quo Vadis?—Bombay Finances

BY DR. P. BASU,

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THE financial condition of the Government of Bombay has now reached a stage when it may well arouse a feeling of alarm in the minds of all who are interested in the financial stability of the Presidency. The present condition has been almost universally attributed to the recent political situation in the Presidency. Although this is true to a certain extent we fear that issues have been confused, and more permanent and direct forces which have been working during the last ten years have been greatly ignored. An analysis of the causes and growth of the Public Debt of Bombay since the inauguration of the Reforms Act of 1919 will show some startling facts and will perhaps explain the reasons why the finances of Bombay are in such a desperate condition. In order completely to keep out the effects of the present political movement in the country we shall take our figures not later than 1928. On the 31st March, 1921, that is, just at the beginning of the Reforms the public Debt of Bombay was Rs. 21.5 crores (Rs. 12.12 crores due to the Central Government and Rs. 9.38 due to the direct Development Loan). This was 26.5 per cent. of the total Public Debt of all the Provincial Governments. On 31st March, 1928, Bombay's debt was Rs. 59.08 crores or 41.4 per cent. of the total Provincial debts. Out of the total advances from the Government of India to the Provinces amounting to Rs. 60.37 crores (excluding the debt due to the Provincial Loan Account and Irrigation Capital) Bombay took up Rs. 39.47 crores or 65 per cent. Analysed year by year the net advances stand as follows (in crores of rupees):

Year	Bombay	All other Provinces
1921-22	3.70	2.68
1922-23	7.36	2.23
1922-24	9.96	0.17
1924-25	6.75	2.12
1925-26	5.84	2.13
1926-27	1.92	3.87
1927-28	2.11	4.06

Thus it will be seen that Bombay started borrowing at a tremendous rate, and its example was partially followed by Madras and the United Provinces although from a respectable distance. The excess of the Provincial Debts on 31st March, 1928, over those of 31st March, 1921, was as follows (in crores of rupees):

Bombay	37.58	C.P.	1.34
U.P.	10.49	Bengal	1.30
Madras	6.27	Burma	0.75
Punjab	4.37	Bihar & Orissa	0.27

Between 1920 and 1928 Bombay's debt increased by nearly 700 per cent. The charge on the finances of Bombay can be seen from the fact that whereas the average rate of interest in 1921-22 was 3.31 per cent. in 1927-28 it rose to 6 per cent. the average rate for the years 1921-1928 being 6.23 per cent. This means that the permanent charge on the revenues of Bombay for the interest on the Government of India advances has increased by about 1400 per cent. So much about the advances from the Government of India.

If we now turn to the direct loans which the Provinces were empowered by the Reforms Act of 1919 to raise under certain general supervision of the Government of India we find that their amount is smaller but the rate of their interest is heavier. In 1920-21 Bombay raised a tax-free loan of Rs. 9.38 crores at 6½ per cent. when the average rate for the Government of India loans was about 3½ per cent. also to make the loan tax-free Bombay had to pay a large sum to the latter. This was, however, exceptional. The average rate of interest for the years 1921-1928 on direct loans was 6.70 per cent. as against 6.23 per cent. on advances from the Government of India. Thus direct loans were incurred at an additional charge of ½ per cent. more than borrowings through the Government of India. So, on this one loan of Rs. 9.38 crores Bombay pays an extra annual charge of Rs. 4.69 lakhs more than

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QUO VADIS?—BOMBAY FINANCES

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what it would have been required to pay if the loan had been obtained through the Government of India. Moreover, if we compare the terms on which the Provinces borrowed directly and those on which an all-India rupee loan was raised in the same year we find that in every case the former paid a higher rate. In the circumstances it is difficult to see the reason why the Provinces could not borrow through the Government of India. The latter could not have pleaded inability, for in every case the all-India rupee loan was over-subscribed except in 1923-24 when the sum was a fixed one. This can be seen from the following figures regarding the all-India rupee loans (in crores of rupees):

Year	Budgeted amount	Actual yield
1920-21	15	29.75
1921-22	15	49.20
1923-24	25	24.00 (fixed sum)
1925-26	12	30.61

Thus Bombay borrowed Rs. 9.38 crores at a higher rate in 1920-21 when the Government of India loan was over-subscribed to the extent of nearly 100 per cent. This only shows a lamentable lack of co-ordination or sympathy between the Central and Provincial Governments.

If we now examine the purposes for which these Provincial loans were raised between 1921 and 1928 we are struck by the light-hearted fashion in which Bombay went on borrowing for works which, in no country in the world and least of all by a Government suffering from the burden of the unjust financial settlements of 1921 (due mainly to the transfer of the Provincial Loan Account), are the legitimate objects of expenditure to be covered by loans. Before 1921 the only capital asset of the Provinces was irrigation works. In 1920-21 Bombay created a new capital head under the Development Department. Since then the example has been followed elsewhere. Bombay itself had added other Public

Works, Commuted Value of Pensions, and other heads. We do not get an adequate idea of how the money was spent only by looking into the heads of apparently economic development. If we go into the details of the expenditure from the loans we find some amazing facts. A sum of Rs. 94,000 was spent under agricultural improvements, which was mostly spent on the acquisition of land and on the buildings of the Agricultural College at Poona. Up to 31st March, 1928 Bombay spent a sum of Rs. 11.76 crores on the development scheme. We are unwilling to rake up the bitterness of the controversy over the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. But the burden of that scheme on Bombay will be realised from the statement by the Finance Member of Bombay in his budget speech of 1927-28 that the Provincial revenues of Bombay have been mortgaged for a period of sixty years for the sum of Rs. 20 lakhs a year. The Governor, in his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in the Christmas of 1928, attributed to the Development Department the recent budget deficits of Bombay. Fortunately for Bombay's financial stability the current year's budget foreshadows its abolition. For Civil Works Bombay has spent Rs. 3.42 crores under the 'transferred' department. All this has really been spent on one or other of the following heads: Commissioners and District Officers, Police, Administration of Justice, Jails and Convict Settlements, and Civil Works. Except the last item not one is really a 'transferred' subject. The grouping is curious, e.g., in 1925-26 the expenditure on police buildings which was shown as 'reserved' in Bengal has been shown as 'transferred' in Bombay. Huge sums of money have thus been spent on buildings out of borrowed funds. In Bombay a sum of Rs. 7.84 lakhs has been spent on improving the communications in the forest, and the same type of expenditure has been covered from revenue in Bengal, Burma, and Bihar and Orissa. The Commuted Value of

Pension has been responsible for an expenditure of Rs. 6.74 lakhs. A large sum has been spent on irrigation works—the Lloyd Barrage in particular—which as productive works are legitimate objects of expenditure to be covered by loans. Under other Provincial Works Bombay has spent Rs. 40.76 lakhs out of which a sum of Rs. 20.28 lakhs has been spent on the development of artillery maidan of Karachi and a sum of Rs. 17.39 lakhs on the acetone factory buildings at Nasik. Bombay has also spent Rs. 26.85 lakhs in the 'transferred' department on Improvement of Public Health. The sum was been spent as follows: Rs. 8.76 lakhs as payments towards the cost of military buildings at Quetta for the development of Karachi, Rs. 81,000 on the Karad Water Works, Rs. 77,000 on Poona Town Planning Scheme, Rs. 11.50 lakhs on Poona Water Works, and Rs. 5 lakhs to improve

the distribution system of the Poona Cantonment water supply.

Of all the above expenditure of Bombay out of loans contracted during the last ten years it is doubtful whether more than 25 per cent. or so can be said to have been spent on works which are considered in any country in the world as legitimate objects of expenditure from loans. This has had the effect of unstable finances, low credit, and charging the future generations with expenditure which, if necessary, should have been undertaken out of surplus revenues or outstanding balances. The interest charge is already a heavy drain on the Presidency.

It is high time that those in charge of the finances of the Bombay Presidency asked themselves "whither going" and drastically revised their course of action regarding the raising of loans to cover unproductive expenditure.

Genesis of Jazya: Its Early History

BY MR. A. HAMEED HASAN, B.A., LL.B. (Alig).

THE Non-Muslims consider "Jazya" or Capitation Tax levied on Non-Muslims in a Muslim State not only unjust but also a great hardship unnecessarily inflicted by Islam and invariably state that its imposition was not at all justified. Neither the Purdah system, which is so much condemned nowadays, was of an Islamic origin nor the Jazya saw its birth for the first time under the auspices of Islam.

ITS ORIGIN

Historians have not yet succeeded in tracing its genesis or etymology but there is sufficient historical testimony to the effect that this tax existed in Persia in its hey-day of glory and was a common feature of the land during the reign of Shah Nowsherwan the Just. It was Nowsherwan who exempted his army officers and rank from the payment of "Jazya" levied in his time. Jazya, it will be a great surprise to Non-Muslims, is not an Arabic word. It is purely

a Persian word arabicised long, long ago. It indicated and connoted the duty of every citizen to undertake military duties in defence of his country and those who enlisted in the army and performed the military duties were invariably exempted from the payment of Jazya. Under the Islamic system first introduced by the Holy Prophet all Muslims were liable to the military duties at anytime. Many Muslims also did not like this military duty and the Muslim teachers were at one time exempted from this duty. In Sicily the number of such exempted teachers abnormally increased as it relieved them of this duty. As all Muslims, excepting very few exempted ones, were made to perform military duties, they were exempted from the payment of Jazya in the same manner as the military rank and file were so exempted by Nowsherwan in Pre-Islamic Persia. But now in the case of the Non-Muslims, who were living under the Muslim

rulers and under their protection, it was incumbent upon their rulers to protect their lives and properties in the Muslim State. Islam had no legal or moral right to compel their Non-Muslim subjects to military duties and generally these Non-Muslims also did not like to undertake these risky duties. It, therefore, naturally and justly became obligatory upon them to pay a capitation or poll tax in consideration of protection and safety promised and guaranteed to them and to their properties. It will be a revelation to many Indians now to learn that such Non-Muslims, as joined the Muslim Army and performed the military duties, were invariably exempted from "Jazya."

DERIVATION OF JAZYA

The great Muslim scholar and philologist, Shibli, in his pamphlet on Jazya, has made it abundantly clear beyond any reasonable doubt that the word Jazya is of Persian origin only. According to him the philologists have erred in holding that it is derived from the Arabic root "Ijza" meaning consideration. It was nothing of the kind. "Qamus" (an Arabic lexicon) defines "Jazya" as a tax on land and a capitation tax imposed on Non-Muslim subjects. Neither the author of the "Qamus" nor that of "Johri" gives its derivation. Lane, author of Standard (Arabic) Dictionary, suggests two possible derivations: either (1) it is derived from "Jaza" meaning exchange or compensation, or (2) it is the form of "Gizya." The latter derivation has been copied by Pitris in his edition of the Muhitil Muhit. According to the Persian lexicons Jazya is the Arabic form of the Persian word "Gazit". In Burhan-i-Quati "Gazit" is money collected by the officers of a Government from its subjects, and is also called Khiraj (tribute). The Poet Nizami and the poet Hakim Sozni have used the word in the meaning of tribute. There is not the slightest doubt that the word Jazya is a word of Persian origin. It is

perfectly certain that that word was in constant use in Arabic long before the advent of Islam.

It is generally alleged that it is a religious tax levied from all Non-Muslims if they refuse to accept Islam in a Muslim State. Historical facts are entirely otherwise.

HOLY PROPHET'S COMMAND

The Holy Prophet and the first four Caliphs, known in history as the Righteous Caliphs, made it abundantly clear in the phraseology of their treaties with Non-Muslims or Non-Muslim States that Jazya was the consideration paid by the Non-Muslims or Non-Muslim States for the protection of their lives and properties. "Let them (Non-Muslims) be protected. Let them be protected—from [their] enemies" find place in the Holy Prophet's Firman on Jazya addressed to the Non-Muslim sovereigns. The Caliph Omer before his death enjoined among other admonitions upon his Muslim brethren to protect the lives and properties of their Non-Muslim subjects on the ground that they were their subjects and as such they required the Muslim protection. To protect their Non-Muslim subjects from the attacks of their enemies the Muslims had to rise in arms against such enemies of their Non-Muslim subjects. Allama Shibli has laid the Muslims under great obligation by quoting in his pamphlet on the subject various treaties on the subject. These quotations will go to show that Jazya was a consideration for the protection of the Non-Muslims who paid it upon this basis and understanding to their Muslim protectors and rulers.

KHALID IBN-E-ALWALEED

When Khalid Ibn-e-Alwaleed made a treaty with the Non-Muslims he made the following provision in that treaty:—"I have covenanted with you, Salooba bin Nastoma and your tribe, for Jazya and protection. Therefore, your protection and safety are incumbent upon us. As long as we give you this protection, we are entitled

to Jazya and otherwise we are not." This treaty was made in the 12th Hijri (vide Tabain Annales. Ed. by Rosegarten, Vol. 11 p. 48)

OTHER TREATIES

Various Muslim Governors in Iraq and Arabia were parties to the agreements made with the people of those countries and many personal companions of the Holy Prophet affixed their respective signatures on those agreements. They clearly indicate that as long as Jazya is paid regularly and without fail, they would be vouchsafed every protection and safety. They go still further. The Muslims promise to ratify the treaties which they make with others and to give shelter to those whom they wish to succour and protect. In an important treaty the people of Iraq distinctly state "We have paid that Jazya which we had covenanted with Khalid to pay on this condition that if Muslims and also other nations wish to inflict an injury on us, the Muslim congregation and their officers will be responsible for our safety."

These treaties and agreements speak for themselves. In 14th Hijri when the Sahabis (companions of the Holy Prophet) went to Yezdygard, Noman bin Maqran, the leader of the Muslim Deputation, remarked at the end of his interview, "if you will save your lives by paying Jazya, we will accept Jazya". A similar offer was made to the Commander-in-chief of Persia. The payment of Jazya was insisted upon as the protection of the Non-Muslims was incumbent upon the Jazya-receiving protector. These were not mere scraps of paper but were solemn treaties binding both parties and were most faithfully carried out.

A HISTORICAL FACT

It is interesting to mention one historical fact. Abu Obeida and Jarrah had continuous successful campaigns in Syria. When Herculese marched with a large army against the Muslims, the two Muslim generals returned the Jazya collected from the Non-Muslims as they were not able to

protect them from the attacks of the Greek or Roman invaders. These are the words which find place in their Firmans:—"Whenever and whatever Jazya and Khiraj have been collected should be returned to those from whom these taxes were collected. Tell them that we had taken those taxes on condition that we should protect you from your enemies. But now under the present circumstances we cannot take upon us the responsibility of protecting you". The Christians were highly pleased and blessed the Muslim rulers and said, "May God give you back the Government of our cities. If the Romans had been the rulers, they would never have returned anything to us. They would have taken away whatever we possess."

NON-MUSLIM EXEMPTIONS

It should be distinctly remembered that if the Non-Muslims consented to perform the Military service under the Muslim rulers and performed that service, they were altogether exempted from Jazya as Muslims were. I give below a few examples of such exemptions. During the Caliphate of Hazrat Usman the people of Jarajimah conquered by Habib bin Muslima were exempted from Jazya as they undertook the military duties. In the days of Khalifa Wasique Bilah Abbasi these people were again saddled with Jazya by mistake. They complained to the Caliph who again exempted them. Caliph Oomar exempted Jazya when the Zimmis (Non-Muslims under protection) undertook to serve in army. During the campaigns in Armenia the following treaty was made with the Armenian Commander-in-Chief during the Caliphate of Oomar:—"Peace was effected on this condition: When War takes place or in time of need, you shall join the Muslims. Then no Jazya will be exacted from you. But whosoever desires, let him remain at home and pay Jazya like the people of Azarbaijan." There is one important sentence in that treaty. Zimmi's participation in War is equivalent to the payment

of Jazya. When Zimmis helped Muslims in any year Caliph Oomer exempted them from Jazya. One of the important features in the treaties concluded with the people of Georgia and other provinces during the reign of that Caliph was as follows:—

"If we take help from any Zimmi, he will be exempted from Jazya in consideration of that help." The following conditions also appear:—"In consideration of your paying Jazya we are responsible for your external and internal protection. If we are not able to give you protection, Jazya should be refunded to you. Such people as are prepared to render military service should be ever exempted from Jazya."

These undisputed historical quotations speak for themselves and impress my view-point that the only object of Jazya was to give the Zimmis the external and internal protection. The great scholar Shibli has really rendered a great service to Islam by giving all these historical facts and quotations briefly referred to in this article.

THE UTILIZATION OF JAZYA

Shibli mentions authoritatively that the Jazya collections were invariably used on the following objects:—(1) the equipment of the army, (2) the defence of the frontier, (3) the erection of forts, and the remaining surplus was spent on the construction of bridges, canals and the promotion of learning. Further, in the sum raised exclusively from the Muslims as Sadqa (alms) the Non-Muslims shared equally with the Muslims. According to the Caliph Oomer "alms are for the poor and the needy" and the word "needy" included both Christians and Jews (vide Kitabul Khiraj by Imam Abu Yusuf. (Egypt, A. H. 1302 p. 72.)

Shibli is positive that the biggest capitation tax or Jazya did never exceed 30 francs a head per annum. The average rates were from 2½ to 9 francs annually. Even a millionaire had to pay this small sum only. Persons under 20 and above 50 years of age, women, the palsied, the maimed,

the blind, the insane, and the poor, who possessed not more than 200 dirhams, were entirely exempt from the payment of this tax.

Jazya has been a bug-bear to the Non-Muslims in India. It was undoubtedly less exacting than the present income-tax levied in the income earned or alleged to have been earned. It was undoubtedly a light tax which exempted those, who had paid it, from every military service. The Non-Muslims in India who served in the Muslim army and performed the Military duties were altogether exempted from this tax. When the history of Muslim India is re-written without any colour or communal bias or prejudice, the future history will mention it with pride that the Jazya levied in the Muslim period of India was willingly paid without any oppression or repression and was an open blessing to the Non-Muslims which they appreciated.

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E. April '31.

The Miraculous Escape: A Story of the Pre-Railway W. Punjab

BY MR. PURAN SINGH.

I

THERE were no Railways then, and distances lengthened as they liked. There were no good roads, only beaten paths treated the travellers according to their sweet caprice. But even then, love knew no distances, nor roads, nor paths, it flew like winged birds over all obstacles, and men of distant Hazro in the North West Frontier of India came and wedded brides of Pathohar. The mares and mules bore the lovely burdens of those bejewelled brides to and fro from the homes of their parents to the homes of their new husbands, and from there back again, and then returned them again to their new owners. Delicious was the meeting of the bridegroom parties with the bride's parties, and pathetic were both the separations and the unions—separations of the daughters from their parents, and union of the brides with the bridegrooms. Once separated, the distances however short grew endlessly long and dark, and once united, the distances vanished into an absolute nothingness. Over the edge of the roads, waited a hundred longing eyes, mothers expecting the return of their sons, and the wives of their husbands and the husbands of their wives from the home of the parents living far, far away.

In those pre-railway and pre-road times, the family Brahmin came to the village of Sagri in Pathohar from the distant Hazro with the blue mare of her husband to take the newly wedded wife back to her lover. She had already been long with her parents, and a sweet little baby laughed in her lap and spread his tiny arms to catch hold of the whole of her, and the news of the coming of this new man had reached the husband who was all the more anxious to get back the mother of the child to himself and to love her who could give such fruits of life as this child. She had thrilling dreams as to how her husband would receive her and the husband

thought of a thousand days of love that he would lay at her feet as she comes!

II

The parents got everything ready, as the daughter in Pathohar must be given a dowry each time she returns to her parents and goes back to her husband's home. The whole village collected to look at the dowry. The daughter was well dressed in silk of Bokhara, as she was bejewelled with all kinds of jewellery she had. And the best of jewels was in her lap, the little infant about a year old, as she rode out of the village on the blue mare of her husband. The string in the neck of the mare was in the hands of the family Brahmin, while the lovely owner of the mare held with one hand her child and with the other the bridle rein. The whole village came out to bid her farewell, and her brothers followed her mare to a long way out, till the sun became very strong, and they had to part.

Those that are left behind are soon forgotten and they have to be forgotten, as eyes are fixed ahead and are looking to meet those who are standing before. Sagri all so dear to her from her childhood, with all her dear contents of men and things and scenes was forgotten, and at the farthest end of the distant end of the road that led to Hazro, there stood before the eyes of her imagination her loving husband waiting for her, and great was her dumb but deep longing to meet him.

She was in sweet reveries while riding to Hazro. She thought she would reach when the evening would have just set after ten days from then, and she would have to ignore him for whose sake the whole Hazro was all so dear to her, and would have to love more than him, his parents, his younger brothers, his sisters, and all the while would have to suppress under granite cover her great longings for his embrace, for she would see

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THE MIRACULOUS ESCAPE :

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him, only when all retire and the lamps are extinguished, and every body would have gone to sleep. It is only then that the lovers would wake late at night, and would have to keep waking the whole night, for the day cannot provide the new husband and wife enough privacy in the joint Hindu family during the day. And there she would meet him! Ah! but he would see his son carried to him by his sisters long before she meet him. How great would be her joy. She thought how her heart would throb out of its socket and how full of tears would be their meeting after this long separation.

On the second or third day of their journey, and that side of Rawalpindi, the way lay through a ragged, jagged ravine full of dreadful silence and stones. And there they reached when it was midday, when all the travellers had unpacked their beasts of burden and tied them under trees and slept in shades to be refreshed for their afternoon journey, for the days being hot, the journeys were of the fore-noon and the after-noon only, the noons being for rest. The noon for the blue mare and its beautiful rider came when they entered this ravine and the Brahmin stopped short, and so did the blue mare. The girl thought it time for her to get down and take the usual rest, if not under a tree as none was visible, yet under the shade of a projecting rock and to give the noon rest to the mare, to the Brahmin and to her child. She was too impatient to reach Hazro to feel any fatigue, but she had to rest all the same.

But the Brahmin had other designs. The jewellery of the girl had poisoned his mind, and he thought of becoming rich by taking the life of the girl and of decamping to some other city and of never returning to Hazro. The world is wide and great distances abound that no search can conquer. Why not get rich and pass life merrily instead of running these tedious errands and messages for others and driving pack animals for people known to be nominally his disciples, when

he was just considered fit enough to carry messages to and fro, and chant the Sanskrit *slokas* not a letter of which neither he nor his listeners understood on their marriages and deaths. With this and a little dabbling in astrology of which he knew neither head nor tail, he thought it was a life of huge fraud that he lived. He imagined how respectable he would be in another distant city with his Brahmin caste and with his gold. After all gold covers all sins, and gold wins all merits everywhere. Who knows the other world? Who has seen God eye to eye:—after all these are our own thoughts, the products of clever intellects? Why not quiet them down by a loud slap on their face for a while and lush them into silence like little children, and rob this woman of her jewellery and be merry and respectable for the whole life! Ah! there are so many robbers on these ways. Who would report that I robbed her or murdered her? Who would find me and where, when I will straight on go to Benares and live with the strangers? Granting she will be found dead, they will never doubt me, they will think the Brahmin, the girl and the child are all killed and the robbers made away with jewellery. A thousand such thoughts and a silly heap of questions and answers was bespattered in the brain of the poor Brahmin and at last he gave way.

“Get down from your mare you silly girl. Do you think I am your father's slave to go trudging like this on foot and you the Nawab-born woman must go riding in state! Get down you silly girl!” said he.

“Prohailji! Why are you so mad to-day? You have walked much too long in the sun and your brain is turned. You are not yourself. Your eyes are like those of a mad man, your words sound so strange and inimical. You can please have the mare, and go riding, I would fain walk along on foot all the way to Hazro. I do not wish to put you to any trouble,” said the girl.

By this time, she had got down, and the Brahmin went and tied the mare by cutting half the rope that was in her neck by securing one end on the rope under a large boulder. As he came back with the other half of the rope, his eyes shot red with the fury of a man-eater. And he began with the rope in hand to tie the girl into a helpless position, binding her hands at her back passing the rope round her ankles and tying together both her feet.

"I want all your jewellery. You the shopkeepers amass wealth and give us merely your crumbs to eat. I won't stand that nonsense any more." Saying this, he began clutching at her jewellery like a wild robber, and minded not if it hurt her or wounded her. He got out everything and secured it all in the knot of a cloth he had.

He now prepared to strangle her to death, and taking her scarf, he began winding it round her neck like a rope in a way as to suffocate her. The child began crying as it saw him doing this. The Brahmin got afraid, lest the cries of the infant call a man out of nowhere, and his plot may be discovered and he may be caught red-handed! "Let me smother this cry under a stone first." Saying this he lifted a stone to kill the child, but the mother cried and appealed, for he had forgotten to gag her mouth. "Pray take the child away from the eyes of the mother and kill it not before her, after all you are a Brahmin-born."

He took the child and went turning a bend of the ravine upward, till she could see him no more. As he had lifted off the child, the mother had fainted away and there she lay in the ravine, the mother robbed of her child, nay a whole world robbed of its sun as it were.

III

Hours passed. The Brahmin did not return. As she opened her eyes and regained her consciousness, it was evening, and a few goatherds were wending homeward with their goats. She called them. They thought it was a ghost, they

flew away, but came again right up to her view. She again called them and appealed to them. "I am the daughter of Sagri. Be not afraid, I am no ghost" said she. On this, they came close to her and learnt from her what had happened. "My child must have been killed and the Brahmin must have fled that way with all the jewellery. There was the blue mare tied by boulder. He must have ridden her away! Pray! Turn this bend and bring my child to me. Release me from this bondage, take me home to my parents for they should know what has befallen to their daughter."

Two of the goat herds began opening the knots of the rope with which she was bound hand and foot, and one had gone in the direction upward the ravine looking for the child.

There was the mare standing in dumb silence and sorrow. There was the Brahmin lying cold and the infant was laughing lapped in the coils of a huge black cobra. Terrified by the dreadful scene, the goat-herd returned and told her what he saw and said, "it is no use thinking of your child. There is the monster playing with him and soon he will be cold. The Brahmin is dead, the cobra must have bitten him. And your mare is here, get on it and let us reach by a whole night ride to your village. It is impossible to rescue your child from that monster." And they persuaded her and brought her to the main road, but she said, "No brothers! No! I cannot go with you! Delicious is the bite of the cobra that has bitten my child, let it bite me too. I cannot leave my child and go away." Saying this, she flew back like a hurricane to the spot where her child was, and as the serpent saw the mother coming, he sulked away, and she went and picked up her child and strained it to her bosom and bathed it with a flood of mother's kisses.

There lay the Brahmin dead and cold. She felt sorry for him, and rode her blue mare, accompanied by the goat-herd, back to her father's place,

FEDERAL INDIA*

By MR. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI, C.I.E.

WE are now up to the neck in the problem of federation for India. What will come out of it we do not yet know. To us it seems that it ought not to have been allowed to complicate more immediate issues. The promise of responsible Government was made to British India and that ought to be redeemed. Faced by the obligation which looked glorious when it was a distant prospect and hurting when near and peremptory, the Parliamentary Commission and the public men of Great Britain have raised the infinitely more complicated question of federation in the hope thereby of putting off the evil day. That is a vain hope. Whatever might be the differences between the Princes and the Muslims and the Hindus and the depressed classes, the days of their exploitation are coming to an end. But in the efforts put forth in forlorn hope Britain is in part undoing the effect of her own good work in the past, and inflicting a lasting injury on the central machinery of Government which will not serve her very long but will disserve India for yet a long while. Having served so long the cause of unification, they are now performing an act of disservice to it. At any rate so it seems to many of us, though we recognise that there are those who hold other views. The authors Captain Haksar and Mr. Pannikar are connected with the Native States and cannot entirely divest themselves of all bias in favour of the Princes but they have presented their case with a certain effort to be impartial and just. It must be said to their credit that they have not allowed their desire for federation to interfere with the goal of Responsible Government or Dominion Status for British India. They contemplate self-government in and for British India alongside of the federation with the Indian States and independently of it. It must

also be said that notwithstanding their stress on the internal autonomy of States they recognise the need to secure the elements of good Government within the States and the necessity for interference in extreme cases which are to be carefully defined. We do not know that such definition is possible but it must be possible for the authors to entertain the proposals of Mr. Ramachandra Row as to how these elements of good Government should be secured.

The authors have not succeeded in giving due recognition to the subjects of the Indian States. If the subjects are content with the form of Government, no outsider can have any right to object. But if a struggle between Princes and peoples arose over the form of Government what then? There is talk of British India developing along the lines of State Government. *One can only say that one finds it difficult to believe that they are serious.*

The authors indeed refer to the "particularism" of subjects and the "dynasticism" of Princes and lump them together in places as if the subjects were identifiable with and included in the Princes. How serious conflicts between them should be dealt with is not indicated though one is glad to note that British India is not expected to support the Princes and the Federal Government is given powers of interference in extreme cases.

The book is written with much wealth of illustration and analogy which does not always hold even according to the authors. Only one thing more is there to refer—the Jargon of the book, with its "particularisms", "regional" and "State" and "dynasticisms" of Princes, "localisms" "colonialism", and the balancing of "centrifugal" and "centripetal" forces and much else of that genus. A difference of opinion as to the value of Jargon may be permissible. It may impress some as making for profundity but it seems to us that it nearly always achieves only uncouthness and mystification.

* FEDERAL INDIA.—Authors: Capt. Haksar and K. M. Panikkar. Publishers: Martin Hopkinson. Price 10s. 6d. or Rs. 7-14. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

CURRENT POETRY

[A good deal of fine poetry is being written now-a-days and not all of it confined to books. English and American papers contain verses of high quality alike in style and substance. We propose in these pages to publish selected poems from time to time. It is hoped that these poems culled from our contemporaries may be of interest to readers of the *Indian Review*.]

Prosperity, 1930

By FREDERICK COVER.

To have felt
The futile anger and the dull despair
Born of a moving belt
Anywhere
Is to have been dealt
A share.

To have tried
For happiness in industry,
For comfort and equality,
For peace inside;
To have desired tranquillity
Is to have been denied.

To have clutched
At life and to have seen it torn away
Is to have watched
One say,
(one untouched)
"No—nothing today."

To be here
Is to have known
Hunger and cold
And the eternal torture rack, the fear
Of dying—old
And alone.

World Tomorrow.

Life Goes on

By THELMA COOMBS.

"Life goes on. Oh, never heed
The pessimist who says it fails;
It disappoints and hurts and thwarts
Each one of us, but never stales!

"Life goes on. We only pause
To dream of past things, dwell on gloom,
In life there's always movement, motive,
New zest for which we must make room.

"Life goes on. However sad
Or dull you may be at this hour,
The tyrant life with stinging sweetness
Will once more wake you to its power!"

Daily Chronicle.

At Fifty

By SEYMOUR POOLE.

I have stood still—a watcher by the wayside
For a procession that has never come.

The day has been fine enough, the road
quite pleasant,
And once I caught the far thrill of a drum.

Waiting in hope, I have not been unhappy,
For there were birds, flowers, trees and
the open sky;

And, when the time lagged, I made songs
and stories
About all these, and about the passers by.

Then, when I heard it—the incredible music
Of life at last, life to the full and sweet?—
It seemed for a minute to be coming toward
me:
But it went down, after all, someone else's
street.

No doubt I ought to have tackled life—gone
to meet it,
Seized on a banner, become importunate;
But I just wasn't made so, didn't know how
to treat it,
And so am lost, all who hesitate.

There was to have come a place in the pro-
cession
That I should have recognised as being my
own;

I was to have been caught up in colour and
movement
By one sure hand—to have been no more
alone.

But nothing has happened, and the day grows
chilly;
A cold bed waits for the going down of the
sun.

It seems a curious way to have spent a life-
time—
Strange to be nearing the end of what has
never begun.

English Review.

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CURRENT POETRY

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Holiday

By J. MORTON GEORGE.

"To go swinging along with the sting of the
wind in our faces,
And the look in our eyes that the sight of
blue distances brings;
Know the glamour of mystic woods, and
of wide, sunswept places—
Oh, this is to catch just a glimpse of the
glory of things!

"To stand and look down on a landscape of
miniature wonder,
And then from the hill-top descend to the
meadow again;
To hear in the distance the ominous rumble
of thunder,
And, laughing, to run in the swift-rising
wind and the rain;

"To dazzle our eyes with a buttercup mea-
dow in Maytime;
To watch the slow marvellousness of a
dragon-fly's birth,
And after the heat and the joy and the rap-
ture of day-time
Feel the stillness and coolness of evening
enfolding the earth;

"To have all these wonders and one other
wonder together—
That life could be ever so sweet or this
green earth so fair!
The grass, and the sky, and the fields, and
the woods, and the heather—
And you with the sun in your eyes, and
the wind in your hair!"

Bookman.

To a Friend

By ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH.

Only the still pool of the evening know
The beauty of the starry night,
And read the prophecy of dawn
In the sunset's shadowed flight.

Never the wind-tossed pools of dusk enfold
The wonder of the evening sky.
And hold in earthy hands the stars
Whose truth the winds deny.

Over the years the gusts of passion blow
And eddy with their change and strife,
But calm with twilight and the stars
Is the beauty of your life!

Churchman.

Love's a Strange Thief

By P. W. D. R.

How shall my words keep pace with my
intent,
When my intent upon my words makes
war?

Your beauty, that is my sole argument,
Has drowned my tongue, my love's soli-
citor.

You, that have stolen beauty from the sky
And filched his gold dust from the honey-
bee,

Have with that beauty drained my tongue's
source dry,
And taken all my words away from me.

How shall I then with words aspire to teach
Such beauty as you wear upon your brow?

I, whom that beauty has bereft of speech,
Have never known the need to speak till
now.

Love's a strange thief, that in a single day
Can give us speech and take our speech
away.

Spectator.

"Statistics Prove"

" 'Statistics prove' so many things
The size of towns, the height of kings,
The age of children in the schools,
The skull development of fools.
The salaries that parsons get,
The number of abodes to let,
The wealth of lucky millionaires,
The price of hens and mining shares—
All things below and things above,
It seems to me, 'statistics prove.'

" But no! statistics never yet
Appraised a single violet,
Measured the glances of an eye,
Or probed the sorrow of a sigh.
Statistics never caught the gleam
That dances on a meadow stream,
Or weighed the anthem of a bird
In forest aisles devoutly heard.
Statistics never proved a soul,
In high or low, in part or whole.
Sin, beauty, passion, honour, love—
How much statistics cannot prove!"

Scots Chaucer.

The Ceylon National Congress

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THOUGH the Ceylon National Congress is by slow gradations losing the firm grip it once held on the national life of the country, this year's sessions were invested with more than ordinary interest. For one thing, the fate of the Income-Tax Bill was being keenly debated in the Legislative Council, and for another candidates were busy preparing the field for the State Council elections that are expected to come off during the early half of next year. The Congress in spite of its recent decline in popular esteem is still the largest political body in the island and its decision on these two matters of vital importance to the country was eagerly looked forward to.

The decline of the Congress was in no small measure due to the conduct of the Congress leaders themselves, some of whom were its past presidents. The loose loyalties of some of the members in subscribing to the Congress creed and in acting in total opposition to it and yet claiming to be staunch supporters of Congress had been woefully in evidence last year, and in no question was this laxity so ridiculously displayed as on the Income-Tax debate in the Legislative Council and in the matter of putting forward candidates for the State Council. The Congress leaders, from the date of the inception of the Congress twelve years ago, have advocated the introduction of an Income-Tax as one of the means by which the system of taxation obtaining in Ceylon could be readjusted so as to make it equitable and it came to be looked upon as one of the subjects on which there was unanimity of opinion among Congressmen. But when the Bill came up for its third reading in the Legislative Council, Congress members ranged themselves in opposite camps and helped the Bill to be overthrown by the representatives of the vested interests of the country in the Chamber. This same lack of discipline is patent in the

preliminary preparations that are being made in various parts of the island for the elections to the State Council under the Donoughmore Scheme of Reforms in 1931. While there are many constituencies in which no Congress candidate has come forward to serve there are other electorates in which one Congress candidate is opposing another who sits with him on the same political platform. In the constituency, for instance, in which the Congress Sessions were held this year the President of Congress of 1929 is contesting his successor of 1930. Wise guidance, discipline and loyalty, which are the most vital requisites of any party organisation pulsating with life, are apparently observed as ideals that can be overlooked when the occasion suits the individual and even the most loyal Congress adherent feels that the future of the Congress is in jeopardy unless a firm and bold policy is adopted to check its declining career and take to task those who pretend to be its best friends and betray it when it needs their help most. The Ceylon National Congress, like other similar organisations, has had many opponents, both individual and collective, but never before has it had to face such disloyalty in its own ranks as in the last two years.

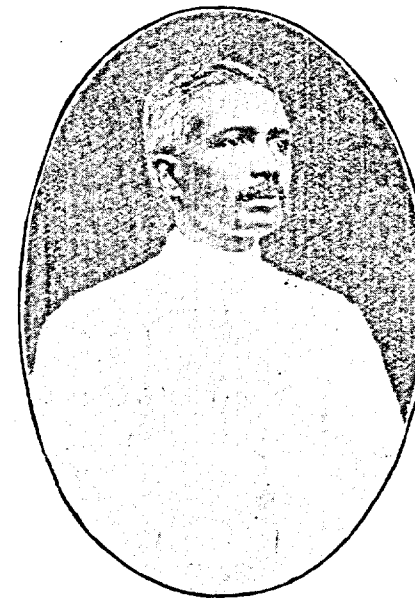
It was under circumstances such as these that, the twelfth session of the Ceylon National Congress was held last month in the picturesque and historic city of Kandy, the former capital of the Sinhalese Kings. The delegates from the Associations affiliated to the Congress numbered a few hundreds and were mostly Sinhalese. The President, the Hon. Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, M.L.C., has been connected with the public life of this country for a number of years. Having served his political apprenticeship in the now defunct Galle Association, which in the days when he was its Secretary was a very virile body, he

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entered the Legislative Council as representative of the Southern Province in the first Reformed Legislative Council in the days of Sir William Manning, and he continues to represent the interests of the southern capital still. In the Legislative Council, he is credited with being a



Mr. C. W. W. KANNANGARA, M.L.C.

laborious and arduous worker who never spares himself any pains in studying the various problems that come up for consideration. His special aptitude for figures and statistics has often been a valuable asset to the unofficial side in intricate debates and he is always known to be "au fait" with his facts, which unfortunately is not a virtue that can be attributed to many of his colleagues. His devotion to duty is also well known and in a Council where the attendance of unofficial members has often been the subject of public criticism Mr. Kannangara is rivalled by only one member, both of whom can say that there was hardly a day that they had been away when the Council was in session. In the Congress, Mr. Kannangara has been occupying a prominent place from its incep-

tion and has had a hand in the shaping of its policy. Unlike others who, when they differed from the Congress, seceded from it he has subordinated his opinions to the decisions of the majority. His attitude in this connection has been the subject of virulent criticism and it has been stated that this is due to an inordinate desire to be always on the winning side. But party politics demand that it is better to be loyal to a party upholding the decisions of the majority of the party rather than being in it and advocating views rejected by a majority or seceding from it without endeavouring to convert the majority to one's own convictions. After all sacrifices have to be made by the individual if he is to put the party before his own convictions.

In his presidential address to the Congress delegates Mr. Kannangara answered very effectively the grave charges of "inconsistency" brought against him by his detractors. He made a very good impression on his audience. He made a review of the present political situation in this country, with particular reference to the many causes which have contributed to make the Congress an eye sore to those who deserted its ranks for temporary advantages. Those who expected a flattering address from the Presidential Chair were somewhat disappointed by the very unpleasant home truths to which he gave utterance in this connection. He blamed the Congress for its lack of organisation and discipline over backsliders, and over those associations affiliated to the Congress which did not feel bound by the Congress resolutions and which on occasions expressed independently irresponsible views in utter disregard of the principles for which the Congress stood. He expressed himself definitely in favour of taking immediate disciplinary action and binding together Congressmen and associations by a common party label. At one stage of his address he likened the Congress to a ship whose officers

were fighting against one another and whose crew were at each other's throats. In the name of the Congress he invited selfless service.

He had also some very bitter comments to offer on the subject of Income-Tax and the *volte face* enacted by prominent Congressmen. In his own words "the campaign in favour of it was thoroughly well organised; the rupee company, the sterling share-holder, the broker, the Bank Manager, the Shroff, the planter, the capitalist, the money-lender, the merchant, the Chetty, the Borah and the Indian Merchant joined each other in friendly embrace to prevent the exchequer from receiving its just due out of the profits of the exploitation of the country and its people."

The memory of two great Congressmen, who since the last Session of the Congress have passed away to their rest was fittingly consecrated by a touching reference to their activities in public life from the presidential chair, and a vote of condolence was solemnly passed before the Congress President opened the Sessions. The late Sir James Peiris, an ex-President of the Congress, who occupied the Vice-presidential chair of the Legislative Council with much acceptance and who was acclaimed one of the greatest gentlemen Ceylon had produced was one of these. The other was the late Sir P. Ramanathan whose remains were laid to rest a few days before the Congress met in Session. The latter was also actively connected with the public life of the country and as intimately concerned with its welfare, although on occasions he could not see eye to eye with Congressmen. One of a long line of illustrious men, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan was best known and respected for his histrionic powers. No generation was able to produce in this country such a brilliant debater, and in spite of advancing old age and certain philosophic tendencies, he maintained this quality to the last. He was really the father of the Ceylon Legislative Council having been connected

with it for over fifty years and in every momentous debate in which the country's interests were involved Sir Ponnambalam was always in evidence slashing the official whips for their policy of unjust oppression, and carrying every point home with the magic of his eloquence. By his death the country has lost a great philosopher and a greater debater.

Mr. E. A. P. Wijeratne was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and in a speech full of brilliant rhetoric he welcomed the delegates to the ancient capital of Ceylon's Kings. Mr. Kannangara's dictum as regards the need for party organisation in this country is a healthy sign of progress. It has introduced a new element to public life, but with the type of public men we have in this country it is doubtful whether it will ever succeed, whether it will ever wean away men from their personal prejudices and interests.

There was on the Congress agenda many resolutions of importance. By far the most important of them was the one supporting the introduction of an Income-Tax into Ceylon. Perhaps on no question has large business interests and big capital linked together in opposition, and some of this opposition was carried to the Congress platform, though not by Congressmen, and the President was indulgent to a few speakers who were non-Congressmen, and who made a feeble attempt to defend the opposition to it by many specious arguments. But these could not influence the Congress conscience and Congressmen *en bloc* voted for the introduction of Income Tax. The resolution was proposed by Mr. G. K. W. Perera.

Another resolution of some importance was the one dealing with the encouragement of spinning weaving and cotton growing in this country.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. S. W. R. Dias Bandaranayake and seconded by Dr. S. Muttiah. It found support from Mr. D. S.

Jayawardane, a gentleman who has had a special training in these arts in Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram in India. He demonstrated the essential simplicity of the art with a takli while speaking on the subject.

In the present state of trade depression through which the country is passing spinning, and weaving have an economic importance. They will provide employment to those who have been thrown out of employment and will throttle the Manchester man, if an organised effort is made to introduce them into the rural parts of this country. Hitherto enthusiasm in the Charka has been very short-lived, waxing very high with the visit of distinguished Indian patriots to this country and waning with their departure. Congress is determined to avoid a repetition of the sorry spectacle of Congressmen fighting Congressmen as rival candidates for state Council seats in the State Council elections next year, and a resolution to prevent such contests was passed unanimously. In several constituencies we find Congressmen pitted against one another and it is doubtful whether the Congress will succeed in keeping back the one and returning the other, for altruism is not the guiding principle in the public men of this country. Resolutions were also passed advocating the establishment of a State Mortgage Bank and the introduction of retrenchment measures in Governmental Departments, particularly in reference to the establishment charges, in view of the serious depression through which the country is passing.

Congress is also urging Government to take the steps necessary to secure a larger cultivation of paddy in Ceylon, and a resolution to that end was passed.

The country is in the throes of unemployment resulting from trade depression, and the immediate need of legislation to restrict the immigration of labourers from other countries is being realised. A resolution urging on the Government the

necessity for this measure of economic relief was passed unanimously.

Seventyfive per cent. of the speeches at the Congress were in Sinhalese. This is another indication that the public men who have been the worst sinners in this respect, are getting away from the attitude of contempt which they had adopted for the mother tongue not a decade ago. It augurs for a national spirit and the desire to reach the masses through the media of the vernaculars. Even a part of the Presidential address was delivered in Sinhalese, and Mr. Kannangara who is recognised as a versatile Singhalese scholar made a very liberal use of this medium to lend greater weight and appeal to his utterances.

It shall not Matter

By FREDERIC PROKOSCH

It shall not matter whether the gray wind
Tears from its root each fragile thin-stemmed
flower

Or bends these birches low; I shall not mind
This rain that flattens hour after hour
Its drops upon this pane, or the black sea
That sends its heavy rhythm through my
bones.

Only these watching stars matter to me
And the small bits of lichen on the stones.
It is these things I find at evenings after
The wildness and the storm have gone away,
After the songs, after the shouts and laughter,
After the sun has dipped behind the bay.
Always these stones will lie here, calm and
still,
Always these stars will look upon this hill.

Harper's Magazine,

THE LATE MR. MAHOMED ALI

IN the death of Mr. Mahomed Ali one of the most forceful and picturesque personalities in the public life of India has passed away. Mr. Mahomed Ali literally died in harness. When



THE LATE MR. MAHOMED ALI
with his brother Mr. Shoukat Ali.

he left for the Round Table Conference in London his health was far from satisfactory, but his desire to serve his religion and his country according to his lights was undaunted, and with characteristic vigour he pursued his mission. Reuter reports that the night before his death he was revising his last appeal to Hindus and Muslims to bury all differences and work for Indian Nationalism. It is sad to think that the end should have come so suddenly.

Born 52 years ago in an Indian State Mahomed Ali has had a varied and eventful life and since

the day he joined Mahatma Gandhi in the agitation for Swaraj and the Khilafat he has led a life of service and suffering. But he had already made his mark as a journalist by the vigour and trenchancy of his articles in *The Comrade*. Indeed, his two outstanding characteristics were courage and outspokenness, and his double allegiance to Islam on the one hand and his motherland on the other, though it often led to misunderstanding, was at once sincere and profound. One of the founders of the All-India Muslim League and a President of the National Congress he was a faithful son of Islam and an ardent nationalist. In that last great speech of his at the Round Table Conference he declared:

Where God commands I am a Mussalman first, a Mussalman second and a Mussalman last, and nothing but a Mussalman. If you ask me to enter into your Empire or into your Nation by leaving that synthesis, that polity, that culture, that ethics, I will not do it.

But his allegiance to the land of his birth was equally pronounced. He went on to say:

But where India is concerned, where India's freedom is concerned, where the welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first, an Indian second, and an Indian last and nothing but an Indian.

It was his last public utterance and it is melancholy to recall these fateful words he used on the occasion. "To-day," he said,

the one purpose for which I come is this—that I want to go back to my country only if I can go back with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a foreign country so long as it is a free country, and if you do not give us freedom in India, you will have to give me a grave here.

Little did any one realise that the end was so near and the passing of this sturdy patriot and champion of Islam came as a rude shock to the country which is mourning its great loss. Mr. Wedgwood Benn truly echoed the feelings of all who have watched Mr. Mahomed Ali's brilliant career when he thus paid this tribute to the departed patriot:—

Moulana Mahomed Ali courted death knowing that he was a dying man. He gladly crossed the world in the service of India. On the last day of the old year, in defiance of his doctor's orders, he entertained a score of guests and addressed us from what we now know was his deathbed. He earnestly pleaded for wider liberty and better understanding. A great Mussalman, a great patriot and a great prophet of humanity, he deliberately gave his life in the cause of reconciliation. We mourn with his relatives and offer tender sympathy to his devoted wife widowed in a strange land.

The United States of Europe

BY PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW,

Head of the History Department, Hindu University, Benares.

I

M. Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister and a great European statesman, placed a plan for a United States of Europe before the Tenth Assembly of the League in 1929 and in a more concrete form this year. The idea of Pan-European movement after the Great War was started in 1923 by the establishment of a Pan-European Union which began to discuss in the public the idea of Pan-Europe and tried to set forth a Pan-European programme. This idea started by a few public men was approved by many people amongst the countries of Europe. In 1924 M. Herriot the then French President took up the idea and pleaded for a United States of Europe. Dr. Stresemann of Germany approved of it. Thus the two great nations through their political leaders gave an expression of approval. Other leaders of Continental Europe such as Painlevé and Caillaux in France, Masaryk in Czecho-Slovakia, Sforza in Italy, Vardervelde in Belgium fully supported it. Public agitation in its favour was organised and carried on in the press and on the platform and by manifestos, correspondence and publications by the Pan-European Union. Thus under its guidance Pan-European literature and congresses developed. European publicists and people have begun to think more seriously about the need of this new political organisation of the Western European States than they did before because to-day the danger to Europe from the economic rivalry of the U. S. A. and the British Empire, from the Bolshevik ideals and programme of Russia and from the awakening of the East are felt to be greater than before. Europe is comparatively weaker to-day because of her disintegration, distrust, debt and destruction which follow-

ed her great Civil War of 1914-1919. She has definitely lost her dominant character in the world of economics and may lose it in the world of politics also on account of the rise of a new Russia of dynamic ideals and united resources, and a new East.

The goal of the Pan-European movement is generally the consolidation of Christian European states (excluding Russia and Great Britain) which are twenty-six in all, created or reorganised by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. It is to be a politico-economic federation based on equality of federative states and peace between them. There is to be no interference in the internal affairs of any state by the Federation. The autonomy of the states in their political and financial organisation is to be fully recognised. Matters of foreign policy and defence and of common economic interests are at first chiefly to be guided and controlled from the federal centre.

To organise Europe into a unit politically and religiously had been partially attempted and sometimes fully conceived in the past. Some ambitious states and rulers, and some practical statesmen and prophetic thinkers had given some shape to their ideas of an organised Europe in form and in design. But all of them had failed to create a united Europe possessing a definite political structure maintaining internal peace and a common external policy.

The conception or consciousness of Europe as against Asia arose amongst the Greeks in their fight with the Persian Empire for their political independence. But the Greeks had no political conception of a united Greece, much less therefore of a united Europe. They developed the idea of a League of city-states, but it was temporary and limited in extent. Their idea

of Europe was more cultural and was developed in the mind of writers and thinkers like Herodotus and Aristotle.

Alexander's conception of a united Greece and its supremacy over the Eastern countries was more an Imperial conception than a cultural or a Pan-European one. Demosthenes in his *Philippics* represents the Greek idea of atomism or separation and not of any Greek federation or integration. Thinkers like Plato and Aristotle do not conceive of anything beyond the virtue or justice contained in a city state. Even the idea of a federation or a nation does not strike them.

The Roman idea of political organisation was purely imperial. It did not differentiate between the East and the West, but only between the Romans and the non-Romans. It was the Empire of Rome over foreigners, and a large part of that Empire lay round about the Mediterranean.

Christianity and early Christian church could not and did not conceive of Europe only as its peculiar field of missionary endeavour and enterprise. Its object was to spread world-wide for the salvation of all sinning souls, irrespective of any race or territory. But it spread more rapidly in the pagan West than in the East and centralised its power and created its stronghold in the West on the ruins of Rome and on the citadel of Constantine's city.

During the period of co-operation and conflict of the spiritual claims and ambitions of the Roman Papacy and the assertions of secular independence and supremacy of Germanic Emperors, a theory of a United Christian Commonwealth prevailed in Europe under the name of the Holy Roman Empire. But the split of the church into Eastern or the Greek and western or the Roman church, owing to a number of doctrinal controversies and on account of the assertion of independence by bishops of Rome could not unite Europe into one

religious entity and organisation. The political unity of Europe was not possible due to the feudal character of society and government and to the ambitions of dukes, princes and tribes. The means of communication were not sufficiently developed to create a strong central power at the top whose arms could reach and hold distant provinces and officers under control nor was there a desire for conception of a political Europe amongst those who possessed property and political power.

After the assertion of political and ecclesiastical independence by various countries this idea of a united Europe in the shape of a Christian Commonwealth melted away in the sixteenth century. After the Reformation the idea of a united Europe under the auspices of a papal or old imperial organisation passed away finally. Now if Europe was at all to be united it could be done by a powerful and ambitious prince. Europe did not unite under the pressure of Saracenic or Turkish or Mongol danger from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries. The Hun invasions of the fifth century and the later Hunnish and slave settlements in Europe could not be prevented as there was no united opposition. The crusades were the results of religious faith or hatred joined to personal ambitions. The early Charlemagne's Empire and later German Empire of his successors were not rooted in the soil or in the minds of the people.

During the Modern Age when national conception strengthened Philip II, Louis XIV and Napoleon tried for some sort of imperial supremacy for their dynasty and country in Europe but they failed. There was no response from the people and there was no pressure of any external danger. On the contrary the political settlement made at Westphalia in 1648 and the theory of balance of power guided both the statesmen, rulers and people in their political aims as regards Europe. Their political and economic ambitions got a

great scope for realisation in the American and African colonies and in the effete kingdoms of the East.

But though the idea of a United Europe failed under the guidance of Emperors and Popes, and though the Grotian conception of an International law admitted and embodied the doctrine of independence and equality of states, still there were not wanting political thinkers during the mediaeval and early modern period who advocated the grand plan or design of a united Europe under a monarch.

Pierre Dubois (13th century) was a French lawyer and a councillor of Philip Le Bal of France. In his pamphlets he advocated the disendowment of the church, the absolute authority of the secular state, women's enfranchisement, mixed education and international arbitration. He unfolded his plan of international arbitration and federal Europe in a pamphlet called the 'Recovery of the Holy Land'. Since the various nations in Europe were holding jealously to their own sovereign rights, they would not submit to any one king. Therefore the idea of an Empire was according to him a dream. But he thought there was sufficient desire amongst them for some concord which would help in creating a loose federation where all differences between the sovereign powers of Catholic Europe would be submitted to arbitration and where all the members would bind themselves to punish any offending member who refused to comply with the award. Thus Europe was to be organised into a League. He advocated that a Common Council of Western Christendom should appoint a college of arbitrators who in turn would appoint, in any given quarrel, "three prelates and three lay judges" for each party. If the award were accepted, it was well and good. If not, there was contemplated also a final appeal to Pope. He had however no real sympathy with other countries. He believed in the primacy and superiority of France

and wanted her if possible to rule the earth. He believed in the mission of Catholic Europe to subdue the rest of the world, namely, the eastern and barbarian nations. This scheme was conceived to save Catholic Europe from internal wars and its main idea was of arbitration. But he very early recognised the futility of the Imperial ideal.

Another Frenchman in the time of Henry IV (1589-1610) of France conceived of a grand design. He was the famous minister, Sully (1560-1641). In his memoirs in the form of long letters to his king he developed his "Le Grand Dessein." It was intended for the permanent pacification of Europe which was at that time distracted, and disrupted by religious controversies and conflicts of orthodox and reforming sects. He recognised the existence of nations. There was to be a real partnership between all the Nations of Western Europe, based on the principle of nationality. None was to become too strong to threaten the others and all were to agree to submit their differences to arbitration. It was aimed at the destruction of the imperialism of Austria, and no Federation was possible without the Austrian House. The power and ambition of princes was to be checked and curtailed. France was to take the lead in refusing all increase of territory by conquest. Every member was to submit fully and frankly to the decisions of the majority among the confederate European powers. He wanted to equalise the power of the European nations so that "even the greatest could not hope to dominate and none of the others need have cause to fear." Sully thus recognised the principle of nationality in the organisation of an International state just as Grotius recognised it in a system of International Law after the peace of Westphalia. Sully says "in every attempt at new combinations care must be taken to respect the natural dispositions and peculiar characteristics of peoples and races and thus guard against the folly

of trying to unite in any one state men whose differences of temperament or diversity of language, law and tradition are so great as to be incompatible." He therefore suggested a Universal Christian Commonwealth of Western Europe. Russia was excluded for the time being because she was too uncivilised and too remote. His scheme contained fifteen powers—six hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four republics. Sully wanted to reduce their antagonism and suspicion. There was to be entire freedom of trade amongst them. He

realised the wastefulness and cruelties of war, but wanted a perpetual apposition to the infidel Turks.

These fifteen states were to be governed by a sort of Amphictyonic council which was to be the guardian of peace and to arbitrate in all quarrels. He also had an idea of establishing France as a sort of permanent arbiter in the interests of religious toleration and political stability. Henry IV was to be the arbiter of Europe and to drive out the Turk.

(To be concluded in the next issue).

WORLD EVENTS

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

1930. A RETROSPECT

A retrospect at the end of a year has value in providing the basis for a judgment as to the prospect for the coming year. 1930 will stand out in history as a year in which were laid foundations of great importance concerning future development. The first matter of world interest was the Naval Limitations Conference which followed closely on the conversations of the Premier Ramsay Macdonald and President Hoover. The conference called together representatives of five great naval powers Great Britain, United States, France, Italy and Japan. Unfortunately, France and Italy could not see their way to accepting the agreement entered into by the others, and have since been trying to settle their differences between themselves. But the three other powers were able to enter into an agreement which will considerably limit the naval building programme until 1936. That was an achievement of outstanding significance to peace.

During the summer the Lambeth Conference met with representatives from all parts of the Anglican Church. It was a notable gathering with a varied and important agenda. Pronouncements were made on a number of pressing problems, but

perhaps the most important to us in South India was their attitude towards the question of a proposed union with the South Indian United Church. The Lambeth Conference has recommended that the Anglican communion in South India proceed with the scheme of union, and see how it works out in actual practice. There are still many difficulties, but it is thought that in the practice of union many if not all of them may disappear.

In May there was organised and began operations of the Bank of International Settlements. It is located at Basle in Switzerland, and has for its primary work at present the receiving of reparations payments and the disposition of them on behalf of the creditor nations. The Bank is not a creation of the League of Nations, and accordingly the United States have taken an active part in its organisation and present operations, but at the same time one can see how such a Bank may become the financial adjunct of the League. Because of the fear of competition on the part of the existing Central Banks the new Bank is prohibited from entering such fields as credit creation and currency, but it can help the circulation of credit; it can work for the stability of the foreign

exchanges; and it can perform a useful service in helping to regulate the supply of gold. Its service and importance will grow as time goes on.

The Assembly meetings of the League of Nations which are held in September every year were not of exceptional moment this year with the exception of one or two things that should be mentioned. The first and experimental period of the League has been passed; the Assembly is now generally regarded as one of the big political events of the year, and its importance may be judged by the attendance of Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of so many of the leading member-states. The chief matter of interest was the further statement and discussion of M. Briand's scheme for the United States of Europe. There are too many difficulties in the way to allow nations to become enthusiastic over the suggestion, but it is to come up again next year, when M. Briand is asked to bring in more details in reference to the working and organisation of the scheme. Mr. Henderson took the Assembly to task over the question of raising tariffs in opposition to the resolution of the Assembly two years ago, and he asked delegates to use their influence against the present mad policy of increasing import duties.

The British Imperial Conference met in October but so far as really doing something is concerned it was a failure. Its major considerations were economic—how to improve Empire trade. The Dominion premiers came forward with a very definite policy of Imperial Preference; Canada wanted protection for her wheat, and there was suggested the quota system. The British Labour Government were not in favour of general preferences which would undermine their free trade policy. But the quota idea is to be further studied which would give a preference to Empire-grown wheat, and it was decided to continue discussions on economic problems in Canada in two years' time. That was the big difficulty at the Conference; the agenda was so

large, the problems to be considered were tremendous, and the time was insufficient. A permanent Economic Secretariat may be necessary. In November the Round Table Conference began its sessions, and there seems no likelihood of an early agreement on the many and vexed problems that face that conference. Two things have emerged, Dominion Status and a federal form of government, but how to give effect to them and at the same time meet the definite wishes of the Indian Princes, as well as safeguard the interests of the minorities is the tremendous task of the Conference. The Indian Princes and the Muslim minority hold the key to the solution; their claims and interests must be satisfied in the new constitution.

Two economic problems stand out in 1930 as defying all attempts to remove them: they are the low world price level and unemployment. As to the first the grim fact is that the purchasing power of people has been lessened and large-scale production with machine power has greatly increased production until we have reached the point that supply is greatly in excess of demand. Given those conditions a low price level is bound to be the result. Unemployment is a related evil, and springs from similar causes. Great Britain's unemployment is due to the loss of her world markets during and since the War; some of these markets will never be recovered, because the former buying nations are now producing those commodities for themselves; other markets may be recovered or new ones found when stable conditions obtain in China, India, and Russia; or if and when British manufactures can be put on the market at a price that will allow a fair competition, then British well-known quality will bring trade. But even more fundamental still is the principle of rationalisation, relating supply to demand; a reform which must control the quality and quantity of output in accordance with a scientifically measured demand of the world market.

In the United States their mounting unemployment is due to the repercussion of their protectionist tariff which is closing foreign markets to American products; but more serious still is the conflict between machine power and man power. Every new machine that is installed is more productive than the old one, and throws men out of work. America to-day is beginning to move in a vicious circle: more machines and large-scale production increasing, more and still more goods that cannot find a market, and unemployment mounting higher and higher. The prospect is not encouraging, unless we control machine production, and relate supply to demand. Modern means of production are running away with us; we must control them, and in the meantime build up our purchasing power, so as to increase the world's demand.

SOVIET WAR MENTALITY

The recent arrest and trial of certain professors, engineers, and technical specialists in Russia in the charge of anti-Soviet "plots," and their sentence by the Court in Moscow shows in rather strong light the amount of fear and war mentality that still obsess the Russian Soviet rulers. It reminds one of the Dogger Bank incident in the North Sea during the Russo-Japanese War. The trial makes sad reading; that Great Britain and France contemplated any invasion of Russia is utter bosh; the sentences are nevertheless really extremely severe. All the arrested were found guilty; five were sentenced to death, and three to ten years' imprisonment. As a result of an outburst of indignation the death sentences have been commuted to ten years' gaol, and the other three to eight years' imprisonment.

The indictment exceeds 25,000 words. The British Government and the British Army and Navy are given a prominent place, which did not appear from the version received here a few days ago. Colonel Lawrence, "Lord Churchill," Mr. Urquhart, and the Vickers Works are many

times accused of having planned with the British and French General Staffs and the Russian professors a march by invading armies on Moscow and Leningrad in 1930; and of having provisionally disorganized the Soviet railways and economic life generally. The British Fleet, the indictment says, was intended to operate on a big scale in the Black Sea and the Baltic, and to transport military forces.

A statement published in Moscow says that the mitigation of the penalties was due largely to the prisoners' "confessions" of repentance and to the assistance they gave in disclosing the "plot" to invade Soviet territory and other plans for intervention and wrecking.

A BRITISH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

In a letter to THE TIMES General Seely writes:

It is clear that Britain is confronted with a grave emergency. It is equally clear that an election on party lines will not help us to meet it. With regard to India, a very wise man writes to me:—"Here most assuredly our task will be more difficult if the solution became an issue at an election. A divided instead of a united Britain would tend to increase rather than diminish agitation."

The idea underlying this statement is that Britain's ills are too deep and persistent to be solved by any one party in power. The Party Government stands condemned; the economic and political problems demand the very best brains of the country from all parties. A national policy is what Britain needs, and, I believe, a National Government will be able to carry out such a policy, where a party government would fail. Some Labour M. P.'s have expressed the same thing, and have asked for an emergency cabinet of five members to be invested with power to carry through an emergency policy.

AUSTRALIA AGAIN

It will be remembered that when the Labour Party assumed control of the Australian Federal Government over a year ago, they immediately raised the tariff against imports; one of their expectations is being fulfilled in that a number of new industries are being organised in Australia. The Minister for Customs has issued a statement showing that since the introduction of the higher tariffs many oversea firms are now considering the establishment of factories in Australia; some have already done so.

INDIAN NATIONALISM*

BY PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, M.A.

IT does not require a prophet to say that India will rank as a free dominion in a short time. The future will give large power and responsibilities to you. The historic role of the educated classes in the building up of a new India cannot be under-estimated. If a leader is one who knows where he is going, who has a firm grasp of the insights and intuitions which have made our civilisation so enduring and who can harness them to every aspect of life it is only the universities that can train men for leadership. The universities are more than institutions for higher learning and professional training; they are called upon to educate the younger generation, form its character—create a new type of intellectual leader.

It is obvious that your education has failed you if it does not develop in you a love of severe and sustained thinking, a power of resistance to popular sentiment and mob passion. An educated person will be willing to follow truth wherever it leads him and will refuse to be forced into action simply because every other body is doing it. He knows that in knowledge there is power, that truth shall make for freedom. To build a new India we must think deeply and plan wisely. Creation is an act of faith, an act of renewal and hope, rendered possible by a new vision. * * *

NEED FOR HARD THINKING

Never was a time when there was more need for hard thinking than in the present hour. We see on all sides a seething mass of turbulent life. We are faced with a situation produced, if we can imagine it, by a combination of varied movements which the European nations passed through during the last few centuries. The intellectual renaissance, the industrial revolution, the political struggle for freedom and democracy and the religious reformation which the Western nations faced individually and at different periods, India

* From the Convocation Address to the Punjab University.

has to meet simultaneously, each magnified on account of the large area and population concerned. While great changes are taking place in every side of life, political and industrial, cultural and social, there is a good deal of loose and muddled thinking. The country seems to be marching forth into the unknown.

A casual visitor may feel that nothing interests Indians so much as politics. The deep questions which have engaged us down the ages are practically forgotten. There is a general disposition to despise cultural interests and make of life a rougher and ruder thing than in the spacious past. I do not deny that there is a good deal to be said for the pre-occupation with politics. The stress of struggle for the bare physical necessities is more formidable than it ever was. Bernard Shaw says that a subject nation is like a man suffering from cancer. He can think of nothing else. He will listen to all quacks who will profess to treat him. The teaching of the West is mainly responsible for the political unrest. It has been the explosive energy, the social dynamite. The political tradition derived from the ancient city-states of Greece has taught us a passionate love for free citizenship and a juster social order. We have learnt that all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery. The aim of government is not so much efficiency as education. It is to afford training and opportunities for self-government. Muscles waste if they are not used; sinews become rigid if they are not stretched. Impetuous youth with its eager straining after the new vision chafes at every delay. The unrest is a tribute to the Britishers' work in India and not a reproach. We seem also to have learned from the West that success justifies all methods and service to the nation excuses moral shortcomings. Such a view of political morals is not quite compatible with the tradition that cruelty is a crime for which there

is no forgiveness. Nationalism means that we should do everything in our power to preserve our soul, our honour and integrity and maintain our individual style of dealing with problems. We want freedom to preserve ourselves and make our distinctive contribution to the progress of the world. We cannot do so if we surrender our individuality. We must not try to make for ourselves an English or a Russian soul, but must extract from these whatever will serve to enrich our spirit. We can profit only by that which we are able to transform into our substance.

It is however the fact that there is a good deal of loose thinking on this question. In the minds of many of our leaders the antagonism to British rule is strangely mixed up with a love of British institutions. They are more anxious to westernise our country so as to make it a replica of Europe. Even the criticisms of Western institutions are inspired by Western thinkers like Karl Marx and Tolstoy, Romain Rolland and Bertrand Russell. We are violently Western in some moods and violently Indian in others. We are transitional creatures burdened with uncertainties, with chaos in our minds. The silent struggles in the souls of men are of greater import than the spectacular ones on the political arena. Unfortunately, the universities whose function it is to control and organise fundamental thinking on basic issues seem to be suffering from inertia and indifference.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

In the social and cultural realms the situation is not much different. We seem to swing between the two extremes of pride and self-contempt, constantly looking over our shoulders to see what others are about, wretched and anxious lest we should make of ourselves a laughing-stock. We are ashamed of the running sores in our body-politic and yet bewildered as to how we could remove them. The protective garment of tradition has

become a thing of shreds and patches. The abstract rationalism of the revolutionary would make a clean sweep of the past; the equally abstract historicism of the reactionary would make a clean sweep of the present. Our inward unity is lost. The integration of social, cultural and political forces is broken up. And what shall a University education profit us, if it does not restore the unity and synthesise the old and the new?

It is easy to be romantic about the good old days. But it is a sure sign of decadence if we live contentedly in the traditional fabric of ideas congealed into forms. In the flux of life, the past is not the present. Progress is marked by originality and adventure; decay by imitativeness and routine. However perfect the wisdom of the past may be, the forms in which it is clothed are not final. They require to be broken and made afresh. We must recover the spirit of life and convert it to fresh purposes. The spirit of a people is to be found not in what it was in past ages nor even in what it is now. As we survey the history of a nation, we get at something deep and foundational, something which is for ever forming itself anew though it never reaches perfect expression. The spirit of a people can only be defined in terms of this growing ideal, this operative principle which is very imperfectly expressed in any specific stage though clearly discernible when we study the several stages in their temporal succession. The secret of life is in the law of development. In India the main emphasis has been on the reality of the life of spirit in man and the Cosmos as a whole and a search for truth wherever it may be found. India has always stretched out her hands towards the developments of life. It is only the recovery of the true spirit that will help to loosen the hold of the complicated and unnecessary trappings. The wood, hay and stubble that have come down to us must be consumed in order that the things which are not shaken may remain.

THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS

Owing to exceptional circumstances neither the Congress nor the Liberal Federation met last year. One of the remarkable gatherings of the year was the All Asia Educational Conference held at Benares, which was attended by delegates from far off China, Japan, Ceylon and the Philippine Islands. Among other gatherings were the Philosophical Congress at Dacca, the Oriental Conference and the meeting of the Historical Records Commission at Patna, the All India Muslim League at Allahabad and the Mahomedan Educational Conference at Benares. Other sectional and vocational Conferences were held at different parts of the country and an attempt is made to give a bird's eye view of their proceedings.

All Asia Educational Conference

It was in many ways a remarkable gathering that assembled at Benares on the 26th December under the presidentship of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan. A striking feature of the Conference was the presence of a large gathering of 15,000 people including hundreds of ladies. There were delegates from all parts of India of whom 300 were from Madras. Another interesting feature of the Session was the attendance of delegates from far away countries like China, Japan, Ceylon and the Philippine Islands.

In opening the Conference H. H. the Maharajah of Benares observed

that the congregation of the intelligentsia of the East assembled to strengthen the tie of federation could not fail to chalk out a universal plan for all-side uplift of Oriental civilisation, through education.

And he also hoped that

the deliberations of the Conference would lead to the discovery of ways and means of bringing about an Oriental renaissance.

Principal P. Seshadri, M.A., President, All-India Federation of Teachers' Associations, in the course of his welcome address, dwelt upon the aims of the All-India Federation of Teachers' Associations. He pointed out the deplorable illiteracy of the masses and pleaded for adult education. Women's illiteracy, he said, was one of the greatest handicaps to progress and the present disparity in education between man and woman was committing havoc in many an Indian home. He pleaded for the education of the Depressed Classes which he said was essential for the future advancement of the country. He

then referred to the teachers' lot and emphasised the need for the betterment of their condition. He concluded :



PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI

It is difficult to disguise the melancholy reflection that we are welcoming you to a land whose political status is now inferior to that of most of the other countries in Asia, * * * but it is hoped again that when the time comes round for holding another All-Asian Conference in this country, whenever it may be, you will find India in a much higher stage of political development, her children in real control of her destinies, laying down her own policies and working them in the best interests of her own national greatness, and with a prouder record of

national achievement than what we can show you to-day.

Prof. Radhakrishnan President of the Conference, in his *ex tempore* address said that the Conference was a means for furthering international



PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

co-operation. Asia and Europe could not be isolated in thought. The Aryans of Britain and those of India were of the same stock.

Are the two continents (Europe and Asia) to face each other as combatants or comrades? If it is the former the World War itself will be as nothing in comparison with that dreadful catastrophe. If the latter a magnificent vista of common achievement will open out before our descendants. We will be able to build up a society less barbarous, less enslaved and more generous.

Continuing, he observed that education had been based on a fundamentally different motive.

Here Great Britain has for its aim enabling its students to become efficient as citizens. In Germany it is pure learning of *systematic* thought, in France it is intellectual culture, in India the greatest emphasis has been laid on the supremacy of spiritual values.

'So far as the true soul of the man is concerned', observed the President towards the end, 'there is no such thing as the East or the West.'

The Conference divided itself into different sections and continued to deliberate day after day.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION SECTION

The university education section held its meeting at the conference *pandal* under the presidency of Justice Sir S. M. Sulaiman.

Prof. S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, initiated a discussion on 'Co-operation among the Universities of India.' He pointed out that there was very little of co-operation among the universities in India.

He pleaded for the avoidance of duplication of Universities and suggested the pooling together of men and money in Indian universities.

Dr. V. Shiva Ram, head of the department of political science, Lucknow University, and sometime Carnegie Fellow in International Law, read a paper on 'Exchange of University professors.' He suggested that there should be exchange of professors between the Universities in the East and the West. This system would be for the betterment of International relations.

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar read a paper on 'University students and the present lecture system', and Mr. H. Ansari, Registrar, Usmania University, Hyderabad, gave a short account of the progress made by the University since its inception.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Mr. K. H. Wong of Pit Ching Academy, China who presided over the Secondary Education meeting, said:

We people of the Orient are proud of our own civilisation. Your country has contributed, no small share to what we call the Oriental civilisation. The Chinese civilisation has been influenced by your philosophy, literature, arts and religion and the purpose of this conference is to bring out the best things in our civilisation for the good of mankind. The people of this world to-day need your high ideas of living in the midst of materialism and I hope this conference would bring out the important features in our civilisation for the benefit of the world.

He concluded by describing the system of Secondary education prevalent in China.

The Conference concluded on the 30th under the presidentship of Mr. Wong in the absence of Dr. Radhakrishnan, who had already left for Calcutta. A number of delegates from Indian States and provinces next spoke, expressing their appreciation of the work of the Conference.



PUNDIT MALAVIYA

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who arrived at Benares after his release from jail, addressed the Conference. He said that education was not the

monopoly of one race or nation, but a problem of the humanity. He wished every man to promote peace and goodwill amongst all nations and remove hatred, ill-will and jealousy.

Many resolutions, adopted by the sectional conferences, which were formed after the opening day and met daily in separate rooms, were taken and passed at the joint meeting of all delegates without being put to vote.

Of the few resolutions that came up on the last day before the Conference and were passed unanimously one congratulated Sir C. V. Raman on his winning of the Nobel Prize.

Public lectures of educational interest were delivered by Dr. Besant, Dr. Bhagvandas, Ziauddin Ahmed, Mrs. Aniya Begum and others.

The educational exhibition organised on this occasion attracted a large number of visitors, one feature of the exhibition being the Chinese paintings brought by the Chinese delegates.

Indian Philosophical Congress

The sixth annual session of the Indian Philosophical Congress was opened at Dacca on December 20 by the Hon. Mr. K. Nazimuddin, Minister for Education, Bengal. Mr. Nazimuddin dwelt at length on the peculiar claims of Dacca to be the venue of philosophical discussions.

For it has been for generations a strong centre of Muslim culture in Eastern India, and by its propinquity to Vikrampur can claim to be a home where Sanskrit learning and Hindu religion have flourished for centuries. In its young but vigorous University, the departments of Sanskrit and Islamic studies are carrying on the great traditions of the past, and in the department of Philosophy the accumulated wisdom of East and West is being sifted, revitalised, and applied to the problems of the present.

He asked the philosophers assembled to get into the current of the world round about them and to understand and interpret the newest problem that are confronting the country.

And do not neglect the social science. The contribution of the thinkers of India to this fascinating branch of

learning is very slender indeed and yet India provides one of the most fruitful fields for social study. Upon a foundation laid in the dim beginnings of civilisation India has been rearing successive structures of social organisation and the advent of every conquering race has meant a readjustment of the social equilibrium.

Welcoming the delegates, Mr. G. H. Langley, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University and Chairman of the Reception Committee pointed out that

the district around Dacca has for centuries been famous for Sanskrit learning and it has been the home of great speculations both by Buddhist and Hindu thinkers; and further, in a later period Muslim power extended to Eastern Bengal and with it was introduced the influence of Muslim culture.

Mr. Langley invited the philosophers to the fellowship of seekers after truth and told them

that there never was a time in the history of this great country when there was more need for approaching the difficult and perplexing problems with which it is faced in the manner of the great philosophers.

Prof. A. R. Wallia, officiating Director of Public Instruction, Mysore, who presided over the

Conference then read a thoughtful address in the course of which he discoursed at some length on the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi in which he



PROF. A. R. WADIA

said there is perfect synthesis of the philosophies of the East and the West.

Such a synthesis has been forthcoming from the Indian of Indians: Mahatma Gandhi. He may not technically belong to our ranks, but the right to think, the right to truth is not the monopoly of any one, and after centuries we have in our midst a teacher, who is not content to quote scraps from texts, but can face life and can think and can teach.

A breadth of outlook has generally characterised the whole career of Mahatma Gandhi:

There was a time when he appeared to hover between Christ and his native faith, and when he ultimately stuck to Hinduism, it was to a new Hinduism, revived and chastened through the crucible of his own thought. The Gita has been his constant companion and the doctrine of the New Testament has become a part and parcel of his very heart blood. That explains why he has said: "My religion has no geographical limits." Hinduism is the most difficult thing to define.

It is no wonder therefore if for Gandhiji Hinduism is just a search after truth through non-violent means. He himself has admitted that he has been most influenced by the New Testament and then by Ruskin and Tolstoy. A seeker after truth needs must go where truth beckons him, and patriotic considerations cannot confine the area of his search.

When a man is so prepared to receive currents of truth from whatever source they come, he is logically bound to make a full use of his reason. "I shall not make a fetish of religion and I cannot justify any evil in its sacred name. I have no desire to carry one single soul with me, if I cannot convince him by an appeal to his reason. I shall even go to the length of rejecting the divinity of the most ancient Shastras, if they do not appeal to my reason." This is a remarkably new note in the history of Indian thought.

Prof. Wadia thus paid a tribute to the supreme unconventionality of Gandhi's thoughts and utterances, and though he could not see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi in regard to his views on machinery and such things he declared unhesitatingly that

no Indian of our generation has made himself responsible for such unconventional views or pursued them with so high a sense of honour as Mahatma Gandhi. He is the only teacher in India to-day who can claim to have been looked up to by the world, and we in this Congress have something very vital to learn from him. His fearlessness and freedom from the tyranny of texts are a genuine inspiration. His emphasis on the moral as the ultimate principle in life holds out a great promise of a religious revival free from ritualism, which tends to veil the soul of God more than reveal it.

The Congress thereafter divided itself into various sections: and when it met the next day. Professors Sulley, Abdul Hakim, G. Bose and Dr. Sirkar delivered addresses for their respective sections.

In the afternoon the different sections continued their deliberations. Dr. R. Das of Amalner and Dr. D. G. Londale of Poona read papers which aroused keen discussion in the metaphysical section. Mr. S. S. Sastri of Madras and Dr. Sen of Annamalai University delivered interesting addresses in the section of Indian Philosophy. Mr. Kaliprosad of Lucknow read a paper which was the centre of an animated controversy in the Psychology section. Prof. Sathe of Poona, Mr. Bahadur Lal of Lahore and Mr. Srinivasa Acharya of Madras read their papers in the section of Ethics. All the papers in the section of Metaphysics were concerned with the question of "self."

In winding up the proceedings, the President, Mr. A. R. Wadia, made the following striking speech:

"Moralisation of politics has been the dream of most political thinkers; to make it a reality has been the dream of Mahatma Gandhi. I feel that the Indian Philosophical Congress cannot hope to achieve anything substantial unless and until they give up the fear to think, and no Indian of this generation has made himself responsible for such unconventional views or pursued them with so high a sense of honour as Mahatma Gandhi."

The Reception Committee was "At home" to the delegates after the Congress had finished its work. It has been decided that the next session of the Congress will meet at Patna.

All-India Muslim League

The first Session of the All-India Muslim League after the re-union between the Jinnah and the Shafi Leagues met at Allahabad on the 29th December with Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the chair. There were some prominent Muhammadans on the platform but the gathering was rather thin.

Dr. Muhammad Hussain, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address surveyed the position of Muslims.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal then delivered his pre-



DR. SIR MAHOMED IQBAL

sidential address, the substance of which was explained to the audience in vernacular by Moulvi Mahomed Yakub.

Sir Muhammad in his speech struck an unexpected note in emphasising the urgency of the communal appeal. He declared that if the principle that an Indian Muslim was entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands was recognised as the basis of a permanent

communal settlement, he would be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India.

To achieve this idea, Sir Mahomed held that communalism in its higher aspect was indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India:

The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is perfectly justified." * * * "I want to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single Muslim State. Self-government within the British Empire or without it, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of Muslims, at least those of North-West India.

He emphasised that this centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service had, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made British rule possible in this country, would eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. He maintained that thus, possessing full opportunities of development within the body politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims would prove the best defenders of India against foreign invasion, both of ideas and of the bayonet.

Sir Mahomed, continuing, referred to the idea of a federal India, and said that the redistribution of Provinces must precede the introduction of the new constitution. He felt that the present structure of the Provinces was largely responsible for communal controversy and said that Muslim India would have no objection to purely territorial electorates if the Provinces were demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity. He saw a menace to Islam in India in the scheme of federation which was being discussed at the Round Table Conference.

Lastly, he doubted whether the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference would reach a satisfactory settlement and said:

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the sole test of the success of the delegates is the extent to which they are able to get non-Muslim delegates to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community.

Then will arrive the moment for independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India.

When the Conference met the next day it was discovered that there was not even a quorum which is of 75 members. The Subjects Committee meeting was attended by only 25 members. Reference was made to these in the course of the day's discussion.

The Resolutions passed by the League followed those adopted at the All-India Muslim League Conference, held in Delhi under the Presidentship of the Aga Khan on January 1 last year.

It was resolved that as the Government of India's Dispatch failed to lead the country towards responsible government, the recommendations contained in the Dispatch did not satisfy Indian aspirations in general and Muslim demands in particular.

The League was of opinion that the political disaffection in the North-West Frontier Province could not be removed, nor could local aspirations be satisfied with any scheme of administration which gave an inferior place to the Province in comparison with other Provinces.

The League considered it essential and imperative that statutory provisions should be made for adequate representation of Muslims in the Cabinets and public services.

The last and most important resolution adopted was moved by Maulvi Abdul Majid (Sind).

Muslim Educational Conference

The 42nd Session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference met at Benares on the 27th December under the Presidentship of Nawab Masud Jung (Dr. Ross Masud). There was a large gathering of notable Muslims and educationists including Justice Sir Sulaiman, Moulvi Mahomed Yakub, Drs. Suhrawardy and Ziauddin, Principal Dhruva and others.

Baba Shah Khalil Ahmad, Chairman of the Reception Committee read his address tracing the history of Benares, the economic, social and educational backwardness of the local Moslems, pointed out the defects of the present system of education and made a number of suggestions to improve it. He exhorted the Moslems to co-

The All-India Muslim League is emphatically of opinion that the Muslims of India will not be satisfied with any constitution that does not guarantee (a) full Muslim representation on a population basis in the legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal; (b) the constitution of Sind into a separate province forthwith and without any condition; (c) the conferment of full powers on the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

This League declares that Muslim insistence on the adoption of a federal constitution for India is contingent upon the clear understanding that the above mentioned units shall, in the matter of provincial autonomy, be treated on the same footing as the other components of the federation.

An objection was raised by Dr. Jung of the Allahabad University which was ruled out.

Sir Mohamed Iqbal left the meeting at an important stage of the discussion.

The amendment of Dr. Jung advising the Muslims to give a free hand to the Muslim delegates in London in arriving at the communal settlement was rejected.

Some speakers questioned the representative character of the delegates.

The League, before dispersing, appointed a Committee, to revise and amend the constitution of the League.

operate with him in opening a high school at Benares.

Maulvi Itrat Husain formally proposed Syed Ross Masood for presidentship. Moulvi Mohammad Yaqub, seconding the motion, traced the family history of the president and paid a glowing tribute to his services at Hyderabad.

Dr. Ross Masood then read an inspiring address in the course of which he pointed out that by the stress of economic and other forces the old order of things is passing away slowly yielding place to the new. Even the *purdah* as an institution is doomed. Dr. Masud then passed on to observe:

Had India been a land with only one language and one culture, the solution of the many difficulties with which our country as a whole is faced would have been

a comparatively easy affair. But since that is not the case, and since we Mussalmans are confident that, as in the past so in the future, our culture will render great service to our Motherland, we have to see that the rich variety that surrounds us does not reduce the life of our community to a condition of complete chaos.



Dr. ROSS MASUD

The preservation of Mussalman ideals of life does not necessarily mean a state of perpetual warfare with those who do not share those ideals. I have always believed and never more strongly than to-day, that nothing solid can ever be built on hatred. Moreover, a community that is confident of itself and is sure of the soundness of its own culture is not one that adopts the habit of always quarrelling with its neighbours.

We Indian Mussalmans should openly acknowledge the fact that we have received from Hindu civilization as we have ourselves contributed to it. After all, whether it be in the realm of Thought or in that of Art, it is the Hindu element in our lives that has made us as a people different from the Mussalmans inhabiting the other countries of the world.

The Conference met again the next day with Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad in the chair and there was a gathering of 8000.

A condolence resolution over the deaths of the Begum of Bhopal, the Nawab of Rampore, the Nawab of Tonk and Sir Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer were passed, all standing.

Maulana Tufail Ahmad, Secretary, then read the Conference report followed by Maulana Hamdani, Secretary, Bombay Provincial Conference.

Miss Atia Paize moved:

Considering the present appalling illiteracy prevailing among Moslem women the Conference strongly urges the need for a Central institution at Delhi providing arrangements under Islamic culture and traditions.

The resolution was seconded by Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdullah and was unanimously carried.

Later Mr. Sheikh Abdullah gave a lecture in the course of which he traced Moslem history and the causes of the present position of the community. He exhorted the Moslems to come to the right path and also advocated liberty and better status for Moslem women.

Prof. Fida Ali, Dacca University, spoke on the causes of Moslem backwardness.

Maulana Shah Khalil Ahmadi alias Baba Khalil Das gave a discourse on Moslem tolerance and need for broad-minded brotherhood and a constructive policy and urged the uplift of the illiterate masses.

The third day opened with a discourse by Alama Sulaiman Nadvi. Dr. Ziauddin followed with a speech in which he emphasised the need for industrial and technical education and suggested an improved syllabus. He also appealed to all to take up the question.

Resolutions were passed urging the raising of the Itawah and Ajmere Islamic schools to the Intermediate status, the preservation of old monuments and old manuscripts of past rulers and the opening of Co-operative Muslim Bank at Benares.

Another important resolution urged the need for a Muslim institution at Benares. It was moved by Mr. Khalil Ahmed and supported by Professor A. A. Puri and Moulana Abdul Kadir.

A subscription list was opened, and a sum of about Rs. 6,000 was collected.

Nawab Sardar Yajung thanked the organisers of the All-Asian Conference for their help, and also expressed thanks to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed and Dr. Masud.

Historical Records Commission

The Thirteenth session of the Historical Records Commission was opened by H. E. Sir H. Stephenson, Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Almost all the Indian Universities and many Indian States were represented. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, President of the Commission in the



SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

course of his address referred to the keen awakening in Indian States as to the need for exploring the past achievements of their ruling dynasties and the history of their territory by securing an authentic basis for facts which would be acceptable to historians abroad. Nearly all the great States, he said, had sent their delegates to the annual meeting.

As a life long student of Indian history he hoped that the cultural nexus thus begun between British and indigenous India would be perfected to the benefit of both sides. As an illustration he mentioned the recent examination of the only portion of Peshwa's Daftar. Poona which had revealed a vast and virgin field for research in India and in which both British India and the Deccan States could most usefully co-operate.

In the afternoon, His Excellency the Governor formally opened the Historical Exhibition in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. The members of the Commission were entertained at tea by Sir Mohamad Fakhruddin, Education Minister, Bihar and Orissa Government.

Various interesting papers were read at the session. Rao Bahadur Krishna Rao Bhonsle in a paper dealing with the Tanjore Public Library pointed out that the Library contains very many valuable manuscripts of great importance to the student of Indian chronology:

Among these, the manuscripts bearing on Maratha History are particularly important as they afford clear evidence on some of the keenly debated problems of Maratha chronology. Even on the birth-date of Sivaji the Great, the Tanjore Manuscripts have a distinct contribution to make.

Mr. Bhonsle continued that there are 30,000 manuscripts in palm-leaves and paper and that according to Sir G. A. Grierson

the catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts issued by Professor P. P. S. Sastri (Madras), Additional Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, are a valuable addition to his collection of Oriental books.

After describing at length the wealth of historic material available at the Library Mr. Bhonsle concluded:

There is ample material still awaiting further investigation and critical scrutiny by competent scholars in research work, not only among the priceless treasures of manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library but also in the inscriptions in the famous temple of Brihadiswara in Tanjore. At any rate, we possess enough material of a really historical character to reconstruct successfully the daily administration of a Hindu Kingdom like the Maratha Principality of Tanjore for more than a century before the advent of British Rule in India. Besides the Marathi records, references to historical and literary incidents lie imbedded in the voluminous Marathi and other works—in paper and palm leaf that were produced under the patronage of the Maratha Rulers during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries—works that are preserved with great care in the Tanjore Library.

Two Ceylonese Leaders

BY MR. ORISON DE ZYLVA

IT seems part of an ordered scheme that the close of a constitutional epoch in Ceylon should be attended by the death of two of her leaders. On the eve of the Donoughmore Constitution, which is represented to be an advance towards Responsible government, two Elders of the country's Political Councils—one refrains from saying two Elder Statesmen—who in their hearts rebelled against such a consummation have passed away. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan's name and reputation had penetrated to many parts of India, and he followed the traditions of Indian culture and philosophy. On the other hand, Sir James Peiris, first occupant of the Vice-Presidential chair of the legislature (the Governor is still the President here), was a Christian of Westernised habits, and had the distinction of having once been President of the Cambridge Union. The two men were thus two distinct types and the measure in which they each failed to attain to the stature of real greatness is the measure of the failure of Ceylon itself to find its lost Soul.

BRILLIANCE *versus* PRINCIPLE

Ramanathan bestrode his narrow world for a long period and the gifts of the showman, which were his in a marked degree and the possession of which is essential to the successful politician, won him much adulation from the multitude. James Peiris came into public life much later after an excellent preparation for his career and had an ostentatious charm that overcame his unprepossessing address. The two men were in no sense rivals at any time. But the public's respect for solid principles as against erratic brilliance was exemplified by the one's election to the Vice-Presidential chair when it used to be considered the greatest honour (it is not, happily, now) and the relegation of the other's claims to the background. Ramanathan wisely retired, and though the feelings of his community could not be des-

cribed in print it was soon realised by everybody that the Tamil leader was congenitally incapable of maintaining the impartiality required of a Chairman. In his later days—he was in Council to the very last, at 80—when he was so frail that he could hardly make himself audible, he was inclined to be somewhat perverse and obstructive. It was Ramanathan's tragedy that he lived long enough to forget the memory of his own youth. Perhaps, too, that memory was inimical to the latter-day aspirations towards Yogi-hood. Yet it is testimony to the force of Ramanathan's personality that it was strongest after his death, and his desire for a Samadhi burial—the burial accorded to a Saint was fulfilled to the letter.

MARTIAL LAW SERVICES

Ramanathan's greatest public services were performed just after the 1915 riots when he championed the cause of the Sinhalese who were being arraigned as the fomenter of a rebellion. Worse outbreaks are frequent occurrences in India. The Ceylonese are docile and timid people, and a Buddhist-Muslim collision seemed something heinous. Thirty or forty men of family were shot or hung and a number of prominent Buddhists were incarcerated, while a levy for compensation to the Moors was exacted. Mr. Ramanathan (as he then was) went to England and used all the gifts at his command to obtain redress. Whether in response to this representation or to the demands of James Peiris and Mr. E. W. Perera (who also was sent across) Sir John Anderson was despatched as Governor with an amnesty in his pocket. Ramanathan was idolised by the Sinhalese on his return.

THE SECRET MEMORIAL

Ten years later he secretly memorialised Government against the representation given to the Sinhalese in a Reformed Council and pleading for more seats for the minorities. He took sides against the then powerful Congress, led by

his brother Arunachalam, which opposed the reforms as inadequate, and undertook to work them if the minorities got another seat here and an extra seat there. Then he was knighted and became an ally of the Government—though he must at times have proved an uncomfortable bed-fellow. All that need be said is that his record in the last ten years was more in keeping with his early years as Solicitor-General than with the meridian glory when he shone as one Sun in the public firmament.

AN UNCHANGING CREED

Sir James Peiris's career was more consistent. The "extremist" of to-day is the "moderate" of to-morrow, and if the James Peiris of the Reform League, seemed somewhat of an obstreperous fellow, he always stood by that unchanging creed and it is

not his fault if a succeeding generation looked upon him as over-conservative. Not peace at any price but peace at a reasonable price might have been the motto on his escutcheon. It would be correct to say that James Peiris's greatest services were performed and his capacity for guiding his juniors best displayed in the long period before his election. The Government early scented the brown bureaucrat in Ramanathan and gave him a seat in the old nominated Councils. It showed no such anxiety to enlist James Peiris in the service of the State, and it was only in 1921 that he was sent to Council by the people without a contest, and at the subsequent reform elected Vice-President. Thence onwards he was as the Speaker of the House effectually muzzled and he was welcome to the knighthood his family had long coveted.

DEMOCRACY

BY MR. M. V. SUBRAHMANIAM, M.A., L.T.

(Lecturer in History, St. John's College, Palamcottah.)

A possession that is achieved after one's own endeavour is prized more highly than a gift of nature, for it is more blessed to *make* than to *receive*. Thus however benevolent an aristocracy or despotism may be, however manifold may be its services, it is of little value to the individuals of the state because they have no part or share in the acquisition of those things. The individuals in a paternal or authoritarian government only *receive*, they do not *create* for themselves. Benevolent despotism or any form of government other than democracy, takes away independence and initiative from the individual and by making him dependent on authority leads to intellectual anaemia and spiritual inertia. Democracy, on the contrary, gives ample scope for the free development of the individual and enables him to achieve what Aristotle calls the ideal of "good life" in co-operation with and in the society of his fellows. "Democracy" says Masaryk, "is

based on individualism not on capricious individualism, but rather on the effort to strengthen individuality and the sense of individual responsibility. Democracy means self-government which means self-control and self-government begins at home."

The ancient Athenians believed in democracy and established the direct government of the people. From the day of ancient Greece till the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 democracy was understood to mean direct participation of the people in the Government of the country. From 1789 democracy came to mean representative government or political democracy. So great was the enthusiasm for democracy that it was regarded as a panacea for all the political distempers of a country. The nineteenth century was an age of democracy, but at the end of the World War democracy seemed to have lost its hold on people for it was repudiated in Fascist

Italy and Bolshevik Russia, and it did not acclimatise itself in other lands. We are therefore faced with the question, "What is the future of democracy?"

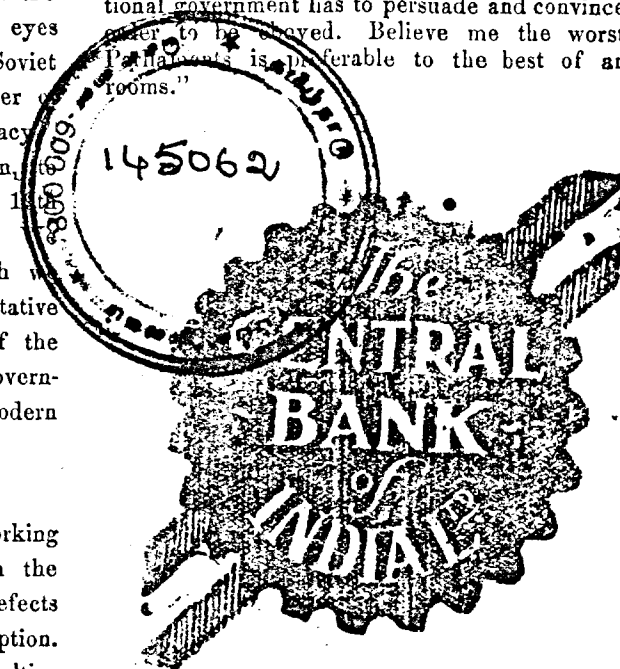
This interesting subject of democracy is the theme of Professor Alan Hatterslea in his brilliant work, "A short History of Democracy."* Professor Hatterslea has set himself the rigid limits of a historian. He surveys democratic constitutions from the dim beginnings of history to the present day and from "China to Peru." After going through nearly 260 pages of his book the reader is bound to feel that he has very up-to-date information on all constitutional points and that he has gained an insight into the working of different forms of democracy. But it is difficult for even the most prosaic of historians to pass by the most ominous symptoms of the day. And Professor Hatterslea discusses incidentally the full significance of the trend of events in the political world to-day where before our very eyes we see the ghost of democracy haunting Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy. In the last chapter of the book entitled "The Future of Democracy," the author ventures a cautious generalisation, wit, that Parliamentary government of the 19th century type will sooner or later disappear. I do not share in the author's scepticism which I think is a bit premature. If representative government has failed in certain parts of the world, the fault lay not in representative government but in the peculiar condition of the modern world.

"The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars
But in ourselves that we are underlings."

The real obstacles to the successful working of representative government are not in the opposition of interested groups, or the defects of particular machines, or even corruption. These are only the symptoms of difficulties which lie much deeper in the conditions of

the modern world. These are the great size of modern countries and the complexity of their problems. We think that decentralisation, universal education, and the will to co-operate in public affairs for ultimate social harmony and political concord, will make representative government a success. And after all representative government is only a century and a half old, and it is premature to say that it will sooner or later disappear. We would in this connection quote what Cavour the great Italian statesman thought of representative government.

"Parliamentary government has its inconvenience, as have all governments, nevertheless it is the best. I confess myself impatient of a certain kind of opposition and this I combat with vigour. Yet when I reflect upon it, I am always glad to have to fight it, because it compels me to explain my ideas to the best of my ability, to redouble my efforts to win over public opinion. An autocratic minister commands, a minister under a constitutional government has to persuade and convince in order to be obeyed. Believe me the worst of governments is preferable to the best of autocracies."

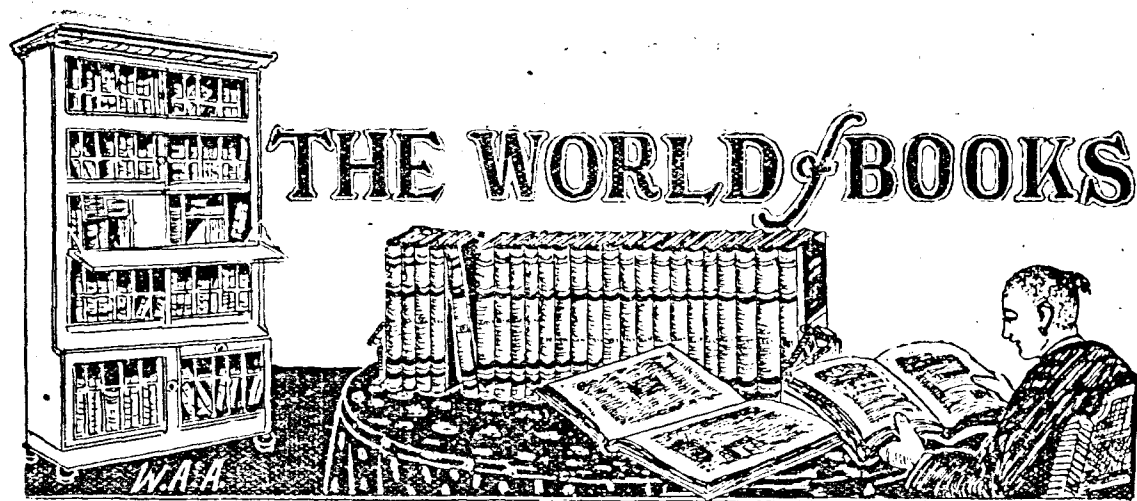


HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

E. Sept. '31.

* A SHORT HISTORY OF Democracy. By Alan F. Hatterslea. The Cambridge University Press.

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THE NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS. By Lt.-Col. E. R. Rost. Williams & Norgate, London.

This is the second contribution by the author to the elucidation of the scientific basis of Buddhism, the first one being "Buddhism and Science". In this book Mr. Rost who is an eminent medical authority has utilised his knowledge in the several branches of scientific investigation to prove that the Buddhist Doctrine, particularly its psychology, is confirmed by the up-to-date theories on sleep, dreams and sub-consciousness. Likewise on the ontological side it is claimed that the theories of the reputed scientists such as Einstein, Eddington and Jeans only support the Buddhistic conceptions of emptiness and impermanence of everything that exists. The scope of the book is very elastic. Of the 26 small chapters the first five deal with non-controversial scientific facts on the electron, spectrum, evolution and cerebrum. In the rest of the book many of the details of Buddhistic cosmology and yoga and the apparent mythological references to the Kamrupa and Arupa lokas are all presented in a modern garb and given a new plausible meaning with an implied challenge as it were that this century of scientific progress is gradually beginning to understand at the bar of reason what was instituted and proclaimed by the great Buddha in the age of enlightenment 25 centuries before.

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

Before we record our appreciation of the story, we must congratulate Mr. Victor Gollancz on initiating the scheme for publication of novels of distinction at a low price. Colonial editions are beyond the pockets of many being priced at 7/6. By adopting the get up of continental publications, Mr. Gollancz has been able to place these novels at 3 shillings.

The story itself is written to suit the modern taste. There is just the amount of sex element of romance and of mystery happily blended to form a very readable novel. Mr. Marlow writes in a satirical vein of a man who in order to feed his vanity makes himself very agreeable to an impressionable girl and is taken seriously. He (the Lion) takes fright. It results in his death in tragic circumstances. The girl is wiser by the experience and realizes that it is foolish to treat love a matter of the heart.

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

Miss Stern's further researches into the history of the Rakonitz family will surely be welcomed by the readers of her previous works. As a piece of imaginative work, it is unparalleled. It is almost a day to day record of family life. It is decidedly a wonderful achievement.

TYROL UNDER THE AXE OF FASCISM. By Dr. Edward Reut-Nicolussi. Allen & Unwin, London.

This is a sad story of the ill-treatment of a minority. Dr. Reut-Nicolussi is the leader of the German-speaking Austrians of the Southern Tyrol which was handed over to Italy by the Treaty of St. Germain. This transfer was to give Italy a mountain frontier for strategic reasons. At first, all went well, and there was some local autonomy. With the advent of Fascism, however, a ruthless regime of Italianisation began. The story is a terrible one, and in spite of excusably emotional outbursts, is convincing. The German language is being stamped out, and no German newspapers or teachers are allowed. Even freedom of worship has been threatened. Chapter and verse are given for Fascist brutality, and the whole book is a damning indictment of the Italian treatment of a minority. Of course there is the other side; but this book bears the stamp of truth and its effect will not be wiped out by mere denial.

KEYS TO SYMBOLIC DIRECTING. By W. Frankland. L. N. Fowler & Co., London. 3/6.

This small book on Astrology consists of two parts. The first part which will be of interest to the general reader is a short account of astrology as a science—its exact aims and limitations. Astrology is not mere fatalism any more than the Law of Karma. A study of its symbolism only reveals to us the network of conditions in which our life is cast. But there is always the unknown factor, the free will of man. Astrology only tells us what different talents are bestowed on each individual but it does not and cannot tell us how the individual will use them. The astrologer can predict only in the sense in which he knows the type of person stimulated to action and also the nature of the stimulus being exerted. He cannot say with surety what will result, but rather what is liable to result. To claim more than this is to claim what is not true.

STORIES FROM THE OPERAS. By Gladys Davidson. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

This is an omnibus volume containing the three series of Opera stories which Miss Davidson had already published. There are hundred and six tales in all, told with all the verve and charm of picturesque writing. From the dramatic as well as the musical point of view one can not enjoy an opera without a thorough knowledge of the story and a close appreciation of the thoughts and emotions of the character. A eleventh hour perusal of the synopsis at playtime is not the best way to enjoy the play. All the incidents in the *libretto* are presented exactly as they occur in the various acts and scenes, and Miss Davidson has in this volume provided the opera-lover with a comprehensive handbook of tales of fascinating interest.

FAMOUS PARSIS. Biographical and critical sketches. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. Three. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 2-8.

This is a fitting companion volume to the sketches of "Eminent Mussalmans" and "Indian Christians". Like them too, this is well illustrated, and contains copious extracts from the writings and speeches of the celebrities described. Parsis are the pioneers of India's progress in many directions. As patriots, politicians, philanthropists, reformers, scholars, captains of industry, as energetic citizens of a common country, many Parsis have made their mark. There are no more illustrious names in the roll of Indian patriots than those of Dadabhai, Mehta and Wacha; no more distinguished captains of Industry than the Tatas and Petits; no more philanthropists than the Jeejeebhoy and Wadias; no more ardent reformers than Malabari and Bengalli; nor more venerated scholars than Cama and Modi. And this attempt to record the achievements of Famous Parsis must be widely welcomed.

TALES FROM SANSKRIT DRAMATISTS. With an introduction by Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri. G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 2. To subscribers of the "Indian Review." Re. 1-8.

These tales which range over the vast field of Sanskrit Drama from Bhasa down to Visakhadatta include such well-known plays as the Vision of Vasavadatta, Avimaraka, Sakuntala, Malavikagnimitra, Vikramorvasiya, Mricchakatika, Malati-Madhava, Nagananda, Ratnavali, and Mudraraksasa. To the scholar, the English garb in which they are presented will renew old acquaintances redolent with the rich similes of the original and to the ordinary reader unacquainted with Sanskrit they are a welcome diversion. The tales are prefixed with short sketches of the respective authors coupled with critical notes on the Plays concerned. And they are told in easy and elegant English which must be particularly attractive to students in our schools and colleges. They are so written as to present the original in a fresh and vigorous style. Among those who have contributed to the volume are well-known professors and scholars like Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A., Dr. S. K. De, M.A., and others while Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, Retd. Judge, Madras High Court, writes an illuminating introduction.

INDIA AND THE SIMON REPORT. By C. F. Andrews. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 2-4).

This is not merely, as its title indicates, a criticism of the Simon Report. It deals more comprehensively with the whole problem of Indian aspiration. With his unique and intimate knowledge of conditions in India, Mr. Andrews deals with "the causes of resentment in India to-day against Great Britain which have led up to the present dead-lock. For this resentment exists very widely among the educated classes, and it is growing deeper."

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

Mysore is a city of palaces and splendours and though very modern in its progressive administration it is steeped in the beauty of an old world tradition, which is marked on every feature of its arts and architecture no less than in the lives and civilization of its people. In this guide book—which is by no means a lifeless catalogue of names and places—the writer leads the visitor to points of interest in the city. And with copious facts and dates of persons and places, an attempt is also made to convey something of the glamour, undefined yet real, of the history and legends of this ancient city.

THE YOGA SUTRAS OF PATANJALI. By M. N. Dvivedi. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The first edition of this very useful book was published in 1890. It is a pity that no new preface to the second edition is given and we are not in a position to say whether any changes have been made. All the same the book is useful to the general reader as it gives in a compendious form the Sanskrit Text, English Translation and notes on each sutra based on the standard commentaries.

SELECT SPEECHES OF SIR P. RAMANATHAN. The "Ceylon Daily News" Press, Colombo.

This is the first of the five projected volumes of the speeches of the G. O. M. of Ceylon which is of melancholy interest as Sir Ponnambalam has since passed away. Sir Ponnambalam's Council speeches were marked by lucidity and eloquence and though like the best efforts of even greater orators such utterances are ephemeral, they have doubtless a historical value for students of the island politics.

THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD. By Oscar Newfang. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

This book seeks to draw a comparison between the League of Nations and the United States of America and on the basis of the experiences of the latter to suggest improvements in the former. Mr. Oscar Newfang explains that through the covenant of the League of Nations, fifty-four self-governing nations of the world have devised a machinery by which controversies could be settled by pacific means and not by recourse to warfare. Likewise, forty-eight states in America came together for similar purposes long ago and with the exception of the Civil War, peace has been observed amongst them all during the last century and a half. And it is the writer's strong hope that the League of Nations also can establish peace in the whole world by following in certain respects the example of the U.S.A. and benefiting by its experiences.

As the title of the book itself shows, the author's ideal is a United States of the world and he means by it a World Federal State. But is such a consummation possible? One doubts, as matters stand. It seems that the British Empire offers a better analogy to what the League can be made to be than the U. S. A. does. There was talk no doubt of the Empire being made a Federation but that received its knock-out blow more than ten years ago and the position to-day is that the Dominions are autonomous units which are freely keeping together for mutual advantage but which may fall apart as each member has the right to secede. Thus the legality of member states is much more in a Federation than it is in the British Empire. And in view of the extreme jealousy with which each member of the League guards its independence, it is very unlikely that the question of a World Federation of the League can become a matter of practical politics.

The book sheds valuable light on probably the most important aspect of world politics to-day.

THE SPLENDOR THAT WAS 'IND. By K. T. Shah, B.A., B.Sc. With Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

Prof. Shah has in this volume undertaken a task of stupendous difficulty and executed it with a thoroughness that commands admiration. For he has, within the compass of a single volume of some 220 pages, attempted to give a picture of India, through the ages. The vastness of the land, and the variety and copiousness of the material for a work of this kind must be bewildering to any writer less gifted with the graces of courage and perspective not to speak of the unusual grasp and technical skill of Prof. Shah. Prof. Shah has doubtless had for his model Mr. Stoddart's *The glory that was Greece* and *The Grandeur that was Rome* but to any one familiar with Greece and Rome of Republican times the extensive scope of a similar work on India must be apparent. No wonder then that Prof. Shah has attempted to give no more than a few glimpses of the arts and graces, the beauty and culture of the several races and Provinces that make up the India of history. Indeed each of the natural divisions of India has enough in the story of its civilization for a complete volume or a series of volumes and to condense the story of many races and epochs into a coherent and vivid study needs all the vision and scholarship of a true historian. Prof. Shah's ten chapters range over many centuries of human endeavour in war and civilization, in poetry and drama, in religion and philosophy in art and architecture and afford a comprehensive and panoramic view of the social and political life of a people through the ages. And the Publishers have enriched the volume with plentiful pictures (there are no less than 340 in all) plates, pictures and maps, and the whole volume is attractively printed and got up. Altogether it is a sumptuous volume for a gentleman's table and the drawing room.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MAHATMA GANDHI: HIS OWN STORY. Edited by C. F. Andrews. George Allen & Unwin.

A YEAR IN ENGLAND. (For Foreign Students). By Wilfrid Thorley. George Allen & Unwin.

ON TEACHING. By N. K. Venkateswaran. Published by "South Indian Teacher," Madras.

THE SAMKHYA CONCEPTION OF PERSONALITY. By A. K. Majumdar, M.A. Ed. by J. K. Majumdar, M.A. Calcutta University Press.

TURKEY, YESTERDAY, TO-DAY & TOMORROW. By Sir Telford Waugh. Chapman and Hall.

GANDHI: THE MAN OF DESTINY. (A passion play.) By T. N. Thadani. Bharat Printing Works, Karachi.

THOUGHTS FROM EMERSON. By Rai Bahadur Gobinlal Bonnerjee, Calcutta. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-4.)

H. H. OR THE PATHOLOGY OF THE PRINCES. By Kanyalal Gauba. Times Publishing Co., Lahore. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 7-8.)

THE STOLEN TRASH. By Dr. G. L. Deshmukh. Anglo-American Printing Press, Bombay.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF SEX EXPRESSION. By Geoffrey May. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

THE CONQUEST OF HAPPINESS. By Bertrand Russell. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS. By Nalinaksha Sanyal, University of Calcutta.

HUNTAKHABAT HINDI KALAAM. By Prof. Dr. Jafer Hasan. Hyderabad Book Depot, Hyderabad (Deccan.)

GEORGE FOX: SEEKER AND FRIEND. By Rufus M. Jones. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES. By T. Francis Bumpus. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

NUMBER: THE LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE. By Tobias Dantzig, Ph.D. George Allen & Unwin.

TAMIL LEXICON. Vol. IV, Part II. Issued by the University of Madras.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA. By Prof. D. S. Sarma. Current Thought Press, Madras.

SPIRITUAL PRACTICE. By Ananda. Advaita Ashram, Almora.

FACTORS IN INDIAN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. By N. S. Nilakanta Aiyar. Saraswathi Printing Works, Calicut.

THE ETHICAL BASIS OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY. By W. W. Willoughby. Macmillan Co., New York.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY SYSTEM. (Sir William Meyer Lectures for the year 1929). By Sir J. C. Coyajee. Thompson & Co., Madras.

THE ASTROLOGICAL ASPECTS. By Charles E. O. Carter. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

THE SPHINX HAS SPOKEN. By Maurice Dekobra. T. Werner Laurie, London.

THE MESSAGES AND MINISTRATIONS OF SIR R. VENKATARATNAM, KT. Edited by Rao Saheb V. Ramakrishna Rao, Principal, Pithapur Rajah's College, Cocanada.

THE INDIAN PUBLIC DEBT. By D. L. Dubey. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

LIFE OF HUSSAIN. By Moulvi Mirza Ghulam Abbas Ali Sahib. Standard Press, Madras.

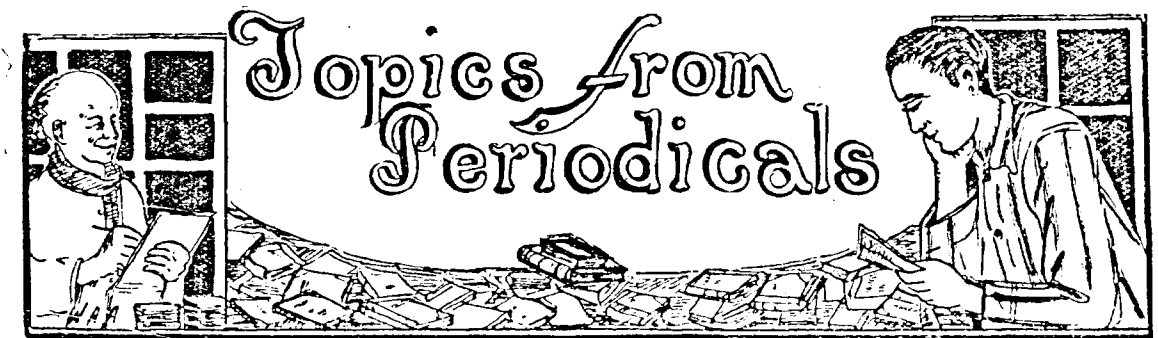
THE NECESSITY OF SEX EDUCATION. By K. Dyer. Steno House Agency, Amritsar.

CONSTRUCTIVE CHILD TRAINING. By C. D. Larson, L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

THE CREATIVE POWER OF THE MIND. By L. D. Larson, L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

EUROPE SINCE WATERLOO. By Mr. Upendranath Ball. Atma Ram & Sons, Lahore.

We have received the following pamphlets from the Vijaya Krishna Press, Calcutta:—
LOVE LETTERS, THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HINDU SOCIOLOGY, PILGRIM'S INDIA, VOL. I, QUINTESSENCE OF THE UPANISHADS, ESSENTIALS OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY, FEMALE SEERS OF ANCIENT INDIA and SOCIAL PROGRESS,



REVOLUTION IN INDIA

Sir Francis Younghusband reminds the readers of the *SPECTATOR* that the ardent spirit of nationhood that is flaming up within India is altogether an excellent thing. He says that for thirty years the revolution has been going on and that the War has given a fresh impetus to the movement. But then he believes that that is precisely what England has had in view.

We must recognize that the whole world is in revolution, and that the revolution in India is only part of this world-revolution. The rise of a National spirit in India is a beautiful and splendid thing—a thing to be encouraged—the one and only thing that can make India, and make her free and noble.

There is, however, a class of people in England who seem to think that an India freed from British overlordship will "lapse into chaos." Sir Francis wisely asks:

But who will be most conscious of it, we or the Indians? Are the Indians all fools? Have the Ruling Princes and Ministers who are here for the Conference no sense of responsibility for the fate of their own country? Have we any greater stake in India than they have? Surely, we may trust these grown-up Indians to have sense enough not to plunge India into disaster.

And then Sir Francis follows this up with the wholesome counsel to his countrymen:—

A way must forthwith be found of giving India from this time onwards the means of shaping her own destiny as freely as Canada and Australia were able to fashion theirs. The future of India must be in her own hands. . . .

We can win esteem both for India and ourselves by showing that experts as we are in the art of Government, we yet have eyes for those finer qualities which Indians so abundantly display—devotion to high ideals, love of philosophy and religion, quick intelligence, and incomparable manners.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

THE OPEN COURT for October contains an interesting article on "Indian Philosophy in its divergence from the spirit of the West" by Edward L. Schaub who says that a constant feature that characterizes all the diverse philosophical systems of India resides in their approach to the persistent emphasis of the religious consciousness. Indian philosophy centres about the inter-relations of the self and the world. The writer continues:—

Indian philosophy has its orientation in the relation of the self and the world; its goal is not abstract knowledge but a characteristic type of experience. Its aims are practical—practical, however, not in the sense of enhancing man's power over the material or the social environment, or of realizing ends of a purely or narrowly ethical sort, but in the sense of satisfying the more ultimate need of salvation. It thus transcends the plane of morality. In distinction from the centrifugal philosophy of an "expanding will" which, at its best, centers about the perfecting of society and its world, the philosophy of India turns to a supernature discoverable in the recesses of the human soul and suggesting the need for spiritual realization. Its emphasis is upon being rather than becoming. In opposition to doctrines of flux, it stresses an objective reality that furnishes an absolute standard of truth and of spiritual values. The individual aspires to an overpowering experience of the ultimate, and the philosopher is inclined to a metaphysical monism which looks beyond particulars to a whole or a totality within which they fall. Power and goodness are conjoined in the concept of karma.

We thus have a marked divergence from the temporalism, pragmatism, instrumentalism and pluralism which are so prominent in the contemporary West, and from those analytic and intellectualistic strains that pervade so many of its philosophers.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

The December Number of the ROUND TABLE contains a rapid review of the events of the last six months from the pen of its correspondent in India. As might be expected it is not a hopeful record, dealing as it does with the failure of negotiations, and the results of civil disobedience organised by the Congress.

Not the least serious effect of the boycott has been the dragging in of women and school children, many of the latter mere infants. Ideas and lessons have in consequence been inculcated which will assuredly bear bitter fruit for future governments of India, whether Indian or British. In particular, Bombay City has been the scene of constant strife between boycotters and demonstrators and the police. That unhappy city has indeed scarcely known a single day's peace since the beginning of the summer.

The writer then details the steps taken by the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments to deal with the civil resisters.

The new ordinance had to be put into force immediately in Bombay, and on October 15 there was a big round-up, the Congress offices and those of certain allied bodies being raided, and large numbers of persons arrested. This drastic action put an end, for the time being at any rate, to the attempt to set up a parallel government.

The writer then takes us through the frontier troubles and the outbreaks at Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu.

Referring to the constitutional issue the writer recalls the opposition to the Simon Report and the breakdown of the Sapru-Jayakar negotiations with Gandhi and the Nehrus and the consequent abstention of Congressmen from the Round Table Conference.

It was about this time too that the general elections to the Indian Legislatures came off and the writer notes:—

The general elections to the Indian Legislature were held in the autumn, but as the Congress party refused to stand, they lost much of their interest, although there was one important new development. The well-organised powerful non-Brahmin party in the south captured a number of seats and will undoubtedly be an important factor in the life of the Assembly.

BRITISH TRADE WITH INDIA

"Great Britain must realize that a new economic and political outlook is necessary if she is to retain India within the fold of the Commonwealth. India is no longer the El Dorado of the buccaneer times. Nor is she any longer the dumping ground for British manufactures," writes Mr. Lanka Sundram in an article in the December issue of the EMPIRE REVIEW. Great Britain must realize, continues the writer, that she has still scope for trade with India and fill up the gaps yet to be consumed by Indian industry which is yet in its adolescent stage.

There is no harm in asserting the fact that the acute trade relations between India and Great Britain at the present day are the product of past history and present recrimination. The divergence of the views held by the Indian Nationalists on the one hand and the British public on the other accentuated the difficulties of a transition period voted for the difficulties attendant upon the creation of tariff walls, however modest they may be, in a country which has for long been a victim of the doctrine of *laissez faire*; indeed, a period noted for the fact that India is no longer willing to be a clearing house for primary produce only, but is trying to exploit her material resources to the fullest extent and supply herself with articles manufactured out of her own raw products, with her own capital and by her own people.

India is already listed by the International Labour Office as one of the leading industrial countries in the world. The writer continues:

Year by year her industrial position is sure to be consolidated, while there is no reasonable possibility of dearth of raw materials needed for the effective feeding of her industries. But time is a factor to be reckoned with. Great Britain's industrial history is a good illustration. However rapidly India takes to the manufacture of goods, which she has so far been accustomed to import from abroad, time is not yet when she can reach the maximum point of production necessary to meet all her wants. Great Britain cannot, at the same time, have a monopoly of Indian trade.

There is of course the certainty that the present depression in trade can be made good as a result of the progressive industrialization of India for which India requires Britain's unreserved help,

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"The League and the principle of international co-operation cannot yet be a reality to the peoples of America, Asia, and Australia in the sense that it is to the nations of the European continent", writes Mr. W. Harsfall Carter in the November Number of the FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, in an article entitled the "Kindergarten of peace." Mr. Carter says that the nations who have entered the League are still only in the kindergarten stage of peace.

Friends of the League should avoid equally complacency and despondency. They should, above all, recognise that the machinery is bound to clog, so long as the United States, not to speak of other important Powers, holds off from the work of international co-operation. International machinery itself—the fact is patent in the political and economic field—has gone far ahead of national machinery, in response to the evident needs of this interdependent world in which we live. The minds of the majority of the present generation of diplomats, politicians, and publicists are lagging behind. Few persons there are, alas! even among those whose privilege it is to represent their peoples at Geneva, who are willing to use—let alone are capable of using—this machinery.

Outside Europe, with the notable exception of Japan, the League is known and appreciated only for its social and humanitarian work.

Only by bearing this consideration in mind, that the nations are still only in the kindergarten of peace, can one judge of the League Assembly year by year with the necessary patience and equanimity. In spite of the bed-rock economic discussions, in spite of a spirited debate on minorities which usefully ventilated one of Europe's most perplexing problems, in spite of the, on the whole satisfactory, outcome of the discussion in the Fourth Committee on the reform of the internal organization of the Secretariat, many in every country are going about shaking their heads and deploring the League's meagre record of achievement. But the League is no more and no less than the mirror of international life, of humanity in its flux.

The writer reminds us of the words of Sir Robert Borden who was present when the League was born eleven years ago: "Apart from its concrete achievements which have, in fact, surpassed all expectations, the highest service of the League to humanity lies in the constant association and co-operation, in the resultant education and training of the nations."

INDIA'S GLORIOUS PAST

"India is the oldest nation in the world," writes Dr. Sunderland in the UNITY, "going back for its origin more than three thousand years and having a continuous history down to the present time." And what has India done in the past?

India was the first and only nation that proved too powerful for Alexander the Great. It was India that stopped his advance and compelled him to turn back in his career of world conquest.

India was the richest nation in the world until conquered and robbed of her wealth by Great Britain.

India is a nation a large part of whose people are Aryans in blood that is, belong to the same great race as the Greeks, Romans, Germans, English and ourselves.

India gave to the world two out of six of its greatest historic religions.

Of the six greatest epic poems of the world India produced two. India gave to mankind its Shakespeare of the Orient—Kalidas author of "The Lost Ring" and other great dramas.

India contributed enormously to the origin and advancement of civilisation by giving to the world its immensely important Decimal System, or so-called "Arabic Notation," which is the foundation of modern mathematics and such modern science.

India early created the beginnings of nearly all of the sciences, some of which she carried forward to remarkable degrees of development, thus leading the world. Today, notwithstanding her subject condition, she possesses scientists of eminence.

India has created and to-day possesses architecture equal to the finest produced by Greece—as witness the Pearl Mosque, the Kutab Minar and the Royal Palace of Delhi and the Taj Mahal of Agra.

This is not all. If we may credit the judgment of Mr. H. G. Wells, India has given the world two of its six greatest men of all times—Buddha and Emperor Asoka. And then in our own day Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi are two men most widely known and honoured among the civilized nations.

India has produced great literature, great arts, great philosophical systems, great religions, and great men in every department of life—rulers, statesmen, financiers, scholars, poets, generals, colonisers, shipbuilders, skilled artisans, and craftsmen of every kind, agriculturists, industrial organisers and leaders in far reaching trade and commerce by land and sea.

For 3,500 years India was pre-eminently the intellectual and spiritual teacher of Asia, which means of half the human race.

For 2,500 years before the British came on the scene and deprived her of her freedom, India was self-ruling and one of the most renowned nations of the world.

Should such a nation, asks Dr. Sunderland, be held in bondage?

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Mr. Nagendranath Gupta's address to the Bombay Nationalist Christian Party is printed in the December number of the MODERN REVIEW. In the course of the address Mr. Gupta says that India quite unconsciously follows the lofty teachings of Jesus Christ in her present struggle:

It has been well observed that in India there is a struggle between the soul and the sword, and the soul, as Sri Krishna says in the Bhagavad Gita, neither slays nor is slain. The soul triumphs through suffering and tribulation, and India is having a full measure of them. Is it any wonder that the Churches in Europe and America are watching this struggle with awe and reverence? This multitude in white raiment patient but persistent, is reminiscent of the Book of Revelation and the sufferings of the early Christians. Here is a remarkable blending of nationalism and religion. If men and women belong to different faiths they are children of the same soil, this ancient land that they all salute as the Motherland. In an appeal sent out by a number of highly cultured Anglican churchmen engaged in educational work in India the following significant sentence is to be found:—"We recognize that if a revolution is to be carried out at all Mahatma Gandhi's method is at least as Christian as any that has been tried in the history of the world." There is no revolution at all in the sense in which the word is understood, but only an assertion of the supremacy of the soul over physical force.

The present struggle, says the writer, has no parallel or precedent except perhaps in the Jesus's own life. He continues:—

Quite unconsciously and altogether unwittingly the Indian movement of non-violence has had a direct bearing upon the larger and graver problem that is distracting Europe and the nations of the West. The future of India may be her own concern but the abolition of violence and the elimination of war from national activities concern the whole world. The doctrine of non-resistance is not a new one; upon this sure foundation is based the marvellous and lofty teachings of Jesus Christ. The only error in the appreciation of this teaching has been that it has been regarded as a guide of individual conduct and not a course of concerted action. What the world is witnessing to-day is the application of an old precept on a large scale. The full significance of the struggle in India is being realized by thoughtful people in the West. The discipline required is far more stringent than in the army. Self-restraint, self-denial, self-suffering alone are permissible.

It has been observed that freedom's battle in India is being fought on the basis of the New-Testament. Following this method why should not the Nations of Europe set themselves free once for all, asks the writer, from the nightmare and horror of war and endless slaughter?

CURRENCY IN SHIVAJI'S KINGDOM

Prof. V. G. Kale, writing in THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS, mentions the chief features of Shivaji's currency system and says that gold seems to have been the main basis for industrial and monetary uses in that epoch. There was however no fixed standard of value, and the various coins, gold, silver and copper, circulated at their relative market values. The *hon* (particularly of the Padshahi variety) was the chief current coin; and Shivaji had his own *hon* coined, as a mark of his sovereignty. The land revenue was fixed in terms of *hons* which figure in a similar manner in royal grants, loans and sales and purchases of property. The *mohur* of the Mughals was rare and used more as bullion than as coin. Sabhasad mentions no less than 36 different sorts of *hons* as current in Southern India in the 17th century. The *hon* weighed from $2\frac{3}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ mashes of gold; and Shivaji's *hon* was exactly like that of Sadniva of Vijayanagar. Shivaji's silver rupee has not yet been traced; and his copper *paisa*, known as *Shivaraji* was current in Poona till the close of the last century. Other monetary units in use were the *takka* and the *rukka*; the former was a copper coin, similar in weight and value to Akbar's *dam*; the Shivaraji double *paisa* corresponded probably to the *takka* and the *dam*. The *takka* is usually associated on the lower side of value with the *rukka*, and on the higher with the *hon*. 48 *rukkas* made one *takka*. *Takka* was also the name of a higher coin, equivalent to about $1/12$ th of a *hon*; and thus, besides, being a copper coin of small denomination, it was a money of account also, being about a fourth of a rupee in valuation.

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES

By Sir Jadunath Sircar, M.A., C.I.E. Third and new Edition. Thoroughly rewritten and enlarged with four portraits. Rs. 5. net. G. A. Natesan & Co. Publishers, George Town, Madras.

INDIAN STATES AND FEDERALISM

Now that the Round Table Conference is tackling the question of a new constitution for India and the Princes have agreed to join a common federation, it is worth while to consider the conditions and limitations under which the federation could be accomplished. Mr. Govindarajachari, B.A., B.L., writing in the last issue of the TRIVENI, rightly calls attention to the importance of recognising the status and position of the States' subjects in any agreement that may be made with the Princes. Anything like a lasting solution must necessarily take into account the various groups or interests which must be safeguarded or provided for, as also the existing legal and constitutional position of British India and the Indian States in relation to each other.

Some of the British Indian politicians are prepared to treat the question as one exclusively between themselves, the Rulers of the Indian States, and the British Government, forgetting that there are 70 millions of Indian States subjects with a growing political consciousness and with rights and interests scarcely less valuable than those of any of the other parties. However much the *sang-froid* of Indian Rulers may be wounded by the presence at the same table of the representatives of their subjects, it is idle to imagine that any solution which is not in the main acceptable to the Indian States subjects can have in it the element of stability or permanence. The States subjects have a right to ask that there should be proper safeguards in the constitution against the misrule of their Princes, and that there should be some authority *somewhere* which would put down gross abuse of power on the part of their Rulers. Their legitimate aspirations in the direction of democratic government and representative institutions must be satisfied, if not immediately, at least by progressive and well-defined stages. The revenues of the States must cease to be regarded as the personal incomes of their Rulers and, with the exception of the Civil List to be settled in each case, must be spent on the administration of the State and for the moral and material betterment of the subjects. The question of the extent of the powers which the Central Government should possess over the Indian States, the authority by which the paramountcy over the Indian States should be exercised, the question whether the representation of the Indian States in the central legislatures should consist of the Rulers and of their nominees, or the duly elected representatives of the States subjects, or partly the one and partly the other, are by far the most important of the questions that have to be answered before a constitution for All-India can be devised or even thought of.

It may be suggested that an insistence on such conditions as those outlined above may induce or compel the Princes to break away from the Conference altogether and it is certainly a possibility which cannot be ruled

out. We should, however, put ourselves the question whether it is worth while consenting to a federation of British India and Indian States, if the Central Government is to have no control over the Indian States and cannot curb the misrule of their Rulers—which is really what is meant by a guarantee of their internal sovereignty and their treaty rights,—if the States are to be represented in the central legislatures by their Rulers or their nominees, if there is to be no safeguard against the expenditure by the Princes on themselves of the bulk of the revenues of their respective States, and if the form of government that is to prevail in the States is one of personal despotism. A Federation on those lines would not only not be an improvement on the existing state of things, but would be a most retrograde step from the point of view of the country at large.

The legal and constitutional position of British India and Indian States to each other have been made plain both by the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission. That the Indian States cannot be regarded as co-ordinate authorities with His Majesty's Government and that they are subject to the paramountcy of that Government cannot now be seriously disputed. Under the provisions of the Government of India Act, the paramountcy of His Majesty's Government is now being exercised through the Governor-General of India in Council.

With the Indianisation of the Governor-General's Executive Council and as the Government of India becomes more and more responsive to public opinion expressed through the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, even if it does not immediately become a responsible Government in the strict constitutional sense of being removable by the legislature, it cannot be gainsaid or doubted that the Government of India Act as it now stands has put British India in a position of vantage in relation to the Indian States, which it will, no doubt, utilise for the betterment of Indian India, with due regard alike to the privileges of the Rulers of Indian States and the moral and material well-being of their subjects.

The writer in conclusion warns against the attempt to create a dyarchy in the Central Government by which the Viceroy could deal with the Princes independently of the Government of India.

THE SPECTATOR

The Christmas Number of the London SPECTATOR is a bumper number, outlining "A Better World." The SPECTATOR is of late devoting considerable attention to India, opening its columns freely to the discussion of Indian affairs. In this number also there are two articles of outstanding interest to India: Sir Rabindranath Tagore's review of "BENGAL LANCER," and Dr. Edward Thompson's comment on the Round Table Conference. It is heartening to see this fine old Weekly espousing the cause of India, undeterred by party predilections and bringing to bear on the problems of this country its refreshingly independent judgment.

INDIAN STATES PROBLEM

The Round Table Conference is engaged in the important task of hammering out a constitution to bring the States within the purview of an all-India constitution. Hence the Rt. Hon. Sastri's observations in the POLITICAL QUARTERLY are of practical interest at the present moment. Mr. Sastri is against any steps that would detract from the degree of political unity that has been attained through the growth of the British power in India with its doctrine of unlimited paramountcy over the States.

The time is long past when a Ruler could say that the condition of his subjects was the concern of himself and himself alone. There is a conceivable limit to such a doctrine even in the case of really independent Sovereigns. With the States running into and out of British India, and with a free flow of life and thought between the Peoples, the theory of complete isolation cannot be sustained.

Upholders of British power cannot see eye to eye with Indian Nationalists, dazzled by the vision of their Motherland united from end to end, free to regulate her own destiny, and pulling her full weight among the Nations of the world.

Teachers and professors, priests, nurses and ballad-singers, no less than statesmen and rulers—all indeed who have to do with the shaping of the thought and aspiration of the future generations of our country must sedulously foster this sublime vision of One India, and encourage none of the pettier loyalties or desires which tradition has created by the dozen and by the score, to blind the vision of young India to the glory and greatness of a land which has realized that which Nature obviously intended for Her, by enclosing Her betwixt mountains and seas.

The co-ordination of railways, posts and telegraphs which has been accomplished must now be followed up by the introduction of the same currency, the same standard of weights and measures, and the same methods of national efficiency in education, law and finance:

We cannot afford to have radically different levels in the purity of public services, in the concern for the spread of popular education, in the regard for individual freedom nor in the subordination of the personal will of the Ruler to the reign of Law.

Since these words were written Mr. Sastri expressed himself as a convert to the federal system and that the Princes had by their discussions at the Round Table, brought him round to their view.

TOLERANCE IN ISLAM

"On the point of religious antagonisms the attitude of Islam is so profoundly and sincerely peaceful that no sane man can find justifiable grounds for quarrelling with it," says Mr. S. Niaz in his paper on "Islam on the Modern Problems," published in the October Number of the REVIEW OF RELIGIONS. Mr. Niaz contends that the principle which Islam advocates in this connection is that a true Muslim must believe in the Divine Mission of all the prophets that have preceded Muhammad. He writes:—

A Christian may have reason to feel antagonistic towards a Jew, and a Jew may, with some justification, dislike a Vedic Hindu because a Jew regards Christ as an impostor and a Vedic Hindu throws ridicule upon Holy Moses. But none of these three have any cause to be hostile to a Muslim, because a Muslim reveres Jesus Christ, Moses and Rama and Krishna as the prophets of God and His true Chosen Apostles. This attitude of reverence on the part of a Muslim seems all the more commendable when we recollect that the Christian, the Jew, as well as the Vedic Hindu all three of them look upon the Holy Founder of Islam as a self-seeking marauder, a clever, scheming and ambitious person, who was unscrupulous in the pursuit of his aims, who gloried in war and bloodshed and gave full rein to his lustful passions. In short, there is not an evil word which has not been hurled at him. Who can deny that the Muslims in this respect are indeed returning good for evil? Besides this the Holy Prophet advised his followers not to speak disrespectfully of anything or anybody that may be held in reverence by others.

* * * *

There are two other teachings of Islam bearing upon peace which I want to mention here. These were taught by the Holy Prophet by word as well as by example. One is that a Muslim must never be the first to take the field against his enemies. The Holy Prophet pushed this principle to such an extreme that even when two armies stood facing each other he never allowed the Muslims to strike the first blow. Captains well versed in military science might feel disposed to call this madness, but such was the Holy Prophet's love of peace that he stood up to this truly heroic principle throughout his perilous life and enjoined upon his companions to do the same.

The writer says that Islam is the only religion that has succeeded in levelling the disgraceful barrier of colour.

TREATMENT OF YOUNG DELINQUENTS

Writing on the above subject in the pages of the YOUNG MEN OF INDIA for December, Mr. B. K. Mukerji says that the Children's Act is operative in only three cities in India—Madras, Calcutta and Bombay; and that only since 1920, 1922 and 1924 respectively. In other countries the Children's Act, along with other social legislation, came into existence in consequence of the great industrial upheaval of our day. This same factor has led to acute congestion in our three Presidency Towns, resulting in indifference to the welfare of the children. The State has therefore assumed responsibility by passing this Act.

The methods of discharging this responsibility may broadly be summarized under the three heads:—

(a) Constituting separate courts for trial of children's cases, and also having separate 'remand homes' for the detention of children undergoing trial.

(b) Providing institutional training for children who may be classified as 'incorrigibles'. Children are sent to the Reformatory or Industrial School for a long period and here they are taught not only the "three R's" but some useful trade or handicraft. It is the discipline of the school-life that builds up the child and readjusts him to the community on his release.

(c) Supervising the delinquent child, who is restored to his parent or guardian, by appointing probation officers, who have to be not only friends of the family, but also act as 'big brothers' to the delinquent child placed under their supervision.

* * * *

The origin of the Juvenile Court Movement is found in the insight, courage and faith of the men and women who saw the harshness and inflexibility of the Criminal Law as applied to children, and that the parental and protective functions of the State can only be achieved by the assistance of the organizations which will take their share of consolidating that work. The Juvenile Court is neither an isolated institution that can function independently of other agencies, nor a mechanism

that can automatically, given the proper organizations, achieve results. It is one of the many social resources that has been developed in response to evident need. Its success depends mainly on three factors:—

1. Public appreciation of the service which it is in a position to render, and public support, which makes possible an adequate personnel and the necessary facilities for its separation;

2. The general development of the child-caring programme of the community, including provision for child-study, family rehabilitation, foster-home care and institutional care.

3. The general attitude of the community towards all its children, as expressed in home life, the adaptation of the school to the needs of the children which it serves, the provision of wholesome amusements, vocational guidance and the satisfaction of aesthetic and spiritual needs.

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EGYPT AND INDIA

There is in the current number of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER an article of considerable interest on the Egyptian situation, from the pen of Mr. A.R.J. Mellor, formerly of the ministry of Finance at Cairo. In reviewing the position in Egypt the writer makes remarks which are equally applicable to the present condition of affairs in India. Surely there is a great deal of similarity between Egypt and India in regard to their political aspirations and struggles.

First there is a party of Liberals in Egypt, whose leader is Mahomed Mahmed Pasha, who about a year ago was the head of the Egyptian Government. But they are a microscopic group, consisting of brilliant men but with no followers. They are "all head and nobody". Of them Mr. Mellor says:

They have never organized a serious appeal on political lines to the common people. Individually the Liberals possess almost a monopoly of those qualities that are most useful to Egypt—ability, knowledge of the world, a sense of statesmanship and polish, mostly based on Latin culture, which, in contrast to their compatriots, have made them insidiously attractive to our diplomats, for it is this moderate group which has always obtained the greatest concession from Britain.

And he adds, significantly enough, "It is not Egypt's tragedy alone that her most capable men should be those who do not secure public support."

But Congressmen have also their counterpart in Egyptian politics in the party of the Wafd, which Mr. Mellor describes as "a party led and directed by an inner ring of professional politicians, composed of land owners and lawyers".

Its most enthusiastic supporters are students and school-boys, but it has today an undoubted hold of one sort or another on the peasantry. The Wafd must not be thought to be in any sense Socialistic, and they stand for no economic creed. Their aims are fundamentally

non-British, and their sentiments as anti-British, no more and no less, as those of the Liberals, though their methods have rendered their hostility more apparent. The domination of the country by the Wafd may be a tyranny which discourages the expression of moderate feeling by the non-vocal majority of the inhabitants, but the fact remains that it is an effective domination. With the termination of its original mission it would tend to break up, as it is the force of external pressure rather than any real internal cohesion which binds it together.

There is one observation of Mr. Mellor's which seems particularly apposite in view of the Government of India's Weekly despatches or appreciation of events in this country in which they reiterate that Congress activities are coming to a standstill.

To argue that inaction spells neutrality and indicates the cessation of influence is as mistaken as to maintain that the queen has no influence on a chessboard as long as she remains on the same square.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. By Parimal Ray, M.A. ["The Calcutta Review," Dec. 1930.]

CHANGING CONCEPTION OF HINDUISM. By Dr. A. J. Saunders. ["World Unity," Nov. 1930.]

ECONOMICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. ["Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research, Institute," Poona.]

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA. By Dr. T. V. Seshagiri Row, M.A., Ph.D. ["Triveni," Sept.-Oct., 1930.]

MR. MONTAGU'S INDIAN DIARY. By Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. ["English Review," Dec, 1930.]

INDIA AND BRITAIN. By Evelyn Wrench ["The Aryan Path," Jan. 1931.]

Questions of Importance

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

REPORT OF COMMITTEES

In our last number, in concluding the proceedings of the first plenary session we observed that the Conference split itself into a number of committees so as to report on different aspects of the problem before the Conference. First, there was the Federal Relations Committee and then the Federal Structure Committee, the former presided over by the Prime Minister and the latter by Mr. Lees Smith. Lord Sankey has been the guiding spirit of these two important committees. There were then the Defence Committee under Mr. Thomas, the Frontier Committee under Mr. Henderson, the Franchise Committee under Sir W. M. Jowett. There were besides the Minorities Committee under the immediate guidance of the Prime Minister, the Burma Committee, the Provincial Committee, and the Committee on Public Services. All these have since submitted their reports, after frequent meetings and discussions. Only the Minorities Committee is yet undecided as we go to press. * *

At the Federal Structure Committee on the 2nd January Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru detailed his proposals which elicited approval from Lord Reading and admiration from all sides for the eloquence and cogency of his arguments. His proposals may be briefly put:

Powers of the Secretary of State to be restricted to Crown subjects and the Council of India to disappear.

The Governor-General in future to be the head of the Executive Government in the same way as the Governor-General in the Dominions, subject to certain changes necessitated by the period of transition.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru recalled that the object of the Conference was not to draft a Constitution, which must be left to constitutional draftsmen later. He thought he was entitled to ask the Chairman to say that the real object had been attained and to hold that the maximum amount of agreement regarding responsibility at the centre and the status of India had been arrived at. * * Lord Sankey, after considering all the reports at

a special meeting of the Committee at St. James' on January 12, read the Draft Report which has since been published. The Report suggests

that Executive power and authority should be vested in the Crown or the Governor-General, and there should be a Council of Ministers appointed by the Governor-General to hold office at his pleasure to aid and advise him.

The Governor-General should invite a Minister to form Government, who will retain office only as long as they retain the confidence of the Legislature.

The Sub-Committee generally agrees that the assumption by India of all powers and responsibility which have hitherto rested with Parliament cannot be made at one step, and

during the period of transition the Governor-General should be responsible for Defence and External Relations, including Relations with Indian States, outside the Federal sphere and in certain specified situations which may arise outside the sphere of those subjects.

The Governor-General must be free to act on his own responsibility, and should be given the powers necessary to implement his decisions in the event of a breakdown of the Constitution. Adequate powers should be vested in the Governor-General for the purpose of enabling King's Government to be carried on. * * *

The Conference in full committee received the reports of Sub-Committees on the 16th January.

The first Report received related to Defence, in which connection the Sikh representative suggested that 75 per cent. of the Officers' Cadres should be reserved for people who served in the Army and passed through the ranks. Dr. Ambedkar proposed that recruitment to the Army should be thrown open to all subjects, including untouchables. Dr. Moonje and Sir T. B. Sapru agreed with the proposal.

The Services Sub-Committee's Report was received, and certain minor details noted.

The Report of the North-West Frontier Sub-Committee was accepted. Sir Abdul Qaiyum complained that the report did not go far enough, because it did not fully meet the needs of the people of the North-West Frontier.

Regarding the Report of the Sind Sub-Committee, Dr. Moonje declared that his reservation was only lodged on the ground that it was better not to deal with specific cases like Sind, but submit all such cases to the Boundaries Commission. Raja Narendranath agreed with this.

The Prime Minister's statement is expected to be made on the 20th.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

In his speech to the Members of the Legislative Assembly on opening the session on January 17 H. E. the Viceroy particularly drew attention to the dangers of the civil disobedience activities.

He said that when the great power of the Press was diverted from its true function to dangerous and destructive doctrines the Government could no longer stand aside. He was aware of the controversy regarding the two legislative proposals and added :

"Profoundly hoping as I do that the outcome of the Round Table Conference may be to assist the speedy restoration of normal conditions, I should have preferred, if I could, to suspend action and await the advent of a situation in which special powers would no longer be required. But so far as the terrorist movement is concerned there is little ground for supposing that those who direct it are likely to be deterred from their course by constitutional agreements that may be reached and for the rest it is not possible for Government to play the role of benevolent spectators."

The Viceroy added that the London Conference was about to conclude its labours and they were awaiting with eager interest the announcement to be made by the Prime Minister in the next few days. Pending that announcement, he said :

"I scarcely think I exaggerate when I say that the historian a hundred years hence, commenting on these times, will find in it the turning point of the constitutional history of India".

Referring to Mr. Gandhi His Excellency said :

"However mistaken any man may think him to be and however deplorable may appear the results of the policy associated with his name, no one can fail to recognise the spiritual force which impels Mr. Gandhi to count no sacrifice too great in the cause, as he believed, of the India that he loves and I fancy that though he on his side too thinks those who differ from him to be victims of a false philosophy, Mr. Gandhi would not be unwilling to say that men of my race who are to-day responsible for government in India were sincere in their attempts to serve her."

The Viceroy concluded :

"I am bound, so long as the movement designed to undermine and sap the foundations of government holds the front place in the programme of the great Congress organisation, to resist it to the uttermost of my strength. Is it not now possible, I would ask those responsible for this policy, to try another course that in the light, on the one hand, of the sinister events in India and on the other of the encouragement offered to India by the progress of the Conference in England, would seem to be the more excellent way ?

"Quite evidently it would be for the good of India that all the best elements both here and in Great Britain should join hands in the work of elaborating and bringing to fruition an undertaking so well begun in London and thus place the seal of friendship once again upon the relations of the two peoples whom unhappy circumstances have latterly estranged."

THE PREMIER ON INDIA

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, members of the Cabinet, Mr. Stanley Baldwin and other political leaders were entertained at a dinner by the British India delegation to the Round Table Conference on January 14.

Mr. MacDonald in acknowledging the toast said :

"We have been facing a very difficult problem, for the constitution that India will have must be of its own particular kind. I do not know what its form is going to be; that is very largely in the hands of men like Dr. Moonje, Sir Mahomed Shafi and Mr. Jinnah. When the lion and the lamb have lain down together, a constitution will emerge with great simplicity and great rapidity."

"I believe that we are going to hammer out a constitution under which India will not only be happy but will enjoy a sense of self-respect. (Cheers.) Then it may be that when our constitution breaks down, when we here in London are faced with great problems of a constitutional character, you having enjoyed the blessing of an Indian constitution, will offer your timely service (laughter) to come here and enable us to redraft our constitution (laughter) and enjoy the great felicities of peace which, I believe, you are going to enjoy when you make it possible for the new constitution of India to be promulgated."

INDIAN STATES' PEOPLE

Mr. RAMCHANDRA RAO'S MEMORANDUM

Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, a delegate from Madras to the Round Table Conference, has circulated a memorandum exhaustively dealing with the fundamental rights of the people of the Indian States under a federal constitution.

He contends that a federal constitution would materially affect the status and position of people of the Indian States. It will be necessary in the new constitution, he says, clearly to define what will be their future rights and obligations to their own States and to the new Government of a federated India. The terms on which this double allegiance shall be imposed must receive careful consideration.

As far as the people of British India are concerned, they have for some years demanded that the basic principle of the new constitution must be a declaration of fundamental rights guaranteed in a manner which will not permit their withdrawal in any circumstance.

Mr. Ramchandra Rao emphasises that if a declaration of fundamental rights is necessary in the case of British India, it is even more necessary for safeguarding the rights and liberties of the peoples of the Indian States. He lays down the following as the basis of such a declaration :

- (1) Inviolability of person and property.
- (2) Freedom of religion and conscience.
- (3) Right of public meeting and association.
- (4) Equality of all citizens before the law.
- (5) The right of citizens to have a writ of *habeas corpus* and trial according to the law.
- (6) Right of citizens to public movement and exercise in any trade or calling, irrespective of religion, caste or creed.
- (7) Freedom of combination and association of all citizens for maintenance and improvement of economic conditions.

(8) Right of all citizens to bear arms.

(9) Right of all citizens to receive free elementary education.

(10) Equal rights for men and women as citizens.

(11) Equal rights of access for all citizens to the use of public wells, public works and all other places of public resort.

PRINCES AND THE R. T. C.

At the plenary session of the Round Table Conference on the 16th January, the Maharaja of Dholpur said that the Conference had laid the foundations of the unity of India. The attitude of the States towards Federation had proved the turning point in the Conference. There were still many details to be filled in before their final adherence was possible, but the Princes had shown their willingness to contribute to the progress and stability of India, and desired to consider, in the most friendly spirit, any just scheme advanced by British India with the object of accomplishing this end.

The Princes saw great forces of disruption arising and mighty upheavals coming in political India. They realised their two-fold duties, namely, to the Crown and to India. Their attachment to the Crown needed no proof, and, along with it, they were confident that India was destined to be great in the future as in the past. They were convinced that there was no conflict between the real interests of India and her connection to Britain. The spirit of the Conference was the spirit by which India's problems would be solved.

One of the greatest gains to India from the Conference would probably prove to be the better understanding between the States and British India. He was returning to India a messenger of Britain, carrying her cordial goodwill and most sincere friendship.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

At the South African Indian National Congress which met in Capetown in the closing week of December, the President, Mr. Christopher, put in a strong protest against the manner in which the negotiations regarding the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill had been conducted. 'In plain terms', he said, 'the Bill, if its implications are carefully studied, grossly and unjustly embodies principles and policies to deprive the Indian of his livelihood, to ruin his long established trade and drive him out to lead a slum life.'

Mr. Christopher said there was pressing need for another Round Table Conference between the Government of India and the Union Government and their representatives, if all of them in South Africa were to receive unprejudiced consideration. He did not know what had occurred between the representatives of the Government of India and General Hertzog. 'If we are strong, if we are prepared to sacrifice as we did in the days when Mahatma Gandhi lived amongst us, I have no doubt that we will be treated as human beings.'

Speaking at the Congress on the Transvaal Tenure Bill, Sir K. V. Reddi said that the Government of India had been kept fully informed of the developments and was giving its anxious attention to every aspect and implication of the Bill. Informal consultations were held between the delegates to the Indian Round Table Conference and General Hertzog in London recently. The Minister (Dr. Malan) had expressed, added Sir K. V. Reddi, willingness to hear the views of the Government of India during January next.

The South African Indian Congress after a lengthy debate adopted a resolution urging the Union Government to withdraw the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill and introduce the necessary legislation giving relief to Indians in Transvaal. In the event of the Union Government declining to withdraw the Bill, the Congress requested the Government of India to press for a

Round Table Conference to review the situation. In the event of the Government of India failing to secure such a conference, the Congress requested the Indian Government to intimate to the Union Government that diplomatic relations between the two countries should be considered to have ceased, and withdraw its agency in South Africa as a protest against the Bill.

Reuter reports that towards the end of the session there were exciting scenes. The trouble started during the debate concerning the appointment of Indian delegates on the Joint Committee for Closer Union of East Africa.

The situation, we are told, became so uneasy that Police had to interfere and restore order.

INDIA AND BURMA

The following has been cabled by the "Nattukottai Chettyars' Association", Burma, to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, and members of the Round Table Conference:—

"In view of the prepondering Indian commercial interests and substantial stakes in Burma the Nattukottai Chettyars' Association, Burma, strongly urges adequate direct Indian representation from Burma on the body to be entrusted with the task of framing the new Burma constitution and submits such Indians should be nominated in consultation with this Association whose stakes are the largest among Indians and other important representative Indian organisations."

INDIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR S. A.

His Majesty's Government in Great Britain have lost no time in implementing one of the important conclusions of the last Imperial Conference which referred to the "further development of the system of communications and consultations between His Majesty's Governments" in the various Dominions. They have created the post of High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in South Africa and to that office they have appointed Sir Herbert Stanley, the Governor of Ceylon.

THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Speaking at the fourteenth session of the Indian Economic Conference H. E. the Governor of the Punjab who opened the proceedings at the University Hall, Lahore on Jan. 2, pointed out the growing economic consciousness of the Punjab. His Excellency referred to the appropriateness of holding the session at Lahore:

In the Punjab University, history and economics have long been a favourite combination of subjects—and, if I may say so, a very sensible combination—to study for a degree. This has led to widespread teaching and concentrated study of economics in our colleges. The University itself has now for many years past maintained its own Professor of Economics, and, under his auspices, a school for more advanced economics, including the M. A. degree course in the subject, has also been mobilised.

He pointed out the need for research and inquiry into the economic conditions of the people and touched on the practical application of economic principles to the actualities of the situation in the Punjab:

The low range of prices for agricultural produce—particularly wheat—must continue to be a source of perplexity and anxiety to me and my administration; and I am ready to go to any quarter for true guidance as regards means to help. I often wish I was circumstanced like Pharaoh, who had, as you have read, the faculty of dreaming dreams admitting of economic interpretations, and had at his elbow a faithful Joseph, surely the first and certainly one of the most reliable of our economic experts, to place the right interpretation upon them. For, at the moment, as in Egypt in those days, there is corn—abundant corn—in the Punjab; but there is none to buy; and if I had the prescience to know that seven lean years were coming in the immediate future, my economic duty would be plain and both pleasant and profitable to pursue for all concerned. As it is, I must wait for the day—perhaps never to come in my day—when the solution of the problems which perplex us to-day, may by the greater perfection of the application of economic study, become the commonplaces of tomorrow.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea in his presidential address suggested ways and means of easing the financial difficulties of the Government. He pointed out the abnormal military expenditure and the sub-normal expenditure on education, sanitation and other nation-building departments:

It would not be unreasonable to urge that the strength of the British force in India should be reduced by one half. In case it were though undesirable to bring about a change suddenly, arrangements might be made under which there would be immediate reduction of 10,000 British officers and men and further reductions would take

place at the rate of 2,000 men yearly during the next ten years. The military finance was very largely a question of policy and if the best interests of the people are kept in view, it would not be impossible to adjust it in such a way as to secure the immediate savings of ten crores and further savings amounting in aggregate to another ten crores in the course of the next ten years.



DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

The speaker also suggested economy in civil administration. As a considerable fall in prices had occurred, the salary scales of civil servants might be revised. He went on to say:

If it were found impossible to reduce the salaries of European officers owing to political reasons, there was no reason why reduction should not be effected in the salaries of Indian public servants. Fresh taxation at this moment would not only further increase the present discontent but also jeopardise the chances of success for the next constitution which India would shortly have.

The Conference met again the next day.

Three papers were discussed. Mr. D. G. Karve read a paper to the Conference on the subject of 'Geneva and Indian Labour.' Dr. Raj Bahadur Gupta of Lucknow University discussed 'Labour, Recruitment and Wages'. Dr. B. V. Narayana-swamy of the Annamalai University addressed the Conference on the subject of 'Trade Disputes in India'.

THE VETERINARY CONFERENCE

The Seventh All-India Veterinary Conference met at Lady Memorial Hall, Bangalore, on the 27th December, under the presidency of Col. A. Oliver, C.B., C.M.G., F.R.C.V.S., Expert Adviser in Animal Husbandry to the Government of India. There was a large and distinguished gathering, including over 300 delegates from different parts of India.

Proceedings commenced with invocation, after which Dr. Coleman, Director of Agriculture in Mysore, in requesting the Dewan of Mysore to open the Conference, gave an outline of the work done by the Mysore Civil Veterinary Department during the last ten years. He said that Mysore had made a very remarkable development in the introduction and spread of serum, simultaneous method of inoculation to combat rinderpest. Mysore had also done pioneering work in the establishment of a serum institute. Finally, Dr. Coleman referred to the co-ordination between Agricultural and Veterinary Departments.

Rajakaryaprasakka Dewan Bahadur M. N. Krishna Rao, Officiating Dewan of Mysore, then declared the Conference open.

Major Simpson, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates.

After formal election of Colonel Oliver as President, he delivered his presidential address in which he observed that in India, though a great deal of valuable work had been done at the Muktesar Institute and at some of the Provincial Veterinary Colleges, there was not a fully organised or equipped veterinary service for the whole country. He emphasized the necessity for ascertaining local disease conditions and added that he had put forward schemes to provide for systematic field investigation in every province, in order to obtain the precise knowledge required to deal with live-stock. The primary function of the veterinary services of India, he said, is the control or

contagious disease and not the treatment of minor ills though this is of undoubted value to the individual.

A good number of technical papers relating to veterinary science were presented which included an interesting record of observations and study on the life of wild animals in Indian zoos by Mr. Land of the Victoria Gardens, Bombay.

Among those who read papers were Dr. C. V. Natarajan, Mr. R. G. Sathe, Dr. P. Parthasarathy, Mr. T. V. Vinayaka Moodelliar, Mr. K. N. Srinivasan and Dr. K. Kailasam Iyer.

Resolutions towards betterment of the prospects of the veterinary services were adopted. Delegates to the Conference paid visits to important places of veterinary activities in the State.

LAND REVENUE IN INDIA

Mr. Brailsford, in the course of an article recently sent to the *NATION* of London, says: "the land revenue system in India threatens to break down, the masses being poor and unable to pay the rent. In this desperate struggle, the Congress has uncovered all the sores and miseries of Indian life. It would not compromise and can strike a mortal blow through the land revenue.

The Gandhi Legend has reached the villages. The peasant don the white cap of revolution. The real struggle, however, is only beginning."

INDIAN COTTON

A summary of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference dealing with Empire cotton-growing says that at least 1,750,000 bales of cotton suitable for use by Lancashire is produced in India every year. It appears that Lancashire would be assisted to increase her sales in the Eastern markets if she used more Indian cotton and it is suggested that the method of obtaining the best Indian cotton is to establish buying agencies to purchase direct from Indian growers.

THE AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE

The 21st All-India Ayurvedic Conference was opened at Bangalore on December 26 by Mr. P. G. D'Souza, Third Member of the Mysore Executive Council. Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Gananath Sen Sharma of Calcutta presided.

Mr. P. G. D'Souza, in his inaugural address, said that the development of Ayurveda in India was beset with many serious difficulties. "Though we have now distinguished practitioners," he said, "the bulk of them cannot claim to have made any study of the science on which the art is based." Mr. D'Souza emphasised the need for every University opening a Department of Indian Medicine. One point requiring attention, he said, was the preparation of suitable text-books and the publication of the literature on Indian medicine that was now found hidden in some inaccessible library or the house of some unknown savant.

The President, Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Gananath Sen, dwelt on the needs and deficiencies of Ayurveda with a view to initiate reforms and asserted that unless Ayurvedic practitioners assimilated the truths from the modern developments of chemistry, anatomy, physiology, pathology, medicine, surgery, ophthalmology, dentistry, etc., Ayurveda of the future would sadly lag behind.

"It is not the existence of certain potent indigenous drugs merely or certain effective methods of treatment alone that glorify Ayurveda. It is the scientific basis that stands as the bed-rock of Ayurvedic practice which is now guided by the formulæ laid down by the sages of yore. Unless there is a full and all round revival of Ayurveda, you cannot demonstrate this scientific basis and improve the methods of medical treatment now in vogue in all countries. With this object in view I request you to look around and forward and to take your right place in the dais of the scientists of the world."

MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN JAIL

Owing to great dissatisfaction prevailing in the Cannanore Central Jail regarding the medical arrangements made for political prisoners and the repeated complaints made by the latter, the Superintendent has now effected a thorough reform in the hospital administration of the Jail.

It has been decided that no Jail doctors should attend upon Satyagrahi prisoners. There are at present a few doctors—all eminent and able—among the political prisoners themselves in the Jail undergoing various terms of imprisonment. These doctors have been appointed to treat and attend upon the Satyagrahi prisoners hereafter. Dr. T. V. S. Sastri of Trichinopoly is to be in charge of the hospital set apart for the Satyagrahis. Dr. Mallappa Raju of the Andhra Desa is to examine the "A" and "B" class political prisoners, and Dr. Sambasiva Rao is to examine the "C" class prisoners. Dr. Narasimha Rao is in charge of the Quarantine Hospital.

TEN YEARS OF INSULIN

A decade of insulin, the remedy for diabetes, was celebrated in Toronto when the new medical building of the Banting Research Bureau, erected at a cost of \$800,000, was formally opened.

Ten years ago Dr. Frederick Grant Banting, a young Ontario physician, gave insulin to the world. The discovery, hailed as marking the greatest single medical advance since Pasteur, was patented in all countries and the patents were presented to the University of Toronto which in turn gave the British rights to the Medical Research Council.

For his great discovery and his public-spirited conduct Dr. Banting was honoured by the Government of Ontario, the British Medical Association and the Parliament of Canada, which granted him an annuity. In 1923, he was the recipient of the Nobel Prize for medicine.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Sir Montagu Butler, in his inaugural address welcoming the delegates from all the provinces to the 18th session of the Indian Science Congress held in the University Hall, Nagpur, on the 2nd January, said: "Now-a-days, men of affairs, whether they be politicians, administrators or businessmen, all recognise that, without scientific guidance, they can make little progress in their own spheres of work." He observed that though politically the province was still under a benevolent autocracy, it was intellectually independent.

Sir M. B. Dadabhoy accorded a hearty welcome to all the distinguished guests.

Mr. R. B. Seymour Sewell, Director of the Zoological Survey of India, then delivered his presidential address in which he discoursed on the theory of evolution and said:

The problem of evolution is one that affects the chemist and physicist as much as the botanist, zoologist, or psychologist, and it will require the combined efforts of all these various workers to solve it. All the possibilities and potentialities of the most complex animal are inherent in and originate from the smallest and most primitive member of the great biological kingdom. Every living organism is capable of carrying on ingestion, digestion and assimilation of food, respiration, perception of sensation, movement, excretion and finally reproduction. In every case, these functions are carried out by a highly complex chemical substance called Protoplasm, that is, composed of molecules and atoms. These latter are built up of ions.

Species are not distinct forms of life, but are part of a continuous chain or stream. The first great step in evolution was the change from a non-cellular to a multi-cellular condition, though specialisation of functions had made its appearance prior to this. Following and consequent on the evolution, of a multi-cellular condition, come the formation of body and the necessity for a definite shape and special organs; and each successive change has resulted in loss in each organ of certain powers, one of the chief losses being that of continuous reproduction, which is in the higher animals now confined to the genital organs.

Presiding at the agricultural section of the Indian Science Congress, Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariya, Vice-Chairman, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, spoke of international and imperial co-operation in regard to agricultural statistics and compilation and dissemination of scientific and technical information.

MUSIC CONFERENCE

Dr. U. Rama Rao delivered the welcome address at the Madras Music Conference on 24th Dec. He said that the starting of the Music Academy's Journal was one of the best methods of propagating and disseminating the knowledge of music to the outside world and ventilating the various viewpoints of the musicians contributing to the journal.

The Conference was opened by H. H. the Junior Maharani of Travancore and presided over by Mr. Muthiah Bhagavathar of Harikeasanallur. There were performances by distinguished South Indian musicians which were all well attended.

CREATION OF LIFE BY ELECTRICITY

The Chicago TRIBUNE states that Dr. G. W. Crile, a noted scientist, of the Cleveland Clinic Association, has developed in a test tube, without parents, a living creature. It describes the experiment as follows:—"Brain tissues taken from a freshly killed animal were reduced to ashes electrically. From the resulting substances certain salts and other elements were obtained.

"To this substance was added protein and perhaps some other elements and chemicals.

"The whole was treated electrically and before the eyes of scientists there appeared a 'thing with the characteristics of a living cell or protozoan.' The thing possessed the power of procreation by fusion or cell division. It fed on protein in the test tube, consuming it as other unicellular animals do their nourishment."

In addition, it was found that the thing was susceptible to narcotics, becoming dormant when subjected to certain drugs and later recovering. It was declared that owing to the care taken in the experiment no living thing could possibly have entered the ingredients of the concoction.

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The Oriental Conference of learned savants met in the historic city of Patna on the 17th December. Pataliputra the capital of Maghada had played an important part in ancient India, and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his welcome address appropriately dwelt on the glories of this city, recalling to the savants assembled that they are in the very land and in the very site

where lived, wrote, and left to you an undying heritage your Panini, the first and still the foremost philologist of the world; your Kautilya, the Hindu Aristotle; your Asoka who chiselled on the page of history the greatest royal truth *Real conquest is Duty*; your Patanjali, the grammarian, who has ruled over the Sanskrit language for the last two thousand years; your Umasvati (62 A. D.) who still leads in Jaina philosophy; and your Aryabhata, the astronomer and mathematician, who at the age of 23 in 498 A. D. formulated the theory of the earth's gravitation and whose science, as he himself has recorded, was honoured by the citizens of this town.

Mr. Jayaswal then recounted what is being done to-day in Behar to keep up the tradition and referred with appreciation to the work of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and some living savants like Sir J. J. Modi and Sir C. V. Raman in diverse fields of research.

The President Rai Bahadur Hira Lal then delivered an address which is a comprehensive survey of the entire field of Oriental learning. He referred in moving terms to the death of R. D. Banerji and passed on to trace the development of Indian languages and literatures. On this subject he said that the example of Bengal in the advancement of Bengali literature is worthy of imitation.

Comparatively speaking they have made a great advance, not only in the departments of *belles-lettres* in which epoch-making contributions by poets and novelists like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Rabu Dwijendra Lal Roy, Babu Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and others stand out prominently, but also in history, philology and philosophy some excellent books have been prepared, which have raised the Bengali literature. This has given an impetus to other vernaculars including even Dravidian languages like Telugu, which have absorbed a good deal of it by translation, adaptation or otherwise.

He then referred to the progress of literature in Marathi, Hindi and Urdu and paid a compliment to the Osmania University. He also referred in

complimentary terms to the work of the Greater India Society, the Varendra Research Society and the Behar and Orissa Research Society.

Various papers were read at the different sections. Pandit Vidhushakhara Sastri who presided over the Vedic section, speaking on Vedic interpretation and tradition declared:

Whatever might be our attitude that the Veda is really a treasure, a treasure not only for the Brahman, but also for humanity at large, a most precious inheritance of the past. And it is specially so, for us Indians, as it is the ultimate source, directly or indirectly, of whatever we have thought about and striven for the peace and happiness of man and the universe during the whole course of our existence as a people.

In his paper that he read at the meeting of the History and Archaeology section of the Oriental Conference, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal threw some new light on Nahapana. He pointed out that Nahapana is known to Jaina literature where he is mentioned in a traditional *Gatha* of the second century of *Vikrama* era.

That the first Emperors of India, Chandragupta and Asoka, were Parsis, was the claim



Dr. J. J. MODI

asserted by Dr. Jivanji Modi, a Parsi scholar of Bombay, when he explained to the Conference the reason why it gave him so much pleasure to be associated with the function in Patna, the ancient capital of those rulers.

The Conference entertained their learned audience on the night of the 18th Dec. at Patna College by staging an original Sanskrit play, written by Vishakhadatta, an author who lived at Patna under the Gupta Emperors.

UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL EFFICIENCY

In his address to the Annamalai University on its Founder's Day (9th November) Sir M. Visvesvaraya examined how the resources of an



SIR M. VISVESVARAYA

Indian University might be utilised to the greatest advantage of those coming under its influence. He put in a strong plea for a radical change of the system of education imparted by the Indian Universities. He observed that a great deal of time, energy and money had been spent on literary and professional education that proved unprofitable or had only a limited market value.

It was his view that while Indian Universities should provide for both liberal and professional education their foremost duty to-day was to impart that class of education which had been neglected till now and for the lack of which national efficiency had suffered. He urged, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the sciences which equipped people for an industrial life and helped to bring large industries into existence. In his opinion an Indian University should, until more funds were available, concentrate attention on three departments of studies, namely, Technology, Economics and Commerce and "nation-building" subjects.

CANADIAN SCHOLARSHIP FOR INDIA

A permanent scholarship has been established by the Massey Foundation (Toronto) to enable students from India to pursue their studies in Canada. The plan provides for the grant of a sufficient sum to bring each year a post-graduate student from an Indian University and to maintain him at the University of Toronto, which is in full co-operation with the plan, and to permit him to travel through the Dominion during the currency of the scholarship. The appointment of the student will be made by the Viceroy of India, on the recommendation of a committee, to which the Viceroy, the Madras Colleges and the Y. M. C. A., will nominate members.

PATNA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

Addressing the annual Convocation of the Patna University on December 1st. His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, the Chancellor, said that he could not conceive of a greater crime against posterity than to seek to deprive the rising generation of that training which was so necessary to their coming to wise decisions in the best interests of their country.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

The Lindsay Commission on Christian higher education in India consists of Dr. Adams Brown, Dr. Hutchins, Dr. S. K. Datta, Dr. Canon Davis and Mr. Mookerji (members) and Dr. Buck (Secretary). The Commission is now making preliminary inquiries into the question of higher education in India and hopes to finish its work by the end of March next.

SIR B. C. MITTER'S BEQUESTS

Sir Binod Chunder Mitter left £1,417 in England. He bequeathed Rs. 40,000 in trust for health and education work in his native village, Rs. 7,500 for the Sir Pames Chunder Mitter Girls School; Rs. 5,000 for the Gokhale Memorial School; Rs. 10,000 for the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia (Calcutta).

THE LATE SIR R. B. GHOSE

"His life will remain an inspiration to those who occupy the stage he left to those who study



SIR RASH BEHARI GHOSE

or practise law, to those who are charged with the upbringing of the young and to those whose ways lie in the wider field of public life," said the Viceroy unveiling the bust of the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose at the Calcutta High Court on December 16th. Continuing, His Excellency paid eloquent tributes to Sir Rash Behari as an eminent judge, scholar and a benefactor of mankind and referred particularly to his donations amounting to fifty-two lakhs of rupees for scientific education.

ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The Report of the Select Committee on Capital Punishment recommends that a Bill be enacted in the present session of the Parliament, abolishing death penalty for an experimental period of five years.

VOLUNTEERS IN BORSTAL SCHOOLS

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, for many years Advocate-General of Madras, in the course of an article in SWARAJYA exposes the illegality of the orders passed by certain Magistrates sentencing volunteers to long terms of detention in Borstal Schools.

"Differing conceptions of political expediency and political conduct rather than differences in moral character," says Mr. Sastri, "separate the Indians in gaol for these crimes from the best Indian citizens outside."

He concludes: "Those sentences lend themselves to the wide-spread belief that every means, lawful or unlawful, is resorted to in order to keep these offenders in confinement for long periods."

PICKETING

"I will picket again," affirmed young Shantabai with some bravado when the Magistrate put her the tantalising alternative of 'freedom' if she repents. His Worship intimated: "if she gives an undertaking, I will deal with her leniently. Ask her if she will refrain hereafter."

And to this the above reply was given by one of the four pickets arrested on 30th December in Bombay and put up before Mr. Khanaz, at the Mazagaon Court, the next day charged under section 17-(1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The arrested were two elderly ladies, Saraswatibai Kulkarni, Saibai Varbade and a young girl of 15, Shantabai Ambaraur Engineer, and another volunteer, Sakharam Pandu. All the four were convicted.

TWO MORE ORDINANCES

Two Ordinances (No. 10 and 11) were promulgated by H. E. Lord Irwin on the 23rd December, the former to provide for better control of the Press and of unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers, and the other to provide against instigation to refusal of payment of certain liabilities.

SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has been elected President of the Legislative Assembly by 76 votes against 36, secured by Sir Hari Singh Gour.



[SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA]

When the Assembly met to elect the President, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, the chairman, announced that four nominations had been received:—Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Maulvi Muhamed Yakub, and Dr. Suhrawardy.

Moulvi Muhamed Yakub made a statement to the effect that he had been advised to withdraw. He had accordingly withdrawn from the contest. Dr. Suhrawardy had already withdrawn from the contest. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Sir Hari Singh Gour were thus the only candidates in the field.

MARSHAL JOFFRE

Yet another veteran of the Great War has passed away in the death of Marshal Joffre at the age of 78. He joined the army in his eighteenth year and fought in the Franco-German War and lived to take his country safely through another and a greater war that came four and forty years after. When the Great War came in 1914 he was made the Commander-in-Chief. At the age of sixty-two, his task was rendered doubly difficult by the early reverses of the Allies and a continuous and power campaign against him in Paris political circles. But he carried on undaunted by dint of his coolness and energy and won the memorable battle of the Marne. Towards the end of 1916 Joffre was made technical adviser to the Government in matters concerning the direction of the war and thus relieved of actual responsibility for the conduct of the campaign. Joffre was then made *Marechal de France*. Besides being a great soldier, Marshal Joffre was a distinguished mathematician and a member of the *Academie Francais*.

H. E. SIR GEOFFREY DE MONTMORENCY

The Governor of the Punjab, Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, was twice wounded, and Sub-Inspector of Police Chanan Singh was fatally injured, by the shots which were fired at His Excellency in the hall of the Punjab University at Lahore during the Convocation on December 23rd. His Excellency was hit by a bullet.

He was taken to the Mayo Hospital, where, after his wounds were dressed, he emerged smoking a cigarette and, walking to his motor-car, was driven to Government House.

Three other persons injured by the shots fired at the Governor were Dr. (Miss) McDermott, of the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi; Inspector Budh Singh Wadhwan, of the C.I.D.; and Mrs. Bhatnagar.

THE P. M. ON WHAT INDIA WANTS

The Prime Minister, speaking at the banquet given by H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar to celebrate the 27th anniversary of his accession,



MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD

said he would not prophesy about the Round Table Conference but he would say that the "British Government, and I believe that the British Parliament, is fully aware of what India wants, determined to give to India everything that India can use well every power, every responsibility which will make the Indian feel that his destiny is in his own hands, which will enable India to look forward to the time when walking in its own light enlightened and illuminated by its own inner personality it will go on carving a name and reputation in future which will be as honourable to it as some of those glorious chapters that have already been written in Indian History. You can talk and write your formulas and you can make your demands, but unless the forms of government correspond to the genius and needs of the people they will never sit comfortably on their shoulders."

LORD IRWIN'S DECLARATION

"However emphatically we may condemn the Civil Disobedience Movement, we should, I am satisfied, make a profound mistake if we underestimated the genuine and powerful meaning of nationalism that is to-day animating much of Indian thought and for this no complete or permanent cure has ever been or ever will be found in strong action by Government," declared His Excellency addressing the Calcutta European Association in a dinner held on 22nd December.

His Excellency made an elaborate defence of his repressive measures and said that they were taken with the full co-operation of His Majesty's Government. Lord Irwin also admitted that no simple or permanent cure will be found to combat a nation-wide movement for freedom.

DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA

The TIMES OF INDIA says that its poll of non-official Europeans on the issue whether India should be granted Dominion Status with safeguards resulted as follows:—

Yes, 818; No, 165.

This means that 83 per cent. of the total Europeans who polled voted in favour of Dominion Status. It will be remembered that the issue on which the poll was taken was as follows:—

"Are you in favour of Dominion Status being granted to India with Responsible Government at the Centre, broadly as suggested in the despatch of the Bombay Government on the Simon Commission's Report, with safeguards, such as for the Army, Foreign Affairs and the External Debt, as well as for European and other minorities?"

The poll was open for four days only and the result is remarkable in view of the recent decision of the Bombay Branch of the European Association that there should be no responsibility at the Centre.

The result of the poll was communicated to the Round Table Conference.

INDIANS' CAPACITY FOR GAMES

"I have had long experience of all kinds of sport and I think this experience has enabled me to form a fairly accurate estimate of the players' capacity at most games and after three years in India I am satisfied that Indians can compete and hold their own in most kind of sports, given opportunities and efficient training," were the remarks, which His Excellency the Governor of Bengal made, presiding over the prize distribution ceremony in connection with the thirty-mile swimming race on the river Hooghly, held under the auspices of the Abiritollah Swimming Club recently. There was a distinguished gathering. The prizes were given away by Lady Jackson and the recipients were J. C. Chatterji (winner), K. P. Rakshit, S. Yakub, S. K. Ghose, S. Bhar, K. Bhattacharya, B. Sur, S. K. Mukerji and M. L. Das.

HOBB'S TRIBUTE TO C. K. NAIDU

"Who is the best batsman in India you have seen"? Jack Hobbs was asked in an interview in Madras.

"That is rather a difficult question. I think the best all round cricketer in India I have seen so far, is C. K. Naidu. I had not many opportunities of seeing him play, but he strikes me as an outstanding example of a cricketer. He is a cricketer in his every movement."

He added that Mehta of Bombay, who played for the All-India XI at Delhi, showed much promise, as also K. Bose of Calcutta. Similarly, the batting of two or three Indians at Madras was satisfactory. They had got defence, but they required some coaching to develop their strokes.

Hobbs said that India had not attained the Test standard yet, she however possessed a better set of players than America, but India could not play either against England or Australia.

"You want a few friendly coaches to round off your good players. A tip here and a tip there will work wonders, at least with some."

Discussing the bowling in Madras, Hobbs said that bowling was on the whole very good.

On the standard of cricket in Southern India as compared with that of the Northern India, Hobbs was reluctant to make a definite statement, as he said, he had not seen cricket in Bombay and other parts of India. Nevertheless, he said, that Madras and Calcutta should be considered to be very strong.

On the question of demonstrations by the spectators while play was in progress, Hobbs stated that the Madras crowds had done nothing of which they need be ashamed. English crowds also made demonstrations and barracking was on top in Australia.

ROYAL AERONAUTICAL SOCIETY

A new stage in the progress of the oldest body in world aeronautical science, the Royal Aeronautical Society, London, is marked by the issue of an appeal for subscriptions to an endowment fund with which to provide a site and erect a building where the Society may find a permanent home.

The Royal Aeronautical Society was founded in 1866 and has continued without a break since the foundation day an intensive study of the varied scientific and technical problems associated with the growth of aviation.

The long list of past and present members of the Society is an epitome of flying history. Stringfellow, Glaisher, Wenham among the "ancients"; Handley Page, Fairley, A. V. Roe, Siddeley Sopwith among the "moderns" are names taken at random.

The importance of the work done by the Society is recognised in annual grants from leading trade organisations, while for five years, the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics contributed annually £1,000. A permanent home cannot fail, concludes the Sporting News Correspondent of the HINDU, to enhance the great prestige of the Society and to increase its usefulness in developing the science of aeronautics.

THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION

The World Theosophical Convention was opened at Benares by Dr. Annie Besant on December 25, with a lecture on the Future of Theosophy.



DR. ANNIE BESANT

On the following day Mr. C. Jinarajadasa presided and introduced Prof. Ernest Wood who said in the course of his speech:

For the last two years there had been continual dropping out of members because of the inadmissibility assimilation of the doctrines of Mr. Krishnamurthi into the general body of Theosophical teachings. Though there had been an immense increase of interest in the Theosophical ideas everywhere, the membership of the society did not correspondingly increase. He emphasised the necessity for perfect freedom of thought. The society was somewhat divided in its opinion on what masters were and how they could be approached.

He advocated the issue of a magazine without an editorial policy but with perfect freedom of expression to all its writers. Such a magazine, he said, would attract the thinking and reading people everywhere.

Principal Sanjiva Rao speaking on the same subject said that they would all realise that the spirit for which the Theosophical Society had been working in their midst for over half a century was finding expression in many a form. It had effected the social, political and educational life of the country and it was

as much needed in the world of thought and action now as ever before.

It was the privilege of the Theosophical Society to act more or less as pioneers in the cause of social reform. The Society was chiefly instrumental in breaking 'purdah' in these provinces. One of the most magnificent signs of the times was the awakening of womanhood in India. The ideal of the Central Hindu College had spread into every educational institution. The old ideal of relationship between the teacher and the taught was now recognised almost in every institution.

Continuing he said there was a spirit of revolt all the world over in every department of life and every institution was being affected by the world forces. Mr. Krishnamurthi in the Theosophical Society represented the spirit of revolt. To challenge truth was a necessity of life and the speaker welcomed the spirit of challenge.

POSTAL AND R. M. S. CONFERENCE

The tenth session of the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Conference assembled at Madras on December 30th, Mr. S. C. Joshi, general secretary of the Bombay Postal Union, presiding.

Mr. Kumaraswamy Chetty, president of the Madras Corporation, welcomed the delegates as representatives of a service of great utility and the best organised labour union in India.

Mr. Joshi in his address referred to the various grievances of the employees and condemned the examination system as creating disunion among them. He appealed to all the employees to sink their differences, discard their separatist tendency and present a united front. He said that some agreement had been reached between the All-India Postal Union and the All-India Postmen's Union and foreshadowed the possibility of their amalgamation.

The Conference met the next day and passed a number of resolutions touching the security of the services and appointed office-bearers for the next year. The next session was invited to Delhi.

Diary of the Month

- Dec. 16. Mrs. Hansa Mehta opens the All-India Khadi Exhibition at Jalagon.
- Dec. 17. H. E. the Viceroy knights the Hon. Manmathanath Raychauduri of Santosh.
- Dec. 18. Dr. Syed Mahomed is released.
- Dec. 19. Punjab High Court upholds the forfeiture of the security of the HINDUSTHAN TIMES.
- Dec. 20. Lord Willingdon is appointed the next Viceroy of India.
- Dec. 21. Forty ladies in the Delhi Jail resort to hunger strike.
- Dec. 22. The Historical Records Commission meets in Patna under the presidency of Sir Jadunath Sircar.
- Dec. 23. Pandit Malavia is released.
- Dec. 24. Viceroy issues two fresh Ordinances.
- Dec. 25. Over 200 are injured in the lathi charges by the Bombay Police.
- Dec. 26. The Sheikhs and others rise in revolt against Turkey in Smyrna.
- Dec. 27. Martial Law is declared in Smyrna.
- Dec. 28. All-India Muslim League meets in Allahabad under the presidency of Sir Muhammad Iqbal.
- Dec. 29. Mrs. Kamala Nehru is arrested.
- Dec. 30. Volunteer organisations in Meerut are declared unlawful.
- Dec. 31. The Government of Panama is overthrown and the rebels imprison the President.
- Jan. 1. The All-India Economic Conference meets in Lahore.
- Jan. 2. Miss Amy Johnson leaves London on a solo fight for Peking.
- Jan. 3. Marshal Joffre is dead.
- Jan. 4. Moulana Mahomed Ali is dead.
- Jan. 5. Mrs. Gandhi opens the Khadi Bunder at Ahmedabad.
- Jan. 6. Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-Speaker of the Assembly, is released.
- Jan. 7. Dr. Tagore leaves London for India.
- Jan. 8. Sir George Steward Symes is appointed Governor of Tanganyika.
- Jan. 9. Dr. Hardikar of the Hindustani Seva Dal is convicted.
- Jan. 10. Bombay gives a rousing reception to Mr. V. J. Patel.
- Jan. 11. Bombay High Court quashes the conviction of Mr. Nariman.
- Jan. 12. The Sholapur Prisoners are executed.
- Jan. 13. Miss Khursed Ben Naoroji is arrested and convicted.
- Jan. 14. The Assembly Session opens.
- Jan. 15. Glasgow University confers the honorary degree of LL. D. on Sir C. V. Raman.
- Jan. 16. Full plenary session of the Round Table Conference meets.
- Jan. 17. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola is elected President of the Assembly.
- Jan. 18. Mr. S. C. Bose is convicted for 7 days S. I. for disobeying an externment order.



MR. V. J. PATEL

BUILDING BETTER BRAINS

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

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



Sir J. Foster Fraser.

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

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

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

Remarkable Results.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A PLANTER writes:—"There are two benefits that have been 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."

